

---

Jaakko Lounela

# Mission and Development

Finnish Pentecostal, Lutheran and Orthodox  
Mission Agencies in Development Work  
in Kenya 1948-1989

---



**Jaakko Kalle Juhana Lounela**

Born 1936 in Helsinki, Finland

Master of Arts 1962 (University of Helsinki)

Master of Theology 1963 (University of Helsinki)

Doctor of Philosophy 1979 (University of Helsinki)

Parish pastor in the Diocese of Oulu in North Finland 1963-1967,  
1970-1978 and 1986-1998

Missionary in Kenya 1979-1986 and in Zambia 1998-2005

Senior lecturer of history of learning at the University of Oulu 1987-2001

Photo: Annikki Erelä

Cover: Tove Ahlbäck

**Åbo Akademi University Press**

Biskopsgatan 13, FIN-20500 ÅBO, Finland

Tel. int. +358-2-215 3292

Fax int. +358-2-215 4490

E-mail: [forlaget@abo.fi](mailto:forlaget@abo.fi)

<http://www.abo.fi/stiftelsen/forlag/>

**Distribution: Oy Tibo-Trading Ab**

P.O.Box 33, FIN-21601 PARGAS, Finland

Tel. int. +358-2-454 9200

Fax int. +358-2-454 9220

E-mail: [tibo@tibo.net](mailto:tibo@tibo.net)

<http://www.tibo.net>

## MISSION AND DEVELOPMENT



# Mission and Development

Finnish Pentecostal, Lutheran and Orthodox  
Mission Agencies in Development Work  
in Kenya 1948-1989

Jaakko Lounela

ÅBO 2007

---

ÅBO AKADEMIS FÖRLAG - ÅBO AKADEMI UNIVERSITY PRESS

**CIP Cataloguing in Publication**

**Lounela, Jaakko**

Mission and development : Finnish  
Pentecostal, Lutheran and Orthodox mission  
agencies in development work in Kenya  
1948-1989 / Jaakko Lounela.

– Åbo : Åbo Akademi University Press, 2007.

Diss.: Åbo Akademi University.

ISBN 978-951-765-394-7

ISBN 978-951-765-394-7

ISBN 978-951-765-395-4

(digital)

UNIPRINT

Åbo 2007

# Table of Contents

<i>Foreword</i>	7
<b>1 Introduction</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>2 The Finnish Mission Agencies in Kenya 1948-1973</b>	<b>19</b>
2.1 The Pentecostals	19
2.1.1 Who are the Pentecostals?	19
2.1.2 Understandings of Mission	20
2.1.3 Organisation and Administration	26
2.1.4 Development Projects	30
2.2 The Lutherans	39
2.2.1 Who are the Lutherans?	39
2.2.2 Understandings of Mission	41
2.2.3 Organisation and Administration	50
2.2.4 Development Projects	60
2.3 The Orthodox	76
2.3.1 Who are the Orthodox?	76
2.3.2 Understandings of Mission	78
2.3.3 Organisation and Administration	80
2.3.4 Development Projects	83
<b>3 The Mission Agencies Participate in Development Cooperation using Public Funds 1974-1989</b>	<b>86</b>
3.1 The Pentecostals	88
3.1.1 Understandings of Mission	88
3.1.2 Organisation and Administration	98
3.1.3 Development Projects	115
3.2 The Lutherans	139
3.2.1 Understandings of Mission	139
3.2.2 Organisation and Administration	146
3.2.3 Development Projects	167
3.3 The Orthodox	217
3.3.1 Understandings of Mission	217
3.3.2 Organisation and Administration	223
3.3.3 Development Projects	237

<b>4 Conclusions</b>	<b>254</b>
<i>Abbreviations</i>	262
<i>Sources and Literature</i>	264
<i>Index</i>	290

## **List of Figures and Maps**

### **Figures**

1	Membership of the Kenyan partner churches of the Finnish Pentecostals, Lutherans and Orthodox 1970 and 1990	84
2	Social services of the FFFM / LKA 1985-1989	108
3	Funds from the Finnish government to the FFFM 1977-1989	136
4	Funds from the Finnish government to SLEAF 1977-1989	213
5	Funds from the Finnish government to LEAF 1977-1989	215
6	Funds from the Finnish government to the FOM 1978-1989	251

### **Maps**

1	The FFFM in Kenya before 1974	38
2	SLEAF and LEAF in Kenya before 1974	75
3	The FFFM and ZHM in development cooperation in Kenya from 1974	138
4	SLEAF and LEAF in development cooperation in Kenya from 1974	212
5	The FOM in development cooperation in Kenya from 1974	253



## **Foreword**

I was involved in missionary work in Kenya from 1979 to 1986, and during this time Professor Matti Peltola encouraged me to join the International Association for Mission Studies. At the IAMS Conference in Harare 1985, I was introduced to an interdenominational and international community of researchers who welcomed all contributions that would of benefit to others. I would, therefore, like to dedicate this thesis to Prof. Matti Peltola.

When I left Kenya in 1986, and returned to parish work in Finland, my research work in missiology eased my acclimatisation because it allowed a part of my mind to still be concerned with Africa.

The Finnish government had begun channelling development funds through non-governmental organisations in 1974 and allocated special funds through mission agencies from 1977 to 1988. Since the Finnish Pentecostals, Lutherans and Orthodox received public funds with the same preconditions, it was interesting to study how each of them responded to the same stimulus. After attending International Association for Mission Studies Conferences in Rome, Hawaii, Buenos Aires and Hammaskraal (Pretoria), I realised that the situation in Finland was unique, and moreover that it was interesting to missiologists from other countries.

Professor Pentti Laasonen from the Faculty of Theology at the University of Helsinki advised me to continue my studies at Åbo Akademi University, where an expert on mission theology and East Africa, Dr. Henrik Smedjebacka, was senior lecturer in Church History and Missiology. Dr. Smedjebacka's deep knowledge, wide perspectives as well as his sharp unreserved criticism gave me a better understanding of the circumstances and a clearer disposition of the material. He also focused my attention on essential missiological questions.

The writing and correcting of this dissertation was a long process, interrupted by a new term of missionary work in Africa, but the discussions and the advice I received in the seminar sessions of Prof. Bill Widén and his successor Prof. Ingvar Dahlbacka during those years, helped me to rearrange the text so that it would meet academic requirements. Dr. Kim Groop assisted me in many ways when it came time to finish the work.

During this research work, I visited various archives and offices. I was happy to realise that Secretary Anneli Karras, in the office of the Finnish Pentecostal Development Agency *Lähetysten Kehitysapu*, and Mission Secretary Anja Hakonen, in the Finnish Orthodox Mission, did not receive me as a foreign intruder but as “our researcher”. The archivists in the Department for Development Cooperation assisted me when I used the essential documents in the archive of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Having written the first draft, I then received valuable feedback from; Kalevi Helimäki and Vilho Kivikangas, regarding the chapters on the Pentecostals, Gustav Norrback and Boris Sandberg, regarding the chapters on the Swedish Lutheran Evangelical Association, Tuula Sääksi and Antti Kuokkanen on the Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland, and I also received useful feedback at a Finnish Orthodox mission seminar in September 1994. Many officials of the Department for International Development Cooperation at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs gave their time to explain the cooperation with the mission agencies from their viewpoint. Of the many who helped, I would particularly like to mention by name, Leo Olasvirta who has been responsible for contacts with the non-governmental organisations over a long period of time and still continues in the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The people mentioned here gave me deeper insight into the topic and corrected some errors, and I am grateful to them. They are, of course, not responsible for any misinterpretations or errors in my text.

I had the privilege to meet kind people, among them devoted Christians who had spent many years serving in missionary work or in development cooperation in Africa or Finland. The list of

interviews in the chapter “Sources and Literature” can include only the most important sources of information, whose words I had used when writing the text. However, there were many others who also helped me to understand events and their background, but it is not possible to enumerate here all the people who had answered my questions, or to list other discussion partners. I am grateful to all those who are mentioned above but also to the many others whose names are not seen in this Introduction or in the dissertation.

I thank the Academy of Finland for the grant, which allowed me to attend the International Association for Mission Studies Conference in Rome, the Nordic Africa Institute for the opportunity to do research in Uppsala and the Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland for its support. I would also like to thank Åbo Akademi University Press for publishing my book and finally all those who helped to proof read the manuscript.

I thank my wife Elvi for her encouragement and patience, my children Markus, Hanna and Sara, and their spouses, for interesting discussions, and I would especially like to thank my son-in-law Robert for his assistance in helping me express my thoughts in English.

9 November 2007

Jaakko Lounela



# 1 Introduction

In January 1961, The United Nations declared the years 1961-1970, the United Nations Decade of Development. Development aid or, as it was soon renamed, development cooperation, was a new attempt to increase wealth in countries outside Europe and North America. The Government of Finland also started to grant money for development work. Other Nordic countries channelled development funds as early as in the 1960s through non-governmental organisations (NGOs), including mission agencies. Finland followed them in the 1970s. The mission agencies had considerable experience because they had been working in developing countries for decades and been involved in social work. This kind of social work activity was included in development cooperation from the beginning of the United Nations Second Decade of Development in 1971.

## *Object of the Research*

Finnish NGOs have received public funds for development projects since 1974 and mission agencies received a separate special grant from 1977 to 1988. The policy of the government to channel development funds through non-governmental organisations created a new situation in the mission agencies.

It was usual for the colonial powers to support the social work of the mission agencies active in their colonies, but the Finnish mission agencies were not used to receiving support from their own government for work in Africa. The mission agencies in Finland could only observe from a distance as to how the social work of the mission agencies was a part of the development aid of the governments in other Nordic countries, from as early as the United Nations Decade of Development in the 1960s.

When the mission agencies in the western neighbouring countries carried out development projects using money from their governments, the Finns discussed whether it would be possible to follow their pattern. When the Finnish government began channelling

development funds through mission agencies, the discussion continued. A new question was: What was the position of the state supported projects in the activity of a mission agency? The government aid then effected some anticipated, and some unexpected changes in the work and organisation of the mission agencies in the home country and in the mission field. The target of this research is to find out what the attitude of the mission agencies was with regard to government aid and to what extent they received government aid for various projects. This leads to the question: How did the government aid affect the organisation and work of the mission agencies?

When we seek an answer to these questions, the Finnish mission agencies active in Kenya offer a representative sample. The Pentecostals, Lutherans and Orthodox were working side by side in the same country, Kenya, in the 1970s and 1980s under the same conditions set by the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Kenya was also a very important target country of Finnish mission agencies, at times the most important.

Kenya became a partner in bilateral development co-operation with Finland in the late 1970s and was included among the six main recipient countries in 1980. About 35 Finnish NGOs participated in development co-operation in Kenya until the end of the United Nations' Third Decade of Development in 1990.

When the Finnish Government in 1977 made a distinction between mission organisations and other NGOs, granting special funds for mission organisations, there were three Finnish mission agencies working in Kenya and interested in public development funds. These were the Finnish Free Foreign Mission (FFFM),<sup>1</sup> the Swedish Lutheran

---

<sup>1</sup> The Finnish Pentecostals have always stressed that the FFFM was not a mission agency but an organisation supporting mission agencies. According to the Finnish Pentecostals, the local congregations are the real mission agencies because missionary work belongs to the church, not to a society. When the members of parliament introduced motions from 1970 proposing grant aid for development projects of the mission agencies, they mentioned the FFFM among the mission agencies. For practical reasons, the FFFM is included among the mission agencies in this research although this title does not describe its position in the Pentecostal movement (see p. 26).

Evangelical Association of Finland (SLEAF) and the Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland (LEAF). Somewhat later, one more Finnish mission agency started working in Kenya; the Finnish Orthodox Mission (FOM).<sup>2</sup> These four – the FFFM, SLEAF, LEAF and the FOM – were the Finnish missions agencies that received funds from the Finnish Development Agency (FINNIDA) during the period 1974-1989. An independent Pentecostal agency, the Zion Harvest Mission (ZHM) had been working in Kenya since 1972 but it did not apply to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for development funds before 1990.

My survey begins from the time before the mission agencies began receiving public funds, because all of them were working in Kenya prior to public funding or at least had contact with their future partners in East Africa. The survey continues up to year 1989 when the Ministry for Foreign Affairs once again began granting funds to mission agencies and other NGOs without any distinction.

### *Previous Research*

There has been no previous comprehensive work carried out on Finnish mission agencies in development cooperation. Some master's theses in various universities, however, have tackled related issues. The role of the Finnish mission agencies in development work has aroused academic interest since the 1960s when development aid became timely in Finland.<sup>3</sup> Two studies at Åbo Akademi University have surveyed all non-governmental organisations showing the importance of the religious organisations, especially mission agencies, in development cooperation as early as before 1974.<sup>4</sup> Most recent is Ismo Kunnas', Master of Theology thesis on the support of the Finnish government to the members of the Finnish Missionary Council until

---

<sup>2</sup> The Finnish Orthodox have also stressed that the FOM is not a real mission agency because the missionary work belongs to the essence of the Church and no association can do it on behalf of the Church (see p. 224). For practical reasons, the FOM is included in this research because it represents the missionary activity of the Finnish Orthodox.

<sup>3</sup> *Lindqvist 1969.*

<sup>4</sup> *Lapintie-Kastemaa 1977; Eriksson 1977.*

1990. His conclusion is that the mission agencies have preserved their identity as mission organisations although they have received public funds for development cooperation.<sup>5</sup> The Finnish Free Foreign Mission and the Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland were among the objects of this study because they were members of the Finnish Missionary Council.

Two master's theses in Political Science look at the subject from a different viewpoint.<sup>6</sup> Riitta Lundberg claims that the goals of the Finnish government and the mission agencies differed very much, but their cooperation in development work was, however, still possible.<sup>7</sup> The conclusion of Eeva and Pekka Peltola was that the Pentecostals emphasised evangelism and were confident that justice and development would follow a spiritual renewal. The Lutherans shared this faith but tried to accommodate another vision, as they also strove to reach social justice through secular means.<sup>8</sup>

Anneli Jerkku has surveyed the work of Finnish Pentecostal missionaries in Kenya.<sup>9</sup> She shows how extensive their missionary work was: how the development projects were a secondary part of their activity and how the projects were run independently of other work. This is also seen in Lauri K. Ahonen's History of the Pentecostal movement in Finland.<sup>10</sup> Anneli Jerkku's conclusion is that the main purpose of the social projects was to reach people with the Gospel but that the evangelistic and social mandate of the Pentecostals was integrated into a holistic approach to the ministry.<sup>11</sup> Jarno Paasonen has outlined the missionary work of the Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland in Kenya. This study also concentrates on the

---

<sup>5</sup> *Kunnas* MTh 1993, 89.

<sup>6</sup> *Lundberg* MPol 1980; *Peltola and Peltola* MPol 1985.

<sup>7</sup> *Lundberg* 1980, 71.

<sup>8</sup> *Peltola and Peltola* 1985, 188.

<sup>9</sup> *Jerkku* MA 2001.

<sup>10</sup> Although there were more Finnish Pentecostal missionaries in Kenya than in any other country in 1980, he has only described the development projects in two pages. *Ahonen* 1994, 371-373.

<sup>11</sup> *Jerkku* 2001, 123-124. Knowing my unfinished work Jerkku has not gone into details while describing the development projects.



missionary work in general and does not go into the details of the development projects.<sup>12</sup> Camilla Palmén has studied how the magazine of SLEAF informed its readers about the Kenya mission field from 1960 to 1970.<sup>13</sup> This was the period before SLEAF could apply to the Finnish government for development funds.

However, there is still an absence of a study of Finnish mission agencies in development cooperation where the Pentecostals, Lutherans and Orthodox are compared with each other and the changes in their vision, organisation and activity are explored. The target of this study is to fill this gap.<sup>14</sup> The results may give matter for reflection to the mission agencies and the agents of development cooperation.

### *Sources*

The primary sources have been the documents in the archives of the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs Department for Development Cooperation and of the mission agencies. The project plans and reports have shown the progress of the projects. The minutes of the mission agencies have explained the decision-making processes as well as changes in the organisations and in their administration. The documents of the Finnish Parliament and the minutes of the Finnish Missionary Council have explained the wider context of the activity. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs has also published information for internal, official or public use e.g. explaining principles, evaluating projects, making surveys and giving reports.

In various periodicals missionaries have reported news from mission fields. Some missionaries have written their own memoirs and biographies of other missionaries have been written. The mission agencies have also celebrated full decades by publishing books on their history.

---

<sup>12</sup> *Paasonen* MTh 2001.

<sup>13</sup> *Palmén* MTh 2002.

<sup>14</sup> My article *Finnish Mission Agencies Involved in Development Cooperation in Kenya*, *Mission Studies* XIII- 1&2, 25&26, 1996, 235-246, is a preliminary summary of this work.

The four figures on pages present how much the Finnish Free Foreign Mission, the Swedish Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland, the Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland and the Finnish Orthodox Mission received funds from the Finnish government for development cooperation until 1989. The figures are from the magazine *Kehitysyhteistyö*, published by the Department for Development Cooperation in the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Sometimes, *Kehitysyhteistyö* has only given information on how much an organisation has received. In such a case, I have checked in the minutes of the organisation as to how the grant was distributed between the various projects or ascertained the amount from a project report.

People involved in development cooperation, especially in the mission agencies and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs Department of Development Cooperation have answered kindly my questions. These interviews have shed light on many problems and helped me to understand the events surrounding the written documents.

When collecting material, I have concentrated on sources available in Finland. The object of the research has been the organisations, not the individuals. There is ample personal correspondence dealing with projects and missionary work in general, but I have not sought such material. Nor have I emphasised the personal matters of the people involved.

The problem has not been scarcity but abundance of material. I have not attempted to collect or check everything. The Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs has granted funds to non-governmental organisations for information on development cooperation and this has resulted in an increased amount of printed material. I have been satisfied when the new sources available have confirmed the account given by the primary sources.

### *Method and Disposition*

I utilise historical-genetic methods in constructing parallel descriptions of the activities of the mission agencies in question. For the sake of comparison, I also include the social work of the mission agencies before they received funds from the government of Finland. The topic is investigated in chapter two and chapter three. Chapter two explains the social work of the Finnish mission agencies before 1974, when they began to receive funds from the government, and chapter three describes the period when the mission agencies, as well as other non-governmental organisations could apply for public funds. This wide perspective has made it possible for me to see the changes in the organisation and activity of the mission agencies when they received money from the Finnish government and how the changes reflect their vision of missionary work. Both main chapters are sub-divided into sections where the topics are: firstly the understanding of missionary work, secondly the administration and organisation and thirdly the development projects. When following changes in the attitudes of the mission agencies with regard to government aid, it must be kept in mind that international as well as Finnish and Kenyan development policy was also changing during this period.

The parallel histories of Pentecostals, Lutherans and Orthodox offer two alternatives when making comparisons. Firstly, a variety of opinions can be seen in each group and secondly, the difference between the groups becomes apparent. Consequently, it becomes clear how the diversity reflects fundamental doctrinal differences. Finally, it is possible to consider, if or to what extent the changes in the mission agencies were due to the development funds of the Finnish government being channelled through the mission agencies.

### *Terminology*

There are a number of words and expressions used in this study that might require an explanation.

The local Pentecostal churches in Kenya and in Finland are called congregations in this text. When using the word church in a Lutheran context, I refer to a church with several parishes or congregations and when writing about the Orthodox Church I intend the Church as a worldwide body where the jurisdiction in Africa is under the Patriarch of Alexandria.

The expression social services is used in this treatise in a wider context excluding the spiritual work of the mission agencies, but including projects on health and education. Christian social work means the concept of *diakonia/diakoni* in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland where a deaconess is a parish worker who has special training in Christian social work in addition to nursing qualifications.

The bearer of the highest office in the Lutheran Church of Kenya was called the President of the Lutheran Church of Kenya. In the 1970s, the title the Chairman of the Lutheran Church of Kenya replaced the former title.<sup>15</sup> The missionary in charge of a mission station – among the Lutherans in Kenya – was called the manager or the station manager. Teaching of women in groups or at meetings – again among the Lutherans in Kenya – was called ‘women work’.

*Lähetysten Kehitysapu* (LKA) of the Finnish Pentecostals was called in English the International Relief and Development Agency or the International Relief and Development Agency of the FFFM. The English abbreviation IRDA was not in use but the Finnish abbreviation LKA appears also in English texts. The LKA Body of Delegates is a translation of *LKA edustusto/edustajisto* and an Annual Elders’ and Pastors’ Meeting is a translation of *Veljeskokous*.

The Lutheran Church of Kenya adopted the name the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya in 1978. The Finnish Missionary Society adopted the name the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission in 1986.

---

<sup>15</sup> According to President Jomo Kenyatta one president was enough in Kenya.

## 2 The Finnish Mission Agencies in Kenya 1948-1973

### 2.1 The Pentecostals

#### 2.1.1 Who are the Pentecostals?

The Pentecostal movement entered Finland in 1911 when the Norwegian pastor Thomas Ball Barratt arrived preaching the new message. The Finnish seaman Emil Danielsson accompanied Barratt as interpreter. Danielsson became a leader of the Finnish Pentecostals. In fact, Danielsson also became the first Finnish Pentecostal missionary, leaving for Kenya in 1912. He stayed in Africa for seven years and returned after World War I.<sup>16</sup>

The Finnish Pentecostals have avoided established confessions of faith claiming that they only follow the Bible, but they have admitted that the Apostolic and Nicene Creed are in accord with the Bible.<sup>17</sup> They published an unofficial “confession” in 1933 and another one in 1969.<sup>18</sup> Instead, the Finnish Pentecostals solved differences in opinion, teaching, proclaiming and faith one at a time in their regular meetings. The Pentecostal movement advanced as a revival movement in Finland after World War II up to the late 1950s and, during this decade, the number of members increased from 15,300 to 26,000.<sup>19</sup> They recorded 30,000 members in 1970, children not included, and at the end of the 1980s over 45,000.<sup>20</sup> The number of Finnish Pentecostal missionaries in Kenya increased more than twofold in the 1960s and was about 30 in 1970.<sup>21</sup> A schism divided the movement in the early 1960s. The *Siion* congregation in Helsinki was

---

<sup>16</sup> Ahonen 1994, 125-126.

<sup>17</sup> Ahonen 1994, 208.

<sup>18</sup> Ahonen 1994, 209-211, 325-327.

<sup>19</sup> Ahonen 1994, 296, 316, 317, 368.

<sup>20</sup> Ahonen 1994, 332, 384.

<sup>21</sup> Kuosmanen 1979, 357-359. The list of missionaries at the FFFM missionary meeting in Kenya in October 1960 contains three couples and six single missionaries, a publication of the Finnish Missionary Council contains five couples and 19 single the FFFM missionaries living in Kenya in 1970-71. [Odin Finell], "Afrikan matkalta", *RV* 43-44/29.10.1960, 659; *Suomalaiset lähetystyöntekijät 1970-71* 1971, 9-10.

formed and a group of other congregations continued under the name *Suomen Vapaa Helluntaiherätys* (the Free Pentecost Awakening in Finland). The parties were reconciled in 1985.

### **2.1.2 Understandings of Mission**

When the Finnish Pentecostal missionaries entered Kenya in 1949 they met two visions concerning the concept of mission. They cooperated with the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC) and the American healer-evangelist Tommy Lee Osborn who had a different strategy than the PAOC. The understanding of mission by the PAOC encouraged the Finns to start social projects. Osborn's vision was an alternative to medical and other social work, especially during the period from his first crusade in 1957 to the end of the colonial period in Kenya in 1963. He proclaimed that the un-evangelised people needed preachers who confirm their message with miracles.<sup>22</sup>

The PAOC was conspicuous among all Pentecostals for its many social activities.<sup>23</sup> The first Finnish Pentecostal missionaries who entered Kenya after World War II – the sisters Alma and Eeva Raatikainen and the married couple Paavo and Vieno Kusmin – received their work permits through the PAOC in 1949. The female missionaries started health care and Paavo Kusmin built facilities for missionary work.<sup>24</sup>

The Finnish Pentecostals had a rule that missionaries should have at least two years experience of full time evangelisation in Finland before being sent as a missionary.<sup>25</sup> It was also customary that single female missionaries (single male missionaries were rare exceptions)

---

<sup>22</sup> T. L. Osborn, "Tosiasioita jumalallisesta parantumisesta", *RV* 17/1957 (I/9), 240-242; *Osborn* 1960, 15-16; *Anderson* 1977, 168-169 (Anderson relates that Osborn's crusades fall into open competition with local churches – even with the Pentecostal Assemblies of God, this example is from Tanganyika.); Mrs T. L. Osborn, "Maakalaisevankeliointi tunkeutuu etualalle" (translated by Ilta Rautavirta from Faith Digest), *RV* 20/21.5.1960, 299 and 302-303.

<sup>23</sup> North American Protestant ministers 1986, I-28-31 and *Kydd* 1988, 698.

<sup>24</sup> *Helimäki* 2004a, 29.

<sup>25</sup> *Kärnä* 1989, 57 and 60.

had some kind of medical training<sup>26</sup>. The Pentecostals discussed the position of medical care in missionary work when the first missionaries had started working in Kenya. The mission secretary of the Finnish Free Foreign Mission, Odin Finell, presented a review of the situation at a consultation in Helsinki in February 1950. In this consultation the methods of the sisters Raatikainen received support because, according to the sisters, the competing Roman Catholic Church used clinics and schools, too.<sup>27</sup> The missionaries themselves defended their work saying that people expected medical services from female missionaries and they saw here a good way to reach people and evangelise them.<sup>28</sup>

Tommy Lee Osborn's message was diametrically opposed to the work of the missionary nurses' and their founding of clinics and a hospital. According to Osborn, the un-evangelised people did not need theologians or missionary physicians. He wanted to start a wildfire of evangelism sending indigenous Kenyan evangelists around the country to preach and to heal the sick. He preached that sickness was from Satan and health from God. Osborn's crusade in Mombasa resulted in a widespread Pentecostal movement in 1957.<sup>29</sup> Osborn organised the sending of evangelists to spread the "full" Gospel after short training. The "fullness" of the Gospel included the conviction that Jesus is the Healer and that his true evangelists use His healing power in the same way as Osborn himself. The evangelists received a bike, a small tape recorder, evangelical tapes and their salary for a limited time from Osborn's funds. Osborn's method was showy and

---

<sup>26</sup> E.g. Anna-Liisa Antturi studied to be a nurse and Anna Kupiainen to be a midwife when they prepared themselves for missionary work. Maija Hurri, "Anna-Liisa jättää hyvätit Afrikalle", *RV* 10/8.3.1990, 20; Anna Kupiainen, "Anna Kupiainen lähdössä Afrikkaan", *RV* 24/1956 (II/12), 347.

<sup>27</sup> Consultation at Saalem in Helsinki 23.2.1950, 4 §. *Yhdistys 1946-1982*. A-SuVUL.

<sup>28</sup> *Raatikainen and Raatikainen* 1955, 97; *Raatikainen* 1961, 26-27; *Kupiainen and Raatikainen* 1959, 100.

<sup>29</sup> *Barrett, Mambo, et al.* 1973, 26.

expensive but this "Full Gospel" movement received support from the USA.<sup>30</sup>

Osborn's understanding of mission permeated the group of Finnish Pentecostal missionaries. During Osborn's first crusade to Kenya in 1957, Paavo Kusmin contacted him on behalf of the FFFM and asked if the Finns could obtain support for their national evangelists. The answer was positive. On his furlough in December 1958, Kusmin attended a mission consultation in Tampere where Osborn's method was recommended.<sup>31</sup> Many Finnish Pentecostals started to use Osborn's material and went on with his strategy sending Kenyan evangelists to preach in local languages. The Finns received money for over 100 evangelists from the Tommy Lee Osborn Foundation and collected money from Finland and North America for further evangelists.<sup>32</sup>

In the early 1960s, the imminent independence of Kenya urged missionaries – the Finns included – to speed up their evangelisation work. The colonial period in Africa was drawing to a close and the Europeans and Americans had fresh in their memory what had happened in China at the end of the 1940s, when the Communists had seized power and prohibited all Christian work. The missionaries feared that the time of evangelism would soon be over in Kenya too.<sup>33</sup> It was too late to start building schools or hospitals because the new government of the independent Kenya might abruptly appropriate them. The missionaries had to do medical work, either because the colonial administration or the local people demanded it or because it was considered a good tool for evangelism.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, their primary task was to spread the Full Gospel “while it was day” and

---

<sup>30</sup> *Osborn*, T. L. 1960, 15. [English original: Frontier evangelism with miracles of healing, translated by Helvi Taponen]; *Osborn*, T. L. 1970, 55 and 57. *Hollenweger* 1969, 8 and 40; *Anderson* 1977, 168.

<sup>31</sup> Kai Antturi, “Lähetysneuvotteluista”, *RV* 3/17.1.1959, 29; Mauri Vikstén, ”Hajapiirtoja päivántasaajalta”, *RV* 3/1957 (I/2), 34.

<sup>32</sup> *Jerkku* 2001, 85-86.

<sup>33</sup> Paavo Kusmin, ”Tervehdys Keniasta” *RV* 20/21.6.1960.

<sup>34</sup> Mauri Vikstén, ”Hajapiirtoja päivántasaajalta”, *RV* 3/1957 (I/2), 34.



prepare the local people to take responsibility for church and missionary work.<sup>35</sup> The missionaries concerned with health care consented to the majority opinion and described evangelism as their real goal and presented medical care merely as a means to reach people to whom they wanted to transmit the message.<sup>36</sup>

Osborn changed his methods in the 1960s. Instead of paying local evangelists, he started to distribute literature, tape recorders with speech tapes, records and other material to his co-workers, but he still continued as a healing evangelist.<sup>37</sup> The Finns continued to cooperate with him. The Finnish missionary Åke Söderlund was Osborn's secretary at his meetings in Kenya in 1973 and 1979 and he distributed free material from Osborn and from other donors.<sup>38</sup>

The Finns did not see evangelism and medical work as alternatives in the way Osborn did. Many Finnish missionaries both practised medical work and participated in Osborn's evangelistic movement. In 1960 it was almost a requisite that the Finnish unmarried female Pentecostal missionaries had medical training.<sup>39</sup> The men travelled around evangelising Kenyans or taught at the new Bible school in Koru. Åke Söderlund arranged material from Osborn and other sources for the mission field in Kenya for evangelism and social work. Those missionaries who were involved in evangelism also distributed clothes, which they had received from Finland.<sup>40</sup> Although it was often said that health care and schools were only a means of attaining

---

<sup>35</sup> *Vikstén* 1957, 30-32.

<sup>36</sup> *Raatikainen* 1961, 26-27.

<sup>37</sup> Tapani Kärnä, "Auta tosi avuksi: Maakalaistyön kannattaminen terveille pohjalle," *MÄ* 3/1962, 52-54.

<sup>38</sup> *Jones* 1932, 565; "Evankelista T. L. Osborn Suomeen", *RV* 32/6.8.1970, 11.; Unto Kunnas, "Mitä lähetyskentällämme tulisi lisätä", *MÄ* 2/1972, 4; Kai Antturi, "Helluntaiherätys menee eteenpäin Itä-Afrikassa", *RV* 40/4.10.1979, 1; *Söderlund*, interview 15.6.1993; Veikko Manninen, "Puheenvuoro Kenian kansallisten työntekijöiden kannatuksesta", *RV* 6/1980, 12. *Villikka*, interview 22.1.1992; *Söderlund*, interview 15.6.1993.

<sup>39</sup> A list of missionaries in Kenya in October 1960 is attached to [Odin Finell], "Afrikan matkalta", *RV* 42/22.10.1960, 659.

<sup>40</sup> *Villikka*, interview 22.1.1992; *Söderlund*, interview 15.6.1993.

opportunities to evangelise people,<sup>41</sup> it was, however, later considered that the social projects gave evidence of a holistic approach to missionary work.<sup>42</sup>

In December 1959 the Board of the Finnish Free Foreign Mission (FFFM) prepared guidelines for the missionaries. A revised version was approved at the Annual Meeting of the FFFM in September 1973. Although the document was not approved unanimously it is an indication of the vision of the FFFM on missionary work. The FFFM wanted the local congregations to send soul winners who had at least two years experience of evangelising activity and who had passed a three month course at a Bible school. In addition to this, it was recommended that these individuals were qualified teachers, nurses or midwives and also could plan and construct buildings, keep accounts, and drive and maintain vehicles.<sup>43</sup>

In Kenya, the Finnish Pentecostal missionaries had different opinions with regard to social work and the activities involved, but they continued to work together. Many missionaries did not see any controversy between social work and preaching the “Full Gospel”. Åke Söderlund, for instance, continued to work with Osborn but became involved in Pentecostal development work.<sup>44</sup> Both followers of Osborn’s charismatic Full Gospel evangelism and missionaries with social projects had an important common element. Interdenominational and international contacts were an essential feature in both groups.<sup>45</sup> In Finland, Osborn gathered a large interdenominational

---

<sup>41</sup> Mauri Vikstén, "Hajapiirtoja päiväntasaajalta," *RV* 1/2.1957, 34-35.

<sup>42</sup> *Hämäläinen* 2004, 9-11; *Söderlund* 1985, 183; Åke Söderlund may have thought more about the senders than the missionaries when he said in the Pentecostal Summer Conference in 1980, “At last we have understood needs of the whole man”. Thorleif Johansson, “Lähetystuokio” *RV* 26/26.6.1980; Mauri Vikstén, “Evankeliumi tarjoaa kokonaisratkaisun”, *RV* 24/15.6.1978, 3.

<sup>43</sup> *SuVUL:n vuosikokous 31.3.1973 14 §. Yhdistys 1946-1982*; Tapani Kärnä expressed his dissenting opinion saying that the FFFM had no Biblical authority to give such guidelines to congregations. *SuVUL:n hallitus 14.12.1959, 3 §; 11.2.1973, 22 §. SuVUL:n hallituksen pöytäkirjat 1952-1974. A-SuVUL.*

<sup>44</sup> *Söderlund*, interview 15.6.1993.

<sup>45</sup> “Evankelista T. L. Osborn Suomeen 17-19.8.” *RV* 32/6.8.1970; Raimo Mänttari, “Ristiretkeläinen ja hänen sanomansa” *RV* 36/3.9.1970, 8-10; *Hollenweger* 1969, 401.

support group that organised evangelistic meeting. In Helsinki, there were leaders from the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Pentecostals, Free Church, Methodists, Baptists and the Salvation Army on the committee.<sup>46</sup> These interdenominational contacts were, however, limited to Protestants. The Pentecostals did not welcome the Orthodox; neither to the Finnish Missionary Council, nor to the national evangelistic or missionary conferences.<sup>47</sup> When the International Missionary Council was integrated into the World Council of Churches in 1961, the Finnish Free Foreign Mission withdrew its membership. The FFFM did not want to join the World Council of Churches through the Finnish and International Missionary Council. In 1972, one year after the Finnish Missionary Council cut its ties with the World Council of Churches it re-joined.<sup>48</sup> The FFFM became an active member of the Finnish Missionary Council. The development minded Pentecostals were eager to work together with the Lutheran mission agencies especially on issues of social work. Rev. Gösta Bergstén, who represented the Swedish speaking work of the FFFM – and later his own Filadelfia congregation – became the Vice Chairman of the Finnish Missionary Council, and soon its Chairman. In this position, he was usually the representative of the Finnish Missionary Council in discussions and negotiations with the Government of Finland on development aid.<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> These contacts were especially important for the Pentecostals. The leader of the Pentecostal church Saalem in Helsinki, Kai Antturi, had said that a permanent co-operation grew from the meetings of T. L. Osborn in Helsinki. It made the way smoother for a national conference for evangelisation in Helsinki in 1973 and for another national conference for mission in 1977. Kai Antturi, Kristittyjen yhteys, esitelmä Suomen Lähetyskongressin esiseminaarissa Sipoon Särkijärvellä 25-26.9.1975. *SLS II 3 1969-1978*. A-SLS. "Evankelista T. L. Osborn Suomeen 17-19.8." *RV* 32/6.8.1970, 11.

<sup>47</sup> SuVUL:n työvaliokunta 12.10.1978 19 §. *Pöytäkirjoja*. A-Kivikangas.

<sup>48</sup> SuVUL:n hallitus 22.6.1972, 3 §. *SuVUL:n hallituksen pöytäkirjat 1952-1974*. A-SuVUL; cf. the same 16.3.1971, 15 §. *Yhdistys 1946-1982*. A-SuVUL.

<sup>49</sup> SLN Toimintakertomus 1972 III. *SLN 1971-1978*. A-ELK; SLN Toimintakertomus 1972 I. 1969-1978. *SLS II 3*. A-SLS; and Pöytäkirja 30.9.1975 I. *SLN 1971-1978*. A-ELK. Some Lutherans and Pentecostals had common prayer meetings and they created the initiative that the FFFM should return to the Finnish Missionary Council. The public support of development projects was not the reason for this, but it became an important common issue. *Bergstén*, interview 11.7.2000.

Some Finnish Pentecostals did not work with the FFFM but with a Nordic organisation, called the Zion Harvest Mission (ZHM). Their first missionary started working in Kenya in 1972. Similar to Osborn in the 1950s, the ZHM emphasised national evangelism and maintained a distance from missionaries who wanted to found mission stations with clinics and schools.<sup>50</sup>

### 2.1.3 Organisation and Administration

The Finnish Pentecostals taught that there was no authority above the local congregation and that the congregations were the real mission agencies. An attempt to found a Pentecostal mission agency failed. The Finnish Free Foreign Mission was founded as early as 1927, but was inactive from 1930. When it resumed in 1950, many Pentecostals stressed that it was not a mission society. In 1963, the Finnish Pentecostal Winter Conference published a resolution defining the position of the Finnish Free Foreign Mission. The FFFM should, according to the conference, remain a serving organisation and not come between a missionary and the congregation responsible for sending him. The FFFM would not supervise activities or even guarantee support for the missionaries.<sup>51</sup> The Finnish Pentecostals have avoided having an official organisation, and this has also been seen in their missionary work. In the 1970s, the FFFM had only about 70 members, and the Board of the FFFM had the power to invite and dismiss members.<sup>52</sup>

The Full Gospel movement presented itself as a nondenominational movement, and Tommy Lee Osborn crossed denominational boundaries through his healing meetings in Kenya and Finland. The Pentecostals were also ready to work with other Christians in

---

<sup>50</sup> Rauno Soininen, "Lähetystyö uusille urille", *RS* 10/1971, 4-5.

<sup>51</sup> The resolution is repeated in "Talvipäivät 15-17.1.1985". *Veljeskokousten pöytäkirjat* 1966-1986. A-RV. *Ahonen* 1989, 54-55.

The FFFM was dissolved once, as early as in 1929, after just two years of functioning because it was regarded as superfluous in addition to local congregations. It was revived in 1950 on condition that it would not endanger the independence of the congregations.

<sup>52</sup> Information from Vilho Kivikangas.

development aid. In 1972 the Finnish Missionary Council gave Pentti Kaitera and Kalevi Helimäki the task to investigate if the Finnish mission agencies – similar to the mission agencies in the other Nordic countries – could get external support for their social projects in developing countries.<sup>53</sup> Because the government funds would have covered only a part of the costs, the mission agencies would, in any case, have had to provide a contribution. Kaitera and Helimäki suggested that the mission agencies could organise a common fund raising campaign beyond denominational boundaries. The Norwegians had experience in such a joint effort. When Kaitera and Helimäki presented this idea to the mission agencies they called it in Finnish *lähetyskesen kehitysapu*, which translates as "development aid of the Christian mission" or "missionary development aid".<sup>54</sup>

Pentecostals from several congregations wanted to start development projects but neither their congregations nor the FFFM were suitable for such enterprises. Therefore, they wanted to found an interdenominational organisation together with other Christians. Such a plan did not violate the principle that the local congregations were independent both in Kenya and in Finland. The Lutheran mission agencies were not ready for such a common organisation and the Orthodox were never asked to join. The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland had an organisation, the FINNCHURCHAID, for international social work and did not need a new relief agency.

When representatives of the mission agencies and the Government of Finland discussed the channelling of development aid through mission agencies, they agreed that the most urgent need was in East Africa, where especially the people of Ethiopia were suffering because of drought. Leo Torikainen, the manager of *Suomen Kirkon Sisälähetysseuran Hankintakeskus* – a supply firm owned by a society within the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland – was willing to organise a

---

<sup>53</sup> Pentti Kaitera was a professor of civil engineering and an active member of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland. Kalevi Helimäki was the financial manager of the largest Pentecostal congregation in Finland, the *Saalem* congregation in Helsinki.

<sup>54</sup> *Helimäki* in a letter to Jaakko Lounela 23.4.1997. A-Lounela.

fund raising for people in Ethiopia and Kenya.<sup>55</sup> Torikainen purchased pens and East African coffee, branded with the name of the fund raising campaign, for re-sale. When the Lutheran partners withdrew, the Pentecostals remained alone, but – with Kaitera’s approval – they put the design into effect still using the nondenominational title *Lähetysten Kehitysapu*.<sup>56</sup>

In the same year, 1972, when Pentti Kaitera and Kalevi Helimäki received the commission from the Finnish Missionary Council, the Board of the FFFM gave Kalevi Helimäki and Veikko Klemetti a similar task to find possible ways of getting external funds for the social work of the Pentecostal missionaries. Veikko Klemetti withdrew from the task, but a group of Pentecostals in Helsinki continued using the name *Lähetysten Kehitysapu* and Helimäki became its Chairman until 1978, and he worked closely with Vilho Kivikangas.<sup>57</sup> Kivikangas was a physician and a member of the same Pentecostal *Saalem* congregation in Helsinki as Kalevi Helimäki. The third member of the team was Pauli Rantanen, who had experience with private enterprises abroad and made contact with the fund raising plans of Helimäki and Kivikangas.<sup>58</sup> Thus, the interdenominational relief project *Lähetysten Kehitysapu* (LKA) transformed gradually into a Pentecostal development agency. The LKA justified its existence as being a serving arm of an organisation serving Pentecostal missionaries. Its leaders reiterated the fact that missionaries had traditionally participated in social work. If a host country allowed

---

<sup>55</sup> Torikainen, interview 1.4.1993.

<sup>56</sup> The Pentecostals used the abbreviation LKA also in English, sometimes the FFFM/LKA or International Relief & Development Agency/LKA of the FFFM. The English name International Relief & Development Agency later became common in official contexts but not the abbreviation IRDA. The Finnish name LKA did not reveal its connection with the Pentecostal movement; the English name did not even indicate that it was a part of a Christian organisation. Kalevi Helimäki has explained how the LKA became a Pentecostal organisation. Helimäki, interview 17.6.1993.

<sup>57</sup> -kk [Kristiina Kunnas], "Kalevi Helimäki LKA:n toiminnanjohtajaksi", *RV* 25/20.6.1985, 16; Helimäki 1986, 6; OHE [Oili Heiskanen], "Lahja-apu on elinehto", *RV* 51-52/22.12.1988, 9.

<sup>58</sup> Pauli Rantanen’s colourful life is described in Aalto 1994. Rantanen and Leo Torikainen planned marketing mission coffee together with Veikko Manninen (mission secretary 1980-1983) before they contacted Helimäki and Kivikangas. Siltanen 2004, 220.

missionaries to work in pure evangelisation, the LKA could now release them from social work. If a country only welcomed mission agencies with social projects, the LKA could prepare admission for Pentecostal missionaries as social workers.<sup>59</sup>

One difference between the interests of the Pentecostals and those of the Lutherans was that the FFFM was active in Ethiopia and Kenya, but the Finnish Missionary Society (since 1986 Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission) and the Finnish Lutheran Mission (*Suomen Evankelisluterilainen Kansanlähetyks*) were active only in Ethiopia. The names of the target countries were included in the full name of the Pentecostal fund raising effort, *Lähetysten kehitysapukeräys Etiopia-Kenia-keräys* (The fund raising for the Missionary Development Aid, the Ethiopia-Kenya Fund raising). The original interdenominational character was somehow apparent in the new situation, too. Pauli Rantanen who used his business experience in organising the first selling campaign and, later, fund raising projects had a Lutheran background.<sup>60</sup> Leo Torikainen, who purchased material for the Ethiopia-Kenya Fund raising of the Pentecostals, remained in the Lutheran Church and in the services of a Lutheran organisation *Suomen Kirkon Sisälähetysseura*, despite his close contacts with the Pentecostals.

When the Pentecostal Christians started selling coffee and pens, they intentionally began with people who were not Pentecostals. Many people were confused and some openly criticised this fund raising method because the material did not show explicitly that the money was only intended for Pentecostal mission fields. The Pentecostals wanted to run their evangelising missionary work using mission offerings from their congregations, while collecting money from outsiders for social development projects.<sup>61</sup> This principle was

---

<sup>59</sup> Helimäki 1986, 3.

<sup>60</sup> Helimäki in a letter to Lounela 10.3.1997. A-Lounela.

<sup>61</sup> SuVUL:n hallitus 16.8.1974. 8 §. *SuVUL Hallituksen ja sen työvaliokunnan pöytäkirjat 1974-1988*. A-SuVUL; Liimatainen 1978, 135; LKA ja SuVUL pysyvät yhdessä (report), *RV* 4/24.1.1985, 9; Arto Hämäläinen, "Ulkolähetysten syyskokous tähyili Ugandaan", *RV* 40/2.10.1986 2; Tapani Kärnä and Kalevi Helimäki, "Kehitysapulahjoitukset

expressed as early as before the first fund raising project, and it was repeated several times later.

The Finnish Pentecostals had taught their congregational principles to the Kenyans but when it was time to register the mission field in 1961, it was too complicated to register every congregation separately. The Pentecostals founded a church but the plural of church in the name The Full Gospel Churches of Kenya, showed the doctrinal point; it was a group of independent congregations, not a church with a central administration. The Annual General Meeting obtained authority to elect the Spokesman, the Advisory Council and the Registered Trustees.<sup>62</sup> The Pentecostals were thus ready, when Kenya gained independence in 1963. The end of the British colonial rule did not end the Pentecostal mission activities but rather gave it new opportunities.

The Zion Church in Helsinki and some other Finnish Pentecostal congregations who cooperated with the Nordic Zion Harvest Mission joined together and founded a mission agency in 1971, called the Zion *Elonkorjuulähetys*-Harvest Mission r.y. (ZHM). This new organisation did not want to restrict the independence of the participating local Pentecostal congregations in Finland, but to serve them in necessary practical matters, similar to the FFFM.<sup>63</sup>

## 2.1.4 Development Projects

### *From Koru Clinic to Kapedo Hospital*

After World War II, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC) applied for work permits for the first Finnish Pentecostal missionaries in Africa. The sisters Alma and Eeva Raatikainen and a married couple Vieno and Paavo Kusmin left for Kenya in 1949. When they

---

verovapaiksi 1986 ja 1987”, *RV* 4/22.1.1987, 14; Arto Hämäläinen, ”Onko kehitysyhteistyömme rakenne oikea?”, *RV* 50/14.12.1989, 2.

<sup>62</sup> *Barrett* 1973, 186; *Barrett, Mambo et al.* 1973, 242; Mauri Vikstén, ”Lähetystyömme Keniassa 30-vuotias”, *RV* 9/1.3.1979, 16; *Söderlund*, interview 15.6.1993; *Muriithi* 1986, 2. A-Lounela.

<sup>63</sup> ”Suomen vapaalle helluntaiherätykselle yhteinen lähetysyhdistys”, *RS* 7/1971, 15.



arrived at the PAOC Nyang'ori station near Kisumu in Western Kenya, they settled down in a traditional mission station of this large and well-organised Pentecostal church.<sup>64</sup> The sisters Raatikainen and Vieno Kusmin started medical work and Paavo Kusmin built a school and a church. After a short stay at Nyang'ori, the sisters moved to a new station of the PAOC called Awach in Luoland, 30 km West of Kisumu, and learned the Canadian way of missionary work tending the sick, teaching children and evangelising.<sup>65</sup>

After their apprenticeship among the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, Alma and Eeva Raatikainen moved in 1950 to their own location in Koru 60 km East of Kisumu. They went on tending patients in the morning and in the afternoon teaching children Bible knowledge, reading, singing and writing.<sup>66</sup> The sisters soon started to plan and build a new station in Chemelil 25 km North West from Koru. They left Koru for Chemelil in July 1954, and there again they had the opportunity to tend the sick and teach children while staying on the farm of a Greek settler. This time they wanted a small hospital for their patients.<sup>67</sup> In 1956, midwife Anna Kupiainen came from Finland and strengthened the staff as Alma Raatikainen's co-worker after Eeva left for America.<sup>68</sup>

Koru became a central mission station of the FFFM in Kenya. When Paavo Kusmin returned to Kenya in 1959, he had a vision of a Bible School where the Finns, following Osborn's strategy, could train African evangelists to preach the Full Gospel in their vernacular to their kinsfolk. This was opened in Koru in 1960.<sup>69</sup> The Finns started to call their congregations "Full Gospel Churches" and their mission field was registered in 1961 by the name "the Full Gospel Churches of

---

<sup>64</sup> *Raatikainen and Raatikainen* 1955, 74; Erkki Petman, "Avun tarve kasvaa maailman hädän myötä", *RV* 36B/1980, 13.

<sup>65</sup> *Raatikainen and Raatikainen* 1955, 91.

<sup>66</sup> *Raatikainen and Raatikainen* 1955, 102.

<sup>67</sup> *Raatikainen* 1961, 21; Anna Kupiainen and Alma Raatikainen "Kirje Keniasta", *RV* 9/28.2.1959, 99-100, 123.

<sup>68</sup> *Vahtera* 1990, 112.

<sup>69</sup> *Kuosmanen* 1989, 33.

Kenya”.<sup>70</sup> The “Full Gospel” was connected with healing evangelism and Osborn’s crusades and was less denominational than “Pentecostal”.<sup>71</sup>

In the 1960s, the Finnish Pentecostal missionaries were scattered over ten different locations in Kenya, but at least some of the missionaries in each location had medical training. This does not mean, however, that every Pentecostal missionary with medical training was working at a permanent clinic. The Finnish Pentecostals did not have their own schools in colonial Kenya. Regular teaching activities of the missionaries were mainly confined to courses at Koru Bible School.<sup>72</sup>

When Anna Kupiainen worked with Alma Raatikainen at Chemelil clinic, she met Turkana men and received an unexpected new opportunity. There was a clear difference between Western Kenya, where many mission agencies spread the Gospel side by side, and the home area of the Turkanas, where white missionaries were seldom seen.<sup>73</sup> Anna Kupiainen thus felt an inner calling to evangelise the Turkanas. She travelled to the north with her new co-worker Marjaana Pohjapelto seeking contact with the Turkanas. When they returned from their furlough in autumn 1964, they went again to Baragoi in the Samburu District but the government did not give them permission to work there. In these circumstances, they heard the news that the people in Ngyinyang in Baringo District had invited the FFFM missionaries to come. People welcomed them in Ngyinyang,

---

<sup>70</sup> Kai Antturi, “Lähetysneuvotteluista”, *RV* 3/17.1.1959, 29; *Osborn* 1960, 16; Mauri Vikstén, “Lähetystyömme Keniassa 30-vuotias”, *RV* 9/1.3.1979, 16; *Barrett* 1973, 186. *Barrett, Mambo et al.* 1973, 242.

<sup>71</sup> The Finns have not mentioned immediate contacts with the Full Gospel Business Men’s Fellowship International but the visions were very similar and Osborn had contacts with this fellowship. *Hollenweger* 1969, 401; *Anderson* 1977, 168-169; *Villikka*, interview 22.1.1992.

<sup>72</sup> The first the FFFM missionaries were mostly living in Koru, Chemelil, Homa Bay, Kisii and Kericho. In 1970, they had also scattered in Kapedo, Kitui, Nanyuki, Embu, Nairobi and Sabatia. *Suomalaiset lähetystyöntekijät 1970-71* 1971, 9-10; *Lähettilien kortisto* 1993. A-SuVUL.

<sup>73</sup> When Anna Kupiainen visited Kisumu for the first time in 1977 and saw Roman Catholics, she said that these need evangelism as well as the pagans and Moslems. Anna Kupiainen, “Ensimmäinen matkani Kisumuun”, *RV* 6/1957 (II/3), 80.

which was over 100 km north of Nakuru. The people were even more welcoming in Kapedo some 40 km beyond Ngyinyang on the border between Baringo and the Turkana District. The local elders asked the nurses to stay, and they told their friends in Finland how they had heard the invitation, Come here, help our sick people and babies and teach the way of the living God.<sup>74</sup> The missionary meeting of the FFFM accepted the new plan for Kapedo in January 1965, and Midwife Anna Kupiainen and Nurse Marjaana Pohjapelto started their work in Kapedo, with a very primitive way of life that was challenging.<sup>75</sup> They settled in the area in March 1965 after receiving a special government permit to live in this area. They were pioneers because these northern areas were only opened up to white people in the 1960s.<sup>76</sup> The Kenyan Government was only able to offer social services in the Turkana District 15 years later and before that the people depended on non-governmental organisations, especially churches and mission agencies.<sup>77</sup>

The sisters had severe hardships to face in this new and remote location. There was no road, no European neighbours, the climate was hot and there was no drinking water. They had come in order to evangelise the non-Christian, but they soon realised that it was not enough just to distribute medicine and preach. They needed helpers in their work, but the local people were illiterate. Therefore, they had to teach literacy. A prolonged drought caused famine, and the starving people gathered around the missionaries. Next came diseases, and even a typhoid epidemic.<sup>78</sup>

---

<sup>74</sup> *Pohjapelto and Kupiainen 1991, 1-2. A-Lounela; Riikonen 1993, 92-93.*

<sup>75</sup> Their first task was to build a hut. It was at the same time a garage, a store room, a living house and a clinic, and when they had moved to their own house, the patients could stay in the hut. *Pohjapelto and Kupiainen 1991, 3-4. A-Lounela; Kupiainen s.a., 2-5 and 7.*

<sup>76</sup> *Riikonen 1993, 87-88.*

<sup>77</sup> *Turkana District Development Plan 1989-1993, 173.*

<sup>78</sup> Taisto Vahtera, "Lähetysaarnaja Anna Kupiainen 60 v.", *RV 2/12.1.1984, 10; Kapeddo Health Care and School Projects 1964-1991 1991, 6. A-Lounela; Pohjapelto and Kupiainen 1991, 4-6. A-Lounela.*

The missionaries in medical work received mission offerings from the sending congregations. When Anna Kupiainen and Marjaana Pohjapelto had moved to Kapedo in the desert on the boundary between Turkana and Pokots in 1965, the missionaries were happy to receive additional support besides the mission assistance they received from their congregations and mission friends in Finland.<sup>79</sup> Kupiainen and Pohjapelto visited the Provincial Medical Officer in Nakuru and the District Medical Officer in Kabarnet. These officers came to see the work in Kapedo and helped the Finnish nurses to purchase medicine. The famine forced them, however, to go to Nairobi and ask for help from the Office of the President. The authorities listened to the Finnish missionaries, and they were given permission to distribute relief food to people at a famine camp. Because the children in the camp wanted to learn to read, the sisters organised teaching, and gradually this grew into a primary school.<sup>80</sup>

In 1967 the Finns had managed to complete a small hospital with 12 beds. A doctor from the Africa Inland Mission visited the hospital about twice a month, and a new Finnish nurse came to help with medical work.<sup>81</sup> Due to the famine, the people needed help of various kinds. In 1969, the Kenyan government sent a woman who could teach of basket making skills. When the missionaries took over the marketing process it became a profitable business for the starving people.<sup>82</sup> The stories about the hard and dangerous life in the remote mission station did not frighten visitors; perhaps the stories made the location even more attractive. Many of the visitors wanted to help in some way. A Finnish missionary, Sara Carlsnäs, who was working with the Swedish Pentecostals in South Africa, stayed for a visit at Kapedo. She wrote about her experience, and friends of a Swedish charitable foundation *Farbror Eriks Hjälpverksamhet* became interested

---

<sup>79</sup> *Vahtera* 1990, 70, 95, 112, 172 and 257; *Pohjapelto and Kupiainen* 1991, 6. A-Lounela; *Riikonen* 1993, 138; The life and work of the missionaries in Kapedo is described in *Tolvanen* 2006.

<sup>80</sup> *Pohjapelto and Kupiainen* 1991, 5-7. A-Lounela.

<sup>81</sup> *Kupiainen s.a.*, 14; *Vahtera* 1990, 112.

<sup>82</sup> [*Kupiainen*] 1977, 45 and 46; Thorleif Johansson, "Korien tekeminen elämisen ehtona Kapeddossa", *RV* 26/28.6.1979, 10.

in Kapedo. This organisation became a faithful supporter of the Kapedo work.<sup>83</sup> Anna Kupiainen sought donors to help the work.<sup>84</sup> The Pentecostal missionaries in Kapedo were thus used to receiving support from public and private sources apart from the mission offerings of their own congregations and the Pentecostal movement. Osborn's funds did not support the work in Kapedo.<sup>85</sup>

The Swedish mission agencies had received funds for development projects from the Swedish Government since the 1960s, but Finland was behind its neighbouring country in development aid. The first representative of the Christian Union (*Suomen Kristillinen Liitto*) entered Parliament after the general election in 1970, and together with six representatives from other parties he proposed that the government should give about 1,5 millions Finnish marks to support development co-operation through mission organisations. The proposal mentioned a project of the Pentecostal Finnish Free Foreign Mission (FFFM) in Kenya asking for support for its refugee work, clinics and schools in Kapedo.<sup>86</sup> The Christian Union repeated similar proposals year by year asking for funds for the FFFM hospital in Turkana, but did not get support from other political parties in the Parliament.<sup>87</sup> Representatives of other parties made other initiatives asking for support for NGOs or especially for missions, but they did not mention projects of the FFFM.

---

<sup>83</sup> Sara Carlsnäs, "Kävin 'kuumien lähteiden lähetyksessä'", *MÄ* 1/1969, 15; *Riikonen* 1993, 139; *Pohjapelto*, interview 9.12. and 16.12.1993; *Kapeddo Health Care and School Projects 1964-1991* 1991, 4. A-Lounela.

<sup>84</sup> *Pohjapelto*, interview 15.6.1993.

<sup>85</sup> *Söderlund*, interview 15.6.1993.

<sup>86</sup> Motion proposed by MP Raino Westerholm et al. September 16th, 1970. Rah.al. n:o 901 "Määrärahan osoittamisesta lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyön tukemiseksi". *1970 valtiopäivät*. Liitteet B. IV, 1442., 4362-4263.

<sup>87</sup> Motion proposed by MP Raino Westerholm et al. September 20th, 1971. Rah.al. n:o 1246 "Määrärahan osoittamisesta lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyön tukemiseksi". *1971 valtiopäivät*, Liitteet B. IV, 1472, 1260-1261.

Motion proposed by MP Veikko J. Turunen et al. October 19th, 1972. Rah.al. n:o 1017 Määrärahan osoittamisesta lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyön tukemiseen. *1972 valtiopäivät*. Liitteet B IV, 1633, 5398-5399.

Everything seemed to improve in Kapedo in 1968, as the rains came again, and the worst of the famine was over and there was a small hospital for 12 patients, completed in the previous year. The first buildings of the Kapedo primary school were ready and another primary school was built in Lomelo about 40 km north of Kapedo.<sup>88</sup> However, things deteriorated when hostilities between Pokots and Turkanas broke out. The Kapedo station on the boundary was not destroyed, but the sisters had to witness terrible cruelty and tend the wounded. Because of hostilities, patients were afraid to go to the hospital and the local people moved even farther from the station.<sup>89</sup>

### *Social Work in South Nyanza,*

Health care was also part of Mrs. Vieno Kusmin's work. The Kusmins did not stay for long at the Awach station of the Canadians. They left for South Nyanza where the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC) had schools. Paavo Kusmin settled down in Got Kokech near Homa Bay and built a school and a church.<sup>90</sup> He gave himself up to evangelism and worked together with the Elim Mission.<sup>91</sup> This Pentecostal group with an English background had a looser organisation than the PAOC and even less strictly organised than the Finnish Pentecostals.<sup>92</sup>

When the Finnish missionaries started working in South Nyanza, they did not have a plan to build an orphanage in Homa Bay. Some of the first Finnish Pentecostal missionaries lived near Homa Bay town, in Got Kokech, where the PAOC had a secondary school.<sup>93</sup> Their work took on a new dimension when the local people brought them an abandoned baby girl in 1965. The girl was the first of many. When she was taken care of, Anna-Liisa Antturi and Sisko Nykänen received

---

<sup>88</sup> *Kapedo Health Care and School Projects 1964-1991* 1991, 2-3 and 5-7. A-Lounela.

<sup>89</sup> *Pohjapelto and Kupiainen* 1991, 7-8. A-Lounela.

<sup>90</sup> Anna-Liisa Airaksinen, "Kuumelaakso", *MÄ* 3/1962 44; *Helimäki* 2004a, 29-30.

<sup>91</sup> *Raatikainen and Raatikainen* 1955, 92 and 99; Eino Ahonen, "Matkalla yli neljän maanosan", *RV* 5/31.1.1959, 45; *Villikka*, interview 22.1.1992.

<sup>92</sup> *Söderlund*, interview 15.6.1993.

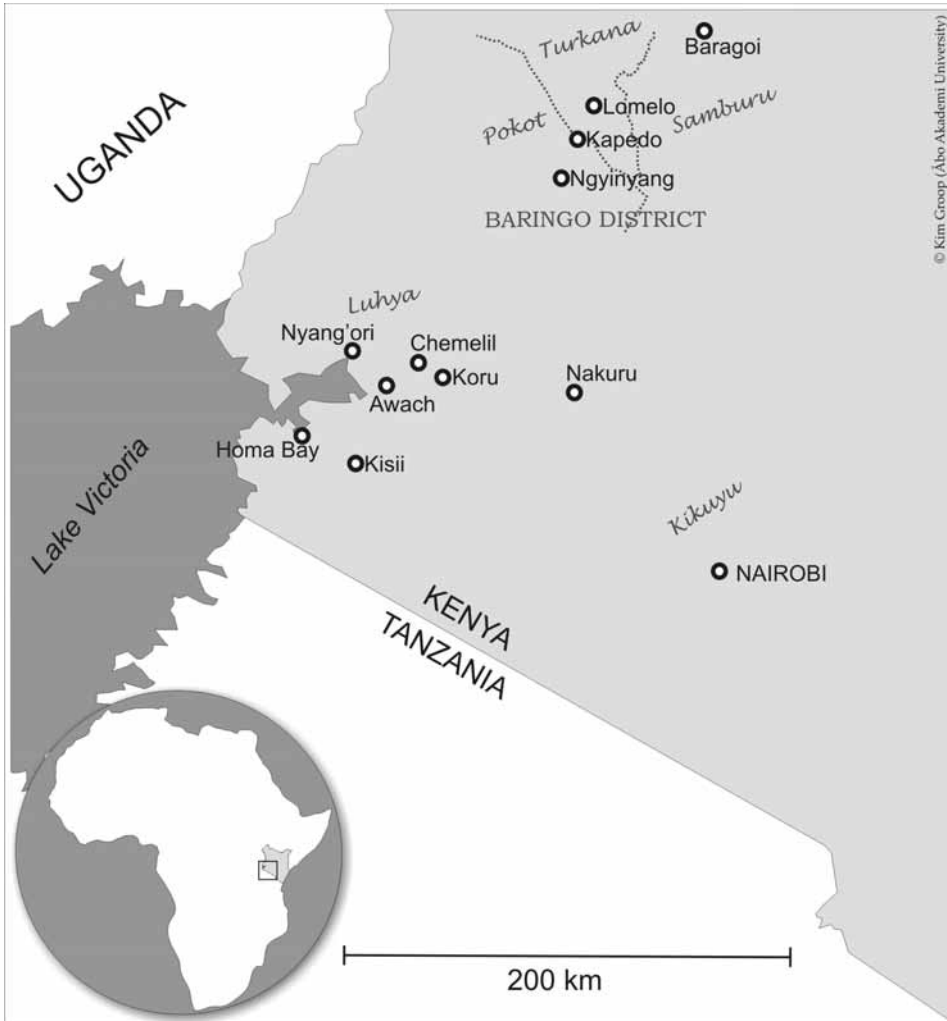
<sup>93</sup> *Villikka*, interview 22.1.1992.

further orphans. By the end of the year, they had six children. When there was a total of 15 children in 1970, the missionaries applied for registration of their orphanage.<sup>94</sup>

---

<sup>94</sup> Anitta Juntunen, "Homa Bayn lastenkoti. Historia". Suomen Vapaa Ulkolähetys Keh. määräraahakemukset 1984-86, 1985-87, 1986-88. *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM; "Homa Bayn lastenkoti." Liite 1. Taustatiedot ja avun tarpeen perustelu. Projektisuunnitelma 1987-1989 Homa Bayn lastenkoti. 28.11.1986. Suomen Vapaa Ulkolähetys Keh. Määräraahakemukset 1987-89 ja hankeraportit 1986. *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM. Orphanages were typical for Pentecostal social work, and the Finnish Pentecostal missions also had experience of orphanages in Asia. *Holm* 1978, 42; *Kuosmanen* 1989, 18.

Map 1 The FFFM in Kenya before 1974<sup>95</sup>



<sup>95</sup> Only locations important for the emerging development work are marked on the map. The dotted line marks the boundaries between the Pokot, Samburu and Turkana ethnic groups.



## 2.2 The Lutherans

### 2.2.1 Who are the Lutherans?

The Lutheran evangelical movement started in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland during the first half of the 1800s.<sup>96</sup> The members of the Lutheran evangelical movement founded the Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland (LEAF) in 1873. Up to the end of the 19th century the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission (FELM, up to 1986 the Finnish Missionary Society FMS) was the only Lutheran mission agency in Finland. The evangelicals originally supported the Finnish Missionary Society but in 1898 LEAF started its own missionary work and opened a mission field in Japan.<sup>97</sup>

Because Finland is a bilingual country, LEAF comprised originally of both Finnish and Swedish speaking members. When Finland won independence in 1917, a new law was passed affecting the languages used in the country. The Swedish minority founded its own organisations within the Church, and in 1922, LEAF was divided on the grounds of language. The Swedish Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland (SLEAF) was founded alongside LEAF. Most missionaries in Japan continued in the larger Finnish speaking association. During the 40 years from 1922 to 1962, SLEAF had only one missionary couple in Japan at a time and the association had about 35 years without any own missionary in its mission field.

SLEAF encountered problems in its field in Japan in the 1950s. The local Evangelical Lutheran Church preferred ordained pastors or other missionaries with academic training and SLEAF could not find suitable candidates. The Japan Evangelical Lutheran Church did not accept farmer Sven Klemets and his wife Linnéa who was an enrolled nurse.<sup>98</sup> After a couple, who were teachers returned to Finland in

---

<sup>96</sup> The Protestant evangelical movement is close to the fundamentalists but the Lutheran evangelical movement in Finland is rather High Church, emphasising confessional and conservative Lutheran teaching and the value of the Holy Baptism and Holy Communion.

<sup>97</sup> *Koskenniemi* 1984, 15, 68-69 and 75.

<sup>98</sup> MU 2.1.1958. *MU 1953-*. A-SLEF.

1956, SLEAF could only support missionaries sent by LEAF or the Americans or grant scholarships to Japanese students. During the first half of the 1950s SLEAF found itself in a problematic situation. The organisation wanted to continue as a mission agency and it had mission candidates, but it could not send missionaries to the only field it possessed in Japan.<sup>99</sup> At the beginning of the 1960s, SLEAF tried to found a new field. Money was regularly sent to the Japan Evangelical Lutheran Church, although SLEAF did not have any more missionaries in Japan.<sup>100</sup>

The Swedish Evangelical Mission (*Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen*) from Sweden started its work in Eritrea in 1866. It was divided in 1909 when a group who did not accept critical Bible research founded the Swedish Lutheran Mission (*Bibeltrogna Vänner*). This mission organisation entered Kenya in 1948. The Swedish Lutheran Mission was not the first mission agency in Kisiiland in Western Kenya but the Roman Catholics and Seventh Day Adventists who had come earlier could not offer enough schools to the growing Kisii people. Seeing that they could receive schools for their children, health services and churches, the Kisii welcomed the Swedes.<sup>101</sup>

The Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland (LEAF) was known in Finland as an revival movement with a mission field in Japan. The position of LEAF as an official and recognised organ in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland was strengthened in 1954 when the church approved its work in Japan as mission activity of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland on a par with the Finnish Missionary Society. In the 1950s, LEAF was interested in countries other than Japan alone. The LEAF director, Toivo Rapeli, discussed with the Board in 1953, the possibility of opening a new field in India, but the Indian Bishop Rajah B. Mannikam did not support the plan.<sup>102</sup> Japan was not counted as an underdeveloped country, and SLEAF

---

<sup>99</sup> *SLEF 1961*, 6; *Hildén, Helge 1973*, 111.

<sup>100</sup> *SLEF 1961*, 6.

<sup>101</sup> *Lounela 1989*, 69-70.

<sup>102</sup> *Rapeli 1983*, 55.

and LEAF did not acquire much experience of activities such as development aid from its Japanese work.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland was not directly involved in missionary work. Therefore, it accepted some organisations as its mission agencies. Apart from the Finnish Missionary Society (FMS) and LEAF, the Enlarged Bishops' Conference also approved SLEAF in 1969, as an official mission agency of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland. The Swedish diocese in Finland founded a mission committee and nominated three representatives from SLEAF to it.<sup>103</sup> Until the Synod changed the Ecclesiastical Law in 1963, the parishes of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland could only use their money for their own local needs. After the law changed the local parishes in Finland were allowed to grant funds for missionary work through mission organisations. SLEAF and LEAF could apply to the local parishes in Finland for tax relief on their tax revenue. In such cases, the projects of the mission agencies were good showcases. Here, LEAF was more prepared to cooperate with local parishes. When the Finnish Lutheran parishes started to sponsor individual missionaries supporting their work regularly, in 1972, the Mission Committee of SLEAF discussed the matter but decided not to accept this practice.<sup>104</sup>

### **2.2.2 Understandings of Mission**

When the undivided Evangelical Lutheran Association of Finland sent missionaries to its first mission field in Japan in the beginning of the 1900s, its aim was to proclaim the Gospel to non-Christians.

Among the strongest motives for mission work were considered the dire need of heathendom, the universality of God's Word, and based on Christ's redemptive work on behalf of the entire world, the Gospel to be proclaimed to all [...] As for women working as missionaries.. it did stress women's assignments in children's and women's ministry [...]<sup>105</sup>

---

<sup>103</sup> *SLEF* 1969-1970, 8-9.

<sup>104</sup> Missionskomité 30.10.1972 10 §. *MUI* 1968-74. A-SLEF.

<sup>105</sup> *Koskenniemi* 1992, 354 and 355.

Neither LEAF nor SLEAF opened clinics in its first field in Japan but the emphasis was in preaching, teaching and evangelism. When SLEAF and SLEF opened their second field in Kenya, the expectations of the Africans and cooperation with a church that had several schools and clinics created a new situation.

### *The Swedish Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland (SLEAF)*

SLEAF did not have any missionaries in Japan in the beginning of the 1960s. It sent yearly support to the Japan Evangelical Lutheran Church and to a church building project. It also sent money for the publishing of a Japanese-Finnish dictionary and invited a Japanese pastor to study two years at Åbo Akademi University.<sup>106</sup> The focus of missionary activity was thus in verbal evangelism. When SLEAF received an invitation to Africa, it had to re-think its missionary strategy.

Martin Lundström – who had been the first missionary of the Swedish Lutheran Mission and was elected the first president of the Lutheran Church of Kenya – visited Finland at the end 1961 to the beginning of 1962.<sup>107</sup> He informed the SLEAF Board on the needs in Kenya of encouraging the association to join in work there.<sup>108</sup> The Board discussed the new mission field at the following meetings and decided to send Director Anders-Gustaf Stjernberg to Sweden in order to discuss the issue with the Swedish Lutheran Mission.<sup>109</sup> Stjernberg visited the office of the Swedish Lutheran Mission in Stockholm but his impression was that the other Swedes were not as interested as Martin Lundström in cooperation with SLEAF.<sup>110</sup>

---

<sup>106</sup> SLEF 1961, 6; SLEF 1962, 6-7; SLEF 1963, 8-9; SLEF 1964, 6-7; SLEF 1965, 6-7. The chairman of SLEAF Yngve Bäck also mentioned spreading literature in “Kenya kallar”, Ungdomsvännen 8-9/1963, 115-116; according to Arkkila. *Arkkila* 2004a, 90 and *Arkkila* 2004 b, 52.

<sup>107</sup> *Norrback* 1998, 67.

<sup>108</sup> Styrelse 3.1.1962 19 §; *Styrelse 1962-1964*. A-SLEF Vasa.

<sup>109</sup> Styrelse 5.3.1962 8 §; 2.4.1962 18 §; 10.12.1962 3 §; 3.1.1963. 3 §; *Styrelse 1962-1964*. A-SLEF Vasa; Lähetysvaliokunta § 18. JK 10.9.1968. *JK* 1968. A-SLEY.

<sup>110</sup> Styrelse 2.4.1962 18 §; 21.5.1962 3 §. *Styrelse 1962-1964*. A-SLEF Vasa. The differences between Martin Lundström, who represented the Swedish Lutheran

The needs in Africa had an effect on the SLEAF members. The journal *Sändebudet* made the desire for a new mission field public by printing a letter from an elementary school teacher, Kerstin Eriksson. Eriksson was working for the Swedish Lutheran Mission in Kenya. She described the need for personnel at the Itierio clinic and how the people in Maragoli missed the Catechism in their own language.<sup>111</sup> During June-July 1962, the Annual Meeting assigned the board of SLEAF the task to explore the possibilities of starting missionary work in Africa.<sup>112</sup>

The Kenyans wanted to solve their problems through other contacts beyond the Swedish Lutheran Mission. The young Kenyan Lutheran students of theology had seen other patterns of relationships between a mission and an African church in Tanganyika. The students had seen in Tanganyika several agencies supporting an emerging large church, while there was only a small church under a minor partner mission in Kenya. The Kenyans wanted to join this large Lutheran church in Tanganyika.<sup>113</sup> As a society with a conservative theology, the Swedish Lutheran Mission and its leaders were unwilling to cooperate with more liberal mission agencies, which were working in Tanganyika. Therefore, the Kenyans and the newly elected president of the church, Martin Lundström, started to seek other mission agencies to support the Lutheran work in Kenya in addition to the Swedish Lutheran Mission. This irritated the leaders of the Swedish Lutheran Mission who wanted to preserve the doctrinal purity of the

---

Mission in Kenya, and the Home Board of the Swedish Lutheran Mission led soon to an open conflict between Lundström and the Home Board.

<sup>111</sup> Kerstin Eriksson, "Glimtar från missonsarbetet i Kenya", *Sb* 5/1962, 9-11 and another greeting in *Sb* 2/1963, 10-11; pastor A. Mwakibinga and a Finnish missionary Nancy Silfverberg of the Finnish Missionary Society (FMS) from Tanganyika visited the Annual Meeting of SLEAF 29.6.1962, *Sb* 7/1962, 11.

<sup>112</sup> *SLEF* 1962, 6-7.

<sup>113</sup> "Big Questions of Importance for Putting the Foundation of the Church" (Before the delegates from Mission Board, Mr. Folke Elowson and Mr. Gunnar Nilsson) May 1963, II. *Dokum. 1963*. A-SLEF. The Swedish Lutheran Mission preferred co-operation between its fields in Eritrea, Ethiopia and Kenya.

Lutherans in Kenya.<sup>114</sup> SLEAF, however, was a suitable partner in this situation. It had kept contact with the Swedish Lutheran Mission, the members of both associations spoke Swedish and they had a similar conservative Lutheran theology.<sup>115</sup> In order to clarify the role of a foreign mission organisation in a young African church, SLEAF signed a similar document to the Swedish Lutheran Mission on the relationship between SLEAF and the Lutheran Church of Kenya. It stated: "The aim of the activity of SLEAF is to assist the Lutheran Church of Kenya in carrying out its work in Kenya."<sup>116</sup> The young church would be master of its own house and the mission agencies should be its servants. From the viewpoint of SLEAF and later, also from the viewpoint of LEAF, it was challenging to assist a young African church to grow and mature.

When SLEAF started working in Africa, its weekly journal *Sändebudet* stressed the importance of evangelisation. This focus had not changed since the times when SLEAF worked in Japan.<sup>117</sup> In Japan the issue of social work had sometimes been discussed – as a complement to evangelisation, but in Africa the need for social work appeared to be much larger.<sup>118</sup> The new Lutheran Church of Kenya inherited from the Swedish Lutheran Mission a Secondary School, ten higher Primary Schools and 16 lower Primary Schools with almost 2,000 pupils and two dispensaries where tens of thousands Kenyans were treated annually.<sup>119</sup> In the beginning, SLEAF did not have proper plans for its

---

<sup>114</sup> When the Lutheran Church of Kenya gained its independence in 1963, the year book of the Swedish Lutheran Mission stressed the continuing responsibility of the mission association for the young church and its doctrinal purity. *BV* 1963, 63.

<sup>115</sup> Reijo Arkkila, "Om Evangeliföreningens förbindelse med Sverige på 1920- och 1930-talet", *Sb* 15/1973, 7-8. *Hildén Helge* 1973, 110.

<sup>116</sup> *Lutheran Church in Kenya s.a.*, 9; *Lutheran Church in Kenya s.a.* Document C, 11. A-Lounela.

<sup>117</sup> *Sb* 11/1963, 9-10, 1/1964, 4-5, 2/1964, 5-7, 4/1964, 8-9, 5/1964, 4-5, 7/1964, 8, 8/1964, 14-15 and 9/1964, 12.

<sup>118</sup> E.g. when LEAF's director Toivo Rapeli visited Kenya, he praised Finnish-Japanese co-operation in Christian social work. *Rapeli* 1971, 111. When SLEAF did not have any own missionary in Japan but backed the family Karén; Irene Karén supported the idea to build a home for the aged in Ikebukuro congregation. *Sb* 9/1960, 9. None of the SLEAF missionaries in Japan had medical training.

<sup>119</sup> *Ohlsson* 1964, 43; *Andersson* 1964, 43-44; *Petersson* 1964, 46.

own field in Maragoli, and Gustav Norrback himself later admitted this.<sup>120</sup> In principle, Norrback accepted the traditional missionary strategy of the Swedish Lutheran Mission. The missionaries were thus involved in evangelisation, health care and education. According to Norrback, it was important that health care and education helped people in their earthly needs, but at the same time these activities offered a good opportunity for evangelisation.<sup>121</sup>

An organisation supporting Swedish parish work in Finland, called *Förbundet för Svenskt Församlingsarbete i Finland*, arranged a campaign for development aid in the winter 1968-1969.<sup>122</sup> Before the campaign, Gustav Norrback criticised such missionary activity where great projects pushed evangelisation into the background, and the construction of large hospitals, schools and other institutions even intentionally sometimes, replaced the gospel. Norrback admitted that these institutions were necessary, but through this method the mission agencies would become development aid organisations and would lose their identity.<sup>123</sup> A little later in the same year 1967, he warned of mixing development aid and social work with missionary activity and returned to the same theme in the following year.<sup>124</sup> Sven Klemets described how the activities of missionaries in Kenya included development aid, because mission agencies ran schools and tended the sick. The missionaries considered that SLEAF was already development minded enough.

The directors of SLEAF in Finland saw two alternatives in the relationship between development aid and missionary activity; to cooperate or to compete. Anders-Gustaf Stjernberg constantly made it clear that evangelisation was the main task of mission organisations.

---

<sup>120</sup> Norrback, Gustaf 1967, 183. He wrote his first name "Gustav" from 1976.

<sup>121</sup> Gustaf Norrback, "Från arbetet i Kenya", *Sb* 9/1965, 171.

The short period in Maragoli was not a complete failure. The inexperienced missionaries and the home board learned the hard realities of missionary work in Africa. Norrback, 1998, 175-179.

<sup>122</sup> *SLEF 1968-1969*, 9.

<sup>123</sup> Gustaf Norrback, "Hälsning från missionsfältet", *Sb* 5/1967, 10.

<sup>124</sup> Gustaf Norrback, "Mission", *Sb* 11/1967, 15; Gustaf. Norrback, "Se jag sänder eder", *Sb* 4/1968, 17.

However, *Sändebudet* published articles written by missionaries of other mission agencies who presented the positive sides of development co-operation.<sup>125</sup> When Anders-Gustaf Stjernberg – the director of SLEAF and editor of *Sändebudet* – in June 1968, was about to leave his position he wrote in *Sändebudet* expressing his desire for reasonable co-operation between mission and development aid in Finland, according to the Nordic pattern.<sup>126</sup> His successor Helge Hildén again warned against the social gospel and assured that mission work is the best kind of development aid.<sup>127</sup> He confirmed this opinion by including an editorial from a conservative daily paper in his journal. This editorial also warned against the danger that development aid could diminish people's interest in missionary activity.<sup>128</sup> The question remained: is traditional missionary work still the best way to improve the life of the people in the developing countries or will secular development projects replace the traditional missionary work?

Gustav Norrback returned to Finland in 1973 after his second term and as the mission secretary of SLEAF he made a plan for the future. The previous plan had been realised insofar as SLEAF had built a mission station and had seen to it that when a missionary returned to Finland another with similar training replaced him at the station. In the new plan, Norrback stressed the priority of evangelism, and offered two drafts. The home board in Finland and the missionaries in Kenya had to express their opinions. Both alternatives included evangelisation, new churches and medical care. In the first draft, SLEAF would erect a village polytechnic near Atemo and in the second it would set up a new station with a dispensary at some other location in Luoland. SLEAF would have had to be ready to fill the positions continuously so that the work could go on despite

---

<sup>125</sup> Viljo Remes, "Mission och utvecklingshjälp", *Sb* 8/1967, 5; Gudmund Gjelsten, "Vårt ansvar för utvecklingsländerna", *Sb* 4/1968, 9-11 and 5/1968, 8-10.

<sup>126</sup> A.-G. Stjernberg, "Missionen i Kenya", *Sb* 6/1968, 11.

<sup>127</sup> Helge Hildén, "Från arbetsfältet", *Sb* 10/1968, 17-18; and Helge Hildén, "Till Kenyamissionens vänner", *Sb* 3/1969, 19; cf. editorial "Mission och/eller u-hjälp", *Sb* 10/1969, 3-4.

<sup>128</sup> "Kyrkans primära uppgift" (anonym comment), *Sb* 2/1970, 15.



missionaries' furloughs. The first alternative required a mission station manager (missionary in charge), a pastor, a nurse and a teacher, whereas the second alternative required two station managers, two nurses and a pastor.<sup>129</sup>

In the 1970s, the principles of development co-operation were addressed in the courses on developing countries held at the SLEAF adult education institute in Hanko *Evangeliska Folkhögskolan i Södra Finland* in the discussions concerning the Section on Foreign Mission at the SLEAF Annual Meetings, and in the correspondence between the missionaries and the Delegation for Foreign Mission (DYM). The principal of the adult education institute, Juhani Kurkiala, combined mission and development co-operation in the curriculum from 1972 to 1974. These courses were intended for future missionaries, too.<sup>130</sup> At first, the institute started short courses of three weekends and later long courses lasting the whole school year. The teachers were the SLEAF missionaries who had returned from Kenya, and staff members from Åbo Akademi University. The courses focused especially on Kenya,<sup>131</sup> and were run only during Juhani Kurkiala's short tenure.

### *The Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland (LEAF)*

The Board of LEAF decided in January 1969 to commence missionary work in Kenya and to send the chairman of the Board, Professor Jouko Vuorinen to Kenya in order to become acquainted with the prospects of missionary work and development projects in Kenya.<sup>132</sup> Vuorinen knew about the Freedom from Hunger -project of the Food and

---

<sup>129</sup> Gustaf Norrback, "Evangeliföreningens fortsatta arbete i Kenya". *MUI 1968-74*. A-SLEF.

<sup>130</sup> Styrelse 4.12.1971 7 §. *Styrelse 1968-1973*. A-SLEF Vasa.

<sup>131</sup> Juhani Kurkiala, "U-landskurs och ryska i Evangeliska Folkhögskolan i Hangö", *Sb* 9/1972, 10-11; Melita Holmström, "Hälsning från Hangö", *Sb* 20/1972, 15, 18; Juhani Kurkiala, "Om verksamheten i Evangeliska folkhögskolan i Hangö", *Sb* 11/1973, 13; Juhani Kurkiala, "U-land i centrum", *Sb* 11/1973, 18.

<sup>132</sup> It has surprised Reijo Arkkila to realise that LEAF and its press did not notice the new missionary activity of SLEAF in Kenya. *Arkkila* 2004, 63. He thinks that the difference in language had separated the leaders of the sister associations. *Arkkila* 2004, 64.

Agriculture Organisation (FAO). He had a positive attitude about development projects and wished to see fruitful co-operation between missionary work and development activities.<sup>133</sup> After which, the Mission Committee further suggested that LEAF should keep missionary work separate from development co-operation and that Vuorinen should make the tour together with Rapeli.<sup>134</sup> Vuorinen and Rapeli left for Kenya on 9 April 1969. They visited the Lutheran mission field in Kenya and on their way back to Finland Rapeli stayed for a short visit on the coast of the Red Sea in Asmara where he participated in a meeting of the Lutheran World Federation Commission for Mission on 16-25 April 1969.<sup>135</sup> The Mission Committee of LEAF recommended to the Board that it should accept this development minded plan with its emphasis on health care. The Committee added that evangelisation was in any case most important and hoped that LEAF would also send missionaries, especially men to preach the Word, and possibly also a builder. The builder could assist other mission agencies in the Lutheran Church of Kenya in their construction work. The Board approved this plan in March 1970.<sup>136</sup>

Because development co-operation was becoming popular in Finland in the 1960s, the decision makers of LEAF discussed from the very beginning the relationship between missionary work and development co-operation. The director of LEAF, Toivo Rapeli, expressed his concern that outsiders might see the activity of LEAF in Africa as only an attempt to gain from the general interest in development issues. The director of SLEAF Helge Hildén, advised LEAF to first send a deacon (i.e. Christian social worker), teacher or someone else with equivalent training, accustomed to construction work. This person could repair and build first and later preach, and could join the work more easily than a nurse who would need a dispensary or a hospital.<sup>137</sup>

---

<sup>133</sup> Johtokunta 22.1.1969 17 §. *JK* 1969. A-SLEY.

<sup>134</sup> Lähetysvaliokunta 15.2.1969 3 §. *JK* 1969. A-SLEY.

<sup>135</sup> *Rapeli* 1983, 64 and 61.

<sup>136</sup> Lähetysvaliokunta 13.3.1970 10 §. *JK* 1970. A-SLEY.

<sup>137</sup> Lähetysvaliokunta 3.12.1968 9 §. *JK* 1968. A-SLEY.

The policy of the Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland was not to concentrate on one station and area like SLEAF but to serve the Lutheran Church of Kenya where ever the church needed. This corresponded with Rapeli's vision on his first journey to Kenya.<sup>138</sup> After official contacts, LEAF in 1970 entered the Kenya field providing the clinics of the Lutheran Church of Kenya with two deaconesses, and providing one with training. The Finns planned to go on building the Matongo maternity unit and sending a doctor and at least one pastor.<sup>139</sup>

In the beginning, the LEAF nurses in Kenya acted as individual workers of the Lutheran Church of Kenya. This was in accord with LEAF's strategy.<sup>140</sup> In February 1973, LEAF missionaries held the first missionary meeting for the Kenya field. They corresponded directly with the executive director, who presented the matters to the Commission of Foreign Mission.<sup>141</sup> The missionaries proposed, as early as at the second Missionary Meeting, that LEAF establish its own mission station under the Lutheran Church of Kenya.<sup>142</sup> The Lutheran Church of Kenya and LEAF had discussed this strategy earlier. The discussions did not lead to any official agreement because LEAF did not want to follow the strategy of SLEAF, in which all the missionaries normally lived at one mission station, Atemo.<sup>143</sup> LEAF expressed repeatedly, that it wanted to serve the whole church according to its original plan, which was conceived when it entered Kenya.<sup>144</sup>

---

<sup>138</sup> *Rapeli* 1983, 85.

<sup>139</sup> *SLEY* 1970, 43.

<sup>140</sup> James Otete Nchogu, "Presidentti Nchogun the Lutheran Church of Kenya:n johtokunnan kokouksessa 27.7.1973 antama raportti Euroopan-matkalta", 2. *Sekalaista 1976-*. A-SLEY.

<sup>141</sup> Lähetysvaliokunnan Kenian asiain kokous 7.3.1973 5-6 §. *JK* 1973. A-SLEY.

<sup>142</sup> Lähetysvaliokunnan Kenian asiain kokous 16.5.1973 5 § concerning Tuula Sääksi's letter on behalf of the missionaries of 24.4.1973 *Sekalaista 1976-*. A-SLEY.

<sup>143</sup> *SLEY* 1972, 46. All of the LEAF missionaries were never positioned at just one station. The other mission agencies did not send their missionaries to Monianku or Kisumu. These stations were considered to be LEAF's area.

<sup>144</sup> *Rapeli* 1971, 100 and 304.

## 2.2.3 Organisation and Administration

### *The Swedish Lutheran Association of Finland Starts Missionary Work in Kenya*

The board of SLEAF received a new invitation to Kenya from Martin Lundström in December 1962. In a letter an active local Christian, Elam Musinde, also welcomed SLEAF missionaries to their country on behalf of the people of Maragoli. The Board discussed Musinde's letter at a meeting on the 3 January 1963 and decided to send Director Anders-Gustaf Stjernberg to visit Kenya.<sup>145</sup> His impression was positive and the association was ready to make a formal decision in its Annual Meeting of 15 June 1963, to open a new mission field in Kenya.<sup>146</sup> The decisions in Finland corresponded with the wishes of the Kenyans. At the same time, the Lutherans in Kenya wanted the Kenyan mission field to become independent of the Swedes in pace with politicians who strove for political independence or *Uhuru*. The first Kenyan pastor James Otete Nchogu was ordained in 1958 and, some years after his return, the second student, Francis Nyamwaro Onderi left for training at Makumira Lutheran Theological College in Tanganyika. The Kenyan self-esteem was growing and the former mission boys dared to propose their viewpoints and wishes.

The first SLEAF missionary, Gustav Norrback, left for Kenya with his wife Märta at the end of October 1963 and Sven Klemets followed with his wife Linnéa at the end of May 1964. Norrback was a teacher by training and he was ordained as a missionary with authority to act as a pastor in mission fields.<sup>147</sup> Sven Klemets was a farmer who had past an adult educational school (folk high school). Linnéa Klemets

---

<sup>145</sup> Protokoll i styrelsemöte 3.1.1963, a photo copy of the decision is in *Hildén, Sirkku, Klemets, Sven and Norrback, Gustav 1983, 12.*

<sup>146</sup> *SLEF 1963, 3 och Sb 7/1963, 10.* The Mission Commission and the Board had prepared the matter immediately before the Annual Meeting. Styrelse 15.6.1963 4 §. *Styrelse 1962-1964. A-SLEF Vasa.*

<sup>147</sup> Norrback himself has said that he was ordained as pastor when he had returned from Kenya and passed an examination in the diocese office in 1976. *Suomen teologit – Finlands teologer 1982, 372.* This is misleading but it shows how he understood his position.

was an enrolled nurse.<sup>148</sup> The original idea was to send a third missionary with the Norrbacks, but her travel plans had to be cancelled.<sup>149</sup>

The local contact person in Maragoli, Elam Musinde, also acted as an independent church leader. Musinde had founded the Independent Lutheran Church as early as 1961. According to his fanciful notions, he had the titles of Patriarch, Bishop and Rabbi and claimed to have 500 adult followers in two dioceses. In fact, he was the only minister of his church, and the number of his church members cannot be proved.<sup>150</sup>

In the Annual Reports, *Sändebudet* and other information concerning SLEAF, Kenya and Wasundi replaced Japan although SLEAF emphasised, in the early 1960s, that it did not want to abandon its traditional mission field in Japan, after opening the new field in Kenya.<sup>151</sup> SLEAF reported mission news from Japan and Kenya (in this order!) in its Annual Report up to 1967 when it started to put into effect its plans in Luoland.<sup>152</sup> After this, SLEAF's foreign mission was only at work in Kenya.

When the Norrbacks and Klements settled down in Kenya there were dark clouds over the Lutheran Church of Kenya because it entered a deep crisis. The newly elected first president of the Lutheran Church of Kenya, Martin Lundström and missionary Karl Gustav Ohlsson took different stands when the Lutheran Church of Kenya achieved independence. The opinions of the opposing parties were irreconcilable, and the synod of the young church decided as early as in

---

<sup>148</sup> SLEF 1964, 7; "Våra nya missionärer". *Sb* 5/1964, 7; a deaconess was also about to leave in the first group but her departure was withdrawn. L[ars]. N[y]lun]-d, "Årsfest 1963 i Helsingfors", *Sb* 7/1963, 10.

<sup>149</sup> She was a deaconess, i.e. a nurse who is specialised in Christian social work. *Styrelse* 15.6.1963 4 §. *Styrelse 1962-1964*. A-SLEF Vasa.

<sup>150</sup> Barrett 1973, 186; Barrett, Mambo et al. 1973, 244. Musinde claimed later that he had about two hundred missionaries in Uganda, Australia and Kenya. Larry D. Pate, *From Every People: A Handbook of Two-Thirds World Missions, with Directory/Histories/ Analysis*. Monrovia 1989. *Smedjebacka* 2001, 223.

<sup>151</sup> L[ars] N[y]lun]-d, "Årsfest 1963 i Helsingfors", *Sb* 7/1963, 10.

<sup>152</sup> "[...] work in Japan goes on undisturbed. Our Finnish sister association has now 15 missionaries [...]" *SLEF 1967*, 7-8.

February 1964 that Ohlsson, who had defended the position of the Swedish Lutheran Mission, had to return to Sweden.<sup>153</sup> The Swedish Lutheran Mission for its part, made it clear that Lundström was no more in its service, and he also had to leave Kenya.<sup>154</sup> The young Lutheran church lost its most experienced missionary couples when the Lundströms and the Ohlssons left. It was not only a great loss for the spiritual work, but there was also an urgent need for new missionaries at the existing schools, clinics and stations when almost one half of the missionary staff suddenly left and the Bible school had to terminate the ordination course because of lack of teachers.<sup>155</sup>

Consequently, the old stations suddenly had numerous uncompleted plans waiting for missionaries. On the other hand, SLEAF had missionaries without clear plans in Wasundi. The Norrbacks had moved there in April 1964 and later when the Klemets had arrived in Kenya in June 1964, they also settled in Wasundi.<sup>156</sup> After only six weeks at Wasundi, Sven Klemets was called to Itierio mission station, where he became the missionary in charge.<sup>157</sup>

In September 1964, the Lutheran Church of Kenya elected Norrback as its new President for a term of four years.<sup>158</sup> The Norrbacks and Klemets had the time to attend a Swahili course in Tanzania, where they met other missionaries. Some of whom were Finns from the Finnish Missionary Society and these missionaries at the language school had an opportunity to learn from each other. The time at the Swahili course was a delayed missionary course.<sup>159</sup> In his position as the President of the Lutheran Church of Kenya Gustav Norrback acquired a good view on church matters and was able consider the position of SLEAF in the church. Sven Klemets received the

---

<sup>153</sup> (26.2.1964) *BV*1964, 16. Ohlssons returned to Sweden 15.6.1964, *BV*1964, 17.

<sup>154</sup> Lundströms returned to Sweden 21.7.1964 *BV*1964, 17.

<sup>155</sup> *Ekström* 1965, 42.

<sup>156</sup> *Norrback* 1967, 183; *Norrback* 1995, 51.

<sup>157</sup> *Klemets* 1980, 54; *Norrback* 1995, 52.

<sup>158</sup> *SLEAF* 1964, 7.

<sup>159</sup> Gustaf Norrback, "Vänner", *Sb* 5/1965, 93.

assignment to travel in Luoland preaching, administering sacraments and building churches in addition to his job at the Iterio station.<sup>160</sup>

When Norrback was the president of the Lutheran Church of Kenya, the Executive Committee of the Lutheran Church of Kenya decided that SLEAF should not only concentrate its work in Maragoli but also work in Luoland. It nominated a Luo Committee. This group found a suitable location for a mission station in Atemo between the old stations of Iterio and Matongo but on the Luo side of the boundary, so they planned future work there.<sup>161</sup> Accordingly, Sven Klemets started to build a station in the traditional manner, starting with a school.<sup>162</sup>

The Luo welcomed SLEAF but others were more cautious. An old Swedish missionary – the principal of the Matongo Bible School – Josef Imberg feared that if one mission agency concentrated in one area, it would lead back to colonialism. On the other hand, Pastor Richard Otieno Olak – the first ordained pastor from Luoland – hoped that the Luo parishes would receive a large measure of autonomy in the Lutheran Church of Kenya.<sup>163</sup>

When Norrback left for furlough in 1968, the situation changed. A Kenyan pastor, James Otete Nchogu, succeeded him as the president of the Lutheran Church of Kenya.<sup>164</sup> Nchogu had fresh new ideas and could present the Kenyan standpoint with authority, and he had a good opportunity to do this when he visited Finland as a guest of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland along with the pastor in

---

<sup>160</sup> *Klemets* 1965, 84 and A.-G. Stjernberg, "Från arbetsfältet", *Sb* 4/1965, 77.

<sup>161</sup> Ex. Com. Min. 15/66 4.3.1966 are mentioned e.g. in DYM 6/83. Delegationen för yttre mission 1981-89 appendices. *DYM 1981-1989*. A-SLEF. According to an appendix called "The 20th Year of the SLEAF mission work in Kenya. Response from the ELCK Nyanza District Atemo Sunday Nov. 13 1983" the Executive Committee of the Lutheran Church of Kenya, as early as in 1965, passed a resolution inviting SLEAF to start their work among the Luo. The Swedish Lutheran Mission accepted the Luo-plan 17.5.1966. Styrelse 20.5.1966 5 §. *Styrelse 1965-1967*. A-SLEF Vasa.

<sup>162</sup> *SLEF* 1967, 7-8.

<sup>163</sup> MU 21.4.1969 1 §. *MU I 1968-74*. A-SLEF; *Rapeli* 1983, 83; "Memorandum from South Nyanza to the President of L.C.K" 9.6.1969. *Dokum. 1963-*. A-SLEF.

<sup>164</sup> The title of the leader of the Lutheran Church of Kenya changed in the early 1970s. He was no longer called the President but the Chairman of the Church.

Luoland, Richard Otieno Olak, in 1970. Gustav Norrback could only concentrate on planning and carrying out the missionary work of his own association, using the experience he had obtained as the President of the church.

In Kenya, contacts with Maragoli became more scant, and the Annual Report informed in 1970 that Wasundi station was closed and only two churches remained in that area. In point of fact, the station had not been working properly for years.<sup>165</sup> According to the plans of SLEAF, the missionaries should have taken care of both Maragoli and Luoland as was written in the original agreement. One missionary (or a missionary family) should have settled down in the largest Luo town Kisumu close to Maragoli, and SLEAF should also have supported work in Maragoliland.<sup>166</sup>

The work of the Lutheran Church of Kenya in Maragoli continued, but the special relationship between Maragoli and SLEAF was not restored after Gustav Norrback's furlough. Although the new agreement between the Lutheran Church of Kenya and SLEAF mentioned both Luo and Maragoli as territories of SLEAF, the mission agency felt that their calling now was to work mainly among the Luo.<sup>167</sup> The first missionaries later referred to this short period in Maragoli, as a good lesson for the future.<sup>168</sup> The flow of SLEAF money was directed to new projects in Luoland, and this shows how their own field diverted the attention from Japan to Kenya. When SLEAF in 1963, for the first time collected money for its work in Africa, it supported the Japan Evangelical Lutheran Church a little more than previously but not as much as its work in Kenya.<sup>169</sup> The sum sent to Japan subsequently decreased and ceased to exist in

---

<sup>165</sup> *SLEF 1970*, 10.

<sup>166</sup> MU 11.11.[1968] 3 § and "Femårsplan...". *MUI 1968-74*. A-SLEF.

<sup>167</sup> *SLEF 1968-69*, 8.

<sup>168</sup> Gustav Norrback about the first ten years of SLEAF in Kenya. *SLEF 1972-73*, 16; S. Klemets about his short stay in Wasundi. *Klemets*, 1980, 54.

<sup>169</sup> Japan c. 21,000 (c. 6,000 more than year before) and Kenya c. 25,000. "SLEF 1963", 11.



SLEAF's accounts after 1969.<sup>170</sup> Still clearer was the difference in the amount intended for work in Japan and in Kenya. The balance of 1963, mentioned Kenya mission field for the first time, and already at that time the support intended for the work in Kenya was almost as large as the support designated for the work in Japan.<sup>171</sup> In 1964, about 80% of the mission support was intended for Kenya.<sup>172</sup> Donations for work in Kenya increased tenfold from 1963 to 1970, and donations for work in Japan decreased at the same time to one tenth of the sum in 1963. When the balance of SLEAF in 1970 separated the contributions geographically for the last time, over 99% was aimed at Kenya.<sup>173</sup> The supporters of missionary work had approved SLEAF's change of direction from Japan toward Kenya. SLEAF was no longer a junior partner in the mission in Japan without its own missionaries, but an active and respected mission agency in Africa with fresh ideas and plans in evangelisation, education and health care.

Because the Lutheran Church of Kenya had entrusted the Luo to the care of SLEAF, this mission agency became responsible for a wide area. The Board of SLEAF accepted in November 1968 a 5-years plan that followed, in the main, the proposal of the missionaries. The Board noticed the problems arising because SLEAF was working in both Maragoli and Luoland. Therefore, it suggested that a missionary or a missionary with a family settle down in Kisumu town between Atemo and Maragoli to found a station in the near future and also regularly visit Maragoli. Even if Atemo was to be the base for the work of SLEAF in Kenya, some of its missionaries could live in parishes, not only at the mission station.<sup>174</sup>

Before the Norrbacks and Klemets returned to Kenya, SLEAF's Mission Committee planned, in December 1969, that the association could not afford more than five missionaries or missionary couples at

---

<sup>170</sup> Japan 3,500 and Kenya c. 109,000. *SLEF 1969-1970*, 12.

<sup>171</sup> Japan c. 35,000 and Kenya c. 33,000. "*SLEF 1963*", 11.

<sup>172</sup> Japan c. 22,000 and Kenya c. 109,000. "*SLEF 1964*", 11.

<sup>173</sup> Japan c. 2,700 and Kenya c. 305,000. "*SLEF 1970*", 17.

<sup>174</sup> MU 11.11.1968 § 3 and its appendix. *MU I 1968-74*. A-SLEF.

a time in Kenya.<sup>175</sup> The association had gathered a good team with the most important professional skills needed in a mission station. There was a deaconess who had medical training and teachers; the teacher Gustav Norrback could act as a missionary pastor and Sven Klemets, who had been a farmer and lay preacher could do both practical and spiritual work.

When SLEAF diverted its missionary activity from Japan to Kenya in the 1960s, the new station at Atemo fulfilled the wishes of SLEAF, encouraging mission friends to support the activity of the agency abroad both spiritually and materially.<sup>176</sup> In the same way that the new opportunities in Kenya had turned the attention of SLEAF away from Japan, the hopeful progress at Atemo allowed the sad memories of Wasundi to be left behind. The co-operation between SLEAF and the Kenyan church was close, although Gustav Norrback had resigned as President of the Lutheran Church of Kenya when he left for furlough in 1968. The Annual Meeting of the Lutheran Church of Kenya had elected the Kenyan pastor James Otete Nchogu as his successor, and Norrback was elected the general secretary of the Lutheran Church of Kenya when he returned for his second term in 1970.<sup>177</sup> Because of Norrback's double mandate SLEAF's plan was compatible with the plan of the church. This time, SLEAF's experienced missionaries were well prepared to start a mission station. When SLEAF gave its missionary Sven Klemets the task of carrying out the plan in Atemo, it was decided that he was accountable to the Executive Committee of the Lutheran Church of Kenya and to the Board of SLEAF.<sup>178</sup>

The Board of SLEAF assumed the main responsibility for missionary work, but its Mission Commission discussed the matters, decided minor concerns and presented only the more important issues for the Board. The missionaries who were leaving for, or returning from,

---

<sup>175</sup> MU 1.12.1969 Bilaga 3. *MUI 1968-74*. A-SLEF.

<sup>176</sup> *SLEF 1968-69*, 6; *SLEF 1971-72*, 6-7.

<sup>177</sup> *SLEF 1970-71*, 8.

<sup>178</sup> Missionsutskottet 11.11.[1968] 5 §. *MUI 1968-74*. A-SLEF.

Kenya attended the meetings of the Mission Commission. A Mission Committee replaced this Commission in 1972, which then transformed into the Delegation for Foreign Mission (*Delegationen för Yttre Mission*, DYM) in 1974.<sup>179</sup> Often, a missionary who was on furlough served as the secretary of the Mission Committee or the Delegation and, at the same time, also as the mission secretary.<sup>180</sup> The Committee, and later the Delegation, proposed matters for the consideration of the Executive Committee of the Board. The Delegation functioned in the same way as the Committee had previously and its task was to exchange letters and copies of minutes with the Missionary Conference in Kenya. All missionaries in Kenya gathered almost once a month at the Missionary Conferences, where they could comment on the minutes of the Delegation and make their own proposals. These unofficial meetings gradually changed into a semi-official body, which presented the opinions and expertise of all SLEAF missionaries in Kenya. One part of the programme at the SLEAF Annual Meeting was a meeting of the Section for Foreign Mission (*Sektionen för yttremissionen*), in which the representatives of different supporting groups from the Swedish speaking areas of Finland could get in direct contact with their missionaries. They discussed the problems of the mission and its support, and gave recommendations.

Because the missionaries had normally participated in the activities of SLEAF before they had left for Kenya, and while on furlough in Finland, a close relationship grew between the missionaries, their supporters and the Mission Board. Tours of SLEAF leaders around Kenya strengthened the relation between the missionaries and the Home Board still more.<sup>181</sup> The group of SLEAF members and supporters who were devoted to missionary work was small, but they formed a solid group where people knew each other.

---

<sup>179</sup> Missionskommitte, Delegationen för yttre mission (DYM). *SLEF 1974-75*, 12.

<sup>180</sup> S. Klemets in 1973, G. Norrback in 1973-74 and again 1978-90 and *J. Iiskola* in 1974.

<sup>181</sup> Director Helge Hildén visited the mission field in 1971, Chairman Håkan Bäck in 1974, Mission Secretary Sirkku Hildén in 1977 and Mission Secretary G. Norrback in 1979. MK 6.1.1972, 3.12.1974, 25.10.1977 and 9.2.1979. *MK 1972-88*. A-SLEF.

### *The Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland Follows its Sister Organisation*

LEAF saw from recent experience in the 1960s, how the new field in Africa transformed SLEAF – its sister association and long time partner in joint efforts in Japan. The new field in Kenya had increased SLEAF's missionary activity many times over. After some informal discussions, Rapeli proposed at a meeting of the Mission Committee of LEAF, in March 1968, that LEAF should also expand its mission activities in Africa.<sup>182</sup> The proposal received a positive response. The LEAF Board appointed a committee, which suggested that LEAF should join missionary work in Kenya or Ethiopia.<sup>183</sup> SLEAF and the Swedish Lutheran Mission assumed a positive attitude in regard to the plan of LEAF to enter Kenya. The Director of SLEAF, Helge Hildén gave notice to the Mission Committee of LEAF that the Lutheran Church of Kenya was again in a transition period and was seeking new partner missions.<sup>184</sup> The Lutheran Church of Kenya had welcomed SLEAF to Kenya when the Lutheran mission field in Kenya was gaining its independence in 1963. Now for the first time, the Lutheran Church of Kenya had elected an African President James Otete Nchogu and sought new contacts. Two of its attempts were successful. The World Mission Prayer League from the U.S.A started in Nairobi in 1969, and LEAF was now planning how to begin its work in Kenya.

After SLEAF's focus shifted to Kenya, in the 1960s and its involvement with Japan slowly faded, the co-operation of these organisations in missionary work ended for a while because SLEAF no longer had any reason to deal with the work in Japan together with LEAF. Although the Finnish association had followed the example and hints of the Swedish sister organisation, and started to work in Kenya, the co-operation between the two organisations was not the same as it had been before, when they worked together in Japan.

---

<sup>182</sup> Lähetysvaliokunta 18.3.1968 17 §. *JK* 1968. A-SLEY.

<sup>183</sup> Lähetysvaliokunta 11.5.1968 16 § and Uuden lähetyskentän avaamista Afrikassa tutkiva komitea 31.5.1968 3-5 §. *JK* 1968. A-SLEY.

<sup>184</sup> Lähetysvaliokunta 10.9.1968 § 18 and 3.12.1968 9 §. *JK* 1968. A-SLEY.

SLEAF's mission secretary seldom visited the LEAF Mission Committee, e.g. in December 1971.<sup>185</sup> LEAF tried to organise a joint committee for the Kenya field, but in vain. In the beginning, SLEAF introduced the Finnish speaking sister association into the work in Kenya, but the multilateral Nordic co-operation became important. The bi-lateral Finnish contacts did not require very formal channels while both associations used the same facilities in Helsinki.

After a slow start, SLEAF and LEAF nevertheless deliberated co-operation in Kenya. In November 1973 missionaries from both associations attended a meeting when the director of SLEAF, Helge Hildén, and the director of LEAF's Foreign Mission, Paavo Savolainen, visited Kenya. The participants deliberated on how much longer the mission agencies would be able to control the use of their contributions to the Lutheran Church of Kenya. They also suggested that there be more co-operation between both Finnish mission agencies and even planned a common development project. Also discussed were the possibilities of getting public development funds for mission projects and establishing contacts with development experts in Finland.<sup>186</sup> The associations expected support from each other. A year and a half earlier, Jorma Iiskola had already suggested that LEAF and SLEAF build a village polytechnic together.<sup>187</sup> Developments in the church, however, widened the gap between the mission agencies. Together with supporting missions, the Lutheran Church of Kenya planned to reform its organisation. From 1973, the church districts were to receive more independence, and more financial responsibility for their workers.<sup>188</sup> However, the Nyanza District and SLEAF were in a different position, because SLEAF had concentrated its work and support in this district but LEAF tried to

---

<sup>185</sup> On 7.12.1971, when the two missions planned actions to get public funds for a VP and discussed the postings of their medical staff, SLEAF's Mission Secretary was present. SLEY:n lähetysvaliokunnan Kenian asiain kokous 7.12.1971 2 and 4 §. *JK* 1971. A-SLEY.

<sup>186</sup> 1973.11.26. SLEF:n ja SLEY:n työntekijöiden neuvottelu Atemossa 26.11.1973 3, 4 and 7 §. *Nordiska överläggningar 1973-1978*. A-SLEF.

<sup>187</sup> Iiskola to H.Hildén 26.4.1972. *FM + Brev*. A-SLEF.

<sup>188</sup> *Hansson* 1973, 68.

support the whole church. Thus, SLEAF and LEAF had less common interest than before.

When LEAF started to develop the Matongo Maternity ward, it needed new sources of income. In 1970, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland raised money to support missionary work and LEAF decided to spend its share of the collected money building a maternity ward in Matongo.<sup>189</sup> LEAF representatives also participated when the Finnish Missionary Council and SLEAF were trying to get public support for the development projects of mission agencies.<sup>190</sup> These attempts did not lead to immediate success. Therefore, LEAF arranged its own fundraising – from April to December 1973 – for the maternity ward at Matongo as well as for LEAF youth work in Finland.<sup>191</sup> Leo Torikainen offered LEAF a similar coffee selling campaign as he had organised with the Pentecostals, but the Lutherans did not accept the proposal (see p. 28).<sup>192</sup>

The new maternity ward also needed competent staff from LEAF. In November 1973, the new director of Foreign Mission, Paavo Savolainen, visited Matongo with a prospective doctor for the maternity ward, Valma Mononen.<sup>193</sup> There were two reasons to be pleased in SLEAF, the completion of the Atemo station and the Matongo Maternity was in sight and the Finnish government's plans to channel public funds for development co-operation through mission agencies had proceeded well.

#### **2.2.4 Development Projects**

Schools and clinics belonged to the Lutheran missionary work from the very beginning in Kenya and they received support from various

---

<sup>189</sup> *SLEY* 1970, 13 and 43.

<sup>190</sup> Lähetysvaliokunta 15.10.1971 8 §; 7.12.1971 2 §. *JK* 1971; 12.1.1973 8 §; 24.1.1973 14 §. *JK* 1973. A-SLEY.

<sup>191</sup> Ihmiseltä ihmiselle -keräys, an advertisement in the yearbook, *SLEY* 1972, 47.

<sup>192</sup> Johtoryhmä 7.3.1975 126 §; 18.3.1975 146 §. *JK* 1975. A-SLEY.

<sup>193</sup> *SLEY* 1973, 44.

donors.<sup>194</sup> The wife of the first Lutheran missionary in Kenya, Gunborg Lundström, was a nurse and the second male missionary Enok Samuelsson was a teacher. Samuelsson had worked in Ethiopia where the Swedish Lutheran Mission had already obtained long experience with schools and hospitals.<sup>195</sup> They started in Kenya with primary schools and patient reception at their stations and later founded other schools in the surrounding areas. The missionaries could then use the schools as bases for their evangelism.<sup>196</sup>

The Swedish Lutheran Mission did not hesitate to receive support from various donors. Clinics at Itierio and Matongo distributed medicines and milk powder for UNICEF. Even the American Roman Catholics donated food for school children through the Lutheran Church of Kenya.<sup>197</sup> When the medical work of the Swedish Lutheran Mission expanded, its missionaries trained local people and received support from colonial and international sources. The first unmarried female missionary, Anna-Brita Albertson, arrived in 1950. She was a trained nurse and midwife. Medical care grew in a few years from a modest reception to a regular health centre with beds for patients and a maternity ward. Almost immediately, the Lutherans tried to start preventive care and health education at their mission station and also treat patients at some of their schools.<sup>198</sup> The district was wide, densely populated but the medical personnel were few. Anna-Brita Albertson was the first midwife in the district, and the missionaries had to train local people in order to get assisting staff.<sup>199</sup> When they needed a physician they had to request one from Kisii town. The colonial administration helped with vaccines and UNICEF with materials.<sup>200</sup> When the local helpers also assisted them in the spiritual

---

<sup>194</sup> During the colonial period that lasted up to 1963 mission agencies or churches supported and staffed most of the schools in Kenya. *Farrelly* 1973, 49.

<sup>195</sup> *Guds ord och löfte* 1986, 74; *Lutheran Church Work in Kenya* 1973, 5-12. A-Lounela; *Lundström* 1958, 47 and 49.

<sup>196</sup> *Guds ord och löfte* 1986, 83

<sup>197</sup> *Klemets* 1972, 13-14.

<sup>198</sup> *Albertson* 1952, 45.

<sup>199</sup> *BV* 1948, 57.

<sup>200</sup> *Petersson* 1958, 51; *Albertson* 1955, 56.

work, the missionary nurses could better concentrate on medical work.<sup>201</sup>

### *Requests from Kenya*

The Lutheran Kenyans had already realised in the 1950s that the Swedish Lutheran Mission could not fulfil their wishes. The Kenyans were no longer only objects of missionary work but now they had church growth, organisation and finances at heart. They told the representatives of the Swedish Lutheran Mission who visited Kenya that the emerging church needed a new mission station, a home for orphans, a teacher training college, a hospital and dispensaries<sup>202</sup> The Swedish Lutheran Mission could send primary teachers and nurses but was not able to send teachers for higher education or doctors to Kenya<sup>203</sup>. There were also other unsatisfied needs, and the Kenyans understood that the Swedish Lutheran Mission alone could not fulfil their desires.

The Lutheran missionary work in Kenya had started in Kisiiland and the Swedish Lutheran Mission initially concentrated on work among the Kisii people. The new Lutheran mission also had contact with other ethnic groups but it could not take care of people beyond Kisiiland. Martin Lundström informed SLEAF that people in Maragoliland needed health care and schools and they wanted Lutheran missionaries.<sup>204</sup> When Rev. Anders-Gustaf Stjernberg visited Kenya in spring 1963, he met the government officials in Maragoliland and the representatives of the Swedish Lutheran Mission and the Lutheran Church of Kenya. The local Chief in

---

<sup>201</sup> *Petersson* 1961, 56.

<sup>202</sup> "Big Questions of Importance for Putting the Foundation of the Church" (Before the delegates from Mission Board, Mr. Folke Elowson and Mr. Gunnar Nilsson) May 1963, II. *Dokum. 1963-*. A-SLEF.

<sup>203</sup> James Otete Nchogu explained this situation in his lecture "Kanisa na mamissioni" at Matongo Lutheran Theological College 15.4.1986. A recorded cassette of this lecture is in MLTC and A-Lounela. The Swedish Lutheran Mission had sent physicians and teachers who had academic training to Ethiopia.

<sup>204</sup> M. Lundström to A.-G. Stjernberg 13.11. and 11.12.1962. *Kenyamissionen 1963-*. A-SLEF.



Maragoli wished the Finns welcome, but the District Commissioner remarked that there were a large numbers of sects in Maragoliland.<sup>205</sup> This was a clear difference from Kisiiland where the first Lutherans only contended with the Seventh Day Adventists and the Roman Catholics. In this competition in Maragoliland, even more than in Kisiiland, every mission and church had to find its own methods for attracting people.

The Norrbacks left for Kenya in October 1963 and stayed half a year at Matongo before moving to their final destination Maragoliland. They had a short time to learn the work and to understand the tense situation. They saw from close range the infancy of the independent Kenya and the birth of the Lutheran Church of Kenya. Despite the tension due to Kenyan independence, the future of the Lutheran Church of Kenya looked full of promise at the beginning of 1964, when the church became independent. Its newly elected President M. Lundström immediately reported to both supporting mission agencies about needs of the church. According to him, the young Lutheran Church of Kenya needed a youth leader, a nurse in Maragoli and another in Matongo, a teacher in Itierio and a theologian at Matongo Bible School.<sup>206</sup> The first pastoral training course was about to begin and the school needed teachers. Elam Musinde, who had invited the Lutherans to Maragoli and kept in contact with SLEAF, had inspired his followers with hope of a mission station with schools and hospitals. The people of Maragoli knew well that the Anglicans, Pentecostals and Quakers had already built such stations not far from their homes. When Gustav Norrback moved to Maragoliland, he heard himself from the local people how they needed a church and a clinic and how Mr. Stjernberg had promised them that they would immediately have a large hospital. Norrback asked the home board in April 1964 to send a deaconess, a nurse or a midwife.<sup>207</sup>

---

<sup>205</sup> A-G. Stjernberg "Missionsföredrag ved Svenska Lutherska Evangeliföreningens årsfest lördagen den 15 juni 1963" *Sb* 6/1963, 15.

<sup>206</sup> M. Lundström to the Swedish Lutheran Mission and SLEAF 7.1.1964. *Kenyamissionen 1963*-. A-SLEF.

<sup>207</sup> G. Norrback to A.-G. Stjernberg 8.4.1964. *Kenyamissionen 1963*-. A-SLEF

Gustav Norrback realised that the situation in Maragoli, and especially at Wasundi, was very complicated and that it was difficult to work there in a proper way after the Klemets had left. In this situation, the representatives of the Lutheran Church of Kenya and the Swedish Lutheran Mission came to Wasundi and called the Norrbacks back to Matongo in August 1964.<sup>208</sup> The situation was tense both in Maragoli and in Kisiiland, and then Elam Musinde occupied Wasundi mission station. Musinde had declared himself bishop of the Lutheran Church in Maragoli, and considered the SLEAF missionaries his subjects and expected that SLEAF would negotiate with him directly ignoring the Lutheran Church of Kenya.<sup>209</sup> It was not possible to work with him. Norrback left Wasundi, but visited Maragoli regularly, preaching and administering the sacraments. He did not get an opportunity to carry into effect permanent work in Maragoliland, and local hopes concerning a secondary school and a large hospital remained an unfulfilled dream.<sup>210</sup>

The leaders of LEAF, who visited Kenya in April 1969, in order to consider starting missionary work there, heard the requests of the Lutheran Church of Kenya. The representatives of this church told the Finns how the church needed evangelism, health care and education. President Nchogu invited them to work in Nairobi.<sup>211</sup> He also said that the church wanted pastors, teachers, nurses and other trained workers. The new leadership of the Lutheran Church of Kenya was full of new ideas and requests for health care and education. In April 1970, when President Nchogu and General Secretary Richard Otieno Olak visited Sweden and Finland – as the first representatives of the Lutheran Church of Kenya – they presented the list of needs of the church. The church had not yet lost hope for the Wasundi station in Maragoli. It did not want to limit its activities to the Kisii, Luo and Maragoli but wanted to enter every region in Kenya. In addition to

---

<sup>208</sup> Norrback 1998, 117.

<sup>209</sup> Norrback 1998, 116.

<sup>210</sup> Elam Musinde to the Board of SLEAF 18.3.1964. *Kenyamissionen 1963-*. A-SLEF; G. Norrback to A-G. Stjernberg 8.4.1964. *Kenyamissionen 1963-*. A-SLEF; Norrback 1995, 52.

<sup>211</sup> Rapeli 1983, 70.

this, it wanted its own school because its primary and secondary schools had been transferred to the government. The Matongo Dispensary needed to have a midwife, and one of the dispensaries needed to be expanded so that the church could have its own hospital with doctors.<sup>212</sup> The representatives of the Lutheran Church of Kenya explained the needs of the church in detail during their visit in Sweden and Finland.

The representatives of the Lutheran Church of Kenya visited Finland in the summer 1970 with a long list of requests:

- more workers and funds in order to extend the church in all areas in Kenya
- plots for churches
- permanent churches and houses for workers in every parish
- churches in Nairobi, settlements and tea farms
- (semi-permanent) churches for congregations
- a building and library for Matongo Bible School
- church office
- a Lutheran boarding school
- scholarships for studies at universities, colleges and hospitals
- a hospital and doctors
- extension of the Matongo health centre
- a mobile clinic (in Nyagesa and Nyamunga)
- an orphanage or other relief for orphans
- a vehicle loan fund
- a pension fund
- material for youth work and Sunday schools.<sup>213</sup>

When the director of SLEAF, Helge Hildén, visited Kenya in October 1971, the president of the Lutheran Church of Kenya, James Otete Nchogu, proposed six building projects, consisting of more than ten buildings, and a fund for semi-permanent churches. In addition to this, the President asked for three teachers, four nurses, at least one pastor and some new schools, with facilities and staff. Not even with support from the Finnish Government – which was suggested by the

---

<sup>212</sup> "Memorandum of the Lutheran Church of Kenya which was Issued before the Mission Boards of the Swedish Lutheran Mission and Finnish Societies in the Year 1970". in April 1970. *Dokum. 1963-*. A-SLEF.

<sup>213</sup> Lähetyksvaliokunnan Kenian asioiden kokous 12.6.1970. *JK 1970*. A-SLEY.

President of the Lutheran Church of Kenya – would SLEAF resources be adequate to cover the intention of the Lutheran Church of Kenya to expand to all areas of the country. SLEAF could not even afford to send its missionary teacher Majgret Stjernberg to her second term at Itierio or help the existing old stations Itierio and Matongo, except with a teacher at the Bible school.<sup>214</sup> Vice President Richard Olak's wishes in 1972 consisted of new churches, missionaries and a village polytechnic.<sup>215</sup> He was himself from Luoland and lived near the Atemo station. Thus, he understood the significance of the planned village polytechnic in this area.

SLEAF could not meet the needs of the Lutheran Church of Kenya. It had enough work trying to carry into effect the Atemo plan in 1970. Even in Luoland, it could not expand its work according to the wishes of the church. When the Atemo church was built in 1974, the station consisted of a school, a parish hall and a dispensary – built in 1968, 1969 and 1971 respectively – along with houses for the missionaries. Thus, SLEAF had implemented the first plan. Both the Lutheran Church of Kenya and SLEAF had to plan the next step. The plans of LEAF and SLEAF could satisfy only a small part of the needs requested. This long list of the Kenyans' requirements offered a starting point for discussion and future planning and the Finns could choose from it items, which seemed reasonable from their viewpoint.

### *Atemo Station*

SLEAF entered its first mission field in Maragoli without clear plans. However, this was not the only reason why the Norrbacks and Klemets had to leave Wasundi in Maragoli after a short stay. They used the experience they had received and prepared for a fresh start studying Swahili and getting acquainted with the local church: the Lutheran Church of Kenya. SLEAF sent missionaries according to the

---

<sup>214</sup> James O. Nchogu, 26.10.1971. "Kumbukumbu ya the Lutheran Church of Kenya iliyotolewa kwa Mheshimiwa Mch. H. Hildén Director wa Chama cha SLEAF, Atemo 26. Oct. 1971". *LCK Excom 1963-1976*. A-SLEF.

<sup>215</sup> SLEF Styrelse 1.7.1972 8 §. *Styrelse 1968-1973*. A-SLEF Vasa; Helge Hildén, "Från styrelse och arbetsutskott", *Sb* 14/1972, 11.

requests of the Lutheran Church of Kenya: a teacher in 1966, a deaconess in 1968 and a married couple who were teachers for youth work in 1970.<sup>216</sup> SLEAF had, however, not yet reached its original aim, which was to acquire a mission station of its own.<sup>217</sup>

During the Norrbacks' and Klemets' furlough in 1968, SLEAF made a detailed 5-year plan for the new station at Atemo. The Board revised and approved this plan in December 1968.<sup>218</sup> At the beginning of 1970, SLEAF had a clear-cut plan for its work in Kenya, and its missionaries had experience from spiritual, administrative, medical and educational work. Sven Klemets had already started a second term with his family after a furlough. Klemets was busy building the Atemo station – the mission station of SLEAF. The Klemets moved to their new house in Atemo in October 1969, and the Norrbacks were soon to come. The missionaries needed several years in which to carry out the Atemo plan. It included a course centre, a church and a clinic – built in 1969, 1971 and 1972 respectively – in addition to the living quarters and the already existing school.

A clinic was part of the plan for Atemo station, although neither the Provincial Medical Officer nor the Medical Committee of the Lutheran church supported the idea. SLEAF missionaries in Kenya thought that one nurse would not be enough and that the clinic could be opened on condition that the association would send one nurse more.<sup>219</sup> The emerging mission station in Atemo offered a base for health care and women's education while contact with Maragoli also continued for some time. Maj-Len Åbonde received patients in Maragoli up to 1969. She started a mobile clinic at Atemo in February 1970 and treated over one thousand patients during the year.<sup>220</sup> Building a complete station was a considerable exertion of energy for a small mission agency, and

---

<sup>216</sup> *SLEF 1966*, 6-7; *SLEF 1968-1969*, 7-8 and *SLEF 1970-1971*, 8-9; cf. M. Lundström to the Swedish Lutheran Mission and SLEAF 7.1.1964. *Kenyamissionen 1963-*. A-SLEF.

<sup>217</sup> *Norrback 1998*, 97.

<sup>218</sup> SLEF Styrelse 12.11.1968 12 §. *Styrelse 1968-1973*. A-SLEF Vasa.

<sup>219</sup> S. Klemets to G. Norrback 7.1.1970. *FM + brev*. A-SLEF.

<sup>220</sup> *SLEF 1969-1970*, 7-8 and *SLEF 1970-1971*, 9.

the planners in Finland, therefore, considered asking help from the Lutheran World Federation.<sup>221</sup>

In 1970, a teacher from the Swedish Lutheran Mission, Gunhild Andersson, started activity among the women. Anderson taught the women skills needed at home and in society. This activity was called "women work", and SLEAF immediately incorporated it into its programme. This kind of work was well suited to the married female missionaries of SLEAF as the unmarried nurses and teachers were busy in their daily tasks. SLEAF did not accept female evangelists or preachers, but the missionary wives could spread the Gospel among Kenyan women at their own special meetings. Responding to requests from local people and representatives of the government, Linnéa Klemets and Brita Iiskola started the first group at Atemo in June 1970. About 60 women participated.<sup>222</sup> In ten years a network of 14 groups with over 400 members, and led by African group leaders, emerged in parishes in Luoland. The practical skills useful in African homes were emphasised. The women learned childcare, health care, nutrition, cooking, baking and handicraft. They also studied reading, writing, arithmetic and Swahili, and an essential part of the meetings was Bible reading and singing.<sup>223</sup>

### *Matongo*

When the two leaders of LEAF, Chairman Jouko Vuorinen and Director Toivo Rapeli visited Kenya in April 1969 to plan missionary work, they had development projects and social services in mind. Vuorinen encouraged the Kenyans to develop agriculture and to use experts in this work. His idea was to found a vocational school with different lines of study using funds from the Lutheran World Federation. The curriculum was to include standard education, agriculture, handicraft, economy, mechanics etc.<sup>224</sup> Rapeli proposed

---

<sup>221</sup> G. Norrback to S. Klemets 16.12.1969. *FM + brev.* A-SLEF.

<sup>222</sup> *Klemets* 1972, 115; Linnéa Klemets, "Handarbetskurs på Atemo", *Sb* 9/1971, 11.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.* and e.g. *SLEF* 1976-77, 8; *SLEF* 1980, 9; *Nilsson* 1981, 28.

<sup>224</sup> *Rapeli* 1971, 126-127.

that LEAF should start Christian social work and send nurses who were trained for this kind of work.<sup>225</sup> He also suggested to the president of the Lutheran Church of Kenya, James Nchogu that the church should join the Lutheran World Federation.<sup>226</sup> Both Finns gained the impression that the mission field needed midwives and a maternity ward.<sup>227</sup>

Knowing how the dispensaries attracted people, the church wanted more nurses.<sup>228</sup> The Finns also had the impression that health care was a good way to join the common missionary work in Kenya.<sup>229</sup> Thus, LEAF accepted a plan, which included health care, expecting support from the Kenyan government, the World Health Organisation and others. After the journey, Toivo Rapeli negotiated about the situation with the director of SLEAF, Helge Hildén, and Missionary Gustav Norrback. Norrback drew up a 5-year plan for LEAF. The new association was to build a maternity ward at Matongo and send two missionaries in 1970 and one more every year thereafter. These missionaries were to be nurse-midwives, and perhaps also have deaconess training. Norrback assured his colleagues that this plan corresponded with the needs of the Lutheran Church of Kenya and of the Kenyan authorities. It was not too expensive and LEAF could expect support from the World Health Organisation, Kenyan government and others.

Construction work on the maternity ward got started slowly because LEAF did not have a builder in Kenya. SLEAF missionary Sven Klemets received, in October 1971, the task of building the Matongo maternity ward.<sup>230</sup> When Klemets left for Finland in July 1972, the task fell to the builder of the Lutheran Church of Kenya, Hans-Hugo

---

<sup>225</sup> *Rapeli* 1983, 79-83. The Christian social work is called "deacony" in Finland and a deaconess had one year special studies for parish work after nurse training.

<sup>226</sup> *Rapeli* 1983, 85.

<sup>227</sup> *Rapeli* 1983, 76-77.

<sup>228</sup> *SLEF 1970-71*, 7.

<sup>229</sup> Lähetyksvaliokunta 10.9.1968 18 § and 3.12.1968 9 §. *JK* 1968. A-SLEY; *Rapeli* 1971, 101 and 302.

<sup>230</sup> Lähetyksvaliokunnan Kenian asioiden kokous 15.10.1971 10 §. *JK* 1971. A-SLEY.

Nilson from the Swedish Lutheran Mission.<sup>231</sup> The construction work finally began in April 1973. The Matongo Maternity ward was completed in September 1974, and two months later the Provincial Medical Officer officially opened the maternity ward. The contribution of LEAF included not only money, but also clothes, instruments and other materials that were useful in the health centre.<sup>232</sup> The original plan had included an operating room but this was never built.

### *Abongo Dhoga*

When Kenya became independent the National Christian Council of Kenya developed a non-formal pattern of technical training. It corresponded with the national development strategy. These so-called Village Polytechnics offered school leavers practical training in skills useful in rural areas. The National Christian Council of Kenya, various churches and the Kenyan government sponsored these schools.<sup>233</sup>

A new missionary of SLEAF, Jorma Iiskola, was still at a Swahili course in Nairobi in 1970, when he also became interested in village polytechnics. Iiskola had studied at a Christian boarding school himself and was a trained teacher. He understood that a vocational school with a dormitory would offer a good opportunity for Christian education and train useful members for the church and the society.<sup>234</sup> One obstacle on the road toward the realisation of a SLEAF village polytechnic was that the Lutheran Church of Kenya had its own views regarding the tasks of missionaries. When SLEAF sent Jorma Iiskola for the first time in 1970, the Lutheran Church of Kenya was in need

---

<sup>231</sup> The Lutheran Church of Kenya has nominated Hans-Hugo Nilson, from the Swedish Lutheran Mission, to lead the construction of Matongo Maternity (synnytyssairaalan rakennustöiden johtajaksi) *SLEY* 1972, 46.

<sup>232</sup> *SLEY* 1972, 46, 47, *SLEY* 1974, 16; *Sääksi* 1977, 142 and 199; Matongo n ja Moniankun terveystakeskusten instrumentit ja tarvikkeet, Liite 6 Suomen Luterilainen Evankeliumiyhdistys määrärahat 1983 *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>233</sup> On national development and village polytechnics *Chepkwony* 1987, 117-119; also on village polytechnics in *Kenya: An Official Handbook* 1973, 155.

<sup>234</sup> *Iiskola* 1995, 61-63.



of a youth leader.<sup>235</sup> The church and the mission agreed, after negotiations, that Iiskola would be an assistant to a Kenyan youth pastor. That way, he could concentrate his work in Luoland.<sup>236</sup> During his first term, he saw the problems of the Kenyan youth and became fully convinced that a village polytechnic with boarding facilities would be the best tool in Christian youth work.

Mr. Kalervo Siikala from the Ministry for Education in Finland toured Africa as a member of a UNESCO team that investigated the problems of education in Africa. The Atemo station was under construction and the Klemets family had been living there only for a few months when Siikala arrived in January 1970. Siikala, became convinced, in his discussion with Sven Klemets that Kenya needed practically oriented schools rather than theoretical secondary schools. Siikala suggested in his travel report to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs that Finland should build a Village Polytechnic in Kenya in the mission field of the Swedish Lutheran Mission and SLEAF, e.g. in Atemo.<sup>237</sup> He repeated his positive impression in an interview in *Sändebudet*. Siikala also suggested that the Finnish government could co-operate with SLEAF in putting this plan into effect.<sup>238</sup> A similar idea had occurred to the chairman of LEAF, Jouko Vuorinen, before his tour in Kenya as early as in April 1969 (cf. p. 68 ).<sup>239</sup>

In Finland, SLEAF tried to get support for the planned village polytechnic. Executive Director Helge Hildén met with the

---

<sup>235</sup> [James O. Nchogu], "Report from the President of L.C.K. at the Annual General Meeting Atemo February 25th-26th, 1970", 4. *Dokum. 1963-*. A-SLEF.

<sup>236</sup> *SLEF 1969-70*, 8; *SLEF 1970-71*, 8-9; *SLEF 1971-72*, 18; cf. Missionsutskottet 1.12.1969 7 §. *MU I 1968-74*. A-SLEF; Annual General Meeting 25-26.2.1970, 4. *Dokum 1963-*. A-SLEF.

<sup>237</sup> "Kertomus osastopäällikkö Kalervo Siikalan virkamatkasta Yhdistyneeseen Arabitasavaltaan, Keniaan, Tansaniaan, Zambiaan ja Botswanaan 11.1.-31.1.1970", 8 and 11. *UM*. A-SLEF.

<sup>238</sup> Kaarlo Lähteenmaa, "Teknisk skola till Luo?" (an interview of Kalervo Siikala), *Sb* 3/1970, 13-14.

On NCCK's contribution to national development and especially on village polytechnics *Chepkwony* 1987, 117-119; also on village polytechnics in *Kenya: An Official Handbook* 1973, 155.

<sup>239</sup> *Rapeli* 1971, 126-127.

Ambassador of Finland to Ethiopia and Kenya, Joel Pekuri, in Helsinki, in August 1971, but did not receive much help.<sup>240</sup> Jorma Iiskola wrote to the executive director of LEAF, Toivo Rapeli in November 1971.<sup>241</sup> He knew that Rapeli supported the idea of a village polytechnic, and that even more, so did Chairman Jouko Vuorinen, who had been Rapeli's travelling companion during LEAF's exploration expedition in 1969 when the association planned to start in Kenya. The representatives of both SLEAF and LEAF in December 1971 contacted the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and met its representatives. They attempted to obtain funds for a village polytechnic from the Finnish development aid to Kenya. In this discussion they referred to Kalervo Siikala's encouraging words. It became clear, however, that the government of Finland would only fund projects, which were included in the official plans of the Government of Kenya.<sup>242</sup>

Both the Lutheran Church of Kenya and SLEAF had similar concerns about youth and education, but they had different plans for tackling the issue. One of the priorities according to the long list, which President Nchogu presented in October 1971, was education. The president proposed the building of a private secondary school with boarding facilities, and one or two village polytechnics. The other requests exceeded the resources of SLEAF, but a village polytechnic was appropriate and Kenyan pastor Richard Olak, from Luoland approved Iiskola's plan. In the summer of 1972, Olak visited the Ministry for Foreign Affairs together with SLEAF's representatives during his visit to Finland, however, he could not obtain support for the plans to start a village polytechnic either. One reason was that Finland did not want to take Kenya as a new bilateral partner in development co-operation, in addition to its nine existing partners. Another reason was that Finland had yet not channelled development co-operation funds through NGOs, and was not willing to make an

---

<sup>240</sup> Styrelse 18.9.1971 5 §. *Styrelse 1968-1973*. A-SLEF Vasa.

<sup>241</sup> Jorma Iiskola to Toivo Rapeli 26.11.1971, *UM 1970-1971* A-SLEF.

<sup>242</sup> "Muistiinpano keskustelusta 14.12.1971 koskien valtion tukea lähetysjärjestöjen opetustoiminnalle Keniassa" 1971. *UM*. A-SLEF.

exception and consider SLEAF's village polytechnic as a pilot project.<sup>243</sup> Martti Ahtisaari in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs emphasised again – at a meeting with representatives of the Finnish Missionary Society and Pentti Kaitera – that Finland can only support projects which are included in the development plan of Kenya. Support to the NGOs was not possible without political decisions.<sup>244</sup>

The attempt of SLEAF to get public funds through the Embassy of Kenya was also fruitless. The response was that public support was available only for projects included in the development programme of the Government of Kenya. Because the initiative should come from Kenya, SLEAF's Treasurer Ingmar Tollander and Sven Klemets were advised to contact the local Member of Parliament in Kenya and, through him, the Ministry of Development and Economic Planning.<sup>245</sup> At the same time as SLEAF was seeking public development funds for its village polytechnic, a committee of the Ministry of Education in Finland was considering the possibility of founding a vocational school in a developing country. The committee named Kenya as a possible location for the school, but did not mention the SLEAF plans.<sup>246</sup>

Although it was hard to get support for the plans for a village polytechnic, the idea remained on SLEAF's agenda. In 1974 Jorma Iiskola prepared a plan of the strategy for the educational work of SLEAF in Kenya. The first alternative was a private primary boarding

---

<sup>243</sup> "Kenialaisen pastori Richard Otieno Olakin vierailu kehitysyhteistyöosastolla 1972.7.5. Muistio", 1-2., Suomen kehitysapu Kenialle, yl. 1971-1975 I. *UM 12 R Kenia*. A-UM.

<sup>244</sup> Alpo Hukka informed the Finnish Missionary Council on 11.1.1973 of the meeting. Alpo Hukka: "Raportti käynnistä apulaisosastopäällikkö Ahtisaaren puheilla". *SLN 1971-1978*. A-ELK. Pentti Kaitera also reported on the meeting. *Kaitera 1973*. A-SLEY.

<sup>245</sup> Missionskomité 30.10.1972 8 §. *MUI 1968-74*. A-SLEF.

<sup>246</sup> On 30.9.1970, the Association of the Principals of Vocational Schools had made a proposal to establish a school in a developing country. The Ministry of Education appointed the committee on 25.1.1971, which presented its report on 10.4.1974. At least one member of the committee – Elina Visuri, whom Richard Olak had contacted when he visited the Ministry for Foreign Affairs – knew the SLEAF plans well. *Ammattikoulun perustamismahdollisuutta johonkin kehitysmaahan selvittävän työryhmän muistio 1974*. Johdanto, 1.

school, or a boarding class in the existing Atemo Primary School. This option came close to the repeated requests from the Lutheran Church of Kenya.<sup>247</sup> The other option was a village polytechnic that already had a plot in Abongo Dhoga, 1,5 km from Atemo. This kind of school was becoming popular in Kenya and also in the Lutheran Church of Kenya.<sup>248</sup> The second option was Iiskola's own favourite.<sup>249</sup> He said that a Christian boarding school should train Lutheran professionals or craftsmen for the Lutheran Church of Kenya and for the society.<sup>250</sup>

---

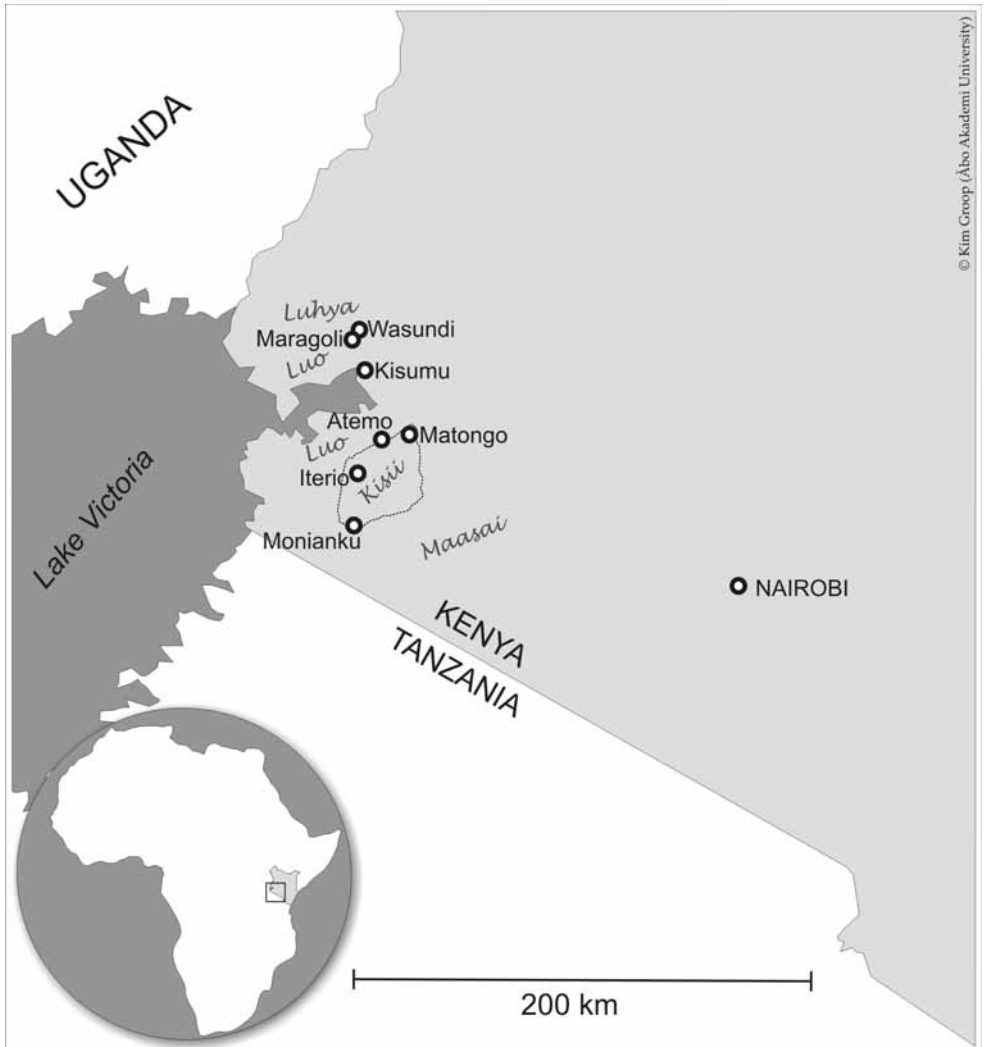
<sup>247</sup> "Lutherska kyrkans i Kenya memorandum till the Swedish Lutheran Mission (BV), SLEF och SLEY år 1970 genom the Lutheran Church of Kenya- representanterna: James O. Nchogu, Kyrkans president och Richard O. Olak, sekreterare i Executive Committee". *Årsrap. Kenya 1970*. A-SLEF; James O. Nchogu, "Kumbukumbu ya the Lutheran Church of Kenya iliyotolewa kwa Mheshimiwa Mch. H. Hildén Director wa Chama cha SLEAF, Atemo 26. Oct. 1971". the Lutheran Church of Kenya *Excom 1963-1976*. A-SLEF.

<sup>248</sup> Helge Hildén, "Från styrelse och arbetsutskott", *Sb 14/1972*, 11; *Hansson 1974*, 64.

<sup>249</sup> LV:n Kenian asiain kokous 7.12.1971 2 §. *JK 1971*. A-SLEY.

<sup>250</sup> Jorma Iiskola, "Förslag till utvidgad missionsverksamhet inom den Lutherska kyrkan i Kenya" 30.3.1974, I-II. *DYM 1974-80*. A-SLEF.

Map 2 SLEAF and LEAF in Kenya before 1974<sup>251</sup>



<sup>251</sup> The dotted line shows the boundaries of the Kisi District. The most important ethnic groups are written in *italics*.

## 2.3 The Orthodox

### 2.3.1 Who are the Orthodox?

After Russia defeated Sweden and conquered Finland in 1808-1809 the Russian Tsar, an Orthodox Christian, became the Grand Duke of an autonomous Finland. Areas in Karelia, in the south-east were united with other parts of Finland and because many of the inhabitants were Orthodox Christians, Finland received a Finnish speaking Orthodox minority. The diocese of Finland was founded in 1892 under the Patriarch of Moscow. In 1918 – a year after the Russian revolution – the Orthodox Church in Finland declared itself autonomous and five years later it joined the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople.<sup>252</sup>

The monasteries have been the most important Orthodox institutions and organisations in addition to the hierarchy. The Finnish Orthodox have also had some active societies. The most important of these has been the Brotherhood of Ss. Sergius and Herman (*Pyhän Sergein ja Hermanin Veljeskunta*, PSHV).

In World War II, Finland lost a substantial part of Karelia to the Soviet Union and its population was evacuated to other parts of Finland. The Karelian Orthodox had been a majority or at least a considerable minority in their home parishes. After the war, they were reduced to a minority of just past one per cent, scattered over large parts of Finland among other Finns who were mostly Lutherans. The Finnish Orthodox Church entered the 1960s under the leadership of Archbishop Paavali (1960-1988). During his tenure, the reconstruction after the war was over, and the pressure from the Patriarchate of Moscow had diminished, so the Finnish Orthodox could become better acquainted with their Lutheran neighbours, among whom they had been scattered after the war, and they were able to seek contact with their Orthodox brethren abroad as a counterbalance.<sup>253</sup>

---

<sup>252</sup> Koukkunen 1982, 9.

<sup>253</sup> Koukkunen 1982, 97, 128, 137 and 198.

According to the canons of the Orthodox Church, the whole of Africa is under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Alexandria. The long tradition from the early church continued in Egypt although the Greek colony almost disappeared after the country became formally independent and was declared a republic in 1953. There were about 200,000 ethnic Greeks living in Egypt in 1953, and in 1972 15,000 were left and this number was reduced to 2,000 in the early 1990s.<sup>254</sup> The Greeks in other African countries became important for the Patriarchate and it founded three new archbishoprics in Africa in 1958, one of them in Dar es-Salaam (in Greek *Irinoupolis*) for the Orthodox Church in East Africa.

The African Orthodox Church was a part of the Black Nationalist movement that started in America in the early 1900s. Arthur Gathuna belonged to a Kikuyu movement which was started in 1929 with the purpose of obtaining independence from missionary churches. The national Kikuyu founded their own schools and the Kikuyu Karing'a Educational Association to link together these schools. The African Orthodox Church in Kenya was the religious side of the Kikuyu Karing'a Educational Association and Gathuna was the leader of this church. The Kikuyu Karing'a Educational Association defended the rights of the Kikuyu to possess their ancestors' lands, and the African Orthodox Church wanted to preserve the pure and traditional "orthodox" (*karing'a*) Kikuyu religion. The national movement succeeded in creating a school system independent of foreign missions in the 1930s, and founded the Kenya African Teachers' College. When Jomo Kenyatta became the director of this college in the late 1940s, it was a stronghold of the nationalists.

Among the Luhya in Western Kenya, north of Kisumu, a group had also left their Protestant missions. They joined the Kikuyu leader Arthur Gathuna and the African Orthodox Church calling their church the African Greek Orthodox Church.<sup>255</sup> The Ugandan Church

---

<sup>254</sup> *Petros* s.a., 5. A-OL.

<sup>255</sup> *Corfield* 1960, 109; Anastasios Yannoulatos "Among the Orthodox of West Kenya" *PGY* Vol. VIII Nr 26 1966, 25-26.

leader Reuben Spartas came in contact with the Greek Orthodox and visited Alexandria in 1946. The Patriarch of Alexandria accepted Spartas and Gathuna in 1946. Spartas' contact with the Greek Orthodox was important because in consequence Ugandan youth obtained the opportunity to study abroad and meet Orthodox students from other countries. Gathuna became Vicar in Charge in Kenya, but he continued calling his church the African Orthodox Church in Kenya.<sup>256</sup> His church maintained its nationalist and independent character.<sup>257</sup> In 1952, the British colonial administration declared a state of emergency because of the Mau Mau uprising. The national organisations were suppressed and the independent educational system destroyed.

### **2.3.2 Understandings of Mission**

The new contacts with the African Orthodox created a mission awakening among the Orthodox in Europe. The Inter-Orthodox Missionary Centre *Porefthentes* was founded in Athens in 1961, and it stated its vision of the Church as bringing salvation to all the world. The Statement finally offered a rhetorical question considering the present condition of the Orthodox Church,

“We do not preserve Orthodoxy by simply admiring her life of worship and her doctrine...A Church which shows no missionary activity, which does not participate in Christ's agony on the Cross for the salvation of the entire world, for the growth of the Body of the Church into its final dimensions, for the accomplishment of the divine plan of Redemption (see Mt 24.24)[.] is [she] really an alive Body of Christ, truly Orthodox, a guard of the spirit of the One, Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church to which Our Lord entrusted the continuation of His redemptory work?”<sup>258</sup>

---

<sup>256</sup> C. K. Kibue “The African Greek Orthodox Church in Kenya” *PGY* Vol Nr 12 1961, 54.

<sup>257</sup> *Barrett*, 1973, 184; In a diagram on expansion of Christianity of Kenya, the three big groups are the Catholics, the Anglicans and together the Independent and Orthodox. *Barrett* 1973, 158.

<sup>258</sup> The first 5-years report of the Inter-Orthodox Missionary Centre *Porefthentes* ends with this vision. “Activity Report 1961-1966”, *PGY*, Vol. VIII Nr 32 1966, 53; the Report copies text written when the Inter-Orthodox Missionary Centre *Porefthentes* was founded five years earlier. *PGY*, Vol III Nr 11, 1961, 37-38.



The Orthodox in Eastern Europe had not had any possibility to participate in foreign mission but other Orthodox in their national churches had also stayed passive. Therefore, the Inter-Orthodox Missionary Centre stressed the universal calling of the Orthodox Church. The missionary efforts had to be applied to local life. Sending of liturgical equipment and sacerdotal vestments to the mission field was a part of missionary work. The Protestants had translated the Bible but the Orthodox also had to translate their own liturgical texts, prayer books and catechisms.<sup>259</sup>

After the state of emergency ended in 1959, the African Orthodox church experienced a phenomenal expansion. Its congregations had 30,000 adult members before the Emergency but quite soon after, in the early 1970s, it numbered 100,000 adult members and was the fourth largest church in Kenya according to the statistics.<sup>260</sup> Although George<sup>261</sup> Gathuna was consecrated assistant bishop by the Patriarch, his Orthodox education was defective and he had learned to follow Protestant customs and service books. George Gathuna did not understand the sacraments in the same way as the Orthodox theologians. The Holy Baptism was the tool of church growth and created the community in Gathuna's African Orthodox Church in Kenya, not the Holy Eucharist. The priests of the Alexandrian Patriarchate had to follow the orthodox liturgy in the Eucharist, but the form of the service was not essential in the African Orthodox Church, and Gathuna himself did not follow the traditional orthodox liturgy, nor was he able to teach it to his priests. The African Orthodox in Kenya followed in the beginning a liturgy they had received from a Protestant handbook.<sup>262</sup>

---

<sup>259</sup> "Activity Report 1961-1966", *PGY*, Vol. VIII Nr 32 1966, 51.

<sup>260</sup> *Barrett, Mambo et al.* 1973, 232.

<sup>261</sup> Arthur Gathuna took the first name George in the Orthodox Church.

<sup>262</sup> Archbishop Daniel William Alexander from the African Orthodox Church in South Africa, taught the former Protestant and Anglican Christians from Uganda and Kenya who wanted to join the Orthodox Church. "Alexander drew heavily from the Anglican Prayer Book and from Catholic materials he borrowed from the nearby Catholic mission at Gatanga. The Archbishop also used *The Divine Liturgy*, the official Order of Service in the AOC. It was a blend of the Catholic and Anglican ritual originally composed in New York in September, 1921. Alexander had it reprinted in

The fast growing African Orthodox Church satisfied the inner desires of the Kenyans. Those who joined the African Orthodox were baptised, received a Christian name and joined a genuine African church. This church belonged to the same national movement as the charismatic leader Jomo Kenyatta and most members were Kikuyu.<sup>263</sup> Gathuna's idea was that Kenya needed a national Kenyan church resembling the Anglican Church in England. When the African Independent Churches made attempts to increase cooperation that might eventually create a large national church, the African Orthodox Church in Kenya was among the candidates as an African Initiated Church.<sup>264</sup>

### 2.3.3 Organisation and Administration

Ugandan Orthodox students in Europe in the late 1950s inspired willingness among other Orthodox to start missionary work in East Africa, but it was difficult to incorporate a mission society in the Orthodox hierarchy.<sup>265</sup> The Synod of the Orthodox Church in Finland could not see any possibility of connecting mission activities with the existing hierarchical structure. Viktor Turhanen had contacted the Ecumenical Patriarch, and Patriarch Athenagoras had promised to give his blessing to the founding of an Orthodox missionary society in Finland, if the Archbishop of Finland would send him a letter concerning this issue. Turhanen wrote a letter to Archbishop Herman, and in this letter presented the matter to the Synod of the Finnish Orthodox Church. The Synod decided that Turhanen's letter did not call for any action. The contacts with the East African Orthodox

---

Nairobi 1936." *Sandgren* 1989, 102. It is also apparent that Gathuna and his followers neither knew the canons of the Orthodox Church nor followed them in their ecclesiastic and private life.

<sup>263</sup> *Barrett* 1973, 184-185.

<sup>264</sup> *Beetham* 1973, 153; *Barrett, Mambo et al* 1973, 153, 205, 265, 271 and 285. Kenya Churches Handbook includes three lists of churches involved in attempts to found a common council, and, with one exception, AOC is the largest of the churches in the list.

<sup>265</sup> Ugandan students Theodoros Nankyama and Elias Buzinde and Anastasios Yannoulatos at an international Orthodox youth meeting in Finland in 1964. *Iltola* 1983, 13-14; about slow progress in organisation "Activity Report 1961-1966", *PGY*, Vol. VIII Nr 32 1966, 52; *Iltola* 1983, 10-12.

continued for ten years as just a sideline of some the individual Orthodox members.<sup>266</sup>

The VI General Assembly of the Inter-Orthodox youth organisation Syndesmos in Punkaharju in June-July 1964 was of great significance for the host country, Finland.<sup>267</sup> Archmandrite Anastasios Yannoulatos had visited East Africa in June 1964. He was a first-rate expert in matters concerning the Orthodoxy in East Africa. He belonged to the first General Secretariat of the Executive Committee for External Mission in Greece, was the editor of the Orthodox mission quarterly "Porefthendes – Go Ye" and was a member of the International Committee for Mission Studies of the World Council of Churches. He could bring fresh greetings from the Orthodox in East Africa whom he had recently met.<sup>268</sup> Two Ugandan students Theodoros Nankyama and Elias Buzinde also participated in the meeting, and could describe the life and needs of the Orthodox brethren in East Africa.<sup>269</sup>

When Anastasios Yannoulatos described his visit to Kenya, he spoke with respect about Arthur Gathuna and other native Kenyan pastors and lay Christians. The Finns were impressed. Ugandan Archmandrite Theodoros Nankyama met Wilho Rinne in Thessalonike in 1966. Rinne had left his position as Lutheran teacher of religion and was starting studies of Orthodox theology in Greece. This new career led him to the highest positions in the Orthodox Church in Finland, and as Metropolitan Johannes, became a central figure in missionary work of the Orthodox in Finland. Nankyama described how the Orthodox in East Africa needed schools and other help from abroad.<sup>270</sup>

---

<sup>266</sup> *Iltola* 1983, 10-12. Viktor Turhanen was a student of theology when he started to encourage the Finnish Orthodox to begin missionary work.

<sup>267</sup> *Koukkunen* 1982, 164.

<sup>268</sup> Anastasios Yannoulatos, "Among the Orthodox in West Kenya", *PGY*, Vol. VII Nr 26 1965, 24-28; Anastasios Yannoulatos, "Among the Orthodox in West Kenya", *PGY*, Vol. VII Nr 27-28 1965, 48-51.

<sup>269</sup> *Iltola* 1983, 13. Reuben Spartas left the Archdiocese of Irinoupolis in 1966 and founded the African Greek Orthodox Church South of Sahara. *Barrett* 1982, 687.

<sup>270</sup> *Iltola* 1983, 14.

The first archbishop of Irinoupolis, Nikolaos Varelopoulos was elected the Patriarch of Alexandria in 1968. The ties between the centre of the patriarchate and Kenya were strengthened even more when the seat of the Archbishop of Irinoupolis was transferred to Nairobi in 1969.<sup>271</sup>

The Ugandan priest Elias Buzinde travelled around Finland in spring 1970 arousing mission enthusiasm among the Finnish Orthodox. The committee of the Brotherhood of Ss. Sergius and Herman held a meeting in March 1970. After the meeting, the committee opened a mission account and founded a Commission for Foreign Mission.<sup>272</sup> It soon became evident that mission work within the Brotherhood of Ss. Sergius and Herman was only a temporary solution. The organisation was clumsy and it had difficulties handling financial matters, although this was an essential part of the activity when people wanted to support missionary work.<sup>273</sup> The mission friends had founded a mission group in Helsinki in 1971 and similar groups in other locations after that, following the example of the Finnish Lutherans.

In November 1972, the Administrative Board of the Orthodox Church in Finland proposed that the local congregations found mission committees.<sup>274</sup> The Commission and committees could keep contact with Orthodox living in foreign countries and organise fund-raisings but they could not plan and carry out development projects, although they received frequent requests to do this from the East Africans.

Although the Synod of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria nominated Arthur Gathuna auxiliary bishop in 1972, and Archbishop Frumentios consecrated him in Nairobi in 1973 by the name George

---

<sup>271</sup> Anastasios Yannoulatos, "The Orthodox Church in Kenya", 1. *Holy Archbishopric of Irinoupolis* administration/Kenya 1986. A-OL. Nikolaos Varelopoulos was the Archbishop of Irinoupolis 1958-1968 and the Patriarch of Alexandria 1968-1986.

<sup>272</sup> It was called: "Pyhän Sergein ja Hermanin Veljeskunnan (PSHV) lähetysjaosto." *Iltola* 1983, 14-15.

<sup>273</sup> PSHV:n lähetysjaosto 23.9.1974 11 § and 20.1.1975 9 §. *PSHV:n lähetysjaosto*. OL 31.3.1977 5 §. *JK 1977-1989*. A-OL.

<sup>274</sup> *Iltola* 1983, 17.

Gathuna, he continued to lead the African Orthodox Church in Kenya in an independent way.<sup>275</sup>

### 2.3.4 Development Projects

When international development aid began, the United Nations made up a list of underdeveloped countries. The list consisted of almost all countries in Africa and Asia and a few in Europe; one of these was Greece. As a relatively poor country, Greece did not have the same experience as the Nordic countries in development projects in foreign countries. The Greeks were, however, used to offering scholarships to students from less developed countries. In the late 1960s, about 70 East African students were sent by the Orthodox abroad, to Greece and other countries.<sup>276</sup> They came from Uganda, not from Kenya, but some of them who had graduated abroad later worked in Kenya. However, most of them did not return to East Africa.<sup>277</sup>

According to the Education Act of 1968 in the independent Kenya, the schools were secular but churches could participate in education. After thirty years, the nationalist movement had won the battle against the dominance of the mission schools, but the church schools still distinguished themselves. The African Orthodox saw that they did not have as good schools as the other churches. In this new situation, they felt neglected and started to request schools and scholarships from their Christian sisters and brothers abroad.<sup>278</sup> In the 1970s the Orthodox were also to be involved in development cooperation.

---

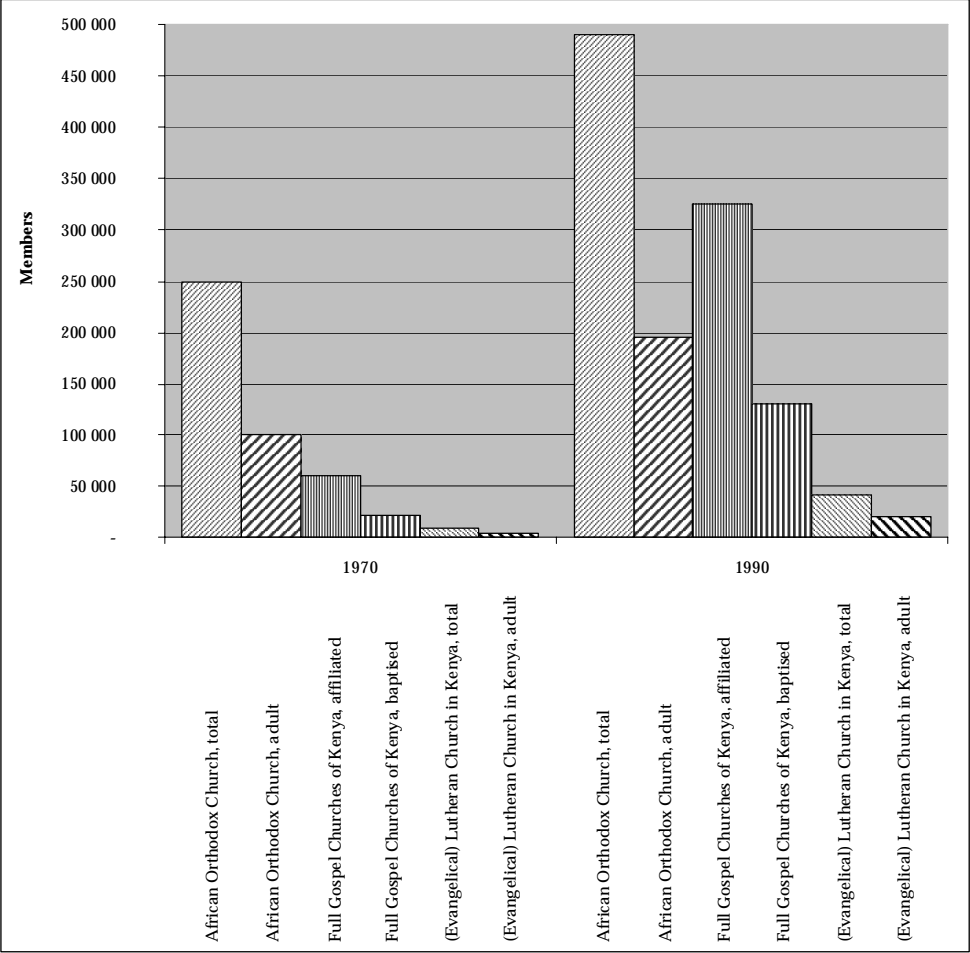
<sup>275</sup> Anastasios Yannoulatos, "The Orthodox Church in Kenya", 3. *Holy Archbishopric of Irinoupolis* administration/Kenya 1986. A-OL.

<sup>276</sup> *Wentink* 1968, 39.

<sup>277</sup> It is estimated that maybe 10% returned. *Hakonen*, interview 13.12.1993.

<sup>278</sup> C. K. Kibue "The African Orthodox Church in Kenya", *PGY*, Vol. III Nr 12 1961, 55; Anastasios Yannoulatos "Among the Orthodox of West Kenya", *PGY*, Vol. VII Nr 27-28 1965, 50.

*Figure 1 Membership of the Kenyan partner churches of the Finnish Pentecostals, Lutherans and Orthodox 1970 and 1990*



Because the Pentecostals only counted adult members but Lutherans and Orthodox received also infants in the baptism, there are two figures for each church: with children and without children.<sup>279</sup> The figures of the Orthodox are problematic because the African Orthodox gave about four times higher figures for the Orthodox in Kenya than the Archdiocese of Irinoupolis.<sup>280</sup>

---

<sup>279</sup> The data in 1970 are from Table 5 in *Barrett* 1973, 184-187. The data on AOC and FGCK in 1990 are from *Johnstone* 1993, 330; ELCK's total membership is from *Onderi* 1991, 98, and number of adult members is estimated. The figures in World Christian Encyclopedia in 1982 are practically the same as in *Barrett* 1973 nine years earlier.

<sup>280</sup> Some sources provide information that there were several hundred thousand Orthodox in Kenya, some others count about 60,000. The Kenya Churches Handbook counts a total membership of 250,000. *Barrett* 1973, 184. Operation World counts 196,000 members and 490,000 affiliated in the Church in Kenya. *Johnstone* 1993, 330. This multitude may be baptised by the African Orthodox priests but had no contact with the eucharistic life of the Archdiocese of Irinoupolis. According to Maria Iltola's report 4.9.1977, Archbishop Frumentios counted 65,000 and Auxiliary Bishop Gathuna 250,000 members. Maria Iltola: Selostus Kenian ja Ugandan matkasta 28.8.1977. *Lähetysmappi 1978*. A-OL. There were about 10,000 Orthodox in both Tanzania and Uganda in 1980. If the archbishop of Irinoupolis has included them, his diocese counted less than 50,000 members in Kenya. *Barrett* 1982, 662 and 688. FOM Mission Secretary Anja Hakonen may have included members loyal to the Patriarch of Alexandria 13 years later when she counted 60,000 members. Anja Hakonen "Ortodoksisen lähetystyön periaatteita", *AK* 84(4)/1990, 62-63. *Lähetysmappi 1978*. A-OL. The huge numbers may not be imaginary; the Finnish missionaries saw a long list of members in a local congregation and hundreds of people coming to baptism in many locations. Maria Iltola and Siina Taulamo, "Report from the visit to the District of Nyeri" 5.2.1978 to Bishop George A. Gathuna. *Lähetysmappi 1978*. A-OL; Siina Taulamo and Maria Iltola, "Report on "The Finnish Mission in Kenya 1.11.1978 - 20.5.1978" 20.5.1978 to The Orthodox Mission of Finland, Metropolitan John of Helsinki, 3-4, *Lähetysmappi 1978*. A-OL. The high numbers of baptisms were important for the African Orthodox priests because baptism charges were an essential source of their income. *Iltola* 1983, 68.

### 3 The Mission Agencies Participate in Development Cooperation using Public Funds 1974-1989

In 1974, the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs approved the plans to channel public funds into development co-operation through the non-governmental organisations (NGOs). It ratified criteria for applications in July 1974 and decided to grant FIM 300,000 to the non-governmental organisations in that year. The projects were to be in harmony with Finnish development policy and the development policy and plans in the target country.<sup>281</sup> This amount increased so that the NGOs received FIM 500,000 in 1975 and 1976. The mission agencies received about one third of this amount.<sup>282</sup> The Ministry for Foreign Affairs made the condition more precise still, requesting that the authorities in the target country had to approve the projects. According to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the ministry for planning, finance or equivalent must explicitly give its approval. The contribution of the organisation was at least 50% of the costs.<sup>283</sup>

The Finnish Missionary Council was not content with the amount granted by the government, but the Ministry for Foreign Affairs was not able not promise more when contacted by the council in 1976.<sup>284</sup> The situation changed suddenly when a minority government needed the support of the Christian Union (*Suomen Kristillinen Liitto*). This party with nine members of Parliament promised to support the budget proposal of the government if it would include FIM 1,500,000 for development co-operation through mission organisations and grants for the Christian press. The government agreed but made a small but important change in the original proposal. The Christian Union had requested money for supporting development co-

---

<sup>281</sup> "Arvostelukriteerit koskien kansalaisjärjestöjen määräraahakemuksia". Kansalaisjärjestöjen kehitysavun tukeminen. Määräraha-anomukset v. 1975 yleensä. *UM 12 R Suomi 10*. A-UM.

<sup>282</sup> *Kehitysyhteistyö 4/1978*, 21.

<sup>283</sup> "Arvostelukriteerit koskien kansalaisjärjestöjen määräraahakemuksia". Kansalaisjärjestöjen kehitysavun tukeminen. Määräraha-anomukset v. 1975 yleensä. *UM 12 R Suomi 10*. A-UM.

<sup>284</sup> *SLN 12.05.1976 6 §. SLN 1971-1978*. A-ELK.



operation of mission organisations, Parliament however, did not grant money for supporting this work but for expanding it.<sup>285</sup> This meant that other non-governmental organisations gained, too, because they shared the same amount of FIM 500,000 and, in addition to this, the mission agencies received their own grant.<sup>286</sup> The Finnish Missionary Council sent a letter of thanks to the Christian Union and continued co-operation with this party.<sup>287</sup> Because the extra grant for mission agencies was just for the year 1977, the Finnish Missionary Council turned with success to all political parties in order to get it renewed.<sup>288</sup> Subsequently, funds for development co-operation through mission agencies remained as a separate item in the budget up to 1988.

The Finnish government also granted funds to the non-governmental organisations for development information. This grant affected the position of social work in the mission agencies. The missions needed more money if they were to expand their social work using funds from the government because they had to pay one half of the costs. The grant for information offered them an opportunity to propagate their activity and gain more support for their social projects. A side effect was that this information enhanced the impression that social work had become very important in missionary work.

---

<sup>285</sup> Valtiovarainministeriön mietintö n:o 111. *1976 valtiopäivät*. Asiakirjat C 1. Esitys n:o 131.

<sup>286</sup> 1976: all NGOs 500,000; 1977 mission agencies 1,500,000 + other NGOs 500,000.

<sup>287</sup> SLN 20.07.1977 6 and 7 §. *SLN 1971-1978*. A-ELK.

<sup>288</sup> SLN 29.11.1977 3 § and 19.01.1978 4 §. *SLN 1971-1978*. A-ELK. Elly *Sigfrids* in a letter to Jaakko Lounela 11.5.2000. A-Lounela.

## 3.1 The Pentecostals

### 3.1.1 Understandings of Mission

In the 1960s, the ecumenical Christians criticised the evangelical Christians for only concentrating on evangelism.<sup>289</sup> Many evangelicals admitted a bias in their missionary work and corrected this weakness during the 1970s and 1980s. This change also became apparent in Finland and it supported the positive tone towards government aid in the information given out by the Finnish Pentecostals. Evangelising work continued, but did not get as much publicity as social work

Because the Finnish Pentecostal missionaries had long been involved in social work, they had received support from public and private sponsors according to their needs and situations. Before public development aid became an issue in the 1970s, the Pentecostal missionaries had already, often taken care of needy individuals. The new issue was that the contemporary development projects supported by public funds were intended for founding and running institutions. In Finland, the new situation was that the genuine mission agencies – the loose local Pentecostal congregations – were not able to plan or run development projects. These needed a large cooperation and a professional attitude.

#### *Development Aid under Discussion*

When it became clear that there could not be any interdenominational Christian development agency, the work of *Lähetysten Kehitysapu* (Missionary Development Aid, LKA)<sup>290</sup> had already started and the Pentecostals had to define their attitude to the LKA and development aid as an internal matter. The Finnish government only promised to pay one part of the costs of the development projects. The LKA had to

---

<sup>289</sup> About the change from Wheaton Conference in 1966 through Lausanne Congress in 1974 to Manilla Conference in 1989 in *Smedjebacka* 2001, 144-151.

<sup>290</sup> The Finnish Pentecostals used the Finnish acronym *LKA* also in English instead of the English name the International Relief and Development Aid (of the Finnish Free Foreign Mission).

organise fund raisings from 1974 in order to support Pentecostal mission stations mentioned in the applications. The LKA team asked members of the Pentecostal congregations to carry out these fund-raisings. Many Pentecostals feared that the needs of development aid would divert offerings made by the members, from spiritual work to social targets.

It was several years before Pentecostal leaders could express a common opinion about the relationship between development aid and missionary work. The Mission Conference in Jyväskylä in October 1977 gave a statement on this issue. The Pentecostal leaders said that missionary work included proclaiming the Gospel, preaching, health care and supporting needy people like orphans. The offerings of the members were intended for these purposes. When the Pentecostals contacted people outside of their movement and they referred to improving external circumstances, they could use the expression “development aid”. In this activity they could use public funds for building orphanages, dispensaries, health centres, hospitals and hiring staff for these institutions.<sup>291</sup>

The Winter Conference in 1978 accepted this principle but also reminded the Pentecostals that proclaiming the Gospel was the primary thing in missionary work and drew a clear distinction between evangelism and development aid. It was not right to use the offerings of the congregations for development aid or to use funds from the government for spiritual work.<sup>292</sup>

The Pentecostals showed on various occasions that they had good relationships with people in high positions in Kenya as well as in Finland. In 1977 the LKA published a brochure – *Auttavat Kädet*<sup>293</sup> – which outlined the fund raising strategy. This brochure stressed contacts with the Kenyan Vice President Daniel arap Moi, the Kenyan Ministers of Finances and Foreign Affairs, and also with the Finnish

---

<sup>291</sup> "Lähetysten Kehitysavun näkymiä" (report), *RV* 5/2.2.1978, 6.

<sup>292</sup> Valtter Luoto, "Evankeliumia ja kehitysapua", *RV* 4/26.1.1978.

<sup>293</sup> In English Helping Hands.

Prime Minister Kalevi Sorsa and the Government of Finland. It also mentioned that the Government of Kenya had donated plots for projects in Kenya. The guidelines for fund raisers encouraged these to mention the United Nations and the Government of Finland as backers of their activity.<sup>294</sup> The members of the Pentecostal churches who asked for contributions wanted to assure the contributors that the secular government was on their side and that the Pentecostals collected money in order to implement the ideas of the public development programme in their mission fields.

The question of the position of development work in the FFFM activity was officially decided when the FFFM Annual Meeting completed its bylaws on 21 June 1979. As its aim, it mentioned undertaking development aid as well as missionary work in Finland and abroad. When describing its work in detail, it listed, in addition to its old bylaws, participating in relief work in developing countries, organising health care and education, taking care of orphans and other social work among needy people. The addition in the bylaws also stated that the FFFM acts as an agent and a seller of products prepared for educational purposes in its development aid projects. Its fund raisings can be intended for missionary or development aid work. There are two noteworthy things in this text. Firstly, the Pentecostals still used the expression “development aid” although others preferred the expression “development cooperation”. Secondly, development aid is now mentioned on a par with missionary work.<sup>295</sup> The idea was still to collect money for development projects from outsiders, and use the offerings of the Pentecostals for traditional missionary work.<sup>296</sup> It was, however, often difficult to know whether the donor was a Pentecostal or not.

---

<sup>294</sup> Vilho Kivikangas, "Apu menee perille" *ST* 1/1984, 3.

<sup>295</sup> Annual Meeting of the FFFM in 29.6.1979. SuVUL:n vuosikokous 21.6.1979. Muutosehdotus sääntöjen pykäliin 3 ja 5. *Yhdistys 1946-1982*. A-SuVUL.

<sup>296</sup> Unto Kunnas, "Kristillinen kehitysapu epätsekästä auttamista", *RV* 18/3.5.1984, 2. Ristin Voitto informed in 1990, that 90% of customers at the FFFM's second hand shops were not members of the Pentecostal movement. Freija Salomaa, "Pikkuliikkeistä halleiksi". *RV* 10/8.3.1990, 8; even 95% were outsiders according to *Kivikangas* 1989, 85.

### *The Position of Development Projects is Clarified*

After over ten years of activity, the manager of the LKA Kalevi Helimäki summarised the principles of the LKA, in its Annual Report of 1985;

- First, in countries where evangelizing is approved, the LKA has to relieve from other duties those who have a calling to evangelise.
- Second, in countries where it is not possible to evangelise openly, the LKA has to open doors and create opportunities.
- Third, the LKA has to ensure that the aid money reaches its destination, and that the recipients are guided to [carrying out] voluntary development work in their country.<sup>297</sup>

The second point was often stressed, but the Kenyan government did not persecute missionaries or hinder missionary work.<sup>298</sup> On the contrary, the authorities had a positive attitude towards Christian missions. The government, as well as the people, was used to getting social services from mission agencies, and favoured development minded organisations.

Because the LKA had gathered together development minded Pentecostals, they all had similar principles. The situation was more complicated in the entire Pentecostal movement because the opinions varied very much. In 1985, the Winter Conference decided to publish a declaration on the principles of the Pentecostal missionary work, which was printed in the organ of the Pentecostal movement, *Ristin Voitto*. This declaration repeated a short statement from 1963 that consisted of two sentences. These two sentences expressed the congregational principle that mission was cooperation between a congregation in Finland and a missionary out in the field. The FFFM

---

<sup>297</sup> Lähetyksen Kehitysavun toiminta-ajatuksena on: 1. Vapauttaa evankeliumin julistamiskutsun saaneet lähetystyöntekijät kutsumukseensa niissä maissa, joissa evankeliumin julistaminen on vapaata. 2. Avata ovia ja mahdollisuuksia siellä, missä julistustyö ei ole mahdollista. 3. Huolehtia siitä, että apu menee perille ja että avun saajat ohjataan omaehtoiseen kehitystyöhön maassaan. Kalevi Helimäki, *LKA 1985*, 3.

<sup>298</sup> When the Executive Committee of the Board of the FFFM expressed its opinion about the draft regarding the constitution of LKA, it said that the development aid should concentrate on countries where it is necessary for evangelism. Työvaliokunnan kokous 3/82 38 § 17.12.1982. *Pöytäkirjoja 1978-1984*. A-Kivikangas. E.g. many Communist and Islamic countries did not accept evangelising missionaries.

was only a voluntary organisation assisting this work, not supervising it. The new declaration, which was two pages long, enumerated different forms of cooperation in detail. The FFFM could assist in these areas, but the declaration emphasised the same congregational principle and the opinion that, according to the Bible, no society or association can lead missionary work. The FFFM was indeed a servant. It played the role of a real supervisor in only one thing: in the activities of the LKA.<sup>299</sup>

At the Summer Conference in June 1985, after difficult negotiations about the position of the LKA, the Mission Secretary of the FFFM, Tapani Kärnä, outlined how the character of the LKA was different from missionary work. According to Kärnä, the voluntary offerings to the churches were intended for evangelism. This was in accordance with Jesus' commandment to win souls and found churches, and also with the teaching of the Bible to aid the poor and heal the sick. The LKA carried out humanitarian work with public funds, separately from the congregational work. Its workers had the right to serve as preachers and soul winners in the local church, as private persons according to their spiritual gifts, besides their tasks in the development aid.<sup>300</sup>

The FFFM Annual Report summarised the outcome of the discussions during 1985 in two points: 1. The Pentecostals would receive money from the Finnish government, with a clear conscience, as long as the government did not try to steer the missionary activities of the

---

<sup>299</sup> SuVUL:n osuutena on antaa virka- ja asiantuntija-apua, hoitaa seurakuntien ja lähetyskenttien välistä rahaliikennettä, koordinoida yhteisiä tapahtumia, hoitaa tiedotuspalvelua, pitää yllä yhteyksiä kotimaan seurakuntiin ja järjestöihin, palvella lähetysaarnajien perus- ja jatkokoulutuksen järjestelyissä, valvoa Lähetysten Kehitysavun toimintoja, toimia erityiskohteiden toimikuntien yhdyselimenä ja harjoittaa kaikkinaista lähetystyöhön kuuluvaa palvelua. Talvipäivät 15-17.1.1985 Tampereella. *Veljeskokousten pöytäkirjat 1966-1986*. A-RV.

<sup>300</sup> Lähetyssehteri [Tapani Kärnä]. "Tiedotus 1985 kesäkonferenssin veljeskokouksessa Hämeenlinnan Saalem-rukoushuoneella 20.6.85". Kesäkonferenssi 20.6.1985. 14 §. *Veljeskokousten pöytäkirjat 1966-1986*. A-RV. When Kärnä had become the Mission Secretary in 1983, he had expressed the same principle that the development aid is humanitarian work, but the worker as an individual person spreads the Gospel according to his gifts. Tapani Kärnä, "Lähetystyön suosion salaisuus" *HSE* Extra/1983, 12.

congregations with this money. 2. The contributions to the LKA had not reduced offerings to missionary work, but rather increased them. It was admitted that the FFFM had gained materially from common facilities and equipment with the LKA, and predicted good cooperation in the future.<sup>301</sup> The friends of the LKA had to admit, however, that the fear of the opponents was not only imaginary. The contributions to the LKA increased in 1987 by FIM 1,400,000 – from FIM 1,700,000 to FIM 3,740,000 – but the mission offerings decreased by FIM 800,000 – from FIM 16,670,000 to FIM 15,850,000.<sup>302</sup>

At the next Winter Conference in 1986, Mission Secretary Tapani Kärnä again stressed that the soul winning was the objective of all workers in mission fields. The evangelists and teachers had this as their target, but the nurses, builders, technicians and other development aid workers also were soul winners<sup>303</sup> Therefore, the social activities were, at best, supporting the real missionary work. These two were not mutually exclusive, but rather the social activity supported the missionary work.<sup>304</sup> Kai Antturi, the leader of the *Saalem* in Helsinki, the largest Pentecostal church in Finland, said that development aid of the Pentecostals supported soul winning. If development work did not have this target, the believers should leave it, to the Red Cross and other secular organisations.<sup>305</sup> When the friends of the development aid justified the activities of the LKA they often described how it opened doors for genuine missionary work.<sup>306</sup>

---

<sup>301</sup> Kärnä, "Helluntaiseurakuntien lähetystyö 1985", 4. A-Lounela.

<sup>302</sup> SuVUL Tuloslaskelma, LKA Tuloslaskelma. *SuVUL 1987*. A-SuVUL. Mission offerings decreased slightly still in 1988 (FIM 15,300,000) but increased in 1989 (FIM 17,350,000). Contributions to LKA continued to grow from 1988 (FIM 4,800,000) to 1989 (FIM 5,800,000).

<sup>303</sup> Tapani Kärnä. Talvipäivät Kuopiossa 21-23.1.1986. *Veljeskokousten pöytäkirjat 1966-1986*. A-RV.

<sup>304</sup> Tapani Kärnä, "Lähetystyöhön uudistumisen tietä", *RV 27/3.7.1986*, 3. Kärnä's predecessor Mission Secretary, Veikko Manninen, and the development co-ordinator in Kenya, Åke Söderlund, also emphasised the priority of evangelism in this discussion. kajaa [Kaj Aalto], "Lähetystyön painopiste", *RV 5/30.1.1986*, 16; Åke H. Söderlund, "Ihmeet seuraavat evankeliumia", *RV14/3.4.1986*, 7.

<sup>305</sup> Kai Antturi, "Lähetystyön strategia 2", *RV40/2.10.1986*, 4.

<sup>306</sup> The autumn meeting of the FFFM revised the mission strategy in 26.9.1987 but did not write that the strategy was approved on behalf the FFFM. *Lähetysstrategian tarkistusta*. 1987. A-Lounela; Kenya in general: Arto Hämäläinen, "Onko

The chairman of the LKA, Vilho Kivikangas, emphasised the holistic nature of the Christian mission.<sup>307</sup> A new theological theme arose at the end of the 1980s when the mission was described as the work of the Triune God.<sup>308</sup>

In January 1987, after the Finnish government promised that contributions to development cooperation would be exempt from taxes, the FFFM and the LKA together published a statement. It expressed the priority of the evangelism and, especially, pioneer evangelism. It also made a clear distinction between the money for mission and the money for development aid, stressing that the FFFM would do its missionary work with the offerings of the believers.<sup>309</sup>

A new phase began in the FFFM and the LKA in September 1987 when Arto Hämäläinen succeeded Tapio Kärnä as the mission secretary of the FFFM. Hämäläinen had seen development aid as an important part of Christian life as early as in the mid-1970s and had founded the short-lived *Suomen Kristillinen Kehitysyhteistyö* (Finnish Christian Development Aid, FINCO) with other Pentecostals thinking in the same way (see p. 109). At the Autumn Meeting in 1987, the FFFM published a strategy for missionary work. The FFFM had no authority to act in the name of the whole Pentecostal movement, but it sent this memo to the local churches. It also presented the memo at a

---

kehitysyhteistyömme rakenne oikea?" (article), *RV* 50/14.12.1989, 2; In discussion between the FFFM and FGCK: Kalevi Helimäki/ to FGCK 17.7.1987 on Kenyanisation. *Kenia 1987-1991*. A-SuVUL; FGCK (greetings from LKA) 5.10.1990. FGCK Minutes of National Development Project Committee Meeting 5.10.1990 2 §. Lähetyssihteerin kirjeenvaihto Kenia 1990. *Kenia 1990*. A-SuVUL; myös A-Lounela. The Project Co-ordinator: T[orleif] J[ohansson], "Åke Söderlund 50 vuotta: Saalemista savannille" (interview), *RV* 22/3.6.1982, 6; Kapedo: L[eil]aL[ehtisal]o, "Kapeddo tuuraajan silmin" (an interview of Heikki Hedborg), *RV* 15/14.4.1983, 8; Kipsigon and Kapenguria: Kai Antturi, "Ugandan aika on nyt" (report), *RV* 11/12.3.1987, 2; Kapenguria: Paavo Juvonen, "Turkana-maa ja pokotlaakso janoavat sadetta taivaasta", *RV* 46/18.11.1982, 9.

<sup>307</sup> Vilho Kivikangas, "Suomen Vapaa Ulkolähetys ry" (an unprinted leaflet), 1, signed 18.8.1983. A-Lounela; Vilho Kivikangas, "Apu menee perille", *ST* 1/1984, 3; Kivikangas 1989, 84; Vilho Kivikangas, "Lausannen haaste Suomen uskoviille", *RV* 42/19.10.1989, 7.

<sup>308</sup> Tapani Kärnä, "Lähetystrategian tarkistusta" (a report on the new strategy and a mission seminary), *RV* 45/5.11.1987, 4; *Manninen* 1989, 46.

<sup>309</sup> "Kehitysapulahjoitukset verovapaiksi 1986 ja 1987", *RV* 4/22.1.1987, 14.



mission seminar in October 1987, where the participants agreed with the ideas in the document. According to this memo, the traditional missionary work had priority, but sometimes the believers could use three other methods. These were: first, development aid and other social work; second, short-term evangelising “actions”; and third, serving as “tentmaker”, employed by somebody else and participating in missionary work in one’s spare time. These three methods and other supporting activities were not ends in themselves.

The development workers and “tentmakers” were to have the normal missionary training and they were to be counted as missionaries, even if they received their salary from other sources and not from the mission offerings of the churches.<sup>310</sup> The new Mission Secretary Arto Hämäläinen reiterated the same themes in his writings, speeches and interviews. He emphasised that these three methods might be the only possible methods in those countries where missionaries were prevented from entering.<sup>311</sup>

In the mid-1980s, the position of the LKA within the FFFM became clearly defined and the organisational ties strengthened. Soon after, its activities became an integral part of the Pentecostal missionary movement, and consequently the proper training of a missionary was reconsidered. The old traditional training presupposed at least two years of full-time evangelistic work in the home country, and recommended suitable professional training, e.g. as a teacher, nurse or

---

<sup>310</sup> Tapani Kärna, “Lähetystategian tarkistusta” (Report from a mission seminar of missionaries and elders), *RV* 45/5.11.1987, 4.

<sup>311</sup> Arto Hämäläinen, “Lähetystilannetta arvioitava vakavasti” (editorial), *RV* 39/24.9.1987, 3; Helca Larinkoski, “Lähetystyö nousee seurakunnasta” (an interview of Arto Hämäläinen), *RV* 45/5.11.1987, 2.; Helca Larinkoski, “Vanhat eväät eivät riitä” (a report from the Winter Conference of the FFFM), *RV* 4/28.1.1988, 8; Oili Heiskanen, “Nyt on pula lähettäjistä” (an interview of Arto Hämäläinen), *RV* 44/3.11.1988, 9; Eeva Roisko, “Hyvinvointi vähentämässä huolta lähimmäisistä” (Arto Hämäläinen at a mission seminar of the FFFM), *RV* 49/8.12.1988, 3; Arto Hämäläinen, “Onko lähetystyöllämme tavoitteita?” (at a mission seminar of the FFFM), *RV* 47/23.11.1989, 2.

midwife, and possession of skills useful in the missionary fields.<sup>312</sup> The LKA workers were expected to pass a mission or Bible course, but were not expected to serve as evangelists.<sup>313</sup> In the latter part of the 1980s, the importance of vocational training became evident in the advertisements of the LKA, when it sought a teacher, a builder and nurses for its development projects in Kenya, in 1988 and 1989.<sup>314</sup> This change occurred after the visit of the evaluation team lead by Pertti Kekki who had emphasised the formal competence.

The relationship between the traditional Pentecostal missionary work and the development cooperation was also important in Kenya. The Finnish Pentecostals wanted to uphold two principles in their missionary work when they discussed development projects with their Kenyan partners: They wanted to evangelise in areas impossible to reach by pioneer missionaries and they did not accept any authority above the local churches.

### *The Zion Harvest Mission*

The differences between the missionary strategies of the FFFM and the ZHM decreased during the 1970s when other activities, in addition to evangelism, increased. However, the FFFM and the ZHM disagreed on one important point. The FFFM tried to get public funds for the development projects of the mission agencies using its contacts with the Christian Union, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and individual politicians. The leaders of the ZHM, on the other hand, opposed all involvement of Christians in politics, and the editorials of its magazine, *Ristin Sanoma*, repeated warnings regarding this activity

---

<sup>312</sup> Approved by the Board of the FFFM in 14.12.1959 and a new version approved at the Annual Meeting of the FFFM in 13.3.1973. SuVUL:n vuosikokous 13.3.1973 14 §. SuVUL:n hallituksen pöytäkirjat 1952-1974. A-SuVUL.

<sup>313</sup> Tapani Kärnä, "Lähetin tie kentälle" (an article of the mission secretary), *RV* 13/30.3.1984, 7. One problem with these guide lines was that the FFFM had no authority to give orders to the independent Pentecostal churches.

<sup>314</sup> *RV* 45/10.11.1988, 12; *RV* 33/17.8.1989, 20; *RV* 40/5.10.1989, 11.

throughout the 1970s. It was not permitted to participate in the general elections, not even to vote for the Christian Union.<sup>315</sup>

The Swedish Pentecostal agency, Maranatha Mission and Bengt Sundh, who co-operated with the ZHM from 1977 to the early 1980s, were used to receiving funds from the Swedish Government for development projects.<sup>316</sup> Maranatha had large development projects and Bengt and Eila Sundh's activity in a Nairobi slum included relief work.<sup>317</sup> When the cooperation with the Sundhs ended, the ZHM distanced themselves from Sundhs' social work in Nairobi slums and the secular sponsors who supported it.

The leader of the Zion congregation, Rauno Soininen, rejected secular sources of money and referring to opinions of the brethren carrying responsibility in Kenya, he claimed that evangelism could not rely upon support from secular sources, e.g. development funds from the government.<sup>318</sup> Although the ZHM did not receive public funds, it continued its work among the needy, calling it "development aid". Its motto was that preaching and helping should go "hand in hand" but they only wanted to use offerings from members.<sup>319</sup> Lea Raivonen later described how the needs of the local people had changed the vision of the missionaries in Kenya. It was not enough just to preach.<sup>320</sup>

The development work of the ZHM became more systematically integrated in its activity when the ZHM in Kenya elected teacher James Edwin Aweyo as its chairman in 1988. Sewing machines had

---

<sup>315</sup> Vilho Soininen "Kristitty ja maailma", *RS* 2/1972, 3; Vilho Soininen, "Kristitty, maailma ja politiikka", *RS* 2/1973, 21; Vilho Soininen "Onko laittomuus päässyt valtaan", *RS* 4/1976, 3; Rauno Soininen, "Vieraita ja muukalaisia", *RS* 3/1979, 3.

<sup>316</sup> *Soininen*, interview 16.6.1997.

<sup>317</sup> Bengt Sundh, "Apuamme tarvitaan!", *RS* 6/1981, 12; *Soininen*, interview 16.6.1997.

<sup>318</sup> Rauno Soininen, "Tarvitaanko lähetystyötä", *RS* 3/1982, 3.

<sup>319</sup> Rauno Soininen, "Tarvitaanko lähetystyötä", *RS* 3/1986, 21; Rauno Soininen, "Tule yli ja auta", *RS* 8-9/1989, 3; "Evankeliumi ja kehitysapu kulkevat lähetystyössä käsikädessä", *RS* 12/1990, 10.

<sup>320</sup> Lea Raivonen, "Kirje Keniasta", *RS* 7-8/1979, 14-15.

arrived to Kenya, new facilities were built and the opposition against public development funds had lessened.<sup>321</sup> Aweyo's desire was for the ZHM to build a community centre for the purpose of educating the locals. Aweyo thought that money from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs could support new projects of the ZHM. The ZHM hesitated about co-operating with the Government of Finland but later conceded to Aweyo's requests.<sup>322</sup> In its information to its supporters, however, it emphasised its good relationship with the Government of Kenya, on both the national and local level.<sup>323</sup>

### **3.1.2 Organisation and Administration**

#### *Pentecostals Make Contact with the Governments in Finland and Kenya*

The Pentecostal development agency *Lähetysten Kehitysapu* (LKA) was organised before the Finnish government started to channel funds through non- governmental organisations (NGOs) to development work in 1974. The LKA had planned its projects by only negotiating with various people in Finland, with project minded Finnish Pentecostal missionaries and with the authorities in Kenya. The LKA Team had taken less notice of the local churches in Kenya, and the Finnish missionaries who concentrated on evangelistic work and both these were disappointed. When the chairman of the LKA team, Kalevi Helimäki, visited Kenya in 1978, shortly before he resigned from his post, he was advised that the LKA should not ignore the local churches. Instead, it should translate the project documents into English and send them to the chairman of the Trustees of the Full Gospel Churches of Kenya. In Kenya, Helimäki was told that it was inappropriate to visit the president of Kenya or ministers if the Trustees or chairmen of the Full Gospel Churches of Kenya had not

---

<sup>321</sup> *Soininen*, interview 16.6.1997.

<sup>322</sup> The ZHM used FINNIDA funds for some years in the early 1990s. "James Aweyo takaisin Keniaan" (Interview of James Aweyo), *RS* 4/1989, 14-15; *Soininen*, interview 16.6.1997.

<sup>323</sup> "Operatio: 'Raamattuja vangeille' – Käynnissä Keniassa" (Interview of Bengt Sundh), *RS* 9/1980, 15; "Lähetystyön organisation muuttuu!" (attached a letter of Suna East Chief to the ZHM), *RS* 3/1990, 5; *Soininen*, interview 16.6.1997.

prepared the matter at their meeting and if their representative was not present. Whatever the case may be, the Kenyans accepted the selected targets although they wanted to limit their growth.<sup>324</sup>

### *Fund-raising for Development Work*

At the same time as the LKA collected money for its projects, its position in the Pentecostal movement was discussed. The Finnish Free Foreign Mission Board became responsible for the projects because there was no suitable registered organisation. The Working Committee of the Board of the FFFM suggested in May 1974 to register the LKA fund raising team as an independent registered society.<sup>325</sup> This did not happen, and the FFFM Board applied to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Finland for funds and received money for the LKA projects. The development projects raised discussion at the Pentecostal Winter Conference in January in 1975, but the elders and preachers attending the meeting promised to support the fund raising that had already started two months earlier.<sup>326</sup> The Board of the FFFM applied for and also received public funds for development projects in the following years without clear consent of the Pentecostal congregations in Finland, or Africa, or the missionaries working in the target countries.<sup>327</sup>

The LKA had to find ways to finance the development projects. It had already started the fund raisings and development projects were running with money from the Finnish government before the new activity was discussed in the most important forums of the Pentecostals. The FFFM Board had decided in May 1977 that the LKA

---

<sup>324</sup> "Raportti Keniasta", 3. Kalevi Helimäki in Baghdad on 8.12.1978; LKA *Raportteja 1977-*. A-SuVUL. Kalevi Helimäki worked in an industrial project in Iraq from December 1978 to 1981. An approval of the working group of the trustees of FGCK is mentioned in LKA minutes of 5.10.1978 2 §. *Pöytäkirjoja 1978-1984*. A-Kivikangas.

<sup>325</sup> SuVUL:n työvaliokunta 31.5.1974 2 §. *SuVUL:n hallituksen pöytäkirjat 1952-1974*. A-SuVUL.

<sup>326</sup> Esko Halme, "Työntekijöiden palaveri", *RV 7/1975*, 4-5; Työntekijöiden talvipäivät, Helsinki 28.1.-1.3.1975; the detailed minutes were missing in *Veljeskokousten pöytäkirjat 1966-1986*, A-RV.

<sup>327</sup> Vilho Kivikangas in a letter to Jaakko Lounela 25.4.1997. A-Lounela.

be registered under the FFFM. The Winter Conference approved this decision in January 1978, although many participants of a Mission Seminar in October 1977 had criticised this idea.<sup>328</sup> The discussion about development projects in the Pentecostal mission fields continued up to 1979 because the Pentecostals were not able to find a unanimous opinion in matters concerning funds for development projects or the organisation of this work.<sup>329</sup> The discussion culminated at the Winter Conference in Helsinki in 1979 where the Chairman of the LKA, Vilho Kivikangas, proposed the Swedish model. In Sweden the Pentecostals pursued foreign relief work through *Pingstvännernas Missions Utlandshjälp*<sup>330</sup> which was a registered foundation and had juridical independence from the congregations. Many delegates from the provinces did not want to earmarked money for development projects at all, but the FFFM was already co-operating with the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs. It was not customary to resolve issues by voting at these conferences, but this time the participants voted twice concerning the development cooperation. The majority of 75 – or 80% of the 820 representatives – accepted receiving funds from the Finnish government for development projects. An even greater majority accepted the proposition that the LKA should continued under the FFFM and not be registered separately.<sup>331</sup>

New fund-raising projects followed each other. When the fourth project finished at the end of 1979 the fund raising effort, which began in December 1975, had lasted over five years. It is no wonder that the FFFM Board longed for some kind of business activity that could earn

---

<sup>328</sup> *Helimäki* 2004b, 21-22.

<sup>329</sup> E.g. Työntekijöiden talvipäivät, Tampere 20-23.1.1976; Vaasa 19.1.1978. Summer Conference Keuruu 22-25.6.1978. The detailed minutes were missing in *Veljeskokousten pöytäkirjat 1966-1986*, A-RV; Lähetysseminaari Jyväskylä 15-16.10.1977; "Lähetyskesen Kehitysavun näkymiä" (report), RV5/2.2.1978, 6.

<sup>330</sup> In English Foreign Aid of the Pentecostal Missions.

<sup>331</sup> *Helimäki* 2004b, 22-23; *Kivikangas* 1989, 84; Kivikangas has stressed the importance of the meeting in 1979. *Kivikangas*, interview 5.3.1997.

the money needed.<sup>332</sup> Thus, the LKA founded its first second hand shop in 1979.<sup>333</sup>

In order to get support for development projects, the LKA organised a new national campaign *Yhdelle vähimmäistä* (To one of the least) in 1981. Volunteers gathered millions of kilos of used clothes in churches, and other volunteers sorted them in a central storehouse. Part of the clothes were sold in the second hand shops of the LKA and the rest were recycled for industry. These second hand shops became a very important source of income. The LKA had 20 shops by 1981 and six years later it had over 40 shops.<sup>334</sup> The huge piles of clothes collected in the campaign were the beginning of a recycling industry owned by the LKA. The FFFM soon realised that it could no longer run this business as a registered society. Therefore in 1981, the Pentecostals founded a company called Rejtex Ltd (REJected TEXtiles). The largest Pentecostal congregation, *Saalem*, in Helsinki and its pastor, Kai Antturi, supported the idea to found Rejtex Ltd although the FFFM Board hesitated. The leaders of *Saalem* realised that the empty flats in the industrial area where of Rejtex Ltd was situated offered an opportunity to found a rehabilitation home for alcoholics and other people with social problems. They could live in this *Uuden Kasvun Koti* (the home of new growth) and work in the Rejtex factory.<sup>335</sup> Step by step, the FFFM withdrew from these additional activities in order to maintain its role in missionary work

---

<sup>332</sup> SuVUL:n toimintaselustus v. 1978. *SuVUL-yhdistys 1977-1990*. A- SuVUL.

<sup>333</sup> *Helimäki* 1986, 6.

<sup>334</sup> Vilho Kivikangas, LKA 1981, 2. A-SuVUL; H[eikki] TE[ervonen], "Lähetystyön strategiaa täsmennettiin" (a reportage from the Autumn Meeting of the FFFM), *RV* 40/1.10.1987, 13; Kalevi Helimäki, "Lähetysten Kehitysapu", 12. *SuVUL* 1988. A-SuVUL.

<sup>335</sup> *LKA* 1983, 2. A-SuVUL. Auditor Seppo Puttonen remarked that a registered society could not be involved in business and Rejtex should, therefore, be separate from the FFFM. Mission Secretary Veikko Manninen agreed with him and asked Vilho Kivikangas to stay away from Rejtex, but Kivikangas could not do so. Kivikangas continued as the chairman of LKA and the chairman of the Board of Uuden Kasvun Koti. *Kivikangas*, interview 5.3.1997; Kalevi Helimäki, "SuVUL/LKA Sosiaaliset palvelut" 20.8.1985 A-Kivikangas.

but *Saalem* cooperated with the *Uuden Kasvun Koti* to the end of the 1980s.<sup>336</sup>

The growing engagement in development aid of the Pentecostals demanded repeated actions. In 1982 the LKA circulated contribution lists, under the title *Sanoista tekoihin* (from words to deeds), to collect money for orphanages, schools and health care in Kenya. In 1983 it held another fund raising event, under the title *Apusi menee perille* (Your help reaches its destination).<sup>337</sup> In 1984 when Kenya was suffering from drought, the LKA organised a new fund raising project – *Embun nälkäisille* (For the starving people in Embu, in the Eastern Province) – even though it did not have any development projects there.<sup>338</sup> The members of the Pentecostal congregations carried the burden of this activity, but it offered a good opportunity to meet outsiders, and to show them the social and spiritual activity of the FFFM.

### *The LKA is Integrated into the FFFM*

Although the LKA was functioning well, its position in the Pentecostal movement was unclear. At the FFFM Annual Meeting in March 1979, a new LKA Body of Delegates was formed. It was made up of representatives from provincial mission treasuries, provincial mission committees and local congregations.<sup>339</sup> The new organisation improved communication, but the delegates who were scattered around the country could not lead the LKA activities at its biannual meetings. Therefore, the FFFM Board nominated an LKA Board in May 1979.<sup>340</sup> This Board consisted of six members, and the Chairman and the Mission Secretary of the FFFM participated in the meetings. The LKA was no longer an active independent team within the FFFM. It was now a Body of Delegates with its own Board under the Board

---

<sup>336</sup> Vilho Kivikangas in a letter to Jaakko Lounela 25.4.1997. A-Lounela.

<sup>337</sup> *LKA 1983*, 1; Kivikangas "Apu menee perille", *ST1/1984*, 3.

<sup>338</sup> Mauri Vikstén, "Nälänhätä uhkaa Keniassa", *RV28/12.7.1984*, 8.

<sup>339</sup> SuVUL:n vuosikokouksen ptk. 27.3.1979 16 §. *SuVUL Yhdistys 1977-1989*. A-SuVUL.

<sup>340</sup> SuVUL:n hallitus 29.5.1979 57 §. *Pöytäkirjoja 1978-1984*. A-Kivikangas.



of the FFFM. Furthermore it represented the Pentecostals in all of Finland as well as the Finnish speaking Pentecostals in Sweden. Together with this new organisation, the LKA was given rules that defined the tasks of the Body of Delegates and the LKA Board.<sup>341</sup> The Board was later called the Working Committee. The idea was that the new Working Committee under the FFFM Board would replace the old LKA Team. The difference was that the Working Committee reported also to the Body of Delegates.<sup>342</sup> The LKA and development aid were no longer a matter of a few devotees in the Saalem congregation in Helsinki, but belonged to all Pentecostals in Finland. The Body of Delegates considered means to found groups in the whole of Finland.<sup>343</sup>

New people were given responsibility in the first half of 1979. The chairman of the LKA, Vilho Kivikangas replaced Kalevi Helimäki who had left for Iraq on an industrial project, and Veikko Manninen became the new FFFM mission secretary, after Unto Kunnas. The first LKA Team had collected money for projects abroad effectively. When the public grants had grown, the accounting had become more complicated, but the LKA had no full-time professional treasurers or accountants, neither in Kenya nor in Finland. The old and new chairmen of the LKA Working Committee had to develop together a system that would satisfy the wants of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.<sup>344</sup> The LKA Body of Delegates had nominal responsibility for the development aid of the Pentecostals but it was not able to lead or control the development projects of the FFFM because it only met twice a year. The LKA Executive Committee had six members and met eight to nine times a year. The executive committee consisted of representatives from the LKA and the FFFM Board. The chairman of the LKA Working Committee Vilho Kivikangas and Secretary Pauli Rantanen worked hard for the development projects. When Kalevi

---

<sup>341</sup> The meeting defined in details, "Lähetysten Kehitysavun (LKA:n) edustuston tehtävät..., 2 Johtokunnan tehtävänä on..." LKA:n edustuston kokous 23.6.1979. Liite. *Pöytäkirjoja 1978-1984*. A-Kivikangas.

<sup>342</sup> LKA-edustuston kokous 15.1.1980 5 §. *Pöytäkirjoja 1978-1984*. A-Kivikangas.

<sup>343</sup> LKA-edustuston kokous 15.1.1980. 6 §. *Pöytäkirjoja 1978-1984*. A-Kivikangas.

<sup>344</sup> LKA-osaston infokirje No 1. 30.8.1979. *Pöytäkirjoja 1978-1984*. A-Kivikangas.

Helimäki came back from Iraq in 1982, these three members of the original LKA Team again assumed most of the responsibility for Pentecostal development work. Very often, the chairman of the LKA had to decide upon urgent matters so quickly, that the people who had formal responsibility only heard afterwards what had been done.<sup>345</sup>

The repeated campaigns of the LKA caused confusion among those Pentecostals who were used to traditional evangelising mission work. In the beginning of the 1980s, the LKA was still only a team working under a Meeting of Delegates. It needed the consent of the individual Pentecostal preachers and elders, and their churches, in order to put into effect the plans it had submitted to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Thus, the LKA leaders became responsible to the Annual Meetings of the pastors and elders. The LKA reports aroused discussion about the principles of missionary work. When the pastors and elders of the local churches had approved the LKA activities, it received strong support for its plans. For instance, the participants decided at the Winter Conference in 1981 to recommend to the churches the collecting of clothes, and the members activities exceeded all expectations.<sup>346</sup>

The FFFM Board and the LKA Body of Delegates held a meeting in October 1982, where they discussed the relationship between these two bodies.<sup>347</sup> The chairman of the LKA, Vilho Kivikangas, drafted a new organisational structure for the LKA and the Board of the FFFM, which he presented at the Winter Conference in January 1983. According to the new design, the LKA Body of Delegates would elect four representatives to the Executive Committee, and the FFFM Board would nominate two.

---

<sup>345</sup> Kivikangas, interview 5.3.1997.

<sup>346</sup> It was called *Yhdelle vähimmistä* "For one of the least". Työntekijöiden talvipäivät, Pori 13-15.1.1981. *Veljeskokousten pöytäkirjat 1966-1986*. A-RV.

<sup>347</sup> "Muistio LKA-työryhmän kokouksista 8.11.1982 ja 13.11.1982". *Pöytäkirjoja 1978-1984*. A-Kivikangas.

The new organisation strengthened the ties between the LKA and FFFM leaders. As a result, the members of the LKA Body of Delegates became elected members of the FFFM, and the LKA Team was allowed to participate in the meetings of the FFFM Board, when development project matters were discussed. Three members of the FFFM Board represented the FFFM in the Executive Committee of the LKA, in addition to five representatives of the LKA. The Team of three men, which had organised the first fund raising effort of the LKA, continued at the helm of all development activities. This Team and the Working Group of the LKA sent their minutes directly to the FFFM Board.<sup>348</sup> At the beginning of October 1983, the office work of the LKA was properly organised when Anneli Karras became its secretary, and the chairman no longer had to do all of the office work by himself.<sup>349</sup>

In 1984, the magazine *Sanoista tekoihin* (from words to deeds) encouraged its readers to support the activities of the LKA by sending donations directly to the agency. About 10,000 people followed the advice and became regular donors.<sup>350</sup> The LKA managed to collect so much money from faithful contributors, its recycling industry and second hand shops, that it was no longer necessary to organise fund-raising events every year. The LKA was able to pay its own share of the costs of the development projects, especially after FINNIDA reduced from 50% to 40% the total cost of the amount that the NGOs had to cover with their own funds.

A permanent problem was that the LKA Team had to make quick decisions, and the office bearers and elected representatives of the FFFM had to approve and take responsibility for them later.<sup>351</sup> When

---

<sup>348</sup> *LKA 1983*, 1. The members of the team complemented each other in a very effective way. Kalevi Helimäki was a BA in Economics (ekonomi), Vilho Kivikangas was a physician and Pauli Rantanen was a former entrepreneur. They were not preachers, but people with experience in practical life. When Kalevi Helimäki was in Iraq, 1979-81, Vilho Kivikangas took care of office work and Pauli Rantanen did the practical work.

<sup>349</sup> *LKA 1983*, 1. A-SuVUL.

<sup>350</sup> Karras, interview 11.12.1995.

<sup>351</sup> Kivikangas, interview 5.3.1997.

the activities of the LKA continued to grow, a new committee was appointed, at the FFFM General Meeting, to suggest new ways of organising the Pentecostal development aid. The committee proposed to the FFFM Board in November 1984 the creation of an independent development aid organisation, so that the FFFM could go on with its traditional missionary activities.<sup>352</sup> One member, Seppo Puttonen, drafted a different scheme, in which he proposed having one society with two parallel branches, having thus a branch for traditional missionary activities and another for development projects, i.e. the LKA.<sup>353</sup> The Board of the FFFM preferred Puttonen's idea, binding the LKA to the loose community of the Pentecostal churches. It informed the Pentecostals at the Winter Conference in 1985 that each province was to send one representative to the LKA Body of Delegates. It also decided to hire a full-time manager for the LKA.<sup>354</sup> The Board promised that it would not spend the offerings of the churches on development aid, but on evangelisation as previously.

The members of the old LKA Team feared that the new organisation would restrict the LKA activities because it would be under the FFFM. In May 1985, Vilho Kivikangas informed the Executive Committee of the Board of the FFFM that Pauli Rantanen was resigning, and Kalevi Helimäki could no longer continue in the service of the FFFM, due to a loss of confidence of the other Pentecostals in him. Kivikangas also said, that he, himself, would continue as the chairman of the LKA only until the next meeting of the FFFM in the autumn. Tapani Kärnä said that he could not perform the tasks of the LKA any more, in addition to his duties as the FFFM mission secretary. This state of affairs was a threat to the LKA, because it had purchased property, e.g. 40 vehicles, and had created a net of second hand shops all around Finland.<sup>355</sup> Negotiations, especially at the FFFM Board meeting in June 1985, resolved the critical situation. The members of

---

<sup>352</sup> SuVUL:n ja LKA:n eriyttämiskysymystä tutkiva toimikunta 2.11.1984 4 §; SuVUL:n hallitus 15.11.1984 131 §. *Pöytäkirjoja 1978-1984*. A-Kivikangas.

<sup>353</sup> Seppo Puttonen to Tapani Kärnä 11.12.1984. *Pöytäkirjoja 1978-1984*. A-Kivikangas.

<sup>354</sup> Talvipäivät 15-17.1.1985 Tampereella. *Veljeskokousten pöytäkirjat 1966-1986*. A-RV.

<sup>355</sup> SuVUL Työvaliokunnan kokous 15.5.1985 69 §. A-Kivikangas; Kivikangas, interview 5.3.1997.

the original LKA Team continued in their positions. Kalevi Helimäki was elected the full-time executive manager of the LKA and the managing director of Rejtex Ltd and *Selin Lähetyskiinteistöt Ltd*. *Selin Lähetyskiinteistöt Ltd* was a company that first hired and then bought the industrial area where Rejtex Ltd was operational. Vilho Kivikangas continued as the chairman of the LKA, and Pauli Rantanen kept his position in Rejtex Ltd, and as the executive manager of the rehabilitation project *Uuden Kasvun Koti*.<sup>356</sup>

The solution found in 1985 was viable only for a few years. The time of the original LKA troika had come to an end, and the LKA decided to reduce its activities. Kalevi Helimäki retired for health reasons in 1989.<sup>357</sup> The same year Pauli Rantanen, who had worked with the fund raising projects since 1975, left the LKA to start a new organisation called, *Uuden Kasvun Yhdistys*.<sup>358</sup> He concentrated on social work in both Finland and Africa, and development aid in Uganda.<sup>359</sup> Rantanen thus carried into effect the old idea of an independent organisation for development projects. The LKA remained a part of the FFFM, despite Rantanen's *Uuden Kasvun Yhdistys*. Vilho Kivikangas called *Yhdelle vähimmistä* "For one of the least", the third member of the original team, continued until the 1990s as the LKA chairman, and as a member of the FFFM Board.<sup>360</sup>

---

<sup>356</sup> Veljeskokous 20.6.1985 14 §. Lähetysseiteeri [Tapani Kärnä], "Tiedotus 1985 kesäkonferenssin veljeskokouksessa. *Veljeskokousten pöytäkirjat 1966-1986*. A-RV. Kriitiina Kunnas, "Kalevi Helimäki LKA:n toiminnanjohtajaksi", *RV* 25/20.6.1985, 16. Kalevi Helimäki, "SuVUL/LKA kaavio, SuVUL / LKA Sosiaaliset palvelut", 20.8.1985. *Pöytäkirjoja 1978-1984*. A-Kivikangas.

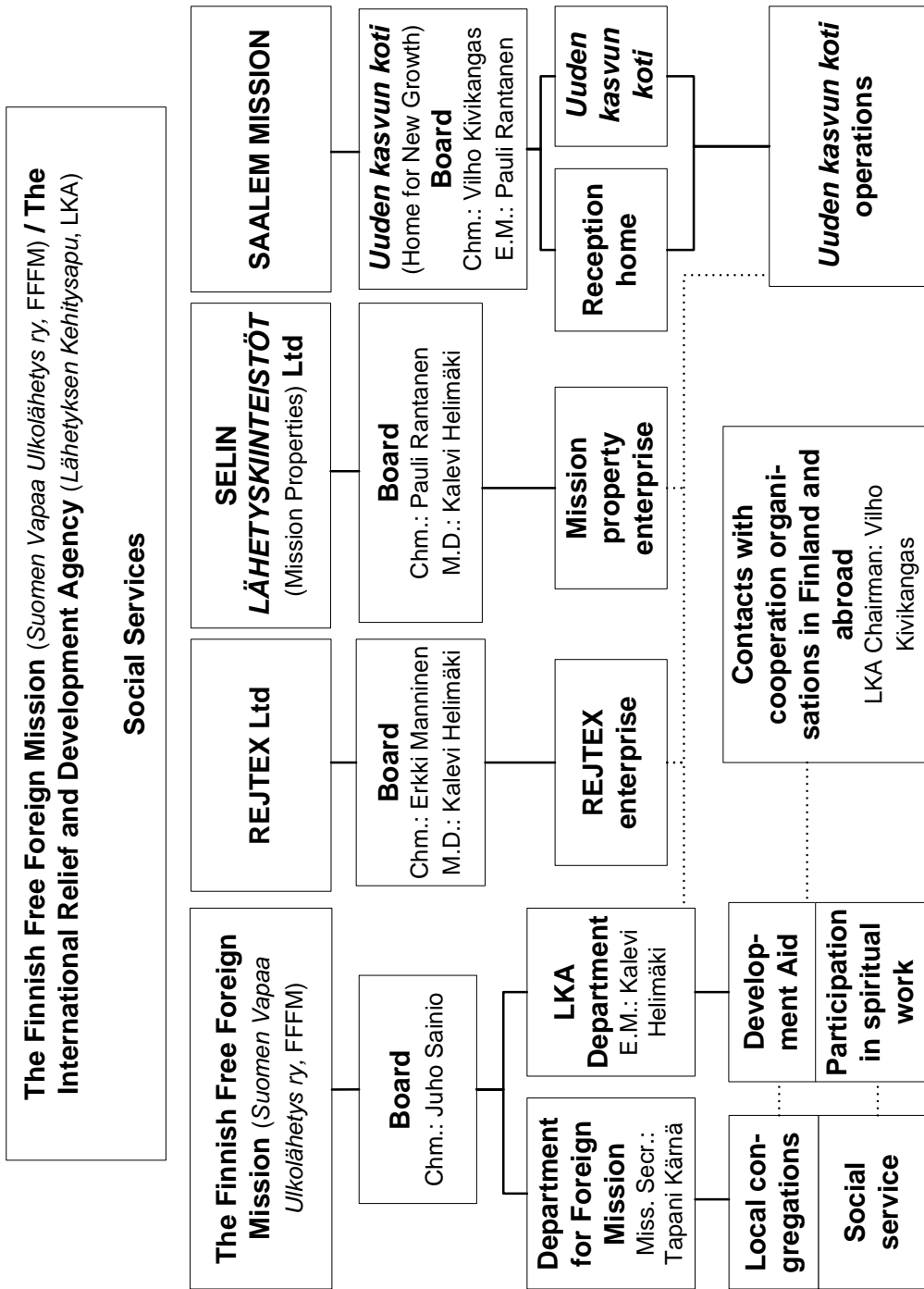
<sup>357</sup> Kalevi Helimäki, *LKA 1985*, 11; *SuVUL 1989*, 1. A-SuVUL.

<sup>358</sup> Its name in English was the Association for New Hope and Ideas, ANHI.

<sup>359</sup> LKA 2, 13. *SuVUL 1989*. A-SuVUL; "Selkin uutisia", *RV* 42/19.10.1989, 17. "Uuden Kasvun Yhdistys" started its own second hand shops, too.

<sup>360</sup> Eeva Anttila, Maija Hurri, Heikki Paatelma and Freija Salomaa, "Helluntaiherätyksessä eletään tulevaisuuden suunnittelun aikaa", *RV* 14/5.4.1990, 7. *Kivikangas*, interview 5.3.1997.

Figure 2 Social services of the FFFM / LKA 1985-1989<sup>361</sup>



<sup>361</sup> Chm. = Chairman, Miss. Sec. = Mission Secretary, E.M. = Executive Manager, M.D. = Managing Director.

The situation changed constantly, e.g. Arto Hämäläinen replaced Tapani Kärnä as the mission secretary of the FFFM in 1987. The schema shows, however, how the LKA Team of Helimäki, Kivikangas and Rantanen coordinated the activities of the LKA, RejTex and *Uuden Kasvun Koti* taking on different roles. During this period, 1985-1989 Arto Hämäläinen finally integrated the LKA into the FFFM. After 1989, Pauli Rantanen and the *Uuden Kasvun Koti* severed its connection with the FFFM.<sup>362</sup>

### *The Finnish Christian Development Aid (FINCO)*

The Pentecostals expected, traditionally, that a missionary should have at least two years experience as a full time evangelist in the home country before leaving for foreign countries. Medical training could complete this spiritual work, but not replace it.<sup>363</sup> A question arose as to how well trained laymen who did not have a calling as full time evangelists could bring their contribution to missionary work, and how the Pentecostals could exploit the arising interest of Finns in development cooperation and use the available public funds. At the same time as the LKA team were working in Helsinki organising support for missionaries' projects, other Pentecostals were seeking a solution to similar problems from another point of view.

A group of Pentecostals who were convinced that a believer could serve in missionary work in his profession and with his secular training founded an organisation called *Suomen Kristillinen Kehitysyhteistyö* (Finnish Christian Development Aid, FINCO). One of them was Arto Hämäläinen who convened the meeting to found this association in Vimpeli about 100 kms east of Vaasa in April 1975. Its aim was to co-ordinate and train Christian specialists in designing and carrying into effect development aid projects, and to activate Christians into cooperation for development aid. Arto Hämäläinen

---

<sup>362</sup> Figure 2 is edited by Kalevi Helimäki and Anneli Karras on 20.8.1985. A-Kivikangas and A-Lounela.

<sup>363</sup> SuVUL:n hallitus 11.2.1973 22 § ja 13.3.1973 14 §; hyväksytty SuVUL:n vuosikokouksessa 30.3.1973. *SuVUL:n hallituksen pöytäkirjat 1952-1974*. A-SuVUL; Kärnä 1989, 57 and 60.

was a teacher in Kokkola in Western Finland and had a vision to build a training centre in Ethiopia, or somewhere else in East Africa. FINCO also wanted to be a Christian association of technical advisers, who represented different trades.<sup>364</sup> In February 1976, a member of the Finnish Christian Union (*Suomen Kristillinen Liitto*, SKL) made an unsuccessful motion in Parliament proposing FIM 5,400,000 to support this school project.<sup>365</sup>

FINCO was merged in the same way as the LKA with the Finnish Free Foreign Mission in February 1979. This occurred at approximately the same time as the LKA spread its activity throughout the whole of Finland as a branch of the FFFM.<sup>366</sup> Despite its short duration, FINCO contributed much to the missionary work in Kenya. It participated in sending the first Finnish Pentecostal missionary doctor to the Hospital at Kapedo.<sup>367</sup> One of its Board members worked as a nurse-midwife in Kitale. Another Board member Heikki Manninen visited Ethiopia and Kenya in 1976 and, among other things, tried to help the Lutherans in seeking a solution to the water problem at Matongo.<sup>368</sup> FINCO also published, together with the FFFM, a brochure on development projects.<sup>369</sup>

### *Project Administration in Kenya*

The development project needed missionaries responsible for the projects and committees. When Eino Ahonen and Kalevi Helimäki visited Kenya between 1975 and 1976 they nominated Åke Söderlund on behalf of the FFFM and the LKA to be the co-ordinator in Kenya,

---

<sup>364</sup> Arto Hämäläinen's duplicated letter 4.3.1975. *FINCON asiakirjoja 1975-1979*. A-SuVUL.

<sup>365</sup> Initiative of MP Jorma Fred et. al. February 10th. 1976. Rah.al. n:o 2. Määrärahan ottamisesta Suomen Kristillisen Kehitysyhteistyö r.y:n tukemiseen, *1976 Valtiopäivät Liitteet A*, 3-4.

<sup>366</sup> FINCO Vuosikertomus vuodelta 1975, Toimintasuunnitelma vuodelle 1976 and material representing activities of FINCO. *FINCON asiakirjoja 1975-1979*. A-SuVUL.

<sup>367</sup> Arvo Venäläinen, "Lähetystyon keskittäminen", *LV (Pentecostal) 2/1977*, 42-43.

<sup>368</sup> "FINCO. Toimintasuunnitelma vuodelle 1976". *FINCON asiakirjoja 1975-1979*. A-SuVUL; Kenian lähetysalan toimintakertomus v. 1976, 3. *LK Kenian lähettienkokoukset*. A-SLEY.

<sup>369</sup> *Hämäläinen 1979*.



and he was, together with Anna Kupiainen and Lahja Koski, responsible for the accounts in Kenya. Later, Söderlund had Daniel Chemon, Jukka Harjula and Mauri Vikstén in addition to himself in the development committee.<sup>370</sup> Åke Söderlund had kept contact with Tommy Lee Osborn, and he functioned as a secretary at Osborn's meetings in Kenya and he arranged the transport of material from America and Finland to Kenya. Thus, he had practical experience in transporting material and transferring money over the Kenyan border, and had personal contacts with politicians in high positions, especially with Daniel arap Moi.

According to Kenyan law, the Pentecostals had to elect trustees to be responsible for the properties of the Full Gospel Churches of Kenya, especially for the church plots. The Full Gospel Churches of Kenya held regular Fraternal Meetings, but these were only spiritual meetings, in which they co-ordinated the activities of the independent workers of independent congregations. For these reasons, the LKA did not have an equal partner in the Full Gospel Churches of Kenya. When the Chairman of the LKA, Vilho Kivikangas, visited Kenya in January 1981 he participated in a Full Gospel Churches of Kenya Fraternal Meeting. He presented the plans of the LKA to apply to FINNIDA for money for projects in Kenya and received approval from the members of that meeting.<sup>371</sup> The Fraternal Meeting had, however, no authority to make decisions on projects.

The Full Gospel Churches of Kenya had problems with the organisation of development projects because of its congregational structure and, in order to avoid these problems, it had to nominate a central Development Committee and the individual projects also acquired their own committees.<sup>372</sup> A Full Gospel Churches of Kenya

---

<sup>370</sup> *S[öderlund]* 1977, 60; later, Daniel Chemon, Dr. Jukka Harjula from Kapedo and Mauri Vikstén who was the most experienced missionary in Kenya. Both Åke Söderlund and Daniel Chemon knew Vice President Moi personally. *Söderlund*, interview 15.6.1993.

<sup>371</sup> Vilho Kivikangas to the Annual Elders' and Pastors' Meeting of FGCK 7.1.1981. *Pöytäkirjoja 1978-1984*. A-Kivikangas.

<sup>372</sup> The new Chairman of the LKA, Vilho Kivikangas, realised in 1979 that it was not clear who was responsible for any given project, and he asked that a missionary,

National Development Committee later replaced the first committee. To this committee the Trustees elected four Kenyan representatives and the Finns three missionaries. This new committee was not active and met, for the first time in nearly one and half years, when the newly elected Finnish Mission Secretary, Tapani Kärnä, visited Kenya in October 1983. The Trustees and Kärnä agreed that the joint Annual Meeting of the Kenyans and Finns would elect a new National Development Committee in the beginning of the following year and that, in addition to the National Committee, every project would have an elected committee of its own. The Full Gospel Churches of Kenya followed this plan throughout the 1980s and at the end of the 1980s a pattern emerged of how the LKA projects were integrated in the FGCK on local, district and national level.<sup>373</sup>

The general impression of the first chairman of the LKA, Kalevi Helimäki, was that the projects had been, and still were, dependent on some certain individual Finnish missionaries. In Kenya, they were often single women with medical training. These were: Alma Raatikainen in Chemelil, Anna Kupiainen and Marjaana Pohjapelto in Kapedo, Salme Poukka in Homa Bay, and Airi Mäkelä and Leila Latvasalo in Kitale. Two men working in Kenya were also on the list: Jukka Harjula who was a doctor and a central figure in the Kapedo Hospital project in the 1980s and Åke Söderlund who led the school project in Solian and took care of general matters in development cooperation. All the projects in Kenya were in the western part of the country.<sup>374</sup>

---

along with a substitute, be nominated to head every project. Vilho Kivikangas, "LKA infokirje n:o 1" 30.8.1979. *Pöytäkirjoja 1978-1984*. A-Kivikangas.

<sup>373</sup> Luottamusmiehet ja Tapani Kärnä 17.10.1983 Korussa 4 §. Lähetyssihteerin kirjeenvaihto. *Kenia 1981-1989*. A-SuVUL; Åke Söderlund continued as the project coordinator up to the mid-1980s. *Söderlund* 1985, 184; *Söderlund*, interview 15.6.1993; the field coordinator Anneli Jerkku replaced him. The executive director of LKA, Kalevi Helimäki mentioned a meeting of F.G.C.K. National Development Project Committee on 18.10.1985 in his letter to Åke Söderlund on 22.10.1986. Suomen Vapaa Ulkolähetys Keh. määrärahaohjelmat 1987-89 ja hankeraportit 1986. *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM. According to Ari Uotila the district committees were effective. *Uotila*, interview 2.4.1990.

<sup>374</sup> *Helimäki*, "Lähetyksen kehitysavun alku ja nykyhetki" (unprinted). 12.3.1982. A-Kivikangas.

Some Pentecostals had a critical attitude towards secular authorities. It was important to show that the governments of both Kenya and Finland supported the Finnish Pentecostals. When the LKA published the magazine, *Sanoista tekoihin, Apu menee perille* (from words to deeds, help reaches its destination) in 1984 a large picture of the Kenyan President, Daniel arap Moi, dominated the cover with the caption: "I thank the whole people of Finland". Next to it were two other pictures; one of the Finnish Prime Minister Kalevi Sorsa, and the other of the Minister for Foreign Affairs Paavo Väyrynen. The former said: "Everybody can participate in development aid". The latter had words of praise: "Mission agencies have done their development aid work well". The aim of the LKA was that Pentecostal volunteers would distribute this magazine in every Finnish home.

The LKA co-ordinator, Åke Söderlund had known Daniel arap Moi long before he became the President of Kenya, and Söderlund's Kenyan counterpart, Daniel K. Chemon knew Moi even better.<sup>375</sup> This facilitated communications with the Kenyan authorities. The positive attitude towards the Kenyan government also reached the lower levels of the administration and the LKA appreciated working through District Development Committees.<sup>376</sup>

Because the Pentecostals kept the activities of the LKA separate from the traditional "proper" missionary work, the LKA had to seek new sources of income outside their own believers and congregations. Development aid created new contacts between the Finnish Pentecostals and the people around them in Finland. The non-Pentecostal outsiders were no more counted as a mass of unbelievers who needed to be converted, but rather as potential supporters of development projects, and as partners in social work. The LKA tried to reach the whole population of Finland with its fund raising

---

<sup>375</sup> Villikka, interview 22.1.1992; Söderlund, interview 15.6.1993.

<sup>376</sup> Uotila, "Matkaraportti, 3-16.10.1990: Kenya, Tanzania". A-Kivikangas. According to the Kenyan development strategy, the district level was most important. *District Focus for Rural Development*. 1987.

campaigns, and avoided denominational slogans.<sup>377</sup> The expression “development aid” emphasised charity and the humanitarian side of the activity. Moreover, the LKA did not have any equal partner in Kenya with whom to “cooperate”.

### *The Zion Harvest Mission*

When the Zion Harvest Mission (ZHM) transferred its work from Uganda to Kenya in 1974, its missionaries received their Kenyan work permits under the Berean Gospel Fellowship. Paavo Kusmin, who had been one of the first FFFM missionaries in Kenya, travelled to Kenya in 1977, to assist with resolving the problems of registration and organisation. Because the Berean Gospel Fellowship did not appreciate glossolalia, the ZHM severed its connections with this partner and continued with its own name as a registered mission agency.<sup>378</sup>

In 1977 the Finnish-Swedish missionary couple Eila and Bengt Sundh and the Finnish Pentecostals started working together. This new beginning increased the importance of social work for the ZHM, because the relief work of Bengt and Eila Sundh in the Nairobi slums was now integrated into the activities of the ZHM.<sup>379</sup> Sundhs’ mission station in Marienga became the ZHM headquarters in Kenya, instead of the Berean Bible School. The cooperation between the Sundhs and the Finnish Pentecostals lasted until the early 1980s.<sup>380</sup> Subsequently, the *Siion* congregation in Helsinki and some other Finnish Pentecostals, who had co-operated with the Sundhs, continued in Kenya under the name the Zion Harvest Mission and the Sundhs joined a Norwegian mission agency.<sup>381</sup>

---

<sup>377</sup> The second part of LKA’s first fund-raising was called, “Koko kansan Afrikka-talkoot”, which loosely translates as “harambee (or joint effort) of the whole people [of Finland] for Africa” in 1975-76.

<sup>378</sup> Paavo Kusmin, “Safarimme Keniaan: loppuosa”, *RS* 11/1977, 8-9; *Soininen*, interview 16.6.1997.

<sup>379</sup> Bengt Sundh, “Bengt Sundhin lähetyraportti Keniasta: Nairobien slummeissa eletään köyhyyden ja kurjuuden keskellä”, *RS* 5/1979, 5-7.

<sup>380</sup> *Soininen*, interview 16.6.1997.

<sup>381</sup> *Soininen*, interview 16.6.1997.

After a long schism within the Finnish Pentecostal movement, the *Siion* congregation in Helsinki and the very loosely organised Pentecostals in some other locations in Finland, were reconciled with the other Pentecostals in Finland in 1983. They did not, however, join the FFFM, the common mission agency of the Pentecostal movement in Finland.<sup>382</sup> After the reconciliation of the Pentecostals, the activity of the Zion Harvest Mission ended in Finland and was replaced by a new mission agency called the Zion Mission (*Siion Lähetys*) but the *Siion* congregation continued to work with the Zion Harvest Mission in Kenya.<sup>383</sup>

### 3.1.3 Development Projects

The revenue from the first fundraising of the Pentecostals was targeted for Ethiopia and Kenya, but after the Ethiopian revolution in 1974 their work could no longer continue in the country. Therefore, the Kenyan projects became very important and developed beyond the original plans. During its first ten years, from the mid 1970s to the mid 1980s, the Pentecostal development agency, *Lähetysten Kehitysapu* (LKA), focused very much on Kenya. In 1981 the Finnish Free Foreign Mission (FFFM) allocated over one half of the money it received from FINNIDA to the four Kenyan projects.<sup>384</sup> The Kenyan field received about 40% of the LKA's total support in 1983.<sup>385</sup> Two years later it received only about 20%, as most of the money was spent in Ethiopia.<sup>386</sup> This change of direction corresponded to the principles of the Pentecostal movement. Although the Kenyan authorities, from the highest down to the lowest level, wanted Finnish development projects, the projects were not mandatory for the missionary work. There were plenty of missionaries in Kenya who were evangelising without any involvement in development projects, while in other

---

<sup>382</sup> "Yhteyttä seurakuntatasolla Helsingissä", *RS* 12/1983, 2.

<sup>383</sup> *Soininen*, interview 16.6.1997.

<sup>384</sup> *LKA 1981*, 1. A-SuVUL.

<sup>385</sup> "SuVUL/Lähetysten Kehitysapu: Avun jakauma vuonna 1983" ( a chart). *ST* 1/1984, 20.

<sup>386</sup> *LKA 1985*, 5.

countries the evangelising missionaries found it difficult to get work permits.

### *Homa Bay Orphanage*

The humanitarian emergency aid given by the Finnish Pentecostal missionaries to orphans grew into a permanent institution. Salme Poukka had taken the first steps toward building an orphanage in Got Kokech a few kilometres north of Homa Bay town.<sup>387</sup> When she heard about the availability of public funds for mission organisations in 1974, she considered that this orphanage was a suitable project.<sup>388</sup> When the FFFM planned the orphanage in Homa Bay, the Government of Kenya donated a plot of land, stipulating that the FFFM were to build an orphanage for 50 children as well as a health centre and a nurse-training centre. The District Commissioner of Homa Bay recommended this, and the FFFM promised the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs that the Government of Kenya would send its own application to the Government of Finland. Salme Poukka herself thought that these plans were too large and expensive.<sup>389</sup> The economical situation of the Homa Bay project changed in 1978 when the FFFM could no longer carry on with its projects in Ethiopia and transferred, by consent of the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the remaining development funds to Homa Bay. Thus, the project in Homa Bay received all of the FIM 360,000 the Ministry for Foreign Affairs had granted to the FFFM in 1977, when the mission agencies had a special appropriation, for the first time, in the state budget. The building of the Homa Bay orphanage for 30 children was completed in 1978<sup>390</sup> and housed over 20 children in November 1979.<sup>391</sup> When

---

<sup>387</sup> Veikko Manninen, "Matkalla Afrikassa" 3. osa, *RV* 46/15.11.1979, 6.

<sup>388</sup> SuVUL:n hallitus 16.8.1974 20 §. *SuVUL:n hallituksen pöytäkirjat 1952-1974*. A-SuVUL.

<sup>389</sup> Mission secretary Unto Kunnas to Tiedotusjaosto/KYO/UM 3.5.1976. SuVUL. UM 12 R Suomi 10. A-UM; SuVUL:n hallitus 17.8.1976 4 §. *Hallituksen ja sen työvaliokunnan pöytäkirjat 1974-1988*. A-SuVUL.

<sup>390</sup> "Projektisuunnitelma 1987-1989" Liite 1. Suomen Vapaa Ulkolähetys Keh. määrärahaohjelmat 1987-89 ja hankeraportit 1986. UM 31 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>391</sup> "Raportti Keniasta", 224, Signed by Kalevi Helimäki in Baghdad on 8.12.1978. *LKA Raportteja 1977-*. A-SuVUL.

the project proceeded, the Kenyan Department of Social services asked for an additional building to house 25 children, and the FFFM agreed to apply to the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs for funds for this in 1980.<sup>392</sup> The LKA applied to FINNIDA for funds in 1981 and 1982, in order to enlarge the infant facilities called the Baby Home, citing a request from the Children's Department of the Government of Kenya.<sup>393</sup> The new building was completed at the end of 1983, and President Daniel arap Moi was present at its opening ceremonies on in December 1984.<sup>394</sup> The enlarged home could accommodate 50-60 children; the majority of them were under 3 years old. The initiator of the project and long-time leader of the home, Salme Poukka, had left permanently a few months before the opening feast.<sup>395</sup>

The Municipality of Homa Bay donated a plot to the Baby Home for a nursery and other facilities, but the Finnish evaluation team had reservations about the plan, and hence it was dropped.<sup>396</sup> The Children's Home started a new project in 1986 in order to improve its economy. The government of Kenya gave money and material, the Christian Children's Fund and the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) gave money, and the municipality of Homa Bay provided a field. In addition, the Children's Home received food from the Catholic Relief Service and from Food for the Hungry, as well as money from the Tear Fund.<sup>397</sup> When Project

---

<sup>392</sup> Vilho Kivikangas, "Kenia, Homa-Bay Babyhome Building", Suomen Vapaa Ulkolähetys Lähetyksen Kehitysapu Keh. määräraha 1982 I. *UM* 3 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>393</sup> The name "Kenian valtion Children's Department" appears in Vilho Kivikangas, Kenia, Homa-Bay Babyhome building, Suomen Vapaa Ulkolähetys Lähetyksen Kehitysapu. Keh. määräraha 1982 I. 1982/YL 1982/4898. *UM* 3 92-7. A-UM; L[eo] O[lasvirta], "Homa Bayn lastenhoidon harjoittelukeskus, evaluaatio 84". 20.8.1984. Suomen Vapaa Ulkolähetys. Keh. määräraha 1984-1986. *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>394</sup> *SuVUL* 1984, 8.

<sup>395</sup> Irma Koivula, "Homa Bay Children's Home Kesäkuu 1984-Kesäkuu 1985". Keh. yhteistyö suomalaisten lähetyjärjestöjen kanssa. Suomen Vapaa Ulkolähetys 1984. *UM* 3 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>396</sup> Anitta Juntunen, Homa Bayn Lastenkoti. Projektisuunnitelma 1986-1988. *SuVUL* Keh. määrärahakemukset 1984-1986, 1985-1987, 1986-1988. *UM* 3 92-7. A-UM; *Lähetyjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyö Etiopiassa ja Keniassa* 1987, 56. A-UM.

<sup>397</sup> "Hankeraportti 1986", 3, signed by Kalevi Helimäki and Arvo Vuorimäki. 1987. LKA. A-SuVUL.

Engineer Ari Uotila visited Homa Bay in 1990, he underlined the importance of the District Development Committee, and encouraged the representatives of the project to participate in its meetings.<sup>398</sup>

With the help of the LKA the Children's Home tried – without success – to generate revenue from its fields and poultry farm. In fact, the accounts show a loss in agriculture every year. In 1990, the families of the orphans paid 10% of the expenses of the Home, while the remaining 90% was covered by money from external sources.<sup>399</sup> According to the strategy of FINNIDA and the FFFM, it was time to leave the project, which had received support for 15 years. Unfortunately, the Full Gospel Churches of Kenya could not run it, the government of Kenya did not want it, and the other external sponsors intended to withdraw if the Finns were not in charge of the Home.<sup>400</sup> The concerns of the local committee were, however, different. The Kenyan chairman of the committee still wanted a nursery and other Kenyans supported his plan. The chairman, however, asked for the Finnish support not to be abruptly dropped but gradually decreased.<sup>401</sup> The Children's Home was running well and it employed about 50 people, but was still dependant upon the LKA.<sup>402</sup>

### *Kapedo School and Health Project*

The medical work in Kapedo expanded rapidly in 1978. At the end of the year, there were five missionary nurses and one doctor. Even a “flying doctor” visited about once a month. These personnel served in the hospital and the three dispensaries, and they made medical safaris more than twice a week treating patients in over twenty villages, half of which they visited regularly. The aim was to visit, according to a

---

<sup>398</sup> Uotila, ”Matkaraportti, 3-16.10.1990: Kenya, Tanzania”, 9. A-Kivikangas.

<sup>399</sup> Harri Hakola, ”Homa Bay Children´s Home, Report”, 2.10.1990. Uotila, ”Matkaraportti, 3-16.10.1990: Kenya, Tanzania”, Liite 5, 1. A-Kivikangas.

<sup>400</sup> Harri Hakola, Homa Bayn lastenkoti. Raportti. 2.10.1990. Uotila, ”Matkaraportti, 3-16.10.1990: Kenya, Tanzania”. Liite 10, 5-6. A-Kivikangas.

<sup>401</sup> Uotila, ”Matkaraportti, 3-16.10.1990: Kenya, Tanzania”, 8-9. A-Kivikangas.

<sup>402</sup> ”Homa Bayn lastenkoti. Hankeraportti 1988”. *LKA Raportteja 1977-*. A-SuVUL; *LKA 1988*, 5-9; *LKA 1989*, 9. A-SuVUL.



set programme, all the main Pokot villages to treat minor cases there, and to bring the more serious cases to the hospital.<sup>403</sup> The missionary personnel had increased, and the trained expatriate staff started to train local "ungraded nurses" (dressers) to work in the dispensaries in the Pokot area. The mission sponsored secondary school students in order to acquire trained Kenyan staff for the small dispensaries and mobile clinics that were planned to cover the whole of the Pokot area. Beside this training programme, a new emphasis was laid on preventive health care. Immunisation was part of the programme, but the workload did not allow the personnel to concentrate on primary care and preventing diseases.<sup>404</sup>

When the LKA started to apply to the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs for funds for development cooperation in Kapedo, the money was not intended for medical work, but for schools and an orphanage. It was possible to start a school under a tree or in a hut with minimal funds, but constructing a semi-permanent or permanent school building was an economical investment for a mission agency. In principle, the Kenyan Government had promised to staff schools that had proper school buildings. The government agreed to pay the salaries of the staff at three schools in 1980.<sup>405</sup>

The offerings of individual Christians and congregations in Finland, gifts from different NGOs in several countries, and funds from the Government of Finland and Kenya backed the work in Kapedo. Close relations with the Government of Kenya became apparent when President Moi visited Kapedo along with Vice President Mwai Kibaki

---

<sup>403</sup> Jukka Harjula, "Kapeddo Hospital Statistics 1978", Projektiraportti v. 1978 ja 1979, määräraha-anomus v. 1979-80. SuVUL. UM 12 R Suomi 10. A-UM; *Pahjapelto and Kupiainen* 1991, 5,7. A-Lounela; *Kapeddo Health Care and School Projects 1964-1991*, 3. A-Lounela.

<sup>404</sup> Jukka Harjula, "Kapeddo Hospital – annual report 1979". Projektiraportti v. 1978 ja 1979, määräraha-anomus v. 1979-80. SuVUL. UM 12 R Suomi 10. A-UM.

<sup>405</sup> "Kapedo, Chemolingot and Ngoron. Ehdotus Kapeddon toimintasuunnitelmaksi", 09-10.6.1980 Kapedolaisten puolesta Jukka Harjula, II. *LKA Raportteja 1977-*. A-SuVUL; cf. *Kapeddo Health Care and School Projects 1964-1991*, 7-8 and map. A-Lounela.

and several senior government officials in September 1979.<sup>406</sup> When President Moi visited Kapedo, the time of the pioneer missionaries was over. Anna Kupiainen had lost her health and returned to Finland. Marjaana Pohjapelto had transferred responsibility to Dr. Jukka Harjula, and, also due to health reasons, she did not complete her term either.<sup>407</sup> The Kapedo project was becoming an extension of the Kenyan health and education policy rather than a private enterprise of the Pentecostals. The Full Gospel Churches of Kenya did not want to expand medical work in Kapedo any more. Its representatives did not see any reason to build new facilities; it was sufficient that the unfinished work was completed.<sup>408</sup>

Marjaana Pohjapelto, one of two initiators of the Kapedo station, had to leave her work in 1981, but the work continued.<sup>409</sup> Two diverging trends contended with each other in Kapedo at the beginning of the 1980s. Some planners agreed with the authoritative members of the Full Gospel Churches of Kenya that it was not wise to expand "Kapedo town", but others wanted to satisfy the material needs of the local people, using available public funds and private contributions.

The FFFM continued expanding the Kapedo station and repairing its buildings, because the LKA took the wishes of the Kenyan Government seriously. It was to the advantage of the Kenyan Government that the Finns participated in health services and education in this vast area, which covered about 15,000 kms<sup>2</sup>. A net of dispensaries and schools developed around the Kapedo station, and nurses visited remote villages by car.<sup>410</sup> In the District Development

---

<sup>406</sup> Jukka Harjula, "Kapeddo Hospital – annual report 1979". Projektiraportti v. 1978 ja 1979, määräraha-anomus v. 1979-80. SuVUL. UM 12 R Suomi 10. A-UM.

<sup>407</sup> Veikko Manninen, "Väliaikaraportti Kapeddon projektista Keniassa". *LKA Raportteja 1977-.A-SuVUL*.

<sup>408</sup> "Raportti Keniasta", 21, Signed by Kalevi Helimäki in Baghdad on 8.12.1978. *LKA Raportteja 1977-. A-SuVUL*; LKA toimikunta 24.1.1979. *Pöytäkirjoja 1978-1984 A-Kivikangas*.

<sup>409</sup> *Pohjapelto and Kupiainen* 1991, 10. A-Lounela.

<sup>410</sup> Vilho Kivikangas wrote in his report that Kapedo "village" would not be expanded, "Kertomus Kenian-matkalta 21-28.2.1982". SuVUL LKA, Keh. määräraha 1982 I. UM 3 92-7. A-UM; According to Kalevi Helimäki, the opinion of the FGCK leaders was the same as early as 1978, "Raportti Keniasta", 8.12.1978. *LKA Raportteja*

Plan, the local authorities expected that the Pentecostals would continue this work throughout the 1989-1993 planning period.<sup>411</sup>

In 1986, the Kapedo health project consisted of one hospital and five dispensaries. The medical staff, from the hospital and the dispensaries in Mukutani and Maron, made about 140 visits to about 20 different locations, eight of which were visited at least 11 times during one year.<sup>412</sup> The level of services varied from year to year depending on the number of staff. For example, from July 1985 to December 1986, Kapedo had to manage without a resident physician.<sup>413</sup>

A FINNIDA evaluation team visited Kapedo in 1986, when there was no longer a permanent missionary physician. Its report showed that the team agreed with the local doctor on how the work should be done. In his opinion, the focus should also have been on preventive health care, not the hospital. Consequently, the team recommended that the FFFM transfer management of the hospital to the Kenyan Government. The evaluation team realised that the medical staff did not have the resources to work in such a large area, and decided that it was better to restrict the area than to increase the resources.<sup>414</sup> The missionaries in Kapedo were pioneers and, therefore, not as used to statistics, demarcation lines and limited responsibility as were their colleagues in Finland.

---

1977-. A-SuVUL; Jukka Harjula proposed plan to develop medical work and schools in Kapedo area, "Ehdotus Kapeddon toimintasuunnitelmaksi" 9.-10.6.1980. *LKA Raportteja 1977-. A-SuVUL.*

<sup>411</sup> *Baringo District Development Plan 1989-1993*, 271.

<sup>412</sup> Terttu Riikonen, "The annual report [to the Protestant Churches Medical Association] for the year from 1st July, 85 to 30th June, 86". *Hankeraportti 1986 Kapeddo terveys ja koulutus. SuVUL Keh. määräraahakemukset 1987-89 ja hankeraportit 1986. UM 31 92-7. A-UM.*

<sup>413</sup> Kapeddo Field, 2. Final report 1984. Kenya. 14.4.1986. Keh. yhteistyö suomalaisten lähetysjärjestöjen kanssa. SuVUL 1984. *UM 3 92-7. A-UM*; "Kapeddo sähköistettiin", *LKA 1988*, 4. A-Lounela.

<sup>414</sup> *Lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyö Etiopiassa ja Keniassa 1987*, 57. A-UM; cf. Jukka Harjula, "Kapeddo Hospital – Annual Report 1979", *Projektiraportti v. 1978 ja 1979, määräraha-anomus v. 1979-80. SuVUL. UM 12 R Suomi 10. A-UM*; Jukka Harjula, "Ehdotus Kapeddon toimintasuunnitelmaksi" 9-10.6.1980. *LKA Raportteja 1977-. A-SuVUL.*

Family planning was part of the programme at the Kapedo Hospital and Mukutani dispensary, but there were only a few patients.<sup>415</sup> The missionaries had developed preventive care when starting a Community Based Health Care Programme in 1982, in order to train community health workers. In 1988, there were 180 trained community health motivators, who visited homes teaching hygiene, nutrition and how to take care of sick family members.<sup>416</sup>

The Kenyanisation of the staff in Kapedo project proceeded in the 1980s. The first Kenyan enrolled nurse joined the staff in 1984 for an immunisation programme and curative health care. The hospital received its first Kenyan clinical officer in 1985, and since 1986, there were qualified Kenyan registered nurses.<sup>417</sup> In October 1989, the project manager of the LKA informed the Full Gospel Churches of Kenya Working Committee, making reference to a meeting of the Full Gospel Churches of Kenya Kapedo Development Committee, that the LKA did not intend to send any more medical personnel to replace the leaving physician and nurse.<sup>418</sup> Nevertheless, a new Finnish physician arrived in 1990.<sup>419</sup> While the Kenyanisation intensified, after the visit of FINNIDA evaluation team, the construction work did not cease. Dispensaries in Ngoron and Sipilo, and the extension of the hospital had been completed before the visit, in 1982, 1984 and 1986, respectively, and the staff house in Sipilo was finished shortly after the visit, in 1987. The LKA built a further three more dispensaries after that. The first of these, in Lomelo, was completed in 1990, and the other two, in Mukutani and Tangelbei, in 1991.<sup>420</sup> The negotiations with the Ministry of Health about the Kenyanisation of

---

<sup>415</sup> Terttu Riikonen, "The Annual Report for the year from 1st July, 85 to 30th June, 86", 1-2. Hankeraportti 1986. Kapedo terveystoiminta ja koulutus. Keh. määrärahaohjelmat 1987-89 ja hankeraportit 1986. SuVUL. UM 31 92-7 A-UM.

<sup>416</sup> Riikonen 1993, 222.

<sup>417</sup> Eino I. Manninen and Odin Finell, "Raamattuopisto Keniaan", RV 1/9.1.1960, 3.

<sup>418</sup> Ari Uotila to Samwel Mureithi Njogu 10.10.1989. *Kenia 1987-1991*. A-SuVUL.

<sup>419</sup> *LKA1990*, 9. A-SuVUL.

<sup>420</sup> *Kapedo Health Care and School Projects 1964-1991*, 5. A-Lounela.

the entire health project had started as early as 1986, but the actual handing over did not begin until July 1990.<sup>421</sup>

In the 1980s, the LKA received support from FINNIDA and the Kenyan government for its work in Kapedo, but there were also many non-governmental organisations who aided the people through the Finnish missionaries. Some of these agencies went on assisting their special target groups as they had done during the previous decade. The Swedish organisation, *Farbror Eriks Hjälpverksamhet*, directed its help toward children, especially orphans, and the German organisation, *Christoffel Blindenmission* gave aid to eye patients. Other supporters of the work were: the German agency *Brot für die Welt*, the Kenyan Protestant Churches Medical Association (later called the Christian Health Association of Kenya), the Africa Inland Mission, the Turkana Water Project and the official Norwegian development agency NORAD.<sup>422</sup>

The buildings of the primary school in Kapedo were constructed in the 1960s and 1970s. In the 1980s, three other permanent primary schools were built which partly replaced the old semi-permanent houses. In addition, three new semi-permanent schools were also built. The LKA had 14 nurseries and supported 9 primary schools in 1986.<sup>423</sup> The Government of Kenya took over the primary schools in the late 1980s and the projects consisted in the early 1990s of one secondary school, eight primary schools and eighteen pre-schools, with over 2,000 students and over 100 teachers.<sup>424</sup> In 1986, the Finnish evaluation team criticised the Kapedo school project for only

---

<sup>421</sup> *Kapeddo Health Care and School Projects 1964-1991*, 4. A-Lounela.

<sup>422</sup> *Kapeddo Health Care and School Projects 1964-1991*, 3. A-Lounela; "Projekti-suunnitelma 1987-1989 Kapeddon terveydenhoitoprojekti", 3. SuVUL. Keh. määräraahakemukset 1987-89 ja hankeraportit 1986. UM 31 92-7. A-UM; Kapeddon koulutusprojekti, 3. UM 31 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>423</sup> Hankeraportti 1986 "Kapeddo terveys ja koulutus". SuVUL Keh. Määräraahakemukset 1987-89 ja hankeraportit 1986. UM 31 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>424</sup> *Kapeddo Health Care and School Projects 1964-1991*, 6-7. A-Lounela; cf. Asko Kinnunen, "Kapeddo Education Project", of 5.10.1990. *Uotila*, "Matkaraportti, 3-16.10.1990: Kenya, Tanzania", Liite 6. A-Kivikangas. (Kinnunen counted 17 pre-primary schools).

constructing schools.<sup>425</sup> This strategy, however, was in concord with the Kenyan government's policy of staffing schools built by the local people.

### *Solian and Isinya Schools*

When the Full Gospel Churches of Kenya opened its new church in Solian in 1974, Vice President Daniel arap Moi was present as a guest of honour. He asked the Finnish visitor Kai Antturi to build a school in Solian as well. The interpreter, however, did not translate the question. Therefore, Antturi did not know about the matter and could not promise anything or deflect the request. The VIP guest therefore interpreted the silence as consent, and the Kenyan government donated a plot for a secondary school.<sup>426</sup> When Eino Ahonen, Kalevi Helimäki and Åke Söderlund met Daniel arap Moi in December 1975, the Vice President Moi reminded the Finns about the requested secondary school in Solian.<sup>427</sup> When the LKA had started its development projects in Kenya and its representatives had met the leaders of the Full Gospel Churches of Kenya, the secondary school at Solian was posited at the top of the list of projects. Letters from the Office of the President and from the local District Commissioner were attached to the application for the school.<sup>428</sup> Construction work started in 1979. The school was to comprise of dormitories, classes, staff houses, laboratories, a dining hall and a kitchen.<sup>429</sup> In 1979, the project was at the top of the list in the applications sent by the FFFM, and they directed, in 1979-1980, larger sums of public funds to Solian than to Homa Bay or Kapedo. The LKA wanted to put the Solian project into effect as a Nordic project together with PMU

---

<sup>425</sup> *Lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyö Etiopiassa ja Keniassa 1987*, 57. A-UM.

<sup>426</sup> Risto Kunnas, "Lähetystyö on kehitysaputyötä", *RV* 41/14.10.1982, 6.

<sup>427</sup> *Helimäki*, "Lähetysten kehitysavun alku ja nykyhetki". A-Kivikangas.

<sup>428</sup> *Ahonen*, Eino O. 1977, 38-39; *Helimäki*, interview 17.6.1993; "Lähetysten Kehitysavun nykynäkymiä", *RV* 6/9.2.1978, 6; *Keh. yhteistyö suomalaisten lähetysjärjestöjen kanssa Suomen Vapaa Ulkolähetys 1982-1983. UM* 3 92-7. A-UM; *Helimäki*, "Lähetysten kehitysavun alku ja nykyhetki". Vilho Kivikangas' unprinted review of 12.3.1982. A-Kivikangas.

<sup>429</sup> "Projektiraportti v. 1978 ja 1979", määräraha-anomus v. 1979-80. *SuVUL. UM* 12 R Suomi 10. A-UM.

(*Pingstvännernas U-landshjälp*) of the Swedish Pentecostals, but the Swedes did not join the project.<sup>430</sup>

The school at Solian was sometimes called the Solian Secondary School, sometimes the Solian Girls Secondary School and finally, the Solian Girls High School. The application included school building, dormitories, kitchen and dining hall for a secondary school.<sup>431</sup> It was sometimes also called a vocational school because it had to offer technical training to the pupils.<sup>432</sup>

The school project in Solian proceeded rapidly. The school building and dormitories for 180 boys and 64 girls were almost complete at the beginning of 1982. Furthermore, the LKA built a dining hall and kitchen, staff houses, a laboratory and a water system. The school was handed over to the Kenyan Government in March 1984, when it was inaugurated by President Daniel arap Moi, who was from that area.<sup>433</sup> One year later, the FFFM applied for funds for an extension to the Solian Girls High School, and reapplied in January 1986.<sup>434</sup> This project was mentioned in the Baringo District Development Plan 1984-1988, in which the District Development Committee had proposed the project, and specified the Ministry of Higher Education, *harambee*<sup>435</sup> and the Full Gospel Church<sup>436</sup> as sources of funding. Neither the FFFM nor FINNIDA, however, was willing to use its own money for this new phase of the project.<sup>437</sup> Project co-ordinator Åke Söderlund,

---

430 "Raportti Keniasta", 22, Signed by Kalevi Helimäki in Baghdad on 8.12.1978. *LKA Raportteja 1977*. A-SuVUL.

431 "Lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyömääräraha-anomukset v. 1979 SuVUL". SLEF. *UM 12 R Suomi 10*. A-UM.

432 *LKA 1979*, 2-3. A-SuVUL.

433 "Evaluaatio 84. SuVUL". SuVUL Keh. määräraha 1984-1986. *UM 31 92-7*. A-UM; Kaj Aalto, "Kenian presidentti vihki tyttökoulun", *RV 15/12.4.1984*, 2.

434 "Projektisuunnitelma 1985-1987. Solian Girls High School -jatkosuunnitelma". Keh. yhteistyö suomalaisten lähetysjärjestöjen kanssa SuVUL 1985-1987. *UM 31 92-7*. A-UM; "Projektisuunnitelma 1985-1987. Solian Girls High School." SuVUL Keh. määräraha-hakemukset 1984-86, 1985-87, 1986-88. *UM 31 92-7*. A-UM.

435 In this context the word means fund-raising.

436 The name of the church is in singular. It shows that the authorities had not understood the congregational principle of the Full Gospel Churches of Kenya.

437 *Baringo District Development Plan 1984-1988*, 64.

who had taken care of all the LKA projects in Kenya, especially the Solian school project which was situated near his Kenyan home did not return to Kenya after his furlough in 1987, but continued instead in Uganda where life was stabilising after the turmoil lasting over twenty years. Because the Kenyan government had taken over the management of the school, it no longer needed funds from FINNIDA or the FFFM.

The Kenyan Minister of Finances, George Saitoti, suggested to the LKA, in May 1986, that it should support the Isinya Girls Secondary School, in Kajiado District in his constituency. The school was founded in 1979, and the local people had constructed the classrooms and a dormitory. FINNIDA granted funds for this project in 1989, and the LKA hired a Kenyan contractor to build a dormitory for 200 girls.<sup>438</sup> The running expenses were not covered by the project.

### *Kitale Medical Work and Kapenguria Project*

In the Kitale area the Finnish Pentecostals met unemployed poor and starving people. They started medical work in the Kitale area in 1977, first without support from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Later they received an ambulance for mobile clinics and a full time nurse-midwife.<sup>439</sup> Leila Latvasalo, who had participated in the short living Pentecostal development agency the Finnish Christian Development Aid (FINCO), applied the idea of FINCO serving as a nurse and tentmaker evangelist.<sup>440</sup> The missionary nurses realised that their safari clinics and relief work only offered temporary help to the local people, and they made plans for a permanent dispensary and a handicraft project. The missionaries could thus improve nutrition and health education, and even accommodate mothers with

---

<sup>438</sup> "Projektplan 1987-1989. Isinya Girls Secondary School." SuVUL Keh. määräraha-hakemukset 1987-89 ja hankeraportit 1986. UM 31 92-7. A-UM; SuVUL 1989, 9. A-SuVUL.

<sup>439</sup> "Länsi Kenian kehitysaputyösuunnitelma Kitaleen alueella", 3 4.2.1981. Kitale/Kapenguria area Home Craft Centre, Kipsigane Village Clinic. Liite 1. Suomen Vapaa Ulkolähetys Lähetyksen Kehitysapu Keh. määräraha 1982 I. UM 3 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>440</sup> Leila Latvasalo, "Lähetien kirjeistä", MÄ 1/1978, 28-29.



undernourished children for a short period. Starving people could get regular income working with easily available materials such as wool, cotton, wood and clay, and selling their products. The local authorities donated plots of land for a Home Craft Centre in Kapenguria and a dispensary in Kipsigon, on the slope of Mt. Elgon.<sup>441</sup>

A Finnish missionary nurse continued the safari clinics from Kapenguria in an area where some hundred thousand people were living. A medical team visited ten locations by car and one by helicopter about once a month. In addition to health care, health education and preventive care were also included in their programme.<sup>442</sup>

The Kipsigon dispensary was completed, and full time work started, in April 1985. The main target groups were mothers, their children, and pregnant women. The clinic worked in close cooperation with the local authorities following their guidelines and the worldwide programme "Global Strategy for Health for All by the Year 2000". The Kenyans welcomed the dispensary, which, in effect, supplemented the defective public health care. It offered the following services: an antenatal clinic, a child welfare clinic, child delivery, nursing the ill, dental care, health education and family planning. The personnel transported patients to the hospital, visited primary schools and held outreach clinics, in six sub-areas, once a month. The Finnish nurses emphasised, however, that the main target of their work was to evangelise local people.<sup>443</sup>

In 1986, the FINNIDA evaluation team approved of the Kipsigon clinic, but criticised the mobile clinics. The team reported that the

---

<sup>441</sup> Airi Mäkelä and Leila Latvasalo, "Länsi-Kenian kehitysapusuunnitelma Kitaleen alueella". 4.2.1981. SuVUL LKA Keh. määräraha 1982 I. *UM* 3 92-7. A-UM; Vilho Kivikangas, "Kenia", Kertomus matkasta Keniaan 21-28.2.1982. SuVUL LKA Keh. määräraha 1982 I. *UM* 3 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>442</sup> Hillevi Suuronen, "Toimintakertomus 1986: Kapengurian liikkuvan klinikan toimintakertomus 1986". 9.2.1987. A-Lounela.

<sup>443</sup> Seija Kyllönen, "Vuosikertomus 1985 F.G.C.K./Kipsigon Dispensary". 7.3.1986. *LKA Reports 1977-1989*. A-SuVUL; Hillevi Suuronen, "Toimintakertomus 1987". *Kenia 1981-1989*. A-SuVUL.

target group of the mobile clinics was unlimited in number, and that the personnel were too spread out. It realised that the project resources were insufficient to operate the mobile clinics, and thus did not recommend more support for them.<sup>444</sup> The missionary nurse, however, considered the medical work to be a good way to reach unevangelised people, and the mobile clinics continued in 1987.<sup>445</sup>

A missionary nurse was living in Kipsigon and running the dispensary. Kenyanisation of the Kipsigon Clinic began in the end of the decade and the LKA and Full Gospel Churches of Kenya proposed the idea to the Kenyan government. Because the local people objected to Kenyanisation and the Medical Officer of Health pleaded with his superiors against it, the LKA had to continue the project for two more years.<sup>446</sup> The Community Based Health Care programme of the Kipsigon Clinic continued and was still functioning at the end of the decade. The German agency, *Brot für die Welt*, supported this activity, and the African Medical and Research Foundation (AMREF) trained the Kenyan workers. The LKA wanted to withdraw from the project and instead considered cooperation with the Ortum Catholic Mission Hospital.<sup>447</sup>

The Home Craft Centre in Kapenguria was completed at the same time as the dispensary in Kipsigon. The first two-year course in home craft started in July 1985. It was Airi Mäkelä's last year in Kenya. She had been the one who requested these two projects from Finland on behalf of the local people. The training at the Home Craft Centre had a twofold objective; the trainees were not only expected to use their skills for their own small-scale production, but also for training others

---

<sup>444</sup> *Lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyö Etiopiassa ja Keniassa 1987*, 56. A-UM.

<sup>445</sup> Hillevi Suuronen, "Toimintakertomus 1986". *Kenia 1981-1989*. A-SuVUL.

<sup>446</sup> Medical Officer of Health Dr G.W.S. Odongo to the District Commissioner in Bungoma 19.7.1990. *Uotila* "Matkaraportti, 3-16.10.1990: Kenya, Tanzania". A-Kivikangas; Another appendix of this report is: Raija Isoaho, "Kipsigon Dispensary, Kenyanization" 4.10.1990. A-SuVUL.

<sup>447</sup> "Kapenguria Home Craft Centre", Raija Isoaho, "Kipsigon Dispensary, C.B.H.C.-Programme", a letter to the National Committee 5.10.1990 and "Suomalaisten projektityöntekijöiden kokoontuminen" Muistio 4.10.1990. *Uotila*, "Matkaraportti, 3-16.10.1990: Kenya, Tanzania". Liite 2, 3 and 8. A-Kivikangas.

in the same skills. In addition to the long-term courses, the Centre organised short – 3-6 month long – courses as well. The curriculum included, among other subjects, ceramics, weaving, tailoring, dressmaking and cooking. The students were expected to instruct others in their skills during holidays. Some of the students lived quite far from Kapenguria, the farthest over 300 km to the north.<sup>448</sup> In 1986, the FINNIDA evaluation team criticised the ambiguity of this objective, and encouraged the Centre to put more emphasis on the training of competent practical-skills teachers and handicraft instructors. The team stated:

The situation might improve in future, if main emphasis will be given to teacher training and in collaboration with the Kenyan education authorities new curricula will be developed so that the graduates at the end of their studies would be qualified as practical-subject teachers or home craft instructors within the Kenyan educational system. Importance should be given to hiring lecturers who have suitable educational background and sufficient teaching experience.<sup>449</sup>

This idea was not totally new, as even before the team's visit, the LKA had described teacher training as the primary objective of the Home Craft Centre.<sup>450</sup> The scope, however, had been smaller, in that the students should pass the Government's Tailoring Trade Test, and then teach others either at the Centre or elsewhere.<sup>451</sup> The Centre received practical-skills teachers from Finland and was not very interested in Kenyan teachers, not even those with a high level of formal competence. Despite the formal defects at the Home Craft Centre, the

---

<sup>448</sup> "Kapenguria Home Craft Centre. SuVUL 1984". Keh. yhteistyö suomalaisten lähetysjärjestöjen kanssa. UM 3 92-7. A-UM; "Länsikenian projektit", 1. SuVUL Keh. Määräraahakemukset 1984-86, 1985-87, 1986-88. UM 31 92-7. A-UM; Liisa Kotisaari, "Työsuunnitelma". SuVUL Keh. määräraahakemukset 1984-86, 1985-87, 1986-88. UM 31 92-7. A-UM; "Projektisuunnitelma 1987-1989. Kapengurian koulutusprojekti". SuVUL Keh. määräraahakemukset 1987-89 ja hankeraportit 1986. UM 31 92-7. A-UM; Uotila, "Matkaraportti 3-16.10.1990: Kenya, Tanzania". A-Kivikangas.

<sup>449</sup> *Lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyö Etiopiassa ja Keniassa* 1987, 56. A-UM.

<sup>450</sup> Kalevi Helimäki, *LKA 1985*, 1. Talvipäivät 21-23.1.1986 Kuopio. *Veljeskokousten pöytäkirjat 1966-1986*. A-RV.

<sup>451</sup> Kalevi Helimäki, *LKA 1988*, 7. A-SuVUL; FGCK National Development Project Committee 21.8.1987 3.3 §. Lähetysliikenne kirjenvaihto Kenia 1990. *Kenia 1981-1989*. A-SuVUL.

next visiting representative of FINNIDA appreciated the teaching at the Centre.<sup>452</sup> The original plan for the Home Craft Centre naturally, included the idea that it would be self-sufficient. Despite serious efforts, its revenue in 1990 was still only about one sixth of its expenses. In 1989, three Finnish teachers taught at the Centre; only one continued beyond October 1990, but she also returned soon after to Finland.<sup>453</sup>

Once the missionaries understood the local needs better, they included two nurseries in the school project. One of these was in Lokitaung, over 500 km from Kapenguria, near the Sudanese border and the age of the pupils varied there from five to twelve years. This difference in age shows how difficult it was to go to school in that area. The other nursery was built about ten kilometres from the Home Craft Centre.<sup>454</sup>

### *Other Social Work*

In addition to the larger FINNIDA projects, several of the FFFM missionaries were involved in health care. Most of the female missionaries had medical training and they were able to help the people they met through their evangelical work.<sup>455</sup> Many missionaries with medical training received support, not from the LKA or the Ministry for Foreign Affairs but from various other sources. Thus, for example a missionary nurse in Kitui received patients in local churches on weekdays in the early 1980s.<sup>456</sup> The

---

<sup>452</sup> *Olasvirta* 1986, 2. A-UM.

<sup>453</sup> *Uotila*, "Matkaraportti, 3-16.10.1990: Kenya, Tanzania", Liite 8. A-Kivikangas.

<sup>454</sup> "Projektisuunnitelma 1987-1989: Kapengurian koulutusprojekti", 1. SuVUL Keh. määräraahakemukset 1987-89 ja hankeraportit 1986. UM31 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>455</sup> According to the address list at the end of the decade and information about individual missionaries in the FFFM office, all together 31 of the 53 female missionaries had medical training, most of them were nurses or midwives. "Kenia" (a list of addresses), RV46/13.11.1980 and *Lähettiläiden kortisto* 1993. A-SuVUL.

<sup>456</sup> Mirja Valve, "Selostus sairaanhoito-työstä Kituun alueella 1.1.1981". *LKA Raportteja* 1977-. A-SuVUL.

Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs only gave money through the LKA for an ambulance in Kitui in 1984.<sup>457</sup>

The clinic in Chemelil had become unnecessary after a sugar factory built its own medical facilities. This new situation, however, provided an opportunity for a Finnish Pentecostal physician to participate in missionary work. Juho Kurki worked as a physician for the factory, but could use his spare time in evangelism.<sup>458</sup> The LKA still used its own funds for medical work in Chemelil up to the late 1970s.<sup>459</sup>

### *Kenyanisation*

In the early 1980s – when the work of the LKA had found its position in the Pentecostal movement – the leaders of the FFFM were convinced that the FFFM, the LKA, or the Finnish missionaries could not continue the projects for a long period of time. It was likewise accepted that the Finnish Pentecostal congregations would not be able to take responsibility for them. Many people suggested refraining from further development work.<sup>460</sup> Although the number of Finnish Pentecostal missionaries in Kenya was declining after 1985, the projects still needed 10 to 20 Finns.<sup>461</sup>

---

<sup>457</sup> This health work is only mentioned in 1984. *UM*31 92-7. A-UM

<sup>458</sup> *SuVUL:n hallitus 17.7.1972 8 §. SuVUL:n hallituksen pöytäkirjat 1952-1974.* A-SuVUL; Dr. Juho Kurki is mentioned in the list of the missionaries in Kenya in a report of the mission secretary Veljeskokouksen pöytäkirja 22-24.1.1974 2 §. *Veljeskokousten pöytäkirjat 1966-1986.* A-RV.

<sup>459</sup> *Lähetysten kehitysapu 5.7.1978 2 § and Kehitysapukokous 9.12.1978 2 §.* A-Kivikangas; *SuVUL:n hallitus 6.11.1978 2 §. Hallituksen ja sen työvaliokunnan pöytäkirjat 1974-1988.* A-SuVUL; The pioneer missionary in Chemelil, Alma Raatikainen had died earlier.

<sup>460</sup> The Executive Committee of the FFFM suggested not starting any new projects before completing the present ones. *SuVUL:n työvaliokunta 17.12.1982 38 §. Pöytäkirjoja 1978-1984.* A-Kivikangas. The chairman of the Board of the FFFM believed that there was no reason to increase development aid. Kajaa [Kaj Aalto], "Miten on?" (Uno Palonen's interview), *RV*13/31.3.1983, 3; *Söderlund*, interview 15.6.1993.

<sup>461</sup> *Kuosmanen 1989, 41; LKA 1986.* A-SuVUL. Arto Hämäläinen, *SuVUL 1989, 5.* A-SuVUL. *LKA 1990, 9-12.* A-SuVUL.

The Pentecostal journal, *Maailman Ääret*, published every year before Christmas the names of the missionaries on all fields, Kenya included.

The LKA did not plan to run its projects indefinitely but it expected to transfer them to the Kenyans after some time. It was in consent with the Kenyan Pentecostals on this issue and a committee was given the task of supervising the projects. In 1985, the LKA gave notice that it was only completing its unfinished works, and had decided – together with the National Development Committee of the Gospel Churches of Kenya – not to start any new projects for four years. All projects were to be Kenyanised by 1990.<sup>462</sup>

After the visit of the second evaluation team from the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, in 1986, a discussion arose about how to Kenyanise the projects and about the principles of the Pentecostal missionary work. The executive manager of the LKA, Kalevi Helimäki, wrote to the Full Gospel Churches of Kenya in July 1987, explaining the intentions of the LKA to Kenyanise most of the projects in 1989 and 1990, with the intention that none of them would need any external support after the end of the year 1991.<sup>463</sup> The mission secretary of the FFFM, Tapani Kärnä confirmed this plan and referred to a long discussion in Kenya and Finland about Kenyanisation. In these discussions, it was explained that the LKA was under the FFFM, and that the FFFM was only serving the local congregations, who were the real mission agencies.<sup>464</sup>

The Full Gospel Churches of Kenya National Development Committee promised to seek new sources of income. In 1987, it expressed a wish that – with the help from other donors – the missionaries who were supported by Finnish churches would replace the leaving the LKA workers.<sup>465</sup> During his first visit to Kenya, four years earlier, the retiring Mission Secretary, Tapani Kärnä, had explained the principles of the Finnish development aid, stating that the projects would not be left to the Pentecostal congregations in Kenya. After the Kenyanisation had been stressed and was under

---

<sup>462</sup> Kalevi Helimäki, *LKA 1986*, 21.

<sup>463</sup> Kalevi Helimäki to FGCK 17.7.1987. *Kenia 1987-1991*. A-SuVUL.

<sup>464</sup> Tapani Kärnä to FGCK 7.8.1987. *Kenia 1981-1989*. A-SuVUL.

<sup>465</sup> Project co-ordinator Anneli Jerkku from Nairobi to the FFFM 7.9.1987. *Kenia 1981-1989*. A-SuVUL.

way, he saw that in this process the local congregations were saddled with development projects. He wrote a letter to the Board of the FFFM, suggesting that the Kenyanisation be slowed down in order to avoid this transfer, because it was against the Pentecostal principles. He emphasised that the Pentecostal congregations were founded for evangelism, not for development projects.<sup>466</sup>

Although the FFFM strove after Kenyanisation it needed progressively more funds in Kenya. The Kenyan Government demanded that the projects had to meet certain standards when the projects were transferred to the government. Various new projects were designed to help the old projects become self-sufficient but sometimes the projects only grew and became more expensive. The Finnish Pentecostals tried to complete their projects and surrender them to the Kenyans but despite this development strategy, construction work continued up to the end of the decade and the FFFM received more funds from the Finnish government year by year in the late 1980s.

The school projects had less problems than health projects because the Government of Kenya had created a national school system and it sent teachers if the local community provided the facilities. The Kenyan government, however, was not ready to accept orphanages, and it was used to having medical services provided by churches and missions alongside its own health care system. Arto Hämäläinen visited Kenya for the first time as the new Mission Secretary in 1988, and realised one evident obstruction in the approved Kenyanisation programme. He saw that the Kenyans were not trained well enough and, therefore, were not able to carry the responsibility for the projects. Hämäläinen suggested that training of Kenyans be added to the Kenyanisation programme.<sup>467</sup>

---

<sup>466</sup> Tapani Kärnä to the Board of the FFFM 19.9.1987. *Kenia 1981-1989*. A-SuVUL.

<sup>467</sup> Arto Hämäläinen, "Raportti Itä-Afrikasta 24.2.-4.3.1988". 6 §". *Hallituksen ja sen työvaliokunnan pöytäkirjat 1974-1988*. A-SuVUL.

When the Project-Engineer of the LKA, Ari Uotila, visited Kenya in October 1990 attending a meeting of the Finnish project workers and the Full Gospel Churches of Kenya National Development Project Committee, projects were still under the LKA and the building programme was unfinished. The problem was that the projects were not self-supporting. The LKA had built the projects for the Government of Kenya but they were only, in some exceptional cases ready, to accept them, and it was very difficult to find somebody else who could run these projects in the future, when the Finns would have withdrawn.<sup>468</sup>

The local administration respected the efforts of the LKA and expected that it would continue running development projects into the indefinite future. In 1981, the local District Development Officer promised a plot for a handicraft school in Kapenguria.<sup>469</sup> The District Development Plan for Turkana District 1989-1993 mentioned the Full Gospel Churches of Kenya hopefully as a development-oriented NGO.<sup>470</sup> The plan for the West Pokot District 1989-1993 included the expansion of the Full Gospel Ceramic Training Programme<sup>471</sup>. The Kenyan authorities expected the Pentecostals to continue their projects although the LKA attempted to Kenyanise them.<sup>472</sup>

### *The Zion Harvest Mission*

The Zion Harvest Mission (ZHM) had to transfer its work from Uganda to Kenya in 1974 when it sent out Nurse Elina Kumpulainen and the Raivonen family. Kumpulainen had been working in Kenya for 20 years with the FFFM. They started with evangelism and medical work and soon built a mission station.<sup>473</sup> The station

---

<sup>468</sup> Uotila, "Matkaraportti, 3-16.10.1990: Kenya, Tanzania". A-Kivikangas.

<sup>469</sup> Vilho Kivikangas to FGCK:n veljeskokous 7.1.1981, 2. *Pöytäkirjoja 1978-1984*. A-Kivikangas.

<sup>470</sup> *Turkana District Development Plan 1989-1993*, 223 and 225.

<sup>471</sup> *West Pokot District Development Plan 1989-1993*, 211 and 220.

<sup>472</sup> *Baringo District Development Plan 1989-1993*, 271 and 284.

<sup>473</sup> Rauno Soininen, "Lähetystyo laajenee Keniassa", *RS* 12/1975, 9; Rauno Soininen, "Suomen Vapaan Helluntaiherätyksen ensimmäinen kirkkorakennus vihittiin Keniassa", *RS* 1/1976, 13, 16; "Jälleen uusi lähetti Keniaan", *RS* 5/1976, 11.



followed the example of other mission agencies, providing medical care and education, organising women's groups, doing relief work and supporting an orphanage.<sup>474</sup> In the 1980s the ZHM had development projects of its own without support from FINNIDA. It started schools in empty churches on weekdays and soon had five lower primary schools and one higher.<sup>475</sup>

After the reconciliation within the Pentecostals, cooperation between the FFFM and the ZHM improved. When the LKA transported goods to Kenya, it allowed the ZHM to send its goods in the same containers. The ZHM mission field in Kenya thus received, among other things, clothes, blankets, sewing machines, tools, household supplies, first aid equipment and wheel chairs.<sup>476</sup> The sewing machines, which were distributed among the churches, greatly facilitated the teaching of domestic skills.<sup>477</sup>

James Aweyo visited Finland in 1989 and had an opportunity to explain his development plans to the members and leaders of the church. In November two new members, Matti and Terttu Karjalainen, joined the church and they were ready to carry out the new plans in Kenya. Pastor Walter Onyango had desired for a long time that the half finished clinic in Remo be completed.<sup>478</sup> Another target was the community centre in Yala. It was primarily intended for a sewing and metalworking school. The goal of the courses was that the pupils should pass the Government of Kenya Trade Test. The ZHM was in Kenya on the threshold of a new phase under its new Kenyan chairman.

---

<sup>474</sup> Rauno Soininen, "Toimittajamme Keniassa", *RS* 1/1975, 16; Rauno Soininen, "Matkakirje II päiväntasaajalta", *RS* 2/1975, 17; "Tule mukaan", *RS* 6/1977, 25; "Suomen Vapaan Helluntaiherätyksen Lähetystyökohteet", *RS* 3/1978, 11; Rauno Soininen, "Marienga – lähetysasemamme Lounais-Keniassa", *RS* 10/1978, 11.

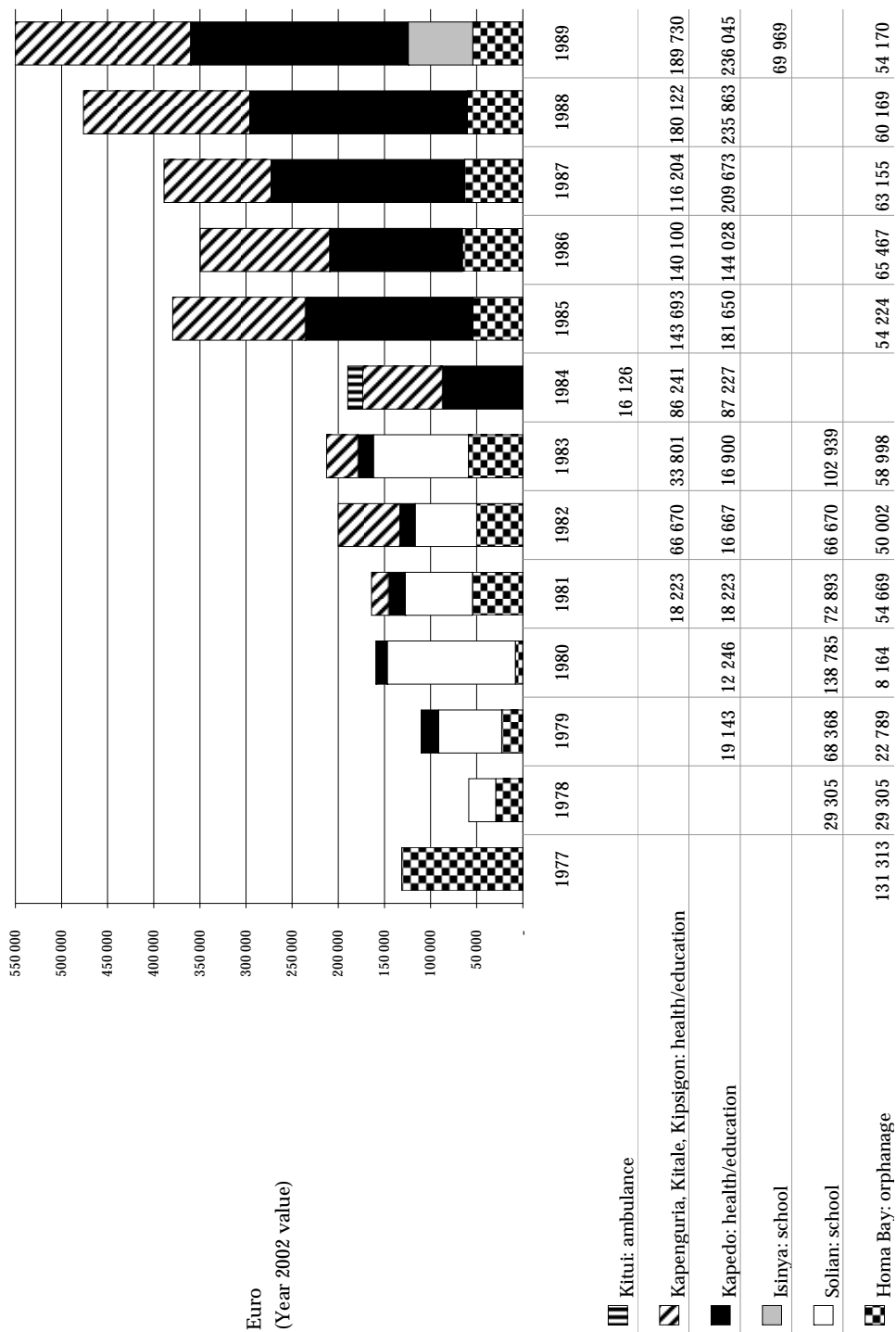
<sup>475</sup> *Soininen*, interview 8.4.1997.

<sup>476</sup> "Seurakunta uutiset" *RS* 2/1984, 19; Obolo, "Kiitoskirje Keniasta" *RS* 5-6/1987, 16; Rauno Soininen, "Lähetyskuulumisia" *RS* 10/1987, 8-9; Rauno Soininen, "Evankeliumia kaikille" *RS* 4/1989, 3; Rauno Soininen, "Lähetyskentän kuulumisia" *RS* 8-9/1989, 10-11; "Kontti Keniaan: Lähetyskentän kuulumisia", *RS* 2/1990, 6.

<sup>477</sup> *Soininen* 1997, 4. A-Siion; Obolo, "Kiitoskirje Keniasta" (text under a picture) *RS* 5-6/1987, 16-17.

<sup>478</sup> *Soininen* 1997. A-Siion; *Soininen*, interview 16.6.1997.

Figure 3 Funds from the Finnish government to the FFFM 1977-1989<sup>479</sup>



<sup>479</sup> Kehitysyhteistyö 1978-1989; UM12 and UM92. A-UM.

The Homa Bay Orphanage received a conspicuous amount of money in 1977 because the work of the FFFM in Ethiopia became more difficult after the Marxist revolution in 1974 and the FFFM also transferred funds there originally intended for health centres in Ethiopia. The school project in President Moi's home area Solian opened doors for other projects of the FFFM in Kenya. A clinic and later a hospital in Kapedo was included yearly from 1970, in the Parliament motions in Finland, also the schools and refugees in Kapedo were mentioned in the first motion in 1970. Kapenguria, Kitale and Kipsigon, was a wide area where a Pentecostal missionary had started mobile clinics in 1972. The work of the FFFM grew in that area and the FFFM organised health services and founded a home craft centre. The Minister of Finances George Saitoti requested a school in Isinya in his constituency in the same way as President Moi had asked for a school in his home area. The attempts of the FFFM to Kenyanise the projects or to make them self-supporting did not lead to any results in the 1980s but the projects continuously needed funds from Finland. The only exception was the Solian school project; it was handed over to the Kenyan government immediately when it was completed.

When the Finnish government supported the projects of the FFFM in Kenya, it followed the objectives of the United Nations Second Decade of Development aiming at improvement of education and raising levels of health and sanitation and reducing unemployment and underemployment.<sup>480</sup>

---

<sup>480</sup> *Everyone's United Nations* 1986, 196 and 200; Broms 1990, 626; *International Development Strategy* 1970, 4-5; cf. *Kansainvälisen kehitysyhteistyön periaateohjelma* 1975, 4. The NGOs followed quickly the recommendations of e.g. WHO and UNICEF. *Kansalais- ja lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyö: evaluointiryhmän raportti: Lokakuu 1984*, 27.

*Map 3 The FFFM and ZHM in development cooperation in Kenya from 1974*<sup>481</sup>



<sup>481</sup> The dotted line indicates the boundary between the Pokot and Turkana ethnic groups. The FFFM had development projects in Homa Bay, Solian, Kitui, Isinya as well as the Kapedo and Kitale-Kapenguria-Kipsigon, areas. The ZHM worked in Marienga, Yala and Nairobi. The ZHM did not receive money from the Finnish government.

## 3.2 The Lutherans

### 3.2.1 Understandings of Mission

#### *The Swedish Lutheran Evangelical Association in Finland (SLEAF)*

At the Annual Meetings of the Swedish Lutheran Evangelical Association in Finland (SLEAF) the Section for Foreign Mission offered a forum where people could exchange opinions on mission. The representatives of local organisations met missionaries and office-bearers responsible for mission. In 1974, the Section for Foreign Mission emphasised the priority of evangelism, approved cooperation with other organisations active in development work, and supported the idea of a village polytechnic or a Bible school in Kenya.<sup>482</sup> In 1975, the Section supported the classic model of missionary work: evangelisation, health care and education. Missionaries should teach religion in schools and organise continuing education for Kenyan teachers of religion. Christian education should have an important position in the vocational school SLEAF was planning. The Section supported scholarships, sponsoring Kenyan youngsters, and planned to send clothes. The participants warned missions against becoming similar to a project, because a mission should keep permanent contact with the field. On the other hand, the participants thought that limited targets were good for donors.<sup>483</sup>

When the local parishes of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland started to sponsor individual missionaries, the SLEAF Mission Committee did not accept this practice immediately in 1972.<sup>484</sup> The members of the Section for Foreign Mission considered the matter again six years later, in 1978, and, after a lively discussion, approved the idea stating that SLEAF's missionaries can also be supported by local parishes of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland.<sup>485</sup> When the Delegation for Foreign Mission (*Delegationen för Yttre Mission*) sent the new plan for continuing mission work to the

---

<sup>482</sup> 27.6.1974 3-4 §. *DYM 1974-80*. A-SLEF.

<sup>483</sup> Sektionen för yttremission 27.6.1975. *DYM 1974-80*. A-SLEF.

<sup>484</sup> Missionskomité 30.10.1972 10 §. *MUI 1968-74*. A-SLEF.

<sup>485</sup> *SLEF 1978-79*, 8.

missionaries at Atemo, in 1974, it brought the principles of missionary work under consideration. The Missionary Conference discussed the matter with the Delegation. The missionaries said, at first, that the other activities supported evangelism, but they later agreed that theologically all activities were equal. They said that, because they did not have the resources to do everything, they had to keep in mind the priority of evangelism.<sup>486</sup> Later they returned to the same question stating that every service people do faithfully before God is equal, but only the testimony of Christ in everyday work arouses faith, not the work itself.<sup>487</sup> In everyday missionary work, social development projects and evangelism were compatible. Jorma Iiskola worked hard in founding and developing the Lutheran Youth Centre and Training School, which was the largest SLEAF project and he carried out a well project, but he also emphasised evangelism.

When Sven Klemets visited Kenya during his term as the executive director of SLEAF in 1985, he attended the first consultation of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya (ELCK, until 1978 the Lutheran Church of Kenya, LCK) with its supporting missions. During his visit, he and a group of missionaries started to draw up a missionary strategy for SLEAF.<sup>488</sup> The Board approved the draft one year later in 1986, thereby expressing SLEAF's policies on social work, development projects and other issues.<sup>489</sup> The mission strategy defined the aim of mission referring to the Great Commission (Matthew 28.18-20) and explaining that the primary aim was winning people for Jesus by proclaiming the Gospel. People can be saved only if they hear the Gospel about Jesus. Here the reference is to Romans 10.17 where the Apostle Paul says that "faith comes from hearing". The strategy stressed the importance of social work in a developing country, the aim of which was Christian education. The main motive for the missionary activity was the love of one's neighbour, and the social work was one part of the Christian witness. SLEAF accepted

---

<sup>486</sup> MK 5.3.1975 3 §. *MK 1972-88*. A-SLEF.

<sup>487</sup> MK 27.11.1978 50 §. *MK 1972-88*. A-SLEF.

<sup>488</sup> MK 31.1. and 11.2.1985. *MK 1972-88*. A-SLEF; Förslag DYM 5/85 14.12.1985. 50 §. *DYM 1981-1989*. A-SLEF.

<sup>489</sup> SLEF Styrelse 8.2.1986 13 §. *Styrelse 1985-1988*. A-SLEF Vasa.

collaboration with other agencies when investing in health care, education, and development cooperation. The strategy paper also emphasised that the development cooperation should not burden the national church and that it should be done in cooperation with the authorities in the recipient country and as part of the national development plan.<sup>490</sup> The Delegation remarked that the association had already followed these guidelines before.<sup>491</sup>

### *The Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland (LEAF)*

The desire within the Lutheran Church of Kenya to expand continued in the 1970s. The formally self-governing church still needed yearly support from its founder, the Swedish Lutheran Mission, and the three other mission agencies that had joined in the work during the previous decade: SLEAF (in 1963), the World Mission Prayer League<sup>492</sup> (in 1969) and the Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland (LEAF, in 1970). After the Norwegian Lutheran Mission joined in 1977, the Lutheran Church of Kenya had missionaries from all the Nordic countries.<sup>493</sup> Because the Finnish International Development Agency (FINNIDA), the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) and the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA) channelled public funds for development cooperation through mission agencies, the projects became an important issue in the Lutheran Church of Kenya and its mission agencies.

The Education Act of 1968 had transferred the former mission schools from the church to the government. The Lutheran Church of Kenya continued as the sponsor of its former schools and the Swedish Lutheran Mission continued running the primary and secondary

---

<sup>490</sup> Approved by the board 8.2.1986. 13 § Bilaga 2. *Styrelse 1985-1988*. A-SLEF Vasa.

<sup>491</sup> DYM 14.12.1985. 50. *DYM 1981-89*. A-SLEF.

<sup>492</sup> "The World Mission Prayer League is a Lutheran community in mission of some 5,000 members across the United States and Canada, and in seventeen countries around the world", according to WMPL Homepage.

<sup>493</sup> The Swedish Lutheran Mission had some missionaries from Denmark and the Norwegian Lutheran Mission from Iceland.

schools receiving funds from SIDA. The Finns participated mostly in the two sectors left from the traditional activities of the missions, these were spiritual work and health care. Kenyanisation of both of these areas was on the agenda for the Lutherans in the 1970s. The Lutheran Church of Kenya improved and increased the training of evangelists, and opened Matongo Lutheran Theological College in 1978, with funds from the Lutheran World Federation.<sup>494</sup> The number of pastors increased rapidly because they could study in their home country in Matongo. LEAF had to deliberate the balance between spiritual work and health projects.

In the 1970s, The Kenyan Lutherans took a step toward self-sufficiency by transferring the payment of the evangelists' and pastors' salaries from the central fund of the church to the individual districts. In this situation, the poverty of the church required profit making projects because the local contributions were not sufficient. Each district was allowed to keep the collection from its parishes, but had to pay the salaries of its employees. The central fund continued to pay some of the expense for some time, but the goal was that every district became self-sufficient. The final step was that the church members would also pay the expenses of the central administration. Thus, the Lutheran Church of Kenya would be self-sufficient and financially independent of the mission agencies.<sup>495</sup> The disadvantage of this new system was that the districts were unable to pay their workers' salaries in full, because they did not get enough offerings.<sup>496</sup> The Nyanza District in Luoland – where the workers wanted this kind of economic independence – was in a better position than other districts because SLEAF directed its support in this area.

The representatives of LEAF and their Kenyan colleagues had different opinions about the balance between spiritual and social work, and the priorities of the development projects. When LEAF Executive Director, Lauri Koskenniemi, visited Kenya in March 1979,

---

<sup>494</sup> Nilson 1977, 72-74.

<sup>495</sup> Hansson 1973, 68-69.

<sup>496</sup> Tuula Sääksi, "Kenian työalan vuosikertomus vuodelta 1979", 1-2. *Kenian vuosikertomus 1974-83*. A-SLEY.



he discussed the mission strategy with the leaders of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya. While LEAF was considering development projects at the end of the 1970s, the chairman of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya, James Otete Nchogu, presented the needs for spiritual work. He wanted churches and parish workers.<sup>497</sup> His favourite development project was the hospital in Matongo, but according to the LEAF missionaries the project was unrealistic.<sup>498</sup> The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya was not interested in working with the mentally handicapped in Kisumu nor did it have money for this purpose.<sup>499</sup> In the eyes of the church, the project in Kisumu was a matter for LEAF, because they had started it.

Lauri Koskenniemi also discussed the projects with the missionaries. The church had continuously wanted a hospital but the LEAF missionaries had realised that it would exceed the resources of the association. They said that it was not reasonable to start more health centres. They preferred mobile clinics. Koskenniemi also questioned the building of more health centres, because he anticipated that the Kenyan Government would nationalise the health sector.<sup>500</sup> Because LEAF did not want to decrease its work in Kenya, it was time to consider new projects.

The development projects endangered the weak economy of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya and Lauri Koskenniemi informed the Home Board about the critical financial situation of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya. He estimated, in 1979, that the church itself paid approximately 7-8% of its expenses and it expected

---

<sup>497</sup> "Kenian evankelisluterilaisen kirkon muistio, joka ojennettiin LEAF:n johtajalle tri L. Koskenniemelle Itieriossa 20.3.1979", Johtokunnan kokouksen 17.5.1979 § 81 Liite. *JK* 1979. A-SLEY.

<sup>498</sup> Aimo Kymäläinen, "Raportti Kenian matkalta 17-30.1.1979". *JK* 8.2.1979 37 §. *JK* 1979. A-SLEY. Lauri Koskenniemi, "Selostus tutustumis- ja edustusmatkastani Keniaan 28.2.-23.3.1979", 6. *JK* 17.5.1979 § 81. *JK* 1979. A-SLEY.

<sup>499</sup> Kauko Sainio, "Raportti Kenian matkalta 9.1.-20.1.1980", 3. *JK* 7.2.1980 124 § Liite 9. *JR Liitteet 1980*. A-SLEY.

<sup>500</sup> "Memorandum of the Lutheran Church of Kenya which was Issued before the Mission Boards of the Swedish Lutheran Mission and Finnish Societies in the Year 1970", 7. *Dokum.1963-*. A-SLEF; "Aimo Kymäläinen Keniassa 17-30.1.1979". *JK* 8.2.1979 37 § and Lauri Koskenniemi, "Selostus tutustumis- ja edustusmatkastani Keniaan 28.2.-23.3.1979", 2 and 7. *JK* 17.5.1979 81 §. *JK* 1979. A-SLEY.

the partner missions to pay the rest.<sup>501</sup> The Chairman of the Board, Pekka Kurvinen, stated as early as 1980, before LEAF started its new projects, that the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya would not be able to pay their running expenses in the future. The LEAF leaders thought that the Government of Kenya would incorporate the projects into its social services after a while.<sup>502</sup>

The Kenyanisation of the staff continued in the medical work of the Lutheran Church of Kenya, and it corresponded with the intentions of the LEAF missionaries and the Government of Kenya.<sup>503</sup> This trend, however, also caused the same problems in the LEAF field as in the SLEAF mission station in Atemo. Trained Kenyan staff replaced the Finnish missionaries and released them to other duties. The mission agencies had paid the salaries of the missionary staff, but the church had to pay the national staff and had to do this according to the national pay scales. The development grants from overseas temporary alleviated the financial burden of the medical work, but they were not intended to be permanent support.

The evangelists and pastors had no formal agreements on the terms of work or salaries. The employer, namely the church, could even cut their already small salaries.<sup>504</sup> When the Ministry for Foreign Affairs granted more funds, through the mission agencies, to Kenya, LEAF also had to invest more of its own money in the projects. This created tension on the mission field. The projects of the mission agencies received more money than did spiritual work, although everybody emphasised the priority of evangelism. The missionary staff informed the Home Board that development projects would endanger the proper work of the church. This was a matter for discussion in the

---

<sup>501</sup> Lauri Koskenniemi, "Selostus tutustumis- ja edustusmatkastani Keniaan 28.2.-23.3.1979", 7. JK 17.5.1979 § 81. JK 1979. A-SLEY.

<sup>502</sup> Pekka Kurvinen, "Selostus Kenian-matkasta 1-16.3.1980", 4. LK. A-SLEY"; Lauri Koskenniemi, "Selostus tutustumis- ja edustusmatkastani Keniaan 28.2.-23.3.1979", 7. JK 17.5.1979 § 81. JK 1979. A-SLEY.

<sup>503</sup> *Development Plan 1974-1978*, 449 and 465.

<sup>504</sup> Tuula Sääksi, "Kenian työalan vuosikertomus vuodelta 1979", 1. LK 1979-. A-SLEY.

church at the end of the 1970s.<sup>505</sup> LEAF stressed two principles: the development projects should support the evangelistic work of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya and not become financial burdens to the church. The mission should avoid the temptation to increase its work with funds from FINNIDA because LEAF had to invest its own share and the projects tied down the resources of the association. LEAF supported the attempts of the Finnish Missionary Council to decrease the share of the missions in the development projects to 40%. The LEAF Board preferred evangelism to building projects and was of the opinion that the buildings should serve parish work.<sup>506</sup>

The financial problems of the church in Kenya troubled LEAF. The Director for Home Mission, Väinö Uusitalo, wrote in his travel report that the numerous institutions and projects were a problem for the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya. Their finances were largely dependant on sources outside the church and it would be catastrophic if this support suddenly ended. He wondered whether these projects expressed compassion or revealed how easy it was to get money from the government for development projects. Uusitalo agreed with the Kenyan church leaders, that parish work was the more important.<sup>507</sup> The missionaries stressed that when LEAF planned new projects, it should take into account whether or not the project supported the spiritual work of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya.<sup>508</sup> The lack of funds in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya hampered the work of the Finnish missionaries, who, therefore, welcomed funds from FINNIDA. They wanted support for their daily work at mission stations, especially for health care. The missionaries sent information to the Home Board in the minutes of their semi-annual or extraordinary missionary meetings, in their Annual Reports

---

<sup>505</sup> Tuula Sääksi, "Kenian työalan vuosikertomus vuodelta 1979". *LK 1979*. A-SLEY; Antti Kuokkanen, "Toimintakertomus vuodelta 1979". *LK 1979*. A-SLEY; Lähettienkokous 7-9.3.1980. *SLEY:n pöytäkirjoja Suomesta ja Keniasta*. A-Lounela.

<sup>506</sup> *SLEY 1982*, 12; Lähetysosasto 17.2.1983 14 §. *LO 1983*; JK 24.3.1983 94 §. *JK 1983*, A-SLEY.

<sup>507</sup> Uusitalo, "Raportti matkastani Keniaan 1.10.-24.10.1985". *JK 1985*. A-SLEY.

<sup>508</sup> Lähettienkokous 30.8.-4.9.1987. 25 §. *LK 1979*. A-SLEY.

and via the official visitors. This information showed that the missionaries were more concerned about the continuity of their existing work than about starting new impressive institutions. When the association applied to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for funds for new projects, it used ideas it had received from, or discussed with, the missionaries.<sup>509</sup> LEAF started new, large projects when the dynamic Reijo Arkkila became the Director of Foreign Mission in 1979 and two years later the Executive Director of the Association, but evangelism remained in the centre of his message and activity.

### 3.2.2 Organisation and Administration

#### *The Swedish Lutheran Evangelical Association (SLEAF)*

SLEAF was a rather small association and a close relationship among the missionaries and between the missionaries and the leaders in Finland was typical of SLEAF. The unity of Spirit between the missionaries and their senders was important as well as the unity in the mission field. When Mission Secretary Gustav Norrback participated in a Missionary Conference at Atemo, during his visit in Kenya, he stressed that the spiritual-theological attitude of a missionary was more important than the professional training. However, SLEAF would offer missionaries with appropriate formal training when it negotiated with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Kenya.<sup>510</sup>

When the first SLEAF missionaries entered Kenya in 1963, the association had no immediate experience of missionary work in Africa. Nor did it have experience of social work in a remote country. The situation was different when the Finnish government in 1974

---

<sup>509</sup> LO 5.1.1981. *JK* 1981; Lähettien neuvottelu 24-25.1.1981. *LK 1979-*; *JK* 19.3.1981 85 §. *JK* 1981; LK 27-30.8.1981 8 §. *LK 1979-*; LK 17-18.9.1982 15 §. *LK 1979-*; LK 16.10.1982 4 §. *LK 1979-*; Reijo Tuomisto, "Selostus matkasta Keniaan 9-24.10.1982", 17. *JK* 1982; LK 25.2.-1.3.1983 24 §. *LK 1979-*; *JK* 8.3.1983 120 §. *JK* 1983; LK 21.10.1983 8 §. *LK 1979-*; LO 1.11.1984 88 §. *LO*; JR 31.1.1986 71 §. *JK* 1986; JR 25.5.1986 263 §. *JK* 1986; *JK* 28.5.1986 173 §. *JK* 1986; *JK* 26.6.1987 263 §. *JK* 1987; LK 30.8.1987 25 §. *LK 1979-*; LK 31.1.1988 10 §. *LK 1979-*; JR 29.11.1989 539 §. *JK* 1989; *JK* 17.5.1990 88 §. *JK* 1990. All documents are in A-SLEY.

<sup>510</sup> MK 9.2.1979 13 §. *MK 1972-88*. A-SLEF.

started to channel development funds through non-governmental organisations. The knowledge of Africa and missionary work had increased in the mission field and in the administration in Finland.<sup>511</sup> When missionaries returned from Kenya, SLEAF had used their experience in Finland. Former Kenya missionaries Gustav Norrback and Jorma Iiskola had worked before 1975, for a while, as mission secretaries.

Sven Klemets returned with his family to Finland in 1980. Over 15 years had passed from the time they left for Wasundi and thus he was thoroughly familiar with the work in Kenya. When he was elected the Executive Director of SLEAF in 1981, it emphasised the character of SLEAF as a mission agency. He kept this position until 1988, when he was again needed in Kenya. That same year, 1988, the first missionary in Kenya, Gustav Norrback, was elected the Chairman of SLEAF. Boris and Iris Sandberg became full time employees of SLEAF after their return from Kenya in 1986; the latter as the missionary secretary. Because missionaries participated in the meetings of the Delegation for Foreign Mission during their stay in Finland, the Home Board was very well informed about the situation and plans in Kenya and the missionaries received information from the leadership in Finland. The regular, almost yearly visits of SLEAF office bearers in Kenya strengthened the relationship between the missionaries and the Board.

The Atemo station and Abongo Dhoga village polytechnic – called the Lutheran Youth Centre and Training School – were in full operation at the end of the 1970s, when new missionaries replaced those who had built Atemo and its village polytechnic.<sup>512</sup> The missionaries sought replacements from Finland to fill the vacancies when the old missionaries left. The new missionaries continued enlarging the existing facilities. In the mid 1980s, the missionary body in Kenya consisted of an administrator-economist, a midwife-nurse, two

---

<sup>511</sup> Gustav Norrback has described this progress openly. Norrback 1998, 175-179.

<sup>512</sup> Allan Franzén, "Yttremissionen" *SLEF 1976-77*, 8; Sirkku Hildén, "Yttremissionen" *SLEF 1977-78*, 8; Gustav Norrback, "Yttremissionen" *SLEF 1978-79*, 8; Sirkku Hildén, "Yttremissionen" *SLEF 1979*, 8.

pastors, a youth leader and the principal of the vocational school.<sup>513</sup> No individual missionary was entrusted with all the development projects, but the missionaries divided the task of the project manager among themselves.<sup>514</sup>

The missionaries of SLEAF had organised for themselves a course in the local Luo language at Atemo, in 1971, in order to get closer contact with their neighbours.<sup>515</sup> This helped in parish work, in the dispensary and in women's groups. It strengthened the special link between SLEAF and Luoland, but at the same time weakened its missionaries' contacts with other areas of the church, including Maragoli. There were a few exceptions when SLEAF missionaries carried duties outside their own mission station. Boris Sandberg taught at Matongo Bible School from 1975 to 1978, and was the General Secretary of the Lutheran Church of Kenya from 1976 to 1979. Sven Klemets was in charge of building the Kisumu Community Centre from 1977 to 1978. The Lutheran World Federation financed this project.<sup>516</sup> Both Sandberg and Klemets participated in parish work in Luoland.

The question arose as to what was the proper channel of communication that missionaries had to use when they wanted to solve problems in their work. The missionaries met daily at the Atemo station and had their Missionary Conferences about every two months. They exchanged minutes with the Delegation for Foreign Mission in Finland and got acquainted with the plans and decisions of the church. In 1978, when the Delegation intended to apply to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for money for the village polytechnic in Abongo Dhoga and sewing machines for women groups, the Missionary Conference remarked that the Home Board should consult the conference and not just individual missionaries. According to the Missionary Conference, the order of importance was: 1. Abongo

---

<sup>513</sup> MK 14.9.1984 5/84 62 §. MK 1972-88. A-SLEF.

<sup>514</sup> SLEF 1987, 11; SLEF 1988, 11; SLEF 1989, 10.

<sup>515</sup> Maj-Len Åbonde, "Kära missionsvänner", *Sb* 4/1971, 11.

<sup>516</sup> SLEF 1977-78, 7.

Dhoga boarding, 2. Atemo maternity, 3. A 4-wheel drive car, and 4. Equipment for the dispensary. The Delegation promised to respect this principle and proposal.<sup>517</sup>

The missionaries received information about the plans of the church in Kenya and discussed these plans when they met in their regular Missionary Conferences. They were concerned about the matters concerning Nyanza District where they were working and sent their comments on the ELCK budget to the SLEAF office in Helsinki.<sup>518</sup> The Missionary Conference also wanted to preview the applications for development funds.<sup>519</sup> When they once criticised an application, Executive Director Sven Klemets first promised to redo the applications together with the Financial Director of SLEAF, but then asked the Missionary Conference to draft them. The missionaries, however, were not ready to carry out such a task.<sup>520</sup>

The missionaries managed expensive projects and they had to make quick decisions. According to the bylaws of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya, the church kept contact with the Home Board through the Mission Representative who was one of the missionaries in Kenya. Because the very active Missionary Conference had no official status, the missionaries wished that its position be defined. It was suggested at one Missionary Conference – held during the visit of the Chairman of SLEAF, Alf Lönnquist and Chairman of the Delegation for Foreign Mission, Gustav Norrback in 1983 – that the decision-making would go faster if the Missionary Conference was informed about the communication between the leaders of the church in Kenya and leaders of SLEAF in Finland.<sup>521</sup> Although the missionaries were used to handling matters together, the Evangelical

---

<sup>517</sup> DYM 24.2.1978 9 § and 20.10.1978 65 §. *DYM 1974-80*. A-SLEF; MK 8.4.1978 20 §. *MK 1972-88*. A-SLEF.

<sup>518</sup> MK 7.11.1983. 4.; 14.9.1984. 64.; 27.9.1985. 62.; 11.11.1985. 68; 3.5.1986. 24.; 1.6.1987. 30. *MK 1972-88*. A-SLEF.

<sup>519</sup> MK 14.9.1984. 60. *MK 1972-88*. A-SLEF.

<sup>520</sup> MK 26.2.1985. 35. *MK 1972-88*. A-SLEF; DYM 30.3.1985. *DYM 1981-89*. A-SLEF.; MK 17.3.1986. 18. *MK 1972-88*. A-SLEF; MK 4.7.1986. 36. *MK 1972-88*. A-SLEF.

<sup>521</sup> MK 7.11.1983. 6. *MK 1972-88*. A-SLEF.

Lutheran Church in Kenya was not ready to recognise the authority of the Missionary Conferences. At the second consultation between the church and the supporting missions, in September 1986, the church leaders stressed that the missionaries were allowed to participate in general matters only as members of the different committees of the church or as workers in their districts. The minutes read;

The ELCK leaders wanted to take this matter up since it has appeared that sometimes initiatives and suggestions for decisions for the church-work have gone through missionaries straight to their home-boards. The ELCK requests that the constitutional integration-principle is followed and all matters proceeded through the ELCK channels... Although missionaries may express their views and opinions on the common work during their retreats, all plans should be proceeded to the church and the mission boards through the committees of ELCK and not through missionary-conferences.<sup>522</sup>

In order to make sure that the missionaries followed this principle, all new missionaries were to receive a copy of the Constitution. They were to understand that they were only individual workers in a Kenyan church and not a team. The Mission Representative was the link between the Kenyan church and the Mission Board in Finland—especially in urgent matters – not between the Kenyan church and the missionaries in Kenya.<sup>523</sup> The meeting of the Nordic missions in 1987 again emphasised that the overall planning should remain in the hands of the Kenyan church.<sup>524</sup>

The funds from FINNIDA enabled SLEAF to expand its work in Kenya. Most of the missionaries were soon busy in development projects. When the only missionary pastor went on furlough in 1982, there was nobody doing full time parish work.<sup>525</sup> The situation was

---

<sup>522</sup> "Consultation between ELCK and the supporting missions" 10-12.9.1986. 6 §. *ELCK-yhteisneuvottelut 1981-*. A-SLEY.

<sup>523</sup> "Consultation between ELCK and the supporting missions" 10-12.9.1986. 7 §. *ELCK-yhteisneuvottelut 1981-*. A-SLEY.

<sup>524</sup> "Meeting of the ELCK related missions' working-group, Stockholm 15.9.1987". 2 § d. *ELCK-yhteisneuvottelut 1981-*. A-SLEY.

<sup>525</sup> *SLEF 1982*, 9.



similar five years later when the only layman in parish work finished his work term.<sup>526</sup> The jobs of the missionaries varied but all of them were involved in development projects: The Finnish government supported the health centre where the nurses worked, the construction work of the builders, the vocational school of the teacher and even the work of the missionary wives among the local women. The missionaries were thus obliged to give an account of their work to FINNIDA because SLEAF did not usually have a project manager running all the projects.

Because SLEAF could not send suitable pastors in the late 1980s, it sent two laymen for parish work, but both of them became involved in development projects instead. Sven Klemets left for Kenya in 1988 to do parish work but became responsible for SLEAF development projects. Olof Jern was sent to do youth work in 1989, but he was needed at the village polytechnic.<sup>527</sup> SLEAF missionaries, however, were used to combining social and spiritual work in such a way that they did not exclude but rather complemented each other. Working weekdays on projects did not prevent the missionaries from doing their spiritual work on the weekends or in their spare time.

The move towards spiritual work also affected the health centre. After 1983, there was again only one missionary nurse at Atemo. The missionaries proposed, in 1989, that she should enter parish work, and the Home Board agreed.<sup>528</sup> The expenses of the health centre increased when it had to hire more Kenyan staff who replaced the missionaries. The clinic had to pay the salaries of the Kenyan nurses but the missionaries had been paid by SLEAF. The health centres had paid the church for the administrative work done by the church's head office, but when the staff were Kenyanised, the Atemo clinic could not afford to pay anything to the office. The church needed new sources of income because the patient fees did not cover the expenses

---

<sup>526</sup> *SLEF 1987, 12.*

<sup>527</sup> *SLEF 1988, 12; SLEF 1989, 12.*

<sup>528</sup> *DYM 1.10.1988 5/88 54 §. DYM 1981-89. A-SLEF.*

of the health services.<sup>529</sup> That same year 1989 the new Vice Chairman of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya, Samwel Mogeni Gitenyi, warned SLEAF of the serious economic situation of the Kenyan church and Solveig Nylund, the SLEAF missionary who was working in the central office of the church, echoed his warning.<sup>530</sup>

The church needed teachers especially for Christian education.<sup>531</sup> Vice Chairman Samwel Gitenyi reiterated this need during his visit to Finland in 1989. Specifically, he had the proposed diploma course in theology in mind. Gitenyi, wanted either an administrator for medical work, or missionary nurses. The Kenyan Immigration Office, however, was reluctant to give work permits to expatriate nurses.<sup>532</sup> SLEAF expressed its principle saying that it selected suitable projects from proposals the church, but it could not fulfil the wishes the church considered most important<sup>533</sup>.

### *The Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland (LEAF)*

When the Ministry for Foreign Affairs was ready to channel development funds through NGOs, new people received leadership in the Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland (LEAF). Executive Director Toivo Rapeli who, together with Chairman Jouko Vuorinen, had done preparatory work for the LEAF missionary work in Kenya retired 1973. A team of four people divided his workload they were: Executive Director Lauri Koskenniemi, Director of Home Mission,

---

<sup>529</sup> Johansson 1988, 77.

<sup>530</sup> DYM 1.9.1989 71 §; Samwel Gitenyi to representatives of SLEAF 6.8.1989 "PM från samtal med pastor Samwel Mogeni Gitenyi". DYM 1.9.1989. Bil. 1. *DYM 1981-89*. A-SLEF; cf. *SLEF 1989*, 12; Årsrapport av Solveig Nylund år 1990. *Årsrap. Kenya 1975-1986*. A-SLEF.

<sup>531</sup> *SLEF 1987*, 12.

<sup>532</sup> DYM 1.9.1989 71 §; Samwel Gitenyi to representatives of SLEAF 6.8.1989 "PM från samtal med pastor Samwel Mogeni Gitenyi". DYM 1.9.1989. Bil. 1. *DYM 1981-89*. A-SLEF.

<sup>533</sup> "The Lutheran Youth and Training School and Water Supply Station. Projektplan 1984-1986". 1984/4496 (*SLEF 1984-86*) UM 31 92-7; "The Lutheran Youth Centre and Training School. Projektplan 1985-1987". 1985/YL (SLEF). UM 31 92-7; Atemo Health Centre and Mobile Ambulance Clinic. Projektplan 1986-1988. 1986/YL, *SLEF 1986-88*. UM 31 92-7. A-UM.

Kauko Sainio, Director of Foreign Mission Paavo Savolainen and the Director of the Publishing House Aimo Kymäläinen. Together with Financial Director Veikko Virtanen, they composed the Team of Leaders that prepared matters for the Board of LEAF and put them into effect. Jouko Vuorinen continued as the chairman of the Board until 1980.

The Team of Leaders became very important. Officially, decisions were supposed to be made at the Annual General Meeting, where the Board was elected and held accountable for its actions, and by the Board. These, however, met too infrequently to run matters effectively. Therefore, in practice, many decisions concerning the everyday matters, including the development cooperation, were made in the meetings of the Team of Leaders, which consisted of the directors of the different departments. Thus, the decision-making shifted from the Board to this semi-official Team. This state of affairs even inspired criticism within the Board.<sup>534</sup>

In the new organisation, there was also a consultative Mission Committee with at least one member who was not a LEAF staff member. When LEAF had started to work in Kenya, the Commission for Foreign Mission had handled matters concerning the new mission field in special meetings.<sup>535</sup> After changes in the organisation, meetings of the Mission Department replaced the Commission. The Executive Director, the Director of Foreign Mission, the Mission Secretary, Tauno Valtonen, and the Mission Secretary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland were permanent members of this new body on behalf of their office. The former Mission Secretary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, Aleksi Vallisaari, who had already been a member of the Commission, participated in the meetings of LEAF's Mission Department after he had moved to the Finnish Missionary Society, and a former missionary to Japan, Martti

---

<sup>534</sup> Pekka Leino's letter to the other Board Members. JK 22.11.1979. 250 §. JK 1979. A-SLEY.

<sup>535</sup> "Lähetysvaliokunnan Kenian asiain kokous".

Laitinen, who worked in the LEAF mission office, was a member, as well.<sup>536</sup>

Kenya was not a well-known mission field to the Team of Leaders or to the members of the Mission Department. The Director of Foreign Mission, Paavo Savolainen, had worked in Japan and he was the only former missionary in the Team of Leaders. There were several former missionaries in the Meeting of the Mission Department, but nobody had worked in Kenya. The new leaders obtained direct contact with Kenya by making visits – usually leading tourist groups.<sup>537</sup> Mission Secretary Tauno Valtonen had worked in Japan and he visited Kenya only once.<sup>538</sup>

When LEAF entered Kenya, the representatives of the association told the leaders of the Kenyan church that LEAF wanted to follow the wishes of the Kenyan church. After some years, the mission could also use its own experience when it made plans and applied for funds for development projects. The LEAF Board discussed the guidelines of the work in Kenya, after the new Executive Director, Lauri Koskenniemi, had visited the country. At a meeting in January 1974, the Board considered that LEAF should concentrate on health care and education.<sup>539</sup> Aimo Kymäläinen, who was the director of the Publishing House, stated in his report in December 1974 that he appreciated the new maternity ward in Matongo, but mentioned its water problem and lack of electricity.<sup>540</sup> LEAF respected, in principle, the independence of the Kenyan church, but expressed its own opinion about the new projects and position of the missionaries. The church had to adapt itself to the plans of the mission agency, when

---

<sup>536</sup> "Lähetysosasto"; Aleksi Vallisaari was the mission secretary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland 1967-1974 and remained as a member of LEAF's Department of Foreign Mission up to 1982; Martti Laitinen was its member 1978-1988.

<sup>537</sup> Koskenniemi in 1974, in 1977 and in 1979, Savolainen in 1972 and in 1973, Sainio in 1975 and in 1980 and Kymäläinen in 1974 and 1979.

<sup>538</sup> Valtonen in 1975 with Sainio and tourists.

<sup>539</sup> Johtokunta 23.1.1974 24 §. *JK* 1974. A-SLEY.

<sup>540</sup> Aimo Kymäläisen matkaraportti Keniasta. Johtoryhmä 19.12.1974 359. §. *JK* 1974. A-SLEY.

LEAF transferred its missionaries to development projects in order to keep these running.<sup>541</sup>

Personal contacts between the leaders of the mission agencies and Kenyan church leaders became more frequent in the 1970s. The tour of the Lutheran Church of Kenya leaders in Sweden and Finland, in 1970, was so successful that the Kenyan church leaders repeatedly received invitations to the Nordic countries.<sup>542</sup> The Swedish Lutheran Mission, SLEAF, LEAF and, since 1977, the Norwegian Lutheran Mission co-operated together with the local Lutheran church and held discussions regularly. The meetings were sometimes held during the Nordic tours of the Kenyan church leaders, and sometimes without Kenyan participants. Because important issues needed consent of all missions, meetings of the joint committee of SLEAF and LEAF became unnecessary.<sup>543</sup>

The new mission director, Reijo Arkkila came to the Mission Office in 1979 from the Kenya field after having taught almost two years at the Matongo Lutheran Theological College. Using its experience in Kenya, LEAF started planning the Kisumu School for the Mentally Handicapped and the Kawangware Community Centre in Nairobi. Executive Director Lauri Koskenniemi mentioned the Kawangware project in his report, after his tour in February and March 1979.<sup>544</sup>

---

<sup>541</sup> About the principle Aimo Kymäläinen Ibid. and Lauri Koskenniemi, "Selostus tutustumis- ja edustusmatkastani Keniaan 28.2.-23.3.1979", 2. JK 17.5.1979 § 81. JK 1979. A-SLEY. New positions of missionaries: Tuula Sääksi from Matongo Lutheran Theological College to slum work in Nairobi and Antti Kuokkanen from radio work to Monianku project. Koskenniemi, "Selostus tutustumis- ja edustusmatkastani Keniaan 28.2.-23.3.1979", 3 and 5. JK 17.5.1979 § 81. JK 1979. A-SLEY.

<sup>542</sup> The first official Kenyan visitors were Vice-Chairman R. Olak in 1972, Chairman. J. Nchogu in 1973 and 1975, Vice-Chairman. S. Gitenyi in 1979 and Chairman J. Kururia in 1980.

<sup>543</sup> The workers of SLEAF and LEAF met at Atemo mission station in November 1973 and recommended co-operation between these two agencies in Kenya. SLEF:n ja SLEY:n työntekijöiden yhteinen neuvottelukokous Atemossa 26.11.1973 3 §. A common meeting is mentioned in 1974. Johtoryhmä 10.5.1974 249 §. JK 1974. The mission department tried to start monthly meetings with missionaries on furlough, but this attempt did not lead to regular results. Lähetysosasto 16.1.1976 6 §. JK 1976. A-SLEY.

<sup>544</sup> Lauri Koskenniemi, "Selostus tutustumis- ja edustusmatkastani Keniaan 28.2.-23.3.1979", 5. JK 17.5.1979 § 81. JK 1979. A-SLEY.

LEAF applied to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for funds for these two projects, for the first time, in 1980.<sup>545</sup> These were totally new areas of activity. The Lutheran World Federation had encouraged the Kenyan Lutheran church to extend its work in Nairobi and Kisumu, but the Kenyan Lutherans were not able either to build or to run urban institutions without support from abroad.

At the end of the 1970s, LEAF missionaries in Kenya outnumbered the missionaries in Japan, the first missionary field of LEAF. Since the beginning of the 1980s, the former missionaries to Kenya also outnumbered the former missionaries to Japan in the LEAF administration. At the same time, LEAF raised its profile as a mission agency. It was no longer a revivalist movement with a publishing house and one or two mission fields but it wanted to stand out as a Finnish Lutheran mission agency with a home mission.

In March 1981, Reijo Arkkila replaced Lauri Koskenniemi as the Executive Director of LEAF, while maintaining his position as the Director of Foreign Mission until 1988.<sup>546</sup> The Board created the position of Assistant Director of Foreign Mission for Tuula Sääksi, who retained this position until she became the Director of the Department for Foreign Mission in 1988.<sup>547</sup> The new Executive Director, Reijo Arkkila, had participated in the development of the Bible school in Matongo and had been the first principal of the Matongo Theological College during his stay in Kenya in 1977-1979. Assistant Director Tuula Sääksi had been the mission representative of LEAF in the Kenyan field during her two terms in Kenya in 1972-76 and 1977-81.

The Team of Leaders handled routine matters at the meetings of the Team and had the main responsibility for: accepting projects, drawing up applications and closing agreements. From 1981, when Reijo

---

<sup>545</sup> "Kansalaisjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyömääräraha-anomus: Kisumun kehitysvammakoulu [FIM 117.100] Nairobín Kawangwaren työkeskuksen tontti ja suunnittelutyö." [FIM 100.000.] Lähetysjärjestöjen valtion kehitysyhteistyötukea saaneet projektit maittain. *UM* 12 R Suomi 10. A-UM.

<sup>546</sup> JK 13.11.1980 § 351. *JK* 1980. A-SLEY; JK 11.12.1980 § 413. *JK* 1980. A-SLEY.

<sup>547</sup> JK 12.2.1981 § 5. *JK* 1981. A-SLEY; JK 26.6.1981 § 210. *JK* 1981. A-SLEY.

Arkkila became the Executive Director, the Team of Leaders consisted of: Director of Finances Veikko Virtanen, Director of Home Mission Kauko Sainio, Director of the Publishing House, Aimo Kymäläinen and as a new member Assistant Director of Foreign Mission Tuula Sääksi.<sup>548</sup> Reijo Arkkila was a central figure in the Board as well as in the Team of Leaders and in the Meeting of the Mission Department. Practical reasons led to a division of tasks among these bodies so that the Meeting of the Mission Department did not make decisions concerning development projects. The Meetings of the Mission Department had members who did not belong to the staff of LEAF (see p. 153). These Meetings prepared major issues concerning the missionaries and decided on minor issues, it discussed projects but did not handle details, and it tried to find other sources of support, in addition to FINNIDA.<sup>549</sup> The Team of Leaders handled economic matters while the Meetings of the Mission Department handled personnel matters. Both Executive Director Reijo Arkkila, who was also the Director of Foreign Mission and Assistant Director of Foreign Mission Tuula Sääksi, were members of the Meeting of the Mission Department and the Team of Leaders. Because they had both worked in Kenya, they knew this mission field better than any other member in these two bodies.

Special experience in matters concerning Kenya and the development projects there also increased in the Board of LEAF when Antti Kuokkanen was elected a member of the Board in 1985. Kuokkanen was the first former missionary to Kenya in this body. However, he had to return to Kenya in the beginning of 1987. Usually, the Team of Leaders decided on applying for public funds and other matters concerning development projects. Officially, it was the task of the Board to approve the funds given by FINNIDA on behalf of LEAF. The Team of Leaders had often sent the approval before the meeting of the Board and informed the Board that the approval had been sent.

---

<sup>548</sup> E.g. JR 18.3.1983 120 §. *JK* 1983; 13.9.1983 421 §. A-SLEY; 30.6.1988. 367 §. *JK* 1988. A-SLEY.

<sup>549</sup> LO 17.3.1977 20 §. *JK* 1977. A-SLEY; LO 23.11.1978 57 § 9. *JK* 1978. A-SLEY; LO 5.1.1981 8 §. *JK* 1981. A-SLEY; LO 17.2.1983 14 §. *LO* 1983-. A-SLEY; LO 1.11.1984 88 §. *LO* 1983-. A-SLEY.

From 1981 to 1985, the Board made the official decision on approval.<sup>550</sup> Whenever a visitor came from the Home Board to Kenya, the missionaries from various parts of Kenya gathered to discuss with him or her, and with each other, the current state of affairs, and the future of the projects and institutions, and other matters. The missionaries were concerned about the smooth running of the projects, but their informal meeting did not have any authority to decide on matters. The discussions, however, offered a very important channel of information between the leaders and the association and the missionaries although, according to its Bylaws in the Constitution, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya viewed its missionaries only as individual workers serving the church in various tasks.

LEAF continued to send a member of the Team of Leaders to Kenya every year to negotiate with the church and bring the news of the missionaries to the leaders in Finland. The Chairman and the Vice Chairman of the Board and the Bureau Chief, when she was responsible for the development projects in the LEAF office, also visited Kenya in 1983.<sup>551</sup> When the visitors had returned from Kenya, they informed the Home Board about the economic distress of the Kenyan church and repeated that the association should give priority to evangelism. Their reports focused more on the planning than the

---

<sup>550</sup> Sometimes the board applied for funds (JK 19.3.1981 85 §.) but usually the Team of Leaders applied (JR 30.6.1983 327 §; 8.2.1984 94 §; 29.11.1989 539 §) sometimes the application was sent before a meeting of the Team of Leaders (JR 16.3.1982 154 §). The Board could approve the grant (JK 26.8.1982 212 §) or confirm the approval made by the Team of Leaders (JK 18.5.1986 342 §; 14.5.1987 186 §). *JK 1981-1984, 1986-1987, 1989. A-SLEY.*

<sup>551</sup> Reijo Arkkila, "Selostus matkasta Keniaan 7.1.-2.2.1981". *JK Pöytäkirjojen liitteet 1979-1985. A-SLEY*; Reijo Arkkila, "Selostus matkasta Keniaan 24.3-11.4.1982". JK 16.4.1982; [Vice Chairman of the Board] Reijo Tuomisto: "Selostus matkasta Keniaan 9-24.9.1982". JK 31.10.1982; [Bureau Chief] Tytti Herttua: "Selostus matkasta Keniaan" (29.1.-13.2.1983.) JK 28.2.1983. *JK 1983*; "Selostus Tuula Sääksin matkasta Keniaan 12.10.-11.11.1983". *JK 1983*; Reijo Arkkila, "Selostus matkasta Keniaan 26.9.-19.10.1984". JK 22.10.1984. *JK Pöytäkirjojen liitteet 1979-1985*; Väinö Uusitalo, "Raportti matkastani Keniaan 1.10-24.10.1985". *JK 1985*; 1986.11.25. Pauli Poussa, "Raportti työmatkasta Keniaan 19.9.-5.10.1986". JK 25.11.1986. *JK Pöytäkirjojen liitteet 1986-1989*; "Raportti Tuula Sääksen matkasta Keniaan 19.9-24.10.1988". *JK 1988*; 1989.8.21. [Chairman of the board] Väinö Takala, "Muistio Kenian matkalta 21.7.-21.8.1989". JK 14.12.1989 Liite 2. *JK 1989*; "Pauli Poussan kenttävierailu Keniaan 10.10-30.10.1989". *JK Pöytäkirjojen liitteet 1986-1989. A-SLEY.*



running of the projects.<sup>552</sup> They also reported that the missionaries were inadequately trained to meet the demands of the new projects. Neither the church, nor LEAF missionaries had any previous experience of projects, and there were no professional builders among the LEAF missionaries when LEAF started to apply for funds for development projects.

There were various ideas on how to use funds available for development projects. The medical work of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya, in which the LEAF missionaries participated, needed money from the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs year after year. The planning of Kisumu School for the Mentally Handicapped and Kawangware Community Centre had started already during the previous decade. A village polytechnic or agriculture project in Monianku arose as a new idea.<sup>553</sup> The demands of the Monianku agriculture project also exceeded the competence of the missionaries. Upon a proposal from the Mission Department, the Team of Leaders decided in November 1984 to send an expert to Kenya to negotiate the Monianku agriculture project.<sup>554</sup> After his visit the planning continued, and missionaries sought a suitable location for the project.

---

<sup>552</sup> Kisumu School for the Mentally Handicapped, Arkkila, "Selostus matkasta Keniaan 7.1.-2.2.1981", 2. *JK Pöytäkirjojen liitteet 1979-1985*.

Kawangware Community Centre, Arkkila, "Selostus matkasta Keniaan 7.1.-2.2.1981", 2. *JK Pöytäkirjojen liitteet 1979-1985*; Arkkila, "Selostus matkasta Keniaan 24.3-11.4.1982", 2. JK 16.4.1982; Tuomisto: "Selostus matkasta Keniaan 9-24.9.1982", 6. JK 31.10.1982; Herttua: "Selostus matkasta Keniaan " (29.1.-13.2.1983.), 3. JK 28.2.1983. *JK* 1983; "Selostus Tuula Sääksin matkasta Keniaan 12.10.-11.11.1983", 3. *JK* 1983; Arkkila, "Selostus matkasta Keniaan 26.9.-19.10.1984", 3. JK 22.10.1984. *JK Pöytäkirjojen liitteet 1979-1985*; Uusitalo, "Raportti matkastani Keniaan 1.10-24.10.1985", 7. *JK* 1985. A-SLEY. Reijo Arkkila supported energetic work in Nairobi. About the agriculture project: Simo Kivisaari, "Maatalousprojektin aloittamismahdollisuuksista Keniassa. Raportti 10.1.-26.1. Keniaan tehdystä selvitysmatkasta." JK 28.3.1985 Liite. *JK* 1985; Uusitalo, "Raportti matkastani Keniaan 1.10-24.10.1985", 6. *JK* 1985; Takala, "Muistio Kenian matkalta 21.7.-21.8.1989". JK 14.12.1989 Liite 2. *JK* 1989, 2. A-SLEY.

<sup>553</sup> Reijo Arkkila, "Selostus matkasta Keniaan 24.3-11.4.1982", 2. JK 16.4.1982. *JK* 1982. A-SLEY.

<sup>554</sup> "Maatalousprojektin valmistelu, Simo Kivisaari Keniaan kolmeksi viikoksi v. 1985". JR 7.11.1984 § 536. *JK* 1984. A-SLEY.

Antti Kuokkanen was responsible for LEAF development projects in Kenya during his two terms from 1977-1983. At the end of his second term, he wrote a job description for the LEAF mission field project manager. According to this job description, the project manager should look for new projects, test their sensibility and co-ordinate them with other activities. He should then present the viable projects to the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya and if approved, should draw detailed plans and write the necessary applications. If FINNIDA gave funds, he should then follow the progress of the project and send reports regularly. In addition to the existing projects in Monianku and Matongo, Kuokkanen envisioned large-scale construction works in Kisumu and Nairobi. He encouraged LEAF to subcontract the constructing of Kisumu School for the Mentally Handicapped and Kawangware Community Centre instead of building these institutions itself.<sup>555</sup>

In the LEAF office in Helsinki, Mission Secretary Tauno Valtonen was not involved in development projects. The person responsible for the projects changed several times during a short period before 1987. When Valtonen retired in 1986, after a short transition period, the Board of LEAF hired Antti Kuokkanen to manage the development projects and audio-visual material, starting from January 1987.<sup>556</sup> Unlike the others, Kuokkanen had experience of projects in Africa but he had to return to Kenya unexpectedly before he had begun his new job in Helsinki. Timo Viitala took over in August 1987. Viitala had returned from Kenya earlier in the same year and he had training in financial administration and experience of projects in Kenya.<sup>557</sup>

LEAF reorganised its office in 1986 and 1987.<sup>558</sup> A Mission Department Working Committee replaced the Meetings of the

---

<sup>555</sup> Antti Kuokkanen, "Projektipäällikön toimenkuva". 23.10.1982. Appendix to Reijo Tuomisto, "Selostus matkasta Keniaan 9.-24.10.1982". *JK* 1982. A-SLEY.

<sup>556</sup> "Kehitysyhteistyöprojekteihin kuuluvien asioiden hoitaminen ja kehittäminen lähetyssosaston av-toiminnan kehittäminen". *JK* 18.9.1986 394 §. *JK* 1986. A-SLEY. Antti Lavanti was responsible for development projects in LEAF's office for a short period before Antti Kuokkanen.

<sup>557</sup> *JR* 7.12.1986 653 §. *JK* 1986. A-SLEY; *JR* 31.3.1987 158 §. *JK* 1987. A-SLEY; *Viitala*, interview 28.10.1997.

<sup>558</sup> Tuula Sääksi and Antti Kuokkanen have explained this reorganisation to me.

Mission Department. The Mission Secretary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland and a representative of the Finnish Missionary Society had participated in the Meetings of the Mission Department, but in the new Working Committee there were no longer any outsiders, only staff members of LEAF.

Before leaving for Kenya again, Antti Kuokkanen drew up an elaborate plan describing the decision-making and implementation of the development projects. In January 1987 he presented it to the meeting of the Team of Leaders.<sup>559</sup> According to this plan, the central figure would be the project secretary in Finland and the most important bodies would be the Team of Leaders and the Mission Department Working Committee. A project manager in Kenya would be responsible for one or more projects. A joint committee of the Kenyan church and LEAF would be involved in the selection process, and would decide whether or not it was necessary to change the project plans. The main responsibility for the projects would fall on the workers of LEAF in Finland and Kenya. The Board of LEAF would also be working in the background, approving the new projects and essential changes in the old projects, and confirming the decisions of the meeting of the Team of Leaders to receive grants from FINNIDA.<sup>560</sup>

When Antti Kuokkanen returned to Kenya, he immediately became the project manager – a position that he held until the end of 1987.<sup>561</sup> He soon wrote a new paper on the principles of the development cooperation, in which he stated that one important body had been left out of his previous plan. This body was the Local District Development Committee in Kenya, which had to approve all projects planned by LEAF in the district. The Kenyan Government wanted projects that were easy to manage. LEAF had to keep this in mind because FINNIDA could promise funds for three of the projects – the

---

<sup>559</sup> JK 26.1.1987 59 §. *JK 1987*. A-SLEY.

<sup>560</sup> Antti Kuokkanen, "Projektien hoito". *SLEY/Toiminnanjohtaja 1980-1987*. A-SLEY.

<sup>561</sup> JR 18.9.1986 394 §. *JK 1986*. A-SLEY; JR 7.12.1986 653 §. *JK 1986*. A-SLEY; JR 28.1.1987 61 §. *JK 1987*. A-SLEY; LK 1.2.1987 7 §. *LK 1979-*. A-SLEY; *SLEY 1987*, 32.

Kisumu School for the Mentally Handicapped, the Kawangware Community Centre and the agriculture project – only for a limited time. Due to humanitarian reasons, the health centres could get public support from Finland for a longer period.<sup>562</sup>

The links between the LEAF Home Board and the Kenya mission field strengthened on a personal level. Several of the missionaries who had returned home from Kenya in the 1980s continued to work for LEAF in its Helsinki office, while several workers from the same office became new missionaries in Kenya. Executive Director Reijo Arkkila, himself returned to work in Kenya for a short period in 1986-1987 and even Director of Home Mission Väinö Uusitalo, while he was on a leave of absence for two years, taught at Matongo Lutheran Theological College in 1988-1989.<sup>563</sup>

LEAF created a Council for the Missionary Work in 1985. The representatives of the local parishes all around Finland elected one part of the members of this body at LEAF's Annual Meeting (conference) and the Mission Committees of the Dioceses in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland nominated others. Its task was to strengthen the ties between LEAF and the local parishes in Finland.<sup>564</sup> The members were to inform in their home area about the activities of LEAF and thus increase support for its work abroad. Former missionaries were elected to this body only in exceptional cases.

The complexity of decision-making became evident when LEAF had to withdraw a project; such cases demanded quick but authorised resolutions both in Kenya and in Finland. This was only possible when all involved bodies acted in harmony. In such cases, the position

---

<sup>562</sup> Antti Kuokkanen, "Kenian kehitysyhteistyöprojektit", 17.6.1987. *SLEY/Toiminnanjohtaja 1980-1987*. A-SLEY.

<sup>563</sup> *Toimintakertomus* enumerates the employees of LEAF on the mission fields and at home every year.

<sup>564</sup> JK 28.3.1985 67 §. JK 1985. A-SLEY; *SLEY 1985*, 22.

of the Team of Leaders was crucial even though it had no official position or authority in the organisation of LEAF.<sup>565</sup>

The missionary staff of LEAF had not as homogenous background as the missionary staff of SLEAF. In the beginning, LEAF missionaries came from different areas of Finland and their spiritual home varied. Some had grown up in the Lutheran Evangelical movement; others had worked for the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania, in the service of the Finnish Missionary Society. One missionary came from a Lutheran Free Church, whereas some came from other Lutheran revival movements.<sup>566</sup> LEAF did not have its own missionary courses in the 1970s. Its missionaries were trained at the mission courses of the Finnish Missionary Society, where the students from LEAF were in the minority and became acquainted with people from outside of their own mission agency.

There was another clear difference compared with the missionaries of SLEAF. While SLEAF missionaries normally all stayed at the same location, the missionaries of LEAF were scattered around the area of the Kenyan church. When LEAF leaders visited the mission field in Kenya, they met missionaries in a number of locations, who had different problems. The mission representatives kept contact with the Director of Foreign Mission in Helsinki, on behalf of the mission field, and with the church, on behalf of LEAF. At the regular Missionary

---

<sup>565</sup> The Mission Department Working Committee received a message in 1990 that it had to abandon the planned agriculture project. The Working Committee considered that it could just inform ELCK and suggest that LEAF should find a new target for the unused funds. Lähetyssosaston työvaliokunta 4.5.1990 89 § *LO Muistiot 1990*. The Team of Leaders proposed the resolution of the Board by considering that the matter demanded a decision both in Finland and in Kenya. In this confusing situation the Board made its decision and the paragraph in the minutes included three different and conflicting elements: The Board 1. received information that the project was withdrawn. 2. proposed to ELCK that it withdraws the project. 3. approved the decision to withdraw the project. JK 17.5.1990 88 §. *JK 1990. A-SLEY*.

<sup>566</sup> Elsi and Tapio Laitinen, in Kisumu (1973-77), and Taina Korpivaara, in Matongo (1970-72), had worked two terms in Tanzania for the Finnish Missionary Society. Maija -Liisa Anttio, in Matongo (1974-75), was a member of a Lutheran Free Church. The new leadership started to seek theologians systematically from the (Lutheran) Evangelical movement. Johtokunta 23.1.1974 24 §. *JK 1974*; Lähetyssosasto 16.1.1976 1 §. *JK 1976. A-SLEY*.

Meetings, held at least twice a year, opinions were expressed and the requests of the missionaries presented to the Home Board.

In the 1970s, LEAF sent 21 missionaries to Kenya and twelve of them had some kind of medical training. The first missionary with theological training came in 1972. Between 1977 and 1980 the proportion of pastors and female theologians increased to about one third of the missionary staff. Only two missionaries had neither medical nor theological training. One was an electrical engineer, Antti Kuokkanen (1977-), and the other a teacher, Aino Vesämäki (1980-).<sup>567</sup> Missionaries with medical or theological training corresponded to the wishes of the Lutheran Church of Kenya, and they worked, at least in the beginning, wherever the church needed them. In March 1980, LEAF's missionary staff in Kenya consisted of twelve missionaries, of which three were unmarried nurses and three were wives with medical training. The association planned sending new nurse-midwives to the Kenya field, but the missionaries gave notice that there was no need to further expand the medical work but rather to emphasise parish work.<sup>568</sup>

The change in activity from medical care towards parish work and development projects is seen in the composition of the missionary staff in Kenya. By the end of the 1970s, a married couple was no longer an exception, as it had been a few years earlier. Three nurses who had started in medical work during the first half of the 1970s, continued until the end of the 1980s, but two of them became involved in Christian social work. In the 1980s, the typical LEAF missionary was no longer a single nurse, as it had been at the beginning of this association's work in Kenya.<sup>569</sup>

Soon after LEAF started new projects in the early 1980s, it became clear that medical or theological education was not enough for

---

<sup>567</sup> *Arkkila* 1995, 190-192; *SLEY 1970-1980*.

<sup>568</sup> Lähettienkokous 7.3.1980 6 §. *LK 1979-*. A-SLEY; cf. *Lähetysosasto* 27.3.1980 39 §. *JK 1980*. A-SLEY.

<sup>569</sup> Salme Rinta-Komsi in Kakamega and Anja-Maija Vanhanen in Matongo orphanage. *SLEY 1986*, 32; *SLEY 1988*, 32.

missionaries who had to run development projects. LEAF missionaries in Kenya wanted new professionals, who could build and run various projects and they expressed this wish Bureau Chief Tytti Herttua when they welcomed her to Kenya in January 1983. She was responsible for the projects in the Helsinki office, and upon her return, she passed on the requests of the missionaries to the Home Board.<sup>570</sup>

The number of pastors within the missionary staff continued to increase in the 1980s from two to five. Additionally, two to three female missionaries had a Master of Theology degree during this decade. Building and running the projects provided work for many missionaries. Several missionaries had been posted in schools and education, but usually one only taught at a secondary school, either in Monianku or Matongo, at any given time. Other missionaries involved in education worked at nurseries, the school for the Finnish children or at the school for the mentally handicapped.<sup>571</sup> LEAF selected the missionaries for special jobs according to their education and experience. Everyone was a witness of Christ but not necessarily an active evangelist.<sup>572</sup>

LEAF's regulations for missionary work included a job description for a manager who could be elected by the missionaries from among themselves, if needed, alongside the mission representative, the treasurer, and the bookkeeper. The missionaries began to ask for a

---

<sup>570</sup> Tytti Herttua, "Selostus matkasta Keniaan" (29.1-13.2.1983). JK 28.2.1983. JK 1983. A-SLEY.

<sup>571</sup> At the end of the 1980s, the mission representatives classified the missionaries in their Annual Reports as follows: Parish work 9, medical work 5, building 1, office work 4, schools 10, language school, recently arrived or others 12. Aatos Vesamäki, "Kenian työalan vuosikertomus 1987", 3. *Kenian vuosikertomus, toimintakertomus 1984-1988*. A-SLEY;

Parish work 11, medical work 4. building 2, office and literature work 8, schools and education 11, Salme Rinta-Komsi, "Kenian työalan vuosikertomus 1988", 3. *Kenian vuosikertomus, toimintakertomus 1984-1988*. A-SLEY. The printed Annual Reports of LEAF, Toimintakertomus, mention the missionaries by name and explain their task and position.

<sup>572</sup> The missionaries had described their activities in their Annual Reports, which have been collected in the file *Kenian vuosikertomus, toimintakertomus 1984-1988*. A-SLEY.

new missionary to fill this managerial role and eventually also to run the development projects.<sup>573</sup> In his 1982 annual report, Mission Representative Paavo Erelä expressed the opinion that even if LEAF received funds from FINNIDA for the school for the mentally handicapped, they would not be able to start building without a new project manager. The matter was urgent because the missionary who had been in charge of the projects, Antti Kuokkanen, was returning to Finland in 1983.<sup>574</sup>

LEAF applied for development grants at a time when its missionary crew in Kenya consisted mainly of spiritual and social workers. It needed different missionaries to run development projects and to send reports to FINNIDA.<sup>575</sup> Therefore, the composition of the missionary staff changed slightly in 1983-1984.<sup>576</sup> In March 1983, in response to an advertisement, Architect Pasi Suvanto who was ready to work as project manager in Kenya contacted LEAF. He was sent to Kenya with his family for one year in August the same year.<sup>577</sup> In addition, during this period, the Home Board sent a mechanic and two missionaries with training and experience in financial administration. The office workers were useful to both LEAF and the church.<sup>578</sup> Suvanto's contract was written for only one year, but LEAF renewed it twice and he remained in Kenya until May 1986. Pauli Heikkinen was the project manager from June 1987 to June 1993, but the individual projects still needed missionaries to supervise them locally.<sup>579</sup>

---

<sup>573</sup> LK 13-14.3.1981 8 §; 27-30.8.1981 8 §; 17-18.9.1982 15 §; *LK 1979-*. A-SLEY.

<sup>574</sup> Paavo Erelä, "Kenian lähetysalan vuosikertomus vuodelta 1982", 4. Kenian vuosikertomus. *LK 1979-*. A-SLEY.

<sup>575</sup> Herttua: "Selostus matkasta Keniaan" (29.1.-13.2.1983.) JK 28.2.1983. *JK 1983*.

<sup>576</sup> JR 11.11.1983 545 §. *JK 1983*. A-SLEY.

<sup>577</sup> JK 19.5.1983 143 §. *JK 1983*. A-SLEY.

<sup>578</sup> Their titles in Finnish: rakennusarkkitehti (Pasi Suvanto in May 1983), instrumenttiasentaja (Paavo Toikka in January 1983), atk-suunnittelija (Raija Leino in May 1983), merkonomi, taloudenhoitaja (Timo Viitala at the beginning of 1984).

<sup>579</sup> Pauli *Heikkinen*, interview 14.11.1994; he was a master builder (rakennusmestari).



### 3.2.3 Development Projects

In the early 1980s, a severe drought in East Africa aggravated the financial situation in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya. Pastors and evangelists received their salaries from the offerings from the parish members and they were not protected by labour unions or salary agreements, as were the dispensary workers. As early as in the 1970s, the salaries the dispensary workers received were higher than those of the parish workers. It made the situation of the church workers worse still that often, even in the 1980s, the evangelists and pastors did not receive their full salaries.<sup>580</sup>

A former missionary of the Swedish Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland (SLEAF), Jorma Iiskola, visited Kenya in 1983 and reported back to Finland how the development projects had distorted church life. He said that while the social Gospel proceeded in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya, the parish work was slack. According to him, money tempted the missions to put more emphasis on development projects. The situation was no better outside the sphere of influence of the Finnish missions because the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) supported the Swedish Lutheran Mission generously.<sup>581</sup> The leaders of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya had good reasons to fear for the future when the church should take over the many development projects of the mission agencies. As long as the Nordic mission agencies paid the costs of the projects, they ran smoothly, but neither the missions nor the church was able to invest similar amounts of money indefinitely. The church therefore demanded that the projects be self-sufficient within four to five years. Only then could they be handed over to the church.<sup>582</sup> Public development funds also encouraged mission

---

<sup>580</sup> *Mononen* 1995, 78; Paavo Erelä, "Kenian lähetysalan vuosikertomus vuodelta 1981", 1. LK 1979-. A-SLEY; *Kururia* 1982, 61-62; *Johansson* 1981, 64; *Johansson* 1985, 70; *Johansson* 1986, 80; *Johansson* 1988, 78.

<sup>581</sup> Jorma Iiskola's report to DYM. DYM 3.8.1983. 49. *DYM 1981-89*. A-SLEF.

<sup>582</sup> The budget of ELCK for 1982. "Report of the discussions between the representatives of NLM, the Swedish Lutheran Mission, SLEAF and LEAF" 9.9.1981. *ELCK-yhteisneuvottelut 1981-*. A-SLEY; DYM 2.10.1981 52 § 4. *DYM 1981-89*. A-SLEF; "Report of the discussions between representatives of ELCK, NLM, the Swedish

agencies to build social institutions that could never be self-supporting, or profit making.

The continuously increasing financial problems in Kenya demanded close cooperation between the church and its partner missions. The regular visits of the Nordic mission leaders to Kenya and those of the Kenyan church leaders to the Nordic countries and the USA were not adequate. The chairman of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya, John Momanyi Kururia, proposed at a Nordic meeting in August 1984 that the mission agencies should all send their representatives at the same time to a consultation in Kenya to negotiate with the representatives of the local church.<sup>583</sup> The following year, in February, sixteen representatives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya and its five supporting missions met at Itierio. One of the major issues to be discussed was the position of the development projects within the church. A commission had prepared the questions, and the participants discussed the problem and its consequences, and solutions. The minutes of the consultation question the position of development projects in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya;

What is the proper place of development projects in the ELCK? How can we prevent projects assisted by foreign government aid from becoming a financial and administrative burden? Are non-current investments taking priority over evangelistic work?"

A letter of 1981 from the Nordic missions was referred to, stating that if one of these missions starts a project, it will be willing to continue to support the project for at least four years. This still leaves the church in a difficult position at times, because if there is not enough income to run a given project after four years, what can be done?

---

Lutheran Mission, SLEAF and LEAF held in Stockholm 21.8.1984" 6 § c). *ELCK-yhteisneuvottelut 1981-*. A-SLEY.

<sup>583</sup> "Report of the discussions between representatives of ELCK, NLM, the Swedish Lutheran Mission, SLEAF and LEAF held in Stockholm 21.8.1984", 3 §. *ELCK-yhteisneuvottelut 1981-*. A-SLEY.

These and the following words concerned the Finnish mission agencies very much because SLEAF had development projects in Atemo (and around Atemo) and Rukongo and LEAF in Monianku, Matongo, Kisumu and Nairobi. The plans in Samanga and Olosentu did not lead to any projects. The minutes of the special meeting in February 1984 continue;

Likewise, if government aid is given for the running expenses of a given project, there is always the wish that the aid will be withdrawn, and then the project will collapse. In the case of government aid to pay the salaries in our health centres, this aid will enable us to reduce medicine prices for the patients. But if the aid is withdrawn it will be very difficult to raise prices again.

Perhaps it is not bad to use the government aid, but it is dangerous to be dependent on that aid. It is not only possible for projects to be financial or administrative burden but also a spiritual burden, as people's eyes are diverted from spiritual matters and turned to rest on money.

Our church workers ask, 'Why are we suffering with reduced salaries, while so much money is available for projects?' The money available for the church's operating budget is less than that of projects; while evangelism should be the first priority."

"Conclusion: Grants with conditions or 'strings' attached are dangerous and should not be adopted uncritically."<sup>584</sup>

The participants thus advised the executive committee of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya to assess thoroughly the projects proposed by the missions and to estimate the consequences. The church was willing to receive money but did not want detailed conditions as to how the money should be spent. It wanted to use money according to its own needs as a self-governing church. It was better not to receive the money at all if there were strict conditions that did not correspond with the plans and needs of the church.

---

<sup>584</sup> "Special consultation between ELCK and the five supporting missions 7-8.2.1985". 11 §. *LK 1979*. A-SLEY; ELCK had several times received support from the Lutheran World Federation. LWF did not want detailed accounts but just information about the outcome of the projects.

At a consultation between the church and its supporting missions in Stockholm in September 1986, the General Secretary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya, Richard Olak, warned the missions not to neglect the evangelistic task of the church because of projects.<sup>585</sup> The representatives of the Nordic missions admitted to the same concerns:

The need of various kinds of development aid in Kenya is great and also the opportunity of receiving government aid for this is increasing. Much discussion is going on in the church about the relationship between the project-aid and congregational work support. It may seem as if the church has stressed social work even more than gospel-preaching.

It was stressed once again that the church's main emphasis has to be in gospel preaching and congregational-work. All development-projects have to be examined thoroughly and continuous evaluation to be done in order to have good balance between social work and evangelising.

It is most essential that the church had the authority to make decisions concerning the projects. No project should be initiated if they do not contribute to church work as a whole.<sup>586</sup>

The minutes of the meeting in Stockholm emphasised the priority of evangelism. The meeting recommended pursuing only those projects that were in accordance with the spiritual work of the church.

Although the official policy aimed at Kenyanisation, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya still required new missionaries during this period to replace those who were leaving. In addition, the church wanted secondary school teachers, a theologian for literature work, a financial administrator and an adviser in the treasurer's office. Furthermore, the church needed youth leaders, pastors and parish workers for its work in Nairobi. The church wanted to reach the

---

<sup>585</sup> Richard Olak at a consultation between ELCK and its supporting missions, Stockholm, September 10-12.9.1986". 12 § 5. *ELCK-yhteisneuvottelut 1981-*. A-SLEY.

<sup>586</sup> "Meeting of the ELCK related missions' working group Stockholm, 15.9.1987". 2 § b). *ELCK-yhteisneuvottelut 1981-*. A-SLEY.

"Consultation between ELCK and its supporting missions 3-5.10.1988" 10 a). *Kenia ELCK*. A-SLEY.

university students in the capital and to expand in Luoland, as well as in towns in West Kenya. General Secretary Richard Otieno Olak, mentioned only two projects in a positive sense. They were a teachers' training college and an agriculture project. The church had needed the former for a long time and it was now about to be realised. LEAF was planning the latter in order to reach the Maasai.<sup>587</sup>

The need for new missionaries in the central office was urgent because the projects caused a heavy administrative burden. Various donors and supporters demanded that the treasurer keep separate accounts. Consequently, the treasurer of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya in 1985 had 18 cashbooks and five cash boxes.<sup>588</sup> The number of employees increased to about 300, who were scattered over a vast area, many of them hundreds of kilometres away from the central office.<sup>589</sup> The burden was simply growing all the time and it seemed that it was difficult to reverse this course of events when they could not even stop it.

The distress of the evangelists and pastors indirectly affected their fellow missionaries, who received their salaries from abroad and whose job benefits were secure. The permanent financial problems of the Kenyans distanced the expatriate staff from their Kenyan colleagues, or made the Kenyan evangelists and pastors dependent on the foreigners.

### *The Lutheran Youth Centre and Training School (SLEAF)*

Although both the Lutheran Church in Kenya and SLEAF wanted to develop vocational training, it was not easy to start the Lutheran Youth Centre and Training School. When Jorma Iiskola returned to Kenya and mapped out his second term in 1975, SLEAF proposed that Iiskola's job be to establish the planned village polytechnic near Atemo. The Executive Committee of the Lutheran Church of Kenya,

---

<sup>587</sup> Richard Olak at a consultation between ELCK and its supporting missions, Stockholm, September 10-12.9.1986. 4, 5, 9 §. *ELCK-yhteisneuvottelut 1981-*. A-SLEY.

<sup>588</sup> *Johansson* 1986, 81.

<sup>589</sup> The treasurer counted c. 250-300 workers in 1987. *Johansson* 1989, 119.

however, reported that they had two missionary builders and did not need a third one. Therefore, the church could not invite him to Kenya.<sup>590</sup> SLEAF reminded the Church of the letter it had sent earlier, concerning Iiskola's job description. SLEAF was not sending Iiskola to do building work or youth work but to start a vocational school.<sup>591</sup> The church reconsidered the matter and consequently invited Iiskola to be the administrator of its village polytechnics and *harambee* secondary schools.<sup>592</sup> SLEAF agreed to this, with the condition that founding the Abongo Dhoga village polytechnic near Atemo would be Iiskola's main task.<sup>593</sup> Village polytechnics were usually day schools without close relations with mission agencies, and previously, no village polytechnic had required the full workload of a missionary.<sup>594</sup> The former General Secretary and Vice President of the Lutheran Church of Kenya, Richard Olak, who had supported the plan to build a village polytechnic, had gone to Makumira for further theological studies, in 1974, and could not support Iiskola's plan.<sup>595</sup>

One reason for these problems was that the Lutheran Church of Kenya did not always keep in mind the special relationship of SLEAF with Luoland. Church President Nchogu visited Finland in September 1975, and presented a detailed request for five missionaries needed by the church to work in different locations, but not a single one in Atemo or indeed, all of Luoland.<sup>596</sup> The goals of the Lutheran Church

---

<sup>590</sup> SLEF Styrelse 10.5.1975 33 §. *Styrelse 1974-1980*. A-SLEF Vasa.

<sup>591</sup> "Rapport från samtal mellan SLEF och pastor James O. Nchogu från the Lutheran Church of Kenya". 18.9.1975 5 §. *DYM 1974-80*. A-SLEF.

<sup>592</sup> Harambee schools were community schools where local people participated in the expenses of their school. The government promised that if the parents or the local people in general built a school together, the government provided it with a teacher. The Kenyan government applied experience from the independent schools in the colonial time.

<sup>593</sup> DYM 7.5.1976 43 §. *DYM 1974-80*. A.-SLEF. the Lutheran Church of Kenya had five VPs and seven secondary schools. *BV 1978*, 45.

<sup>594</sup> The first Village Polytechnic of the Lutheran Church of Kenya's received help at the beginning of 1974 from CARE and NCKK, Kenyan government supported it from 1976. *Hansson 1976*, 64.

<sup>595</sup> *Nchogu 1975*, 50.

<sup>596</sup> "Rapport från samtal mellan SLEF och pastor James O. Nchogu". 18.9.1975. *DYM 1974-80*. A-SLEF.

of Kenya and the goals of SLEAF were a long way apart from each other. The association struggled to staff its only station with missionaries, and thus it could not consider other challenges.

Both the Lutheran Church of Kenya and SLEAF were interested in a village polytechnic with boarding facilities, but neither the church, nor the mission agency could afford the costs of one.<sup>597</sup> Prospective sponsors were FINNCHURCHAID, the Lutheran World Federation or other non-governmental organisations.<sup>598</sup> The erecting of the Atemo station had strained the finances of SLEAF, but private contributions increased, as did support from the local parishes of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland.<sup>599</sup> The development projects became expensive, despite public funds, because the Ministry for Foreign Affairs only promised to fund one half of the costs.

On 25 February 1977, the SLEAF Delegation for Foreign Mission recommended to the leaders of the association that SLEAF applied to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for funds for the village polytechnic at Abongo Dhoga.<sup>600</sup> Jorma Iiskola had not waited for decisions in Finland but had already started teaching on 21 February 1977 with a construction course, and the students erected buildings for the future village polytechnic.<sup>601</sup> All together, SLEAF received FIM 50,000, for a village polytechnic and for staff houses, which lessened the financial burden.<sup>602</sup> SLEAF had also applied for funds for a house for Kenyan

---

<sup>597</sup> Missionaftonskola 1.2.1972 2 §. *DYM 1974-80*. A-SLEF; Vice President Richard Olak's message included in Helge Hildén, "Från styrelse och arbetsutskott", *Sb* 14/1972, 11.

<sup>598</sup> Missionskommitté suggested FINNCHURCHAID (kyrkans u-landshjälp); Missionskomité 30.10.1972 8 §. *MU I*. A-SLEF; Missionaries suggested Lions Clubs, the Lutheran World Federation and other NGOs: "Lions-klubbar (interesse finns i Övermark), Martha-föreningar, LVF o.s.v." *MK 5.3.1975 3 §. MK 1972-88*. A-SLEF.

<sup>599</sup> Sektionen för yttre mission 18.6.1976, 2. *DYM 1974-80*. A-SLEF. The support from the church taxes of the individual parishes to SLEAF increased from FIM 1.670 in 1966 to 179.900. in 1980. The Annual Reports (*Årsberättelse*) give exact figures of yearly contributions from parishes and other donors.

<sup>600</sup> *DYM 25.2.1977 29 §. DYM 1974-80*. A-SLEF.

<sup>601</sup> *SLEF 1976-77*, 8.

<sup>602</sup> SLEF. *UM 12 R Suomi 10*. A-UM; "Lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyömäärärahanomukset v. 1979". SLEF. *UM 12 R Suomi 10*. A-UM.

medical staff in Atemo.<sup>603</sup> This had already been at the top of the list, which the President of the Lutheran Church of Kenya, James Otete Nchogu, had presented to the SLEAF Executive Director, Helge Hildén, when Hildén visited Kenya in October 1971. It was also included in the Medical Committee's plan of the Lutheran Church of Kenya in 1976.<sup>604</sup>

The first construction course built facilities for the following courses. The Abongo Dhoga village polytechnic started two new courses in March 1978. The second construction course built the dormitory and another course was taught metalwork.<sup>605</sup> The vocational school at Abongo Dhoga continued according to the plans drawn up during the previous decade. It admitted about 20 youngsters annually into two-year training courses. When the students of the first few building courses had completed the houses, those in the following courses enlarged the school, constructing a garage for an auto mechanics course and a new dormitory. The number of pupils grew to about 80. However, the school fees and the income from the workshops did not cover the costs of the school. The school needed support from FINNIDA for the salaries of the Finnish principal and the Kenyan teachers, and other running expenses.<sup>606</sup> SLEAF made sure that a missionary continued to be the principal of the vocational school.<sup>607</sup>

---

<sup>603</sup> DYM 25.2.1977 28 §. *DYM 1974-80*. A-SLEF.

<sup>604</sup> "Kumbukumbu ya the Lutheran Church of Kenya iliyotolewa kwa Mheshimiwa Mch. H. Hildén Director wa Chama cha SLEAF 26.10.1971"; Executive Committee of the Lutheran Church of Kenya 1.4.1976 Min. 18/76; Minutes of the Medical Committee of 28.1.1976. and 24.3.1976. 6. Min. 13.76. The Lutheran Church of Kenya *Excom. 1963-1976*. A-SLEF.

<sup>605</sup> *SLEF 1977-78*, 8.

<sup>606</sup> *SLEF 1981*, 8; *SLEF 1986*, 10; *SLEF 1987*, 13; *SLEF 1988*, 13; "Lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyömääräraha-anomukset v. 1981". *UM 12 R Suomi 10*. A-UM; "Kansalaisjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyömääräraha-anomukset v.1982: Kansalaisjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyön tukeminen: Määrärahat: Yleistä 82-83. *UM 3 92-6*. A-UM; Lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyötuki vuonna 1988 sekä sitomisvaltuudet vuosiksi 1988-1990", 52; Kansalais- ja lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyön tukeminen: Yleistä 1988 *UM 5 92.61*. A-UM; "Kansalais- ja lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyön tukeminen 1989". *UM 5 92.61*. A-UM; "Kansalais- ja lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyön tukeminen yleistä 1990", 26. *UM 5 92.61*. A-UM.

<sup>607</sup> The missionaries expressed this in their 2-4 years plan in 1984. MK 14.9.1984 5/84 62 §. *MK 1972-88*. A-SLEF.



When the church wanted to transfer the Finnish principal from Abongo Dhoga to another school, SLEAF did not agree, and the matter was withdrawn.<sup>608</sup>

When SLEAF started its vocational school project, it was ready to receive help from various sources, and, in the early 1980s, the missionaries requested that the Government of Kenya would pay the teachers' salaries. The government did not like this idea, even though it recognised the significance of *harambee* technical schools and supported many of the Lutheran Church village polytechnics.<sup>609</sup> FINNIDA supported the school at Abongo Dhoga practically alone. The situation changed somewhat in the late 1980s. After the garage for car repair was completed in 1987, a car mechanic from an American Lutheran mission society, the World Mission Prayer League, joined the staff.<sup>610</sup> SLEAF's mission secretary Sirkku Hildén contacted Director Risto Lehtonen in FINNCHURCHAID on behalf of the Delegation for Foreign Mission in 1989, and heard that the agency had funded educational projects in Africa and would support SLEAF in vocational training.<sup>611</sup> This contact, however, did not lead to permanent cooperation.

### *SLEAF Health Projects*

When the dispensary was completed in Atemo, its extension became the next issue. SLEAF's Mission Committee had considered three alternatives in October 1972: a small maternity ward with 3-4 beds, a hospital, or mobile clinics in the surrounding area. The committee preferred mobile clinics. Therefore, it postponed the plans for a hospital, but paid the costs of midwife training for its second missionary nurse.<sup>612</sup> The Executive Committee of the Lutheran Church of Kenya settled the matter in April 1976, when it confirmed

---

<sup>608</sup> DYM 2.3.1984 2/84 23 §. *DYM 1981-89*. A-SLEF.

<sup>609</sup> MK 9.11.1981. 38 §. *MK 1972-88*. A-SLEF; *Development Plan 1979-1983*, 161 (5.122); *Brixen* 1978, 61.

<sup>610</sup> *SLEF 1987*, 13.

<sup>611</sup> DYM 4/89 58 §; 5/89 71 §. *DYM 1981-89*. A-SLEF.

<sup>612</sup> MKè 30.10.1972 5 §. *MU I 1968-74*. A-SLEF.

the Medical Committee plan, which included the Atemo Maternity ward.<sup>613</sup> Messages from the missionaries and the Kenyan church persuaded the SLEAF Delegation for Foreign Mission in 1978, to apply for money for building the Atemo maternity ward.<sup>614</sup> SLEAF, however, postponed the matter until 1980 because it was not ready to pay its own share of the project immediately.<sup>615</sup>

The link between the mission field in Kenya and the Home Board in Finland was close. Sven Klemets attended a meeting of the Delegation for Foreign Mission in September 1978 and Pastor Richard Olak, from Luoland, in December 1978.<sup>616</sup> Olak stressed that all projects should correspond with the local needs and be in accord with the resources the local people would have in the future. In the eyes of SLEAF, mother and child health care was becoming the most important part of the medical work, and preventive care was increasing.<sup>617</sup> A maternity ward would have served these needs, and its construction was secured when the Ministry for Foreign Affairs promised funds, beginning in 1980.<sup>618</sup>

Medical work in Atemo had started with a mobile clinic, and when the permanent dispensary was completed, discussion began about mobile clinics in the areas surrounding Atemo.<sup>619</sup> Since SLEAF had just one nurse, this was not so far possible. When a second nurse arrived in 1977, the situation changed and the staff started to visit Nyagowa weekly.<sup>620</sup> SLEAF received funds from FINNIDA for an

---

<sup>613</sup> Executive Committee of the Lutheran Church of Kenya 1.4.1976 Min. 18/76; Minutes of the Medical Committee of 28.1.1976. and 24.3.1976. 6. Min. 13.76. The Lutheran Church of Kenya *Excom. 1963-1976*. A-SLEF.

<sup>614</sup> MK 25-26.10. and 9.11.1977 6/77 62 §. *MK 1972-88*. A-SLEF; MK 8.4.1978 2/78 20 §. *MK 1972-88*. A-SLEF; DYM 1.7.1978 33 §. *DYM 1974-1980*. A-SLEF.

<sup>615</sup> DYM 20.10.1978 65 §. *DYM 1974-1980*. A-SLEF.

<sup>616</sup> DYM 1.7.1978 30 § and 7.12.1978 81 §. *DYM 1974-80*. A-SLEF.

<sup>617</sup> "Verksamhetsberättelse över SLEF:s missionsarbete i Kenya [1978]" 26.4.1979, 3. *DYM 1974-80*. A-SLEF.

<sup>618</sup> "Lähetysjärjestöjen valtion kehitysyhteistyötukea saaneet projektit vuosittain". Kansalaisjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyön tukeminen, 1980. Uskonnolliset järjestöt. *UM 12 R Suomi 10*. A-UM.

<sup>619</sup> Missionskomité 30.10.1972 5 §. *MUI 1968-74*. A-SLEF.

<sup>620</sup> MK 6.2.1976 6 §. *MK 1972-88*. A-SLEF; *SLEF 1977-78*, 7.

ambulance in 1981-82 and for the maternity ward in 1982-84, and was thus able to improve health care.<sup>621</sup> When SLEAF had bought the new ambulance, the nurses began also visiting Angeno from 1984.<sup>622</sup> The Protestant Churches Medical Association financed new facilities for the reception of patients at the Atemo health centre and a new dispensary, with staff houses, at Nyagowa. These building projects were completed in 1985.<sup>623</sup> After 1985, SLEAF did not want to enlarge its health care system. Thus, it only needed money from FINNIDA for operating expenses and a new ambulance.<sup>624</sup> SLEAF emphasised preventive care in both applications and reports.<sup>625</sup> The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya participated, through the Protestant Churches Medical Association, in a programme that included active family planning.<sup>626</sup>

SLEAF Missionary, Helena Holmgård, was the medical administrator in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya in the early 1980s. Holmgård was responsible for all the health institutions and the medical work of the Church, and she acted as the secretary of the Medical Committee.<sup>627</sup>

When the new buildings of Atemo health centre were officially inaugurated in April 1987, a Kenyan midwife became the sister in

---

<sup>621</sup> "Lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyö-määräraha-anomukset v. 1981". *UM* 12 R Suomi 10. A-UM; Kansalaisjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyömäärä-raha-anomukset v.1982: Kansalaisjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyön tukeminen: Määrärahat: Yleistä 82-83. *UM* 3 92-6. A-UM; "Lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyön tukeminen: Yleistä 1982-1987". *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>622</sup> *SLEF* 1984, 7.

<sup>623</sup> *SLEF* 1985, 9.

<sup>624</sup> "Lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyötuki vuonna 1988 sekä sitomisvaltuudet vuosiksi 1988-1990: Kansalais- ja lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyön tukeminen: Yleistä 1988".. *UM* 5 92.61. A-UM; Kansalais- ja lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyön tukeminen 1989. *UM* 5 92.61. A-UM; "Kansalais- ja lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyön tukeminen yleistä 1990", 26. Printed 23.4.1990. *UM* 5 92.61. A-UM.

<sup>625</sup> E.g. "Projektplan 1984-1986. Atemo Health Centre with Maternity and Mobile Ambulance Clinic". 30.1.1984. (*SLEF* 1984-86). *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM; *SLEF* 1983, 8.

<sup>626</sup> Helena Holmgård, "Årsrapport 1985". *Årsrap. Kenya 1975-1986*. A-SLEF.

<sup>627</sup> *SLEF* 1981, 8, *SLEF* 1982, 9 and *SLEF* 1983, 8.

charge.<sup>628</sup> This step corresponded with the long-standing wishes of the missionaries to shift the focus from medical work to evangelisation. The missionaries understood that the Kenyan Government also wanted to replace the expatriate staff with Kenyans.<sup>629</sup> But the health centre met with difficulties in its administration after the Kenyanisation, and shortly after the last missionary nurse had left medical work, the Church asked that the expatriate nurses return to its health centres.<sup>630</sup>

### *Other SLEAF Projects*

The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya continued to offer courses for women throughout the 1980s, and SLEAF regularly applied to FINNIDA for funds from 1981 onward.<sup>631</sup> In 1985, however, there was no missionary in Atemo to take permanent responsibility for the women's groups and the work among the women was temporarily lessened. The missionaries did not see it reasonable to apply for money for women's training.<sup>632</sup> In 1986, the missionaries again notified the Home Board that the term "women's groups" – for which funding was applied – did not correspond to the present situation. The Home Board agreed meaning that "courses" in the application would be a more exact title instead of "women work".<sup>633</sup> The title remained unchanged but the work among women acquired a fresh start when Linnéa Klemets returned to Kenya in 1988. Klemets had

---

<sup>628</sup> Iris Sandberg, "Delegationen för yttremission", *SLEF 1986*, 9; Iris Sandberg, "Verksamheten i Kenya", *SLEF 1987*, 12.

<sup>629</sup> MK 4.7.1986. 4/86 36 §. *MK 1972-88*. A-SLEF.

<sup>630</sup> Iris Sandberg, "Verksamheten i Kenya", *SLEF 1988*, 13; Boris Sandberg, "Verksamheten i Kenya", *SLEF 1989*, 12; DYM 1.9.1989. 5/89 71 § and Bilaga 1. *DYM 1981-89*. A-SLEF.

<sup>631</sup> "Lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyömääräraha-anomukset v. 1981". *UM 12 R Suomi 10*. A-UM.

<sup>632</sup> MK 26.2.1985 3/85 35 §. *MU I 1968-74*. A-SLEF. From 1985 to 1987, the Annual Reports of SLEAF don't contain any chapter on work among women.

<sup>633</sup> MK 17.3.1986. 2/86 18 §. *MK 1972-88*. A-SLEF; "DYM undrar om inte en föräldrad rubrik [in the application], som t.ex. "Kvinnoarbete" kunde bytas ut till exempelvis "kursverksamhet". DYM 12.4.1986. 2/86 22 §. *DYM 1981-89*. A-SLEF.

been responsible for the work already in 1974.<sup>634</sup> The topics were the same as in the 1970s: handicraft, Bible studies, singing, cooking, children care, health care, reading, writing and arithmetic.<sup>635</sup>

When SLEAF had built the vocational school at Abongo Dhoga in 1982, it had received funds from FINNIDA for the water supply.<sup>636</sup> Five years later, in 1987, SLEAF sent Jorma Iiskola to Kenya for one year to head a special water project.<sup>637</sup> The idea was to dig a dozen wells and to train local people who could maintain the wells and pumps.<sup>638</sup> Although the church had not asked for this project, it met the needs of the local people and, when completed, even surpassed its original aim.<sup>639</sup>

In 1974, SLEAF's Plan for Continued Work included an alternative, which was to build another mission station, but it was not clear where the best location would be.<sup>640</sup> The Mission Committee preferred building a second station and recommended that the new station be built in Andiwo.<sup>641</sup> The local leaders of Samanga had, previously asked SLEAF to give them a mission station.<sup>642</sup> Helena Holmgård noted in her 1976 report on medical work within the Lutheran Church

---

<sup>634</sup> Iris Sandberg, "Yttremissionen" *SLEF 1988*, 12; Jorma Iiskola, "Kenyamissionen" *SLEF 1974-75*, 12.

<sup>635</sup> Boris Sandberg, "Verksamheten i Kenya", *SLEF 1989*, 12.

<sup>636</sup> LYCTS with water supply station. Projektplan 1984-1986. (SLEF 1984-86). *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM; Sirkku Hildén, "Yttremissionen", *SLEF 1981*, 9; Sirkku Hildén, "Yttremissionen", *SLEF 1982*, 9; Sirkku Hildén and Sven Klemets, "Yttremissionen", *SLEF 1983*, 7-8.

<sup>637</sup> DYM 12.4.1988 2/86 24 §. *DYM 1981-89*. A-SLEF.

<sup>638</sup> "Lähetysjärjestöprojektit", 52, Lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyötuki vuonna 1988 sekä sitomisvaltuudet vuosiksi 1988-1990: Kansalais- ja lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyön tukeminen: *UM* 5 92.61. A-UM.

<sup>639</sup> Jorma Iiskola built 14 wells with pumps and three reservoirs in one year. Iris Sandberg, "Verksamheten i Kenya", *SLEF 1988*, 13.

<sup>640</sup> G. Norrback, "Evangeliföreningens fortsatta arbete i Kenya" Förslag II, 1. *MU I 1968-74*. A-SLEF.

<sup>641</sup> Missionskomité 22.4.1974 4 §. *MU I 1968-74*. A-SLEF.

<sup>642</sup> A letter of Ass. Chief David Oyare, County Councillor Elkana Okombo, School Comm. Secretary Ogada Awiti and Sch. Comm. Chairm. Elisha Owade to SLEAF on 23.11.1973. "The Memorandum to the Director of F.L.M. Services at Samanga on 23.11.1973". *Brev ELCK*. A-SLEF.

of Kenya that Samanga was a suitable location to extend health services.<sup>643</sup> When General Secretary Richard Olak visited Finland in 1978, he invited SLEAF to open a station in the southern part of Luoland, not in the Samanga area.<sup>644</sup> Other Kenyan church leaders supported Olak. Mission Secretary Gustav Norrback received the same request from the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya when he visited Kenya in February 1979.<sup>645</sup> In 1980, the chairman of the ELCK, James Nchogu also reiterated the idea to build the new mission station somewhere between Homa Bay and Migori when he presented in his 1979 report at the Annual Meeting of the church.<sup>646</sup> Furthermore, the local missionary, Pastor Boris Sandberg, described in his 1978 report that the Samanga congregation was on the decline, and that there were just a few people left.<sup>647</sup> SLEAF however, had applied to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for money in 1978, for staff houses in Samanga. SLEAF received only a part of the money for which it applied and with the approval of the ministry, the association spent the money on the houses of the medical staff at the Atemo station, and continued searching for a suitable location to set up a second mission station.<sup>648</sup>

When SLEAF started to carry out its old plan to build a new station, it relied on its experience from Atemo. This time, it did not follow the traditional method of building first a school, then a dispensary and finally a church. Instead, it started by sending an evangelist to Rukongo in 1986 and planning a "course centre" in cooperation with

---

<sup>643</sup> Helena Holmgård, "Hälso- och sjukvården inom the Lutheran Church of Kenya 1976". *Årsrap. Kenya 1975-1986*. A-SLEF.

<sup>644</sup> DYM 7.12.1978 82 §. *DYM 1974-80*. A-SLEF.

<sup>645</sup> DYM 22.2.1979 16 §. *DYM 1974-80*. A-SLEF.

<sup>646</sup> James Otete Nchogu, "Evangelisk-lutherska kyrkan i Kenya 1980", *BV 1979*, 63.

<sup>647</sup> Boris Sandberg, "Rapport över arbetet för år 1978", 1. *Årsrap. Kenya 1975-1986*. A-SLEF.

<sup>648</sup> "Lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyömääräraha-anomukset v. 1979 SLEF". It is written "OK" in the marginal of SLEAF's treasurer Johan Lindqvist's letter to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. SLEF. *UM 12 R Suomi 10*. A-UM.

the church and in contact with the local administration.<sup>649</sup> At the same time as the first parish worker settled down in Rukongo, SLEAF applied to FINNIDA for funds to build a vocational school close to the new station, like Abongo Dhoga near Atemo. The original plan was to start with a builders' course in 1988, after the necessary facilities were completed.<sup>650</sup> When SLEAF combined evangelism with a school and requested funds for vocational education from FINNIDA, it used well-known methods in its missionary work and tried to be sure of support from FINNIDA. This school started its normal work in the early 1990s.<sup>651</sup>

### *Planning and Managing the LEAF Projects*

In 1981, LEAF wanted support for the Kisumu School for the Mentally Handicapped, the Matongo water supply and a health care programme.<sup>652</sup> Before Executive Director Arkkila's journey to Kenya, the Mission Department of LEAF enumerated these as main development projects. In the final application, the health care consisted of two parts: the running costs of the clinic car in Monianku and a new ambulance in Matongo.<sup>653</sup>

Reijo Arkkila visited Kenya shortly before commencing his new job as the Executive Director. He was aware of the financial problems of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya, but still encouraged LEAF to strengthen the existing parishes and to expand its work in new areas.

---

<sup>649</sup> Boris Sandberg to missionssekr. Sirkku Hildén 29.11.1985. *DYM 1981-89*. A-SLEF; [Sirkku Hildén], "Arbetet har redan påbörjats i Rukongo", *Salamu* 3/1986, 10-11; *Olak* 1987, 69; Boris Sandberg, "Rukongo – en öppen dörr" *Salamu* 3/1986, 3-4.

<sup>650</sup> Iris Sandberg, "Delegationen för yttre mission", *SLEF 1986*, 10; Iris Sandberg, "Verksamheten i Kenya", *SLEF 1987*, 12; Iris Sandberg, "Verksamheten i Kenya", *SLEF 1988*, 13; Boris Sandberg, "Verksamheten i Kenya", *SLEF 1989*, 12-13; "Lähetysjärjestöprojektit", 51. Tulostettu 1.2.1988. Lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyötuki vuonna 1988, sekä sitomisvaltuudet vuosiksi 1988-1990. Kansalais- ja lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyön tukeminen. Yleistä 1988. *UM* 5 92.61. A-UM.

<sup>651</sup> *DYM* 31.3.1990. 3/90 39 §. *DYM 1981-89*. A-SLEF. When the General Secretary of ELCK, Richard Olak, said that the vocational school at Rukongo was running in 1989, he may have been referring to the builders' course. *Olak* 1990, 73.

<sup>652</sup> LO 5.1.1981 § 8. *JK* 1981. A-SLEY.

<sup>653</sup> *JK* 19.3.1981 85 §. *JK* 1981. A-SLEY. FINNIDA accepted the projects but granted only two thirds of the sum applied. *JK* 26.6.1981 212 §. *JK* 1981. A-SLEY.

He wanted more missionaries in Kenya and had several potential projects in mind. The most important target was the Kisumu School for the Mentally Handicapped.<sup>654</sup> Although LEAF did not have any stations of its own in Kenya, according to its missionary strategy, both Kisumu and Monianku, in fact, were run by LEAF missionaries. No other mission agency located missionaries there, and LEAF had applied to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for funds for projects in these two locations. Arkkila described Monianku as a growing station that could be a stronghold for the mission among the neighbouring Maasais. He suggested, in 1983, that LEAF should expand its work in Nairobi and start building a community centre in the Kawangware slum in the near future.<sup>655</sup> Arkkila's report focused primarily on the development projects, but also included some suggestions concerning the spiritual work. The responsibility for the Lutheran activity in Maragoli had shifted from SLEAF to LEAF in the 1970s, and Arkkila wanted to locate a missionary pastor in Kakamega town, about 30 km from Wasundi.<sup>656</sup> Salme Rinta-Komsi started Christian social work in Kakamega in 1986, and this activity continued after her return to Finland. LEAF sent other parish workers there, but did not apply to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for funds for any projects in Maragoli.<sup>657</sup>

After Arkkila's visit to Kenya in 1979, Executive Director Lauri Koskenniemi brought back ideas to expand work in Monianku and Nairobi.<sup>658</sup> Reijo Arkkila, who was Koskenniemi's successor, repeated these plans in his report in April 1982. He referred to the former strategy of LEAF, which had been that it wanted to serve everywhere in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya, but the new plans expressed the independence of the mission agency more than the

---

<sup>654</sup> Reijo Arkkila, Selostus matkasta Keniaan 7.1.-2.2.1981. *JK Pöytäkirjojen liitteet 1979-1985*. A-SLEY.

<sup>655</sup> Reijo Arkkila: Selostus matkasta Keniaan 24.3.-11.4.1982, 2. Johtoryhmä 16.4.1982. *JK 1982*. A-SLEY.

<sup>656</sup> Reijo Arkkila: Selostus matkasta Keniaan 24.3.-11.4.1982, 2. Johtoryhmä 16.4.1982. *JK 1982*. A-SLEY.

<sup>657</sup> *SLEY 1986*, 32; *SLEY 1987*, 32-33; *SLEY 1988*, 32; *SLEY 1989*, 34; *SLEY 1990*, 30-31.

<sup>658</sup> Lauri Koskenniemi, "Selostus tutustumis- ja edustusmatkastani Keniaan 28.2.-23.3.1979". Johtokunta 17.5.1979 81 §. *JK 1979*. A-SLEY.



leadership of the local church. Arkkila understood the needs in Kenya, and FINNIDA support encouraged him to consider new projects. LEAF planned not only to send missionaries to the existing mission stations and to participate in the spiritual work of the church, but also to build new institutions where its missionaries could directly serve the Kenyans.<sup>659</sup>

The biannual Missionary Meeting in September 1982 supported the construction of the Kawangware Community Centre, and brought up two new ideas for discussion. The missionaries suggested that LEAF should, 1) improve agricultural training, and 2) apply for money for an adult education car with audio-visual equipment. Such a car could be useful in health education and spiritual work.<sup>660</sup> The initiative of the missionaries resulted in the inclusion of the adult education car in the projects funded by FINNIDA in 1983.<sup>661</sup> LEAF, however, did not purchase an adult education car but a project car for the project manager and for general transport.<sup>662</sup> LEAF tried in vain to obtain funding from FINNIDA for an audiocassette project, but had no problems getting support for a large agriculture project.<sup>663</sup>

The agriculture project, that received funds from FINNIDA 1987-1989, was the only new large project in the second half of the 1980s. After

---

<sup>659</sup> This difference is very clear when we compare Arkkila's report in 1982 with his report in 1976. Reijo Arkkilan selvitys SLEY:n johtokunnalle matkasta Keniaan maalis-huhtikuussa 1976 (1976.3.3.-1976.4.27.). *JK* 1976. A-SLEY; Reijo Arkkila: Selostus matkasta Keniaan 24.3.-11.4.1982, 2. Johtoryhmä 16.4.1982. *JK* 1982. A-SLEY.

<sup>660</sup> LK 17-18.9.1982 § 15. *LK 1979-*. A-SLEY.

<sup>661</sup> Pasi Suvanto, "SLEY Kehitysyhteistyöprojektit Keniassa.. Puolivuotisraportti 1/83". Suomen Luterilainen Evankeliumiyhdistys määrärahat 1983.. *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM. LEAF used the money granted for the adult education car on Kisumu School for the Mentally Handicapped because it received less money than it applied to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Pasi Suvanto, "SLEY Kehitysyhteistyöprojektit Keniassa. Puolivuotisraportti 2/83". *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>662</sup> Pasi Suvanto, "Kisumun kehitysvammaiskoulu vuonna 1983". Liite 1. SLEY määrärahat 1983. *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM; Pasi Suvanto, "SLEY Kehitysyhteistyöprojektit Keniassa. Puolivuotisraportti 1/83". Suomen Luterilainen Evankeliumiyhdistys määrärahat 1983. 1982/48. *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>663</sup> "Lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyötuki vuonna 1988 sekä sitomisvaltuudet vuosiksi 1988-1990", 36-38. Printed 2.2.1988. Kansalais- ja lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyön tukeminen: *UM* 5 92.61. A-UM.

LEAF had abandoned this project in 1989 Director of Finances Pauli Poussa, visited Kenya. He discussed with the leaders of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya about a prospective garage, a hearse, and missionary primary schools in Kisumu and Nairobi.<sup>664</sup> These ideas did not lead to any projects supported by FINNIDA.

As there had been several former missionaries in LEAF's head office in Helsinki. since the early 1980s, the office had the capacity and competence to plan development projects in Kenya. The missionaries in Kenya, on the other hand, were worried because they saw their own incompetence in carrying these plans out. The missionaries were sent for health and parish work, and had medical or theological training. Two wives were teachers. The only missionary with technical training, Antti Kuokkanen, had to neglect his calling in radio and cassette work because he was too busy building the Monianku Health Centre.<sup>665</sup> Deacon Veikko Aro-Heinilä, who had worked as a farmer in Finland and had long experience in construction work, was first sent as a builder.<sup>666</sup> The missionaries continued to send messages to the Home Board asking for a new missionary, with appropriate training to manage the projects.<sup>667</sup>

### *LEAF Health Projects*

The first missionary physician Valma Mononen arrived in 1974 and returned to Finland in 1978. In 1974, LEAF sent three other missionaries with medical training: a surgical nurse (theatre sister), a midwife, and a deaconess who was also a trained nurse.<sup>668</sup> The

---

<sup>664</sup> "Pauli Poussan kenttävierailu Keniaan 10.10.-30.10.1989", 1-2. JK 2.11.1989. Liite 5. *JK Pöytäkirjojen liitteet 1986-1989*. A-SLEY. Transporting the dead was expensive. A special car would have reduced the expenses of the poor church members and offered some income, too.

<sup>665</sup> Koskenniemi, "Selostus tutustumis- ja edustusmatkastani Keniaan 28.2.-23.3.1979", 5. JK 17.5.1979 § 81. *JK 1979*. A-SLEY.

<sup>666</sup> 18.9.1981 81 §. *JK 1981*. A-SLEY; *SLEY 1981*, 12.

<sup>667</sup> LK 13-14.3.1981 8 §. *LK 1979-*. A-SLEY; LK 27-30.8.1981 8 §. *LK 1979-*. A-SLEY; LK 6-8.4.1982 14 §. *LK 1979-*. A-SLEY; LK 17-18.9.1982 13, 15 §. *LK 1979-*. A-SLEY. Paavo Erelä, "Kenian lähetysalan vuosikertomus 1982", 4. *LK 1979-*. A-SLEY.

<sup>668</sup> *Sääksi 1977*, 142.

original plan to build an operating theatre in Matongo was abandoned, and Mononen's strategy in the new situation was clear; because there were not yet enough trained Kenyan staff, nor missionaries, she provided some basic training to the local workers at the maternity ward. Mononen not only took care of deliveries, she put an emphasis on immunisation and preventive care and made certain that health education was added to the regular programme at the yearly local spiritual meetings.<sup>669</sup> Mononen also started family planning although it was against the principles of the local church.<sup>670</sup>

Valma Mononen's successor, Mauri Lehtimäki (1978-1980), followed his predecessor's guidelines, and health education and family planning remained as important parts of the health sector. He realised that other duties occupied so much of his time that he did not have the opportunity to receive patients. According to his own sample test, he spent only 5% of his time on clinical work.<sup>671</sup> By 1980, the Kenyanisation had proceeded so far, that a Kenyan clinical officer was in charge of the largest and oldest health centre of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya. Lehtimäki considered the idea that one missionary nurse at every health centre would be enough, and the missionary did not necessarily have to be the sister in charge. The responsibility could be transferred gradually to the Kenyans.<sup>672</sup>

The Swedish Lutheran Mission bore responsibility for medical work in Itierio and SLEAF in Atemo. LEAF nurses were sometimes working in these stations but they were more essential for two other locations, in Matongo and in Monianku.

The Matongo mission station was built on a hill, and when the station grew, it had a shortage of water during the dry season. The local

---

<sup>669</sup> *Mononen* 1995, 76 and 77.

<sup>670</sup> *Heikkinen* 1995, 82.

<sup>671</sup> Mauri Lehtimäki analysed his own work during his last year in Kenya 1.1.-9.9.1980: Administration and planning 26%; supplying with equipment and medicines 14%; travelling 19%; clinical work 5%; teaching 13%; meetings 3%; and LEAF's affairs 12%; other 8%; approximately 54 hours per week. Mauri Lehtimäki, "Toimintakertomus [...] vuodesta 1980, 2. LK 1979-. A-SLEY.

<sup>672</sup> Mauri Lehtimäki, "Toimintakertomus [...] vuodesta 1980", 1. LK 1979-. A-SLEY.

authorities had drafted a water supply plan especially for Matongo Secondary School, but they did not have the money to implement it. It soon became obvious that LEAF alone could not solve the problems in Matongo and SLEAF was considered as possible partner. The builders of the new maternity ward knew of the water problem and started constructing new rainwater tanks. When people gathered from near and far, for the opening ceremony of the maternity ward, the scarcity of water caused anxiety. The leader of the Finnish group of visitors was the director of LEAF's Publishing House, Aimo Kymäläinen. He informed the LEAF Team of Leaders, in his report, that the Matongo Maternity urgently needed help with its water shortage problem.<sup>673</sup>

The visitors participating in the opening ceremony of the Matongo Maternity had not yet returned from their tour to Kenya when the Swedish Lutheran Mission, together with SLEAF and LEAF discussed the Matongo water problem at their meeting in Stockholm. The Swedish Lutheran Mission promised to loan money if the Lutheran Church of Kenya asked for funds from the Lutheran World Federation or from the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA).<sup>674</sup> The maternity ward doctor, Valma Mononen, drafted the first application of LEAF to the Finnish government for money for the Matongo water project, in 1975. She attached the proposal of the Provincial Water Engineer's Office for the solution to the water problem at the Matongo Secondary School. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs did not grant funds for this purpose because it considered the application and plan defective.<sup>675</sup> At the same time as Valma Mononen was drafting her application, the Swedish Lutheran Mission, SLEAF, and LEAF decided to seek help from SIDA and from Pentti Kaitera who had experience in water projects.<sup>676</sup> The mission agencies negotiated, but in the meantime, the maternity ward had

---

<sup>673</sup> Aimo Kymäläinen, "Matkaraportti Kenian matkalta 10-26.11.1974". 19.12.1974 359 §. JK 1974. A-SLEY.

<sup>674</sup> Nordiska öveläggningar 25.11.1974 5 §. *Nordiska öveläggningar 1973-1978*. A-SLEF.

<sup>675</sup> Valma Mononen, "Matongon vesisuunnitelma -75", Kansalaisjärjestöjen kehitysavun tukeminen: Määräraha-anomukset v. 1975 yleensä., 4; A.J. Nyakwaka, Proposed Matongo School W/S. UM12 R Suomi 10. A-UM.

<sup>676</sup> Nordiska öveläggningar 23.4.1975 6 §. *Nordiska öveläggningar 1973-1978*. A-SLEF.

already closed – for the first time – due to the scarcity of water. It was reopened when the dry season was over. In February 1976, Heikki Manninen, from the Finnish Christian Development Aid (FINCO), visited Matongo in order to help as a technical expert (see p. 110).<sup>677</sup> Despite several different attempts, the problem was not solved and the staff had to cope with the insufficient supply of water repeatedly during the dry season.<sup>678</sup>

FINNIDA continued to support the health care work that LEAF had started together with the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya in the 1970s. The Matongo Health Centre suffered water shortages every year during the dry season. Starting in 1981 and until its completion, LEAF received money for the renovation of the Matongo water system. The project consisted of collecting rainwater from roofs, and building a network of water pipes and tanks. According to the original plan, the work should have been completed in 1982, but because of unexpected problems it was not finished until 1984. Initially, the windmill did not generate enough power and dirty rainwater kept clogging the pumps. The Swedish Lutheran Mission received funds from SIDA to construct a complementary system that used water from a nearby stream.<sup>679</sup> These two projects together relieved the chronic shortage of water.<sup>680</sup> In 1986, LEAF again asked for and received money from FINNIDA for the Matongo water system. New pumps were needed and the mission also wanted to make minor changes to prepare the system in case Matongo was connected with the national electricity network.<sup>681</sup>

---

<sup>677</sup> SLN 30.9.1975 7 §. *SLN 1971-1978*; A-ELK; Kenian lähetysalan toimintakertomus 1976, 3. *LK 1979-*. A-SLEY; Suomen kristillinen kehitysyhteistyö ry, 2. *FINCO:n asiakirjoja 1975-1979*. A-SuVUL; Lähetysosasto 16.1.1976 7 §. *JK 1976*. A-SLEY.

<sup>678</sup> *SLEY 1980*, 10.

<sup>679</sup> *Waldemarson 1984*, 97.

<sup>680</sup> Pasi Suvanto, "Matongon lähetysaseman vesihuoltojärjestelmän uudistus. Loppuraportti" 22.2.1984, 2. *SLEY määrärahat 1983*. *UM 31 92-7*. A-UM; *Waldemarson 1985*, 84.

<sup>681</sup> "Projektisuunnitelma 1986-1988. Matongon vesihuoltoprojektin huoltaminen", 1, 5. *SLEY Keh. määräraha-hakemus 1986-88*. *UM 31 92-7*. A-UM.

LEAF did not intend to expand the Matongo Health Centre, although the local people and ELCK wanted it to be upgraded to a hospital. This upgrade was even in the Development Plan of Kisii District.<sup>682</sup> The funds received from FINNIDA increased during the decade but the health centre was not growing. The mission reduced its own share in the expenses when the centre received more money from the Finnish Government.

LEAF received funds for a new ambulance in Matongo in 1981 and for its running expenses and the salary of its driver in 1982 and for a nurse in 1985. In addition to these, the association received money for medicine, equipment, instruments, and the salaries of the Kenyan staff, and in 1986, also for the maintenance of the buildings. LEAF reiterated in its applications that the Matongo Health Centre was a part of the national health care system. It also emphasised that every health centre should have an ambulance. Financial support from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs allowed health workers to visit two villages on regular clinic days with its ambulance, and to reduce the price of medicines and patient fees. There was also enough money to pay the salaries of both expatriate and national health workers. The car clinics continued for about three years from 1982. The health centre programmes included mother and child care and welfare, operating the dispensary, health education and family planning.<sup>683</sup> The missionaries persuaded mothers to have their children vaccinated

---

<sup>682</sup> Heikkinen, 1995, 84; *Kisii District Development Plan 1989-1993*, 177.

<sup>683</sup> "Kehitysyhteistyömääräraha-anomus. Matongon ambulanssi, käyttökustannukset." SLEY 1982.. UM 3 92-6. A-UM; Liite 1. "Matongon terveyskeskuksen ambulanssi KTP 329". SLEY määrärahat 1983. UM 31 92-7 A-UM; Matongon ja Moniankun terveyskeskusten instrumentit ja tarvikkeet. SLEY määrärahat 1983. UM 31 92-7 A-UM.; "Projektisuunnitelma 1984-1986. Matongon ambulanssi". SLEY Keh. määräraha 1984-86.. UM 31 92-7. A-UM; "Projektin loppuraportti Matongon ambulanssi". SLEY Keh. määräraha 1984-86.. UM 31 92-7. A-UM. "Projektisuunnitelma 1985-1987. Matongon terveyskeskus". SLEY 85. UM 31 92-7. A-UM; "Projektin edistymisraportti. Matongon terveyskeskus." SLEY 85. UM 31 92-7. A-UM; "Projektin loppuraportti 1985. Matongon terveyskeskus." SLEY 85. UM 31 92-7. A-UM; "Projektin loppuraportti 1983-1985 Matongon ja Moniankun terveyskeskukset, instrumentti- ja tarvikkehankinnat." SLEY 85.. UM 31 92-7. A-UM; "Matongon terveyskeskus." SLEY Keh. määräraha-hakemus 1986-88.. UM 31 92-7. A-UM; "Hankeraportti 1986. Matongon terveyskeskus". SLEY Keh. määräraha-hakemus 1986-88.. UM 31 92-7. A-UM.

by distributing used clothes to those who had completed the vaccination programme.<sup>684</sup>

In Monianku, the initiative came from the local people and an American missionary. At the Annual General Meeting of the Lutheran Church of Kenya in February 1974 American missionary nurse, Alpha Jaques, who was the chairman of the Committee for Evangelisation and Stewardship in the Lutheran Church of Kenya, gave a report about her experiences while travelling around in the congregations of the Lutheran Church of Kenya. Alpha Jaques mentioned a small village, called Monianku, in Kisiiland, close to the border between Kisii and Maasai. The Lutheran Church of Kenya had founded a congregation there and started a primary school in 1957. The people had recently begun building a dispensary, but it was unfinished, and they had asked for help from the church. Alpha Jaques proposed that the medical staff should visit Monianku monthly, with a mobile clinic, until the building was completed and the dispensary opened.<sup>685</sup>

The president of the Lutheran Church of Kenya, James O. Nchogu, had already presented the needs of the Maasai mission to his church and to the supporting mission agencies before LEAF had started to work in Kenya.<sup>686</sup> When Finnish missionaries went to Kenya, they heard about the plans to expand the work of the Lutheran Church of Kenya among the Maasai people, who had become famous in Finland through the missionaries from the Finnish Missionary Society in Tanzania.<sup>687</sup> Nchogu's idea was to establish a traditional mission station in Angata, close to the Tanzanian border, in order to reach the Maasai living there.<sup>688</sup> This location was about 60 km south of

---

<sup>684</sup> *Mononen* 1995, 77.

<sup>685</sup> Alpha Jaques, "Evankelioimisen ja kristillisen taloudenhoidon raportti vuodelta 1973" B.3.d. Kenian luterilainen kirkko. Raportit eri toiminta-aloilta vuodelta 1973. Esitetty vuosikokoukselle, joka pidettiin Matongossa 19-20.2.1974 [translated by Tuula Sääksi]. *LK 1979-*. A-SLEY.

<sup>686</sup> James Otete Nchogu "Report of the President of L.C.K. at the Annual Meeting Atemo" 25-26.2.1970. *Dokum 1963-*. A-SLEF; *Nchogu* 1970, 49.

<sup>687</sup> *Hansson* 1974, 64.

<sup>688</sup> *Nchogu* 1978, 48; Proposed estimate for non-current expenses. Angata Mission Station. the Lutheran Church of Kenya Budget for 1979. A-Lounela.

Monianku, and it was never in the plans of LEAF, but the association was willing to start Maasai work from Monianku.

In the first half of 1974, LEAF was not yet ready to start in Monianku. Its medical staff in Kenya consisted of only one nurse and the doctor who had arrived at the beginning of the year. The wife of the pastor in Kisumu, Elsi Laitinen, was a nurse, but she was not involved medical work. However, three new nurses were on their way to Kenya. The fourth nurse was on furlough, after her first term, and was completing her midwifery training.<sup>689</sup> Thus, LEAF had the resources for an eventual expansion of the medical work. The Finnish missionaries began visiting Monianku for regular mobile clinics in April 1975.<sup>690</sup> They needed a vehicle that could handle rough roads, and LEAF bought one in 1976.<sup>691</sup> Therefore, LEAF chose Monianku as the beneficiary of a fund raising that especially targeted its local organisations in Finland. The Team of Leaders discussed the matter and drafted a circular. Executive Director Lauri Koskenniemi and Director for Foreign Mission Paavo Savolainen explained in the letter that the clinic in Monianku needed money for a vehicle and for completing the building work of the dispensary.<sup>692</sup>

Monianku grew rapidly into a mission station. The local people started to build a *harambee* (see p. 172) secondary school in 1976.<sup>693</sup> Because there were more public funds available than before, LEAF applied to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for money for an in-patient or maternity ward, staff houses and a storehouse.<sup>694</sup> The Swedish

---

<sup>689</sup> *SLEY* 1975, 34.

<sup>690</sup> *Sääksi* 1977, 169; *Sandberg* 1976, 65.

<sup>691</sup> Lähetysoasto 16.1.1976 5 §. *JK* 1976. A-SLEY; *Sääksi* 1977, 169.

<sup>692</sup> Reijo Arkkila, "Selvitys Evankeliumiyhdistyksen johtokunnalle matkastani Keniaan maaliskuuhuhtikuussa 1976", 1-2. *JK* 1976. A-SLEY; The circular to the member organisations omitted the participation of the Kenyan President of the Lutheran Church of Kenya and the American nurse saying that the clinical work at Monianku had started on the initiative of the LEAF medical staff. Kiertokirje osastoille 23.9.1976. *JR* 1976-. A-SLEY.

<sup>693</sup> Valma Mononen, "Monianku terveystakeskus projekti" 3.3.1977. Suomen Luterilainen Evankeliumiyhdistys.. *UM* 12 R Suomi 10. A-UM.

<sup>694</sup> *JR* 29.3.1977 112 §. *JK* 1977. A-SLEY; "Lähetyjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyömääräraha-anomukset. SLEY" [1977]. *UM* 12 R Suomi 10. A-UM.



builder of the Lutheran Church of Kenya completed the dispensary, using Kenyan workers, and it opened in March 1977.<sup>695</sup> When the first buildings were completed, LEAF received more money from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for other staff houses, instruments, equipment, a water system, and electrification.<sup>696</sup> When the builders had finished their work at the Monianku Station, LEAF opened mobile clinics in Maasailand where the nurses visited from the station. The association again applied to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for funds and received money for a four-wheel drive ambulance and crew.<sup>697</sup> Attached to the application was a letter, from the local Medical Officer of Health G. O. Rae in the Kisii District Hospital. Rae emphasised the importance of the preventive services, maternal and child health services, and in-patient maternity care in Kenyan health centres. He assured the Ministry for Foreign Affairs that a mobile clinic was an appropriate tool in health education and the battle against epidemics.<sup>698</sup>

Although the medical work in Monianku started from the initiative and activities of the local people, and the visits of an American and some Finnish missionaries, it was also in the plans of the Lutheran Church of Kenya. The Finnish doctor Valma Mononen was, beside her clinical work, also responsible for health care in the Lutheran Church of Kenya, and the new plans were included in the medical work of the church through her double mandate.<sup>699</sup>

Antti Kuokkanen was the first missionary of LEAF who had technical training. When the Swedish builder left for furlough, Kuokkanen took

---

<sup>695</sup> Valma Mononen, "Kenian lähetysalan toimintakertomus 1977". *Kenian vuosikertomus 1974-83*. A-SLEY.

<sup>696</sup> "Lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyömääräraha-anomukset v. 1979-80 SLEY". *UM 12 R Suomi 10*. A-UM.

<sup>697</sup> "Lähetysjärjestöjen valtion kehitysyhteistyötukea saaneet projektit maittain". *UM 12 R Suomi 10*. A-UM.

<sup>698</sup> G.O.Rae, "In support of Monianku Health Centre" 24.1.1980. Ref. No. PH/10/131/80/114. Lähetysjärjestöjen valtion kehitysyhteistyötukea saaneet projektit maittain. *UM 12 R Suomi 10*. A-UM.

<sup>699</sup> Valma Mononen to Mission Director Reijo Arkkila 23.9.1980. *LO 1977-1980*. A-SLEY.

over the responsibility for the construction work at Monianku station. The Lutheran Church of Kenya had originally intended for him to build a studio for recording music and preparing radio programmes, but the Monianku project consumed most of his time during his first term in 1977-80.<sup>700</sup>

For LEAF, the Monianku Health Centre was a higher priority than the Matongo Health Centre. It was completed in 1981, and LEAF intensified its work so much in the area that, by 1985, the remote village of Monianku, on the boundary between Kisii and Maasai, was the centre of the activities of LEAF in Kenya.<sup>701</sup> The health work in Monianku followed the same pattern as in Matongo. People came to the clinic on workdays, and twice a week the clinic's car took personnel, medicines, and vaccines to a number of locations near Monianku.<sup>702</sup> The missionaries with training in health care had always focused on preventive care, at least, as much as their duties in the curative work had allowed. Primary health care was intensified at the end of the 1980s. During the 1980s, LEAF received more responsibility for the health care in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya, instead of the Swedish Lutheran Mission. One reason was that LEAF mission workers tended to be less critical of methods in family planning than workers of the other mission agencies in the

---

<sup>700</sup> Antti Kuokkanen, "Toimintakertomus vuodelta 1977", "Toimintakertomus ajalta 1.3.1978-28.2. 1979" and "Toimintakertomus vuodelta 1979". *Kenian vuosikertomus 1974-83*. A-SLEY; Koskenniemi, "Selostus tutustumis- ja edustusmatkastani Keniaan 28.2.-23.3.1979", 5. JK 17.5.1979 § 81. JK 1979. A-SLEY.

<sup>701</sup> Jaakko Lounela, "SLEY:n Kenian työalan vuosikertomus vuodelta 1985", 2. LK 1979. A-SLEY.

<sup>702</sup> "Kehitysyhteistyömääräraha-anomus. Moniankun ambulanssi, käyttökustannukset". SLEY 1982. UM 3 92-6. A-UM; "Moniankun terveyskeskuksen klinikka-auto KUC 399". SLEY määrärahat 1983. UM 31 92-7. A-UM; "Moniankun terveyskeskuksen klinikka-auto vuonna 1983". SLEY määrärahat 1983. UM 31 92-7. A-UM; "Projektisuunnitelma 1984-1986. Moniankun klinikka-auto". SLEY Keh. määräraha 1984-86. UM 31 92-7. A-UM; Projektin loppuraportti Moniankun klinikka-auto. Ibid; Projektisuunnitelma 1985-1987. Moniankun terveyskeskus. SLEY 85. UM 31 92-7. A-UM; "Projektin edistymisraportti. Moniankun terveyskeskus". SLEY 85. UM 31 92-7. A-UM; "Projektin loppuraportti 1985 (edistymisraportti) Moniankun terveyskeskus". SLEY 85. UM 31 92-7. A-UM; "Projektisuunnitelma 1986-1988. Moniankun terveyskeskus". SLEY Keh. määräraha-hakemus 1986-88. UM 31 92-7. A-UM; "Hankeraportti 1986. Moniankun terveyskeskus". SLEY Keh. määräraha-hakemus 1986-88. UM 31 92-7. A-UM.

Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya.<sup>703</sup> LEAF made plans to investigate the whole medical work of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya in 1985-1987, but FINNIDA did not grant money for this purpose.<sup>704</sup> LEAF sent a physician, Kaija Heikkinen, in January 1987 and she became the coordinator of the medical work in the church.<sup>705</sup>

The health sector of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya seemed to be in a good condition when mission agencies carried responsibility for its progress and it received development grants from abroad. It met, however, three concurrent problems in the 1980s: 1) The Swedish Lutheran Mission did not agree with the family planning methods practiced at health centres of the church and, consequently, reduced its participation in health care.<sup>706</sup> 2) LEAF had only a few nurses in the health centres, but, regardless of this, two very experienced nurses were no longer in medical work: Salme Rinta-Komsi had been involved in social work throughout the 1980s, and Anja-Maija Vanhanen was transferred to social work in 1987. 3) The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya was not able to hire competent and reliable Kenyan staff in the health centres.<sup>707</sup> Because of these problems, the number of patients decreased and the health centres showed a loss in revenue.<sup>708</sup>

Although LEAF emphasised to FINNIDA that its activities were an integral part of the Kenyan health care system, communication between the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya and Kenyan Government did not function properly. According to the Kenyan

---

<sup>703</sup> Heikkinen, 1995, 82.

<sup>704</sup> LO 1.11.1985 89 §. LO 1983-. A-SLEY; JR 7.11.1984 537 §. JK 1984. A-SLEY; JK 15.11.1984 381 § JK 1984. A-SLEY; "Projektisuunnitelma 1985-1987 Terveystenhoitotyön selvitys Länsi-Keniassa". SLEY 85. UM 31 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>705</sup> Heikkinen, Kaija interview 16.11.1994.

<sup>706</sup> Kukkonen, interview 3.9.1994.

<sup>707</sup> DYM 1.9.1989 71 §; Bil. 1. Samwel Gitenyi to representatives of SLEAF 6.8.1989 PM från samtal med pastor Samwel Mogeni Gitenyi. DYM 1981-89. A-SLEF.

<sup>708</sup> The decline in the number of the patients is shown by the statistics in the report to FINNIDA. "Hankeraportti. ELCK:n Nyanzan terveysterveysprojekti 1.1.-31.12.1994". A-SLEY.

policy, the Districts were in key positions in the national development activity. However, the medical co-ordinator of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya, Dr. Kaija Heikkinen could not get copies of the District Development Plans and thus could not get acquainted with the plans of the Kenyan Government. Communication with the Ministry for Health and the offices in the Afya House in Nairobi and even more the contacts with the Provincial Medical Officer and especially with the District Medical Officer for Health had to compensate this defect.<sup>709</sup>

### *The Kisumu School for the Mentally Handicapped (LEAF)*

Both the Lutheran Church of Kenya and LEAF had expansive plans in the 1970s. The church wanted to spread itself to the whole Kenya, and LEAF wanted to increase its missionary staff year by year. It was, therefore, natural to seek new locations. The Swedish Lutheran Mission had tried to start church work in Kisumu, but failed to make progress.<sup>710</sup> SLEAF also planned to work there, because the town was the largest in Luoland and on the road between Atemo and Maragoli, but its plans never materialised.<sup>711</sup> These attempts never proceeded beyond a small group of Lutherans meeting in this town.

In 1972, the Lutheran World Federation had accelerated the plans of the Lutheran Church of Kenya in Kisumu by recommending that the church start urban work in this town.<sup>712</sup> The Lutheran Church of Kenya was able to implement these ideas in 1973, when LEAF sent the first missionary to work as a pastor in Kenya. SLEAF's mission secretary, Helge Hildén, had told LEAF, when it planned to send missionaries in 1968, that the mission needed a man in Kenya to participate in parish work and be responsible for building work.<sup>713</sup>

---

<sup>709</sup> Kaija Heikkinen, interview 16.11.1994.

<sup>710</sup> Peter Gusuta provides information about this attempt in his handwritten history of Kisumu District in "The History of the Districts of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya" see Lounela 1989, 68.

<sup>711</sup> Missionsutskottet 11.11.1968. *MUI 1968-74*. A-SLEF.

<sup>712</sup> Lounela 1989, 68.

<sup>713</sup> Lähetysoikeuden Kenian asiain kokous 3.12.1968. 9 § *JK 1968*. A-SLEY.

Tapio Laitinen fulfilled this requirement. He had worked for seven years in Tanzania for the Finnish Missionary Society, and was a skilled builder and a trained missionary parish worker. The Laitinens arrived in 1973, and Tapio started a nursery and a women's group in the town. Beside parish work in Kisumu town and surrounding area and in Maragoli, Laitinen began planning the community centre which the Lutheran World Federation had promised. After Laitinen's return to Finland, Sven Klemets from SLEAF built the first phase. FINNCHURCH AID supported this project.<sup>714</sup> The Lutheran Church of Kenya had intended the centre to house a day nursery and to offer vocational courses, and that it would later include a dormitory for its students.<sup>715</sup>

When LEAF considered opening a mission field in Kenya in the late 1960s, it understood that Christian social work i.e. helping needy people would be important. However, it was a long time before LEAF missionaries could leave medical work and concentrate on other work. The Finnish missionary nurses were usually deaconesses. They had training in health care, Christian social work and parish work in Finland. Director Toivo Rapeli had recommended this kind of Christian social work when he met the leaders of the Lutheran Church of Kenya for the first time and discussed different working methods with them.<sup>716</sup> Such training was unknown in Kenya, and the church positioned the deaconesses in health centres where they served in clinical work. The missionaries, themselves, also saw the need for Christian social work in the parishes, and in the church and they started to plan for it especially in an urban context.<sup>717</sup> When the first phase of the Kisumu Community Centre was under construction, LEAF suggested to the Lutheran Church of Kenya, that Salme Rinta-Komsi start Christian social work in Kisumu. During her two previous terms she had done medical work. The church agreed, and

---

<sup>714</sup> Lauri Koskenniemi, "Selostus tutustumis- ja edustusmatkastani Keniaan 28.2.-23.3.1979, 8. Johtokunta 17.5.1979 81 §. *JK* 1979. A-SLEY.

<sup>715</sup> *Nchogu* 1975, 50; *Nchogu* 1976, 61; *Sääksi* 1977, 205.

<sup>716</sup> *Rapeli* 1983, 83.

<sup>717</sup> MK 6.1.1972 4 §. *MK* 1972-88. A-SLEF; DYM 22.4.1977 45 § and 1.7.1978 35 §. *DYM* 1974-80. A-SLEF.

Rinta-Komsi moved to Kisumu in the beginning of her third term, in January 1979.<sup>718</sup> While visiting local homes in Kisumu, Salme Rinta-Komsi found blind, crippled and other needy people and considered ways to support them. She started organising meetings where she taught women basic health care and skills useful in the home, and she established contacts with local social offices and workers. At the opening ceremony of the Kisumu Lutheran Community Centre Provincial Social Officer Priskila Ageza suggested that LEAF start working, especially with mentally handicapped children. When the Handicapped Children's Year began in January 1980, Salme Rinta-Komsi, having obtained a temporary permit from the provincial children officer, formed a group for mentally handicapped children at Kisumu nursery.<sup>719</sup> This activity was not included in the budget of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya, but was supported by the local authorities and money from LEAF. The church allowed LEAF to apply to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for funds to build a school for the mentally handicapped and to continue running temporary classes, while planning the permanent school.<sup>720</sup>

LEAF applied, in March 1981, to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for funds for a school for the mentally handicapped, and received a positive answer in May.<sup>721</sup> In May 1981, the school first received a temporary registration for one and a half years, and a new missionary, Tuuli Tamminen, started working in Kisumu the same month. Tamminen had previous experience from work among mentally handicapped children. LEAF was obliged to build the school and FINNIDA gave money for it, and the Kisumu Municipality supported the idea. Building a school for mentally handicapped in Kisumu furthered the aim of the Kenya Society for the Mentally Handicapped

---

<sup>718</sup> JR 2.8.1978 217 § and 3.10.1978 275 §. *JK* 1978. A-SLEY.

<sup>719</sup> Salme Rinta-Komsi, "Toimintakertomus vuodelta 1979". *LK* 1979-. A-SLEY; id., "Kazi ya watoto wasiojiweza". To the Office Meeting of the Lutheran Church of Kenya. Salme Rinta-Komsi has sent a copy of this document to mission director Arkkila on 7.2.1980. *Johtaja Kenia* A-SLEY.

<sup>720</sup> Salme Rinta-Komsi, "Toimintakertomus vuodelta 1980". *LK* 1979-. A-SLEY.

<sup>721</sup> JK 19.3.1981 85 §; 20.5.1981 373 §. *JK* 1981. A-SLEY.

to build a residential school in every province.<sup>722</sup> The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya, however, was less interested in the idea and did not include the school in its budget in the early 1980s.<sup>723</sup> The attitude of the church was due to various reasons: Kisumu was outside of its target area, the initiative was from the local social service and not from the church, and finally the church leaders understood that the church would not be able to finance such an institution in the future. Therefore, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya let the mission have responsibility for the plan.

The school had other problems to solve, as well. FINNIDA had granted money in May 1981, but the School for the Mentally Handicapped was not ready to use it. It acquired its first competent Kenyan special teachers in 1982, a plot of land and a temporary building permit in 1983 and the project manager, who was responsible for the construction work, arrived in August 1983.<sup>724</sup> FINNIDA funds had been waiting for some years before the building of the school began. Once the Project Manager Pasi Suvanto started to work, the construction progressed rapidly. He invited firms to tender for construction of the school and a contract was signed in December 1983. Kisumu municipality granted the building permit in January 1984 and, although the Land Register Office had not yet sent a written Title of Deed, the work began immediately.<sup>725</sup> The building proper was completed at the end of 1984, but LEAF needed more money

---

<sup>722</sup> A letter of Executive Officer Ron Brouillette Kenya Society for the Mentally Handicapped 26.2.1980. "Kansalaisjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyömääräraha-anomus Kisumun kehitysvammaiskoulu Nairobin Kawangwaren työkeskuksen tontti ja suunnittelutyö". Liite 2. Kansalaisjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyön tukeminen v. 1980: uskonnolliset järjestöt. Lähetysjärjestöjen valtion kehitysyhteistyötukea saaneet projektit maittain. *UM* 12 R Suomi 10. A-UM.

<sup>723</sup> Lähettien neuvottelu 24-25.1.1981 8 §. *LK* 1979-. A-SLEY; Reijo Tuomisto: "Selostus matkasta Keniaan 9-24.10.1982". *JK* 31.10.1982. *JK* 1982. A-SLEY.

<sup>724</sup> Tuuli Tamminen, "Kisumun Kehitysvammaiskoulu. Selvitys toimintavuodesta 1982". 15.12.1982. *SLEY* 1982. *UM* 3 92-6. A-UM; Antti Kuokkanen, "Kisumun kehitysvammaiskoulu", 28.2.1983. Liite 1. *SLEY* määrärahat 1983. 1982/4879. *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>725</sup> "Projektisuunnitelma 1984-1986: Kisumun kehitysvammaiskoulun rakentaminen", 3. *SLEY* Keh. määräraha 1984-86. *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM.

from FINNIDA for the furniture and the yard.<sup>726</sup> The capacity of the school was 60 pupils, and the dormitory could house 45 of them.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya did not contribute money for the school, but other partners of LEAF lightened the financial burden of the association. The Government of Kenya and the Municipality of Kisumu paid the teachers' salaries, and the German Christian development organisation *Christoffel Blindenmission* contributed money for some of the running expenses.<sup>727</sup> LEAF sought Finnish "godparents" for the children and managed a special fund raising lottery in Finland in 1984-1985. FINNIDA provided over 40% of the funds. A part of this amount was intended for a workshop for practical instruction. *Christoffel Blindenmission* donated money for a poultry farm. The mentally handicapped learned sewing and carpentry in a sheltered workshop. This project increased the self-sufficiency of the school and was intended to make it easier for the pupils to return to daily life outside of the school.<sup>728</sup>

Because the school in Kisumu was intended for the handicapped throughout the province, LEAF established contacts with people outside Kisumu town. A plan to extend the school work in Siaya with support from the Round Table was not realised.<sup>729</sup>

---

<sup>726</sup> "Projektisuunnitelma 1985-1987 Kisumun kehitysvammaiskoulu, koulun rakentaminen ja käyttökustannukset". SLEY 85. UM 31 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>727</sup> "Projektin loppuraportti: Vuosi 1985. Kisumun kehitysvammaiskoulu, käyttökustannukset". SLEY 85. UM 31 92-7 A-UM.

<sup>728</sup> Johtoryhmä 5.4.1984 92 §. JK 1984. A-SLEY; 30.5.1984 319 §. JK 1984. A-SLEY; 31.11.1984. 564 §. JK 1984. A-SLEY; Pasi Suvanto, "Toimintakertomus vuodelta 1985", 1. LK 1979-. A-SLEY; "Hankeraportti: Kisumun kehitysvammaiskoulu 1.1.1989-31.12.1989". *Kehitysyhteistyöraportit 1989-*. A-SLEY.

<sup>729</sup> The Annual Report of the mission field from 1988 mentions this idea but not the later project descriptions. Salme Rinta-Komsi, "Kenian työalan vuosikertomus 1988", 4. *Kenian vuosikertomus, toimintakertomus 1984-88*. A-SLEY; *Kehitysyhteistyöosaston tukemat kansalaisjärjestöhankkeet v. 1989*. A-UM; *Kansalais- ja lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyöhankkeet 1991*, 107. A-UM; *Kansalaisjärjestöhankkeet 1993-94*, 72. A-UM.



### *The Kawangware Community Centre in Nairobi (LEAF)*

The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya had requested missionaries for Nairobi from LEAF as early as in 1969.<sup>730</sup> Eleven years later, LEAF decided to transfer its mission representative, Tuula Sääksi, from Matongo Lutheran Theological College to Nairobi, but the association had to work hard in order to persuade the church to accept her transfer.<sup>731</sup> The church opposed the transfer because it preferred to keep Sääksi in Matongo and wanted LEAF to find someone else for Nairobi.

At the time when Executive Director Lauri Koskenniemi, visited Kenya in 1979 to discuss old and new projects with the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya and the missionaries, the American Lutheran mission agency, the World Mission Prayer League, started working in Nairobi in Kawangware slum. It planned to build a community centre where it could have medical services, professional training, adult education and a nursery. This information was not included in the memo that the chairman of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya presented to Lauri Koskenniemi, but Koskenniemi and the missionaries considered it a suitable development cooperation project.<sup>732</sup> This kind of social work fitted LEAF plans to transfer Tuula Sääksi from Matongo Lutheran Theological College to Nairobi. LEAF considered Kawangware Community Centre for a future development project, which could receive money from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs because it was not possible without support from outside.<sup>733</sup>

Tuula Sääksi started her work energetically in Nairobi at the beginning of 1980. After talking with people in the slums, she

---

<sup>730</sup> *Rapeli* 1983, 70.

<sup>731</sup> JR 7.8.1979 240 §. *JK* 1979. A-SLEY.

<sup>732</sup> Lauri Koskenniemi: "Selostus tutustumis- ja edustusmatkastani Keniaan 28.2.-23.3.1979", 2. JK 17.5.1979 81 §. *JK* 1979; Lähettienkokous 9-10. and 17.3.1979 19 §. *LK* 1979-. A-SLEY.

<sup>733</sup> Lauri Koskenniemi, "Selostus tutustumis- ja edustusmatkastani Keniaan 28.2.-23.3.1979". JK 17.5.1979 81 § and JR 7.8.1979 240 §. *JK* 1979. A-SLEY; LK 9-10. and 17.3.1979 19 §. *LK* 1979-. A-SLEY.

determined that they needed health services, nurseries, literacy classes, handicrafts training, leisure activities for the youth, and entrepreneurial classes for people who wanted to start small businesses. LEAF applied to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for funds in 1980 to build the community centre in the Kawangware slum.<sup>734</sup> Tuula Sääksi's return to Finland, in April 1981, created a problem in Kenya. She had been the only LEAF missionary in Nairobi, and none of the other missionaries wanted to be transferred there to continue her work. In order to prevent the social work from collapsing, LEAF hired a Finnish lady, Sirkka Kuula, whose husband was working in Nairobi for a private company. She had experience in voluntary social and parish work, and she took care of the most urgent activities of LEAF in Nairobi working part-time.<sup>735</sup> This temporary solution helped until LEAF sent Pastor Antti Kujanpää to Nairobi. Kujanpää had experience in working with students and other youth, and this kind of activity was also part of his job description in Nairobi. He arrived with his wife in the beginning of 1982.<sup>736</sup> In September 1982, LEAF activity in Nairobi further increased when Sirkka Kuula became a full-time worker among the women.<sup>737</sup>

When Executive Director Reijo Arkkila, returned from his journey to Kenya in March and April 1982, one of his ideas involved the expansion of the work in Nairobi. He suggested that LEAF should start building the Kawangware Community Centre the next year, 1983.<sup>738</sup> When the vice chairman of LEAF's Board, Reijo Tuomisto, visited Kenya, he was informed that the budget proposal of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya for 1983 included an amount for Kawangware Community Centre and that the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya wanted LEAF to put its plan into effect.

---

<sup>734</sup> Kansalaisjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyömääräraha-anomus: Nairobien Kawangwaren työkeskuksen tontti ja suunnittelutyö. Lähetysjärjestöjen valtion kehitysyhteistyötukea saaneet projektit maittain. *UM* 12 R Suomi 10. A-UM.

<sup>735</sup> JK 12.2.1981 13 §. *JK* 1981. A-SLEY.

<sup>736</sup> JK 19.3.1981 84 §. *JK* 1981. A-SLEY; *SLEY* 1981, 12.

<sup>737</sup> *SLEY* 1982, 13-14.

<sup>738</sup> Reijo Arkkila, "Selostus matkasta Keniaan 24.3.1982-11.4.1982". JK 16.14.1982. *JK* 1982. A-SLEY.

Seeing the slums in Nairobi upset Tuomisto, but the situation raised five problems in his mind: 1) How could LEAF get a suitable plot? 2) How big a centre was needed, because a too small centre was not practical and too big was expensive? 3) Who would pay the running expenses? The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya could not do it and FINNIDA probably would not provide funds indefinitely. 4) The community centre would never be self-supporting. 5) Was the work in Nairobi slums really missionary work or only participation in the development cooperation of the Government of Finland?<sup>739</sup> Actually, LEAF met this kind of problems in all social projects, but Tuomisto raised them prior to the commencement of the construction of the slum centre.

The Kawangware project was postponed for some years. The Kisumu School for the Mentally Handicapped consumed most of the project manager's energy and also LEAF funds. Additionally, it took time to buy a suitable plot, to get it registered, and to get the building permit.<sup>740</sup> After the completion of the project in Kisumu, it was time to begin the Kawangware project. LEAF contracted a company for to build the Kawangware Community Centre, as it did for building the Kisumu School for the Mentally Handicapped. A Christian organisation, called Msaada, looked after the construction.<sup>741</sup> After some difficulties at the start, the work progressed well, and the community centre was inaugurated in August 1987.<sup>742</sup>

When a FINNIDA evaluation team visited Kawangware, in November 1986, the construction was less than half completed. The team reported that the community centre did not have any curriculum, and that it needed competent Kenyan and Finnish teaching staff. The large classroom looked like a parish hall, and other

---

<sup>739</sup> Reijo Tuomisto, "Selostus matkasta Keniaan 9-24.10.1982". Johtokunta 31.10.1982. *JK* 1982. A-SLEY.

<sup>740</sup> "Projektin edistymisraportti v. 1984: Kawangwaren slummityökeskus". SLEY määrärahat 1983. *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>741</sup> "Projektisuunnitelma 1986-1988: Nairobien slummityökeskus", 3. SLEY Keh. Määrärahahakemus 1986-88. *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>742</sup> *SLEY* 1987, 31.

rooms were cramped and impracticable. The new building seemed to be durable but expensive. The team agreed that the activity in Kawangware needed new facilities because the present classroom was very primitive. One further weakness was that the women who participated in the courses did not get accredited certificates.<sup>743</sup>

LEAF heeded the critical remarks of the evaluators and started to draw up detailed objectives.<sup>744</sup> A new FINNIDA team visited Kawangware one year later in September 1987, when the centre was completed. The activities at the community centre were more compatible with the expectations of the second team, and the evaluators had a more positive impression than the previous one. They said that a gap in the information might have given cause to the critical remarks in the previous report.<sup>745</sup> A close relationship with the Kenyan administration was secured when the local assistant chief became a member of the committee of the Community Centre.<sup>746</sup>

When the centre was running, it followed the guidelines of the first FINNIDA team. The curriculum of the centre included a one-year home economics and handicraft course for girls, in addition to nine short courses, a nursery class and a literacy class, whose teacher was paid by the Kenyan government. Nineteen girls, who had completed the home economics and handicraft course, participated in the Government Grade Test 3.<sup>747</sup>

The World Mission Prayer League withdrew almost all of its missionaries from Nairobi during the 1980s.<sup>748</sup> LEAF took over the

---

<sup>743</sup> *Lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyö Etiopiassa ja Keniassa 1987*, 10. A-UM; *Olasvirta 1986*, 1. A-UM.

<sup>744</sup> "Hankeraportti 1986: Nairobín slummityökeskus". SLEY Keh. määräraahakemus 1986-88.. UM 31 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>745</sup> "Matkaraportti - deskin ja juristin virkamatka Keniaan 13-22.9.1987". KEH KYO-27 UM 93-KEN-7. A-UM.

<sup>746</sup> "Hankeraportti: Nairobín slummityökeskus 1.1.1989-31.12.1989", 3. *Kehitysyhteistyöraportit 1989-*. A-SLEY.

<sup>747</sup> "Hankeraportti 1989. Nairobín slummityökeskus". *Kehitysyhteistyöraportit 1989-*. A-SLEY.

<sup>748</sup> *Koski 1988*, 40, 42. A-Lounela.

main responsibility for the work of the church in the capital, especially in the slums. The World Mission Prayer League had worked in the Kibera slum and run a community centre there. The Lutheran World Federation had financed the Kibera Community Centre, and the project had also received support from American Lutherans and LEAF.<sup>749</sup> LEAF expanded the Kibera Community Centre in 1986 by opening a nursery in an extension of the Centre. FINNIDA provided funds for salaries of two Finnish missionaries who also worked in Kibera.<sup>750</sup>

### *The LEAF Agriculture Project*

The Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland had considered an agriculture project from the end of the 1960s when LEAF negotiated with the Lutheran Church of Kenya about missionary work in Kenya. (see p. 68). It fitted well into the public development cooperation strategy on global, Kenyan and Finnish levels.<sup>751</sup> The plan was discussed several times, but LEAF and its missionaries had their hands full with other projects. The chairman of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya, James Otete, frequently reminded LEAF of the need for missionary work among the nomadic Maasai, and he thought that LEAF should develop training in agriculture for them.<sup>752</sup>

Suffering financial difficulties, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya sought new sources of income in the early 1980s. Its Executive Committee created a small committee, consisting of two pastors, two evangelists and two missionaries, called *Tume Ndogo*, this committee was assigned the task of thinking up practicable ideas towards

---

<sup>749</sup> Pasi Suvanto, "Toimintakertomus vuodelta 1985", 1. LK. A-SLEY; "Projekti-suunnitelma 1985-1987 Nairobin slummityökeskus." 30.1.1985. UM31 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>750</sup> Olak 1987, 69; "Matkaraportti - deskin ja juristin virkamatka Keniaan 13-22.9.1987" .. UM93-KEN-7. A-UM.

<sup>751</sup> *Narok District Development Plan 1984-1988*, 53; *Narok District Development Plan 1989-1993*, 57; Lindberg 1984, 91.

<sup>752</sup> "Kenian luterilainen kirkko: Raportit. v. 1973" Esitetty vuosikokoukselle [...] Matongossa 19-20.2.1974, 1 (translation). LK 1979-. A-SLEY; Kauko Sainio, "Raportti Kenian matkalta 9.1.-20.1.1980", 3. JR 7.2.1980. JK 1980. A-SLEY. LO 1.11.1984 88 §. LO 1983-. A-SLEY; JR 7.11.1984 536 §. JK 1984. A-SLEY.

becoming economically self-supporting. Some people had donated plots of land to the church hoping for health centres or schools to be built on them. Because it was no longer feasible to build such institutions, there was an imminent danger that the church would lose those plots. *Tume Ndogo* proposed that the church could keep them by converting them into model farms. It could even obtain support from public funds if this kind of agriculture project included teaching and counselling. They had a hope that the project would soon be self-supporting.<sup>753</sup>

The President of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya, James Otete Nchogu, had planned to use a substantial plot of land in Angata, near the Tanzanian border for a new mission station. He thought that it could consist of a church, a parish hall, accommodations for medical and other staff, and a dispensary, as well as a village polytechnic with three classrooms. Nchogu thought that this station could serve as a base for missionary work among the Maasai.<sup>754</sup> This plan was not materialised.

LEAF missionaries accepted the idea of an agriculture project and thought, in the late 1970s, that it could be realised in the future.<sup>755</sup> After the Kisumu School for the Mentally Handicapped was completed and the planning of the Kawangware Community Centre was under way, LEAF considered that it was time to start the agriculture project.<sup>756</sup> LEAF applied to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for funds for a three year period.<sup>757</sup> Following that, Simo Kivisaari travelled to Kenya in 1985 to meet the authorities and to discuss the possibility of the project. Kivisaari had experience from an agriculture project in Zambia supported by FINNIDA and could

---

<sup>753</sup> This information is from the chairman of *Tume Ndogo*, Jaakko Lounela.

<sup>754</sup> *Nchogu* 1978, 48; "LCK Budget for 1979". A-Lounela.

<sup>755</sup> Lähettienkokous 17-18.9.1982 15 §. *LK 1979*-. A-SLEY.

<sup>756</sup> JR 7.11.1984 536 §. *JK 1984*. A-SLEY.

<sup>757</sup> "Projektisuunnitelma 1985-1987 Maatalouden neuvontaprojekti", signed 12.1.1985. SLEY 85. *UM 31 92-7*. A-UM.

estimate the feasibility of the idea in Kenya.<sup>758</sup> His investigation revealed that the authorities in Finland and Kenya, as well as the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya, favoured the idea. Initially, it could be only a model farm, located near the Monianku mission station, and later, a training centre with crops and livestock, offering instruction in household economy. The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya wanted the project to return a profit, but this seemed to be unrealistic.<sup>759</sup>

When LEAF proposed the agriculture project, it thought that the project should be in, or near, the Monianku station. Nchogu's successor, John Momanyi Kururia, said in a discussion with the chairman of *Tume Ndogo* that Monianku, in Kisiiland, was not the ideal location if the Finns wanted to work among the Maasai because of the tense relationship between the Kisii and Maasai. Kururia preferred moving the project to Maasailand.<sup>760</sup> In September 1986, LEAF sent Eeva Kröger to Kenya. Kröger – who was trained in artificial insemination – could not focus exclusively on the agriculture project because of her other duties at the school for Finnish children and elsewhere. When Antti Kuokkanen returned in 1987, for his third term and became the project manager, he was also handed the responsibility for this project.

No suitable location near Monianku was found for the agriculture project, and so it was transferred to Olosentu, far from the main area of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya. In 1987, a team of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya drafted a proposal for the agricultural project and described the project as consisting of agricultural training, animal husbandry, animal breeding services, information about low technology products, health and nutrition education, and evangelism. The target groups were the farmers, cattle

---

<sup>758</sup> LO 1.11.1984 § 88. *LO 1983- A-SLEY*; "Maatalousprojektin valmistelu, Simo Kivisaari Keniaan kolmeksi viikoksi v. 1985". JR 7.11.1984 § 536. *JK 1984. A-SLEY*.

<sup>759</sup> Johtokunta 2/85 Liite: Simo Kivisaari: "Maatalouskouluprojektin aloittamismahdollisuudet Keniassa. Raportti 10-26.1.1985 Keniaan tehdystä selvitysmatkasta". Johtokunta 28.3.1985. *JK 1985. A-SLEY*.

<sup>760</sup> This information is from the chairman of *Tume Ndogo*, Jaakko Lounela.

raisers and women in the Olosentu area.<sup>761</sup> The missionaries wanted an extra person for the spiritual work, in addition to the agriculture expert.<sup>762</sup>

A new missionary, Matti Auramo, took charge of the agriculture project in June 1988, but met with unexpected difficulties when he tried hard to make progress. At first, he only informed the Home Board about the problems, but when they became overwhelming, he also explained his problems to FINNIDA in his report. The main problem was that the Narok County Council had allocated 127 hectares (314 acres) for the project, but the surveyor had demarcated, in June 1989, only 45 hectares (111 acres), of which a part lay outside of the original area. The rights of the local people had been violated. It became apparent later that year that the progress had halted. Auramo claimed that the authorities did not reply to his letters, although the officers were kind whenever he discussed the matter with them. Neither did the District Development Committee send its approval. He got the impression that influential people did not want this project, and he was not willing to persuade them with benefits or bribes. When the Ministry of Agriculture did not give any other plots of land, LEAF withdrew the project.<sup>763</sup> It tried to follow the principle according to which it is better to survey, plan and not build than to build an unplanned and unsuccessful project.<sup>764</sup> The weakness of this plan was that LEAF missionaries and the Olosentu people did not know each other in advance and the LEAF missionaries did not have experience of such an agriculture project.

---

<sup>761</sup> "Projektisuunnitelma 1985-1987 Maatalouden neuvontaprojekti", signed 12.1.1985. SLEY 85. *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM. "Proposal for ELCK Agricultural Project". A-SLEY.

<sup>762</sup> LK 30.1-4.2.1988 10 §. *LK* 1979-. A-SLEY.

<sup>763</sup> "Hankeraportti 1989: Moniankun maatalousprojekti". *Kehitysyhteistyöraportit* 1979-. A-SLEY; Ulkolähetysosasto Työvaliokunta 4.5.1990 89 §. *LO Muistiot* 90-. A-SLEY; Johtokunta 17.5.1990 88 §. *JK* 1990. A-SLEY.

<sup>764</sup> Väinö Uusitalo: "Raportti matkastani Keniaan", 5. Johtokunta 24.10.1985. *JK* 1985. A-SLEY.



### *Other Donors Supporting the Social Work of LEAF*

When Director Toivo Rapeli visited Kenya the first time in 1969 he encouraged the Lutheran Church of Kenya to join the Lutheran World Federation, and the church followed this advice. The Lutheran World Federation often supported activities in areas where LEAF was working, i.e. in Kisumu, Nairobi, Matongo and Maasai but the Lutheran World Federation negotiated directly with the church about projects.<sup>765</sup> The Finnish Lutheran missionaries kept contact as church workers – not as LEAF missionaries – with the Christian Health Association of Kenya (formerly the Protestant Churches' Medical Association), the Christian Churches' Educational Association and the National Council of Churches in Kenya (formerly the National Christian Council of Kenya), all of which had contacts with the large international and ecumenical agencies. Through these ties – via the Christian Health Association of Kenya – the health centres, where the Finnish missionaries worked received support from the World Bank.<sup>766</sup> The new donors brought new policies. The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya had traditionally shunned family planning, but at the end of the 1980s, it accepted the non-abortive methods in its health centres.<sup>767</sup>

The Kisumu School for the Mentally Handicapped was a pilot project in West Kenya, and it received support from near and far. The Government of Kenya paid the salaries of the teachers at this school in the same way as in other schools. The municipality of Kisumu supported the school, and the local administration had representatives on its Board.<sup>768</sup> *Christoffel Blindenmission* paid the

---

<sup>765</sup> *Sääksi* 1977, 164; *Olak* 1985, 68-69; *Waldemarson* 1985, 84.

<sup>766</sup> "Pauli Poussan kenttävierailu Keniaan 10.10.-30.10.1989", 3. *JK Pöytäkirjojen liitteet 1986-1989*. A-SLEY.

<sup>767</sup> Heikkinen 1995, 82-83. LEAF was less strict in this issue than the other mission agencies working with ELCK. LO 28.3.1983 2 § 4. *LO 1983*. A-SLEY.

<sup>768</sup> Tuuli Tamminen, "Kisumun kehitysvammaiskoulu: Selvitys toimintavuodesta 1982", 2. Kansalaisjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyömääräraha-anomus. Kisumun kehitysvammaiskoulu; rakennusprojekti. Liite 3. SLEY 1982. *UM* 3 92-6. A-UM; Pauli Heikkinen, interview 16.11.1994.

salaries of the workers, and gave other support, too.<sup>769</sup> The Junior Chamber of Commerce in Kisumu had also planned a school for the mentally handicapped; it transferred its support to the Kisumu School for the Mentally Handicapped when LEAF had started to build its school.<sup>770</sup>

In the beginning, the missionaries together with Kenyan workers constructed the buildings the church needed. When the projects grew, and more money was available, new solutions became possible. Funds from FINNIDA made it possible for LEAF to use local companies in the planning and construction of the community centres in Kisumu and Nairobi.<sup>771</sup> Christian organisations helped the Finnish missionaries solve practical problems in development cooperation. For instance Msaada, Kenya supervised the construction of Kawangware Community Centre, after Pasi Suvanto returned to Finland.<sup>772</sup> Such contacts created new relationships between the LEAF missionaries and the Kenyans and other donors. These relationships were independent of the church.

The cooperation between mission agencies from various Nordic countries in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya was less important than cooperation with the donors. While the Finns had close ties with their national development agency FINNIDA, the Swedes nourished their ties to SIDA, the Norwegians to their NORAD, and often all of them worked on their development projects alone. There was no longer such cooperation among the mission agencies as in the 1970s when the Swedish Lutheran Mission and SLEAF participated in building facilities at Matongo, Monianku and Kisumu for the activities of LEAF missionaries. There were, however, a few exceptions, where the Finnish missionaries crossed borders of

---

<sup>769</sup> "Hankeraportti Kisumun kehitysvammaiskoulu 1989", 3. *Kehitysyhteistyöraportit 1989*. A-SLEY.

<sup>770</sup> LK 3-5.10.1980 7 § b. *LK 1979*. A-SLEY.

<sup>771</sup> "Projektisuunnitelma 1985-1987: Kisumun Kehitysvammaiskoulu", 3. SLEY 85. *UM 31 92-7*. A-UM.

<sup>772</sup> "Hankeraportti: Nairobilin Slummityökeskus 1986", 2. SLEY *Keh. määrärahaohjelma 1986-88. UM 31 92-7* A-UM.

mission agencies and nationalities in the development projects. One example of the cooperation of LEAF with SIDA was the health sector. The number of LEAF missionaries working in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya increased in the 1980s, from nine in 1980 to 37 in 1989. As the total number of missionaries from all the agencies increased during the decade from 54 to 94, the relative influence of LEAF was the greatest.<sup>773</sup> As a result, and also because LEAF was the only one able to send doctors, it took on more responsibility in the health sector. It was SIDA, however, who gave funds for the new ambulance that replaced the old one, which had been bought with money from FINNIDA.<sup>774</sup> The Swedish Lutheran Mission had, traditionally, handled the education sector in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya. SIDA supported this activity and a Swedish missionary led it, but a Finnish missionary managed some of the construction work that had been delegated to the Swedes at the end of the 1980s.<sup>775</sup>

LEAF had been engaged in social work before it started receiving support from the Government of Finland. Although it received funds from FINNIDA for most of its social work, it also worked without public funds with children in nurseries, orphans and women. The untimely death of parents, and especially mothers, caused problems in many families in Kenya. Some missionaries took orphaned children and raised them as foster children in mission stations. The representatives of the Lutheran Church of Kenya had presented this social problem repeatedly to the mission agencies since their first contacts.<sup>776</sup>

---

<sup>773</sup> *Johansson* 1981, 63; *Olak* 1990, 73.

<sup>774</sup> *Svensson* 1991, 112.

<sup>775</sup> *Nyberg* 1990, 90; *Ekström* 1991, 121.

<sup>776</sup> "Big Questions of Importance for Putting the Foundation of the Church (Before the delegates from Mission Board, Mr. Folke Elowson and Mr. Gunnar Nilsson in May 1963", II 6. *Dokum. 1963-*. A-SLEF; "Memorandum of the Lutheran Church of Kenya which was Issued before the Mission Boards of the Swedish Lutheran Mission and Finnish Societies in the Year 1970". *Dokum.* A-SLEF; Lähetysvaliokunnan Kenian-asiain kokous 12.6.1970 8 § 12. *JK* 1970. A-SLEY.

Permanent work of LEAF among the orphans started rather spontaneously. Anja-Maija Vanhanen took care of a motherless baby at Matongo and a boy who was just lingering around Matongo station on Christmas Eve 1984, knocked at the missionaries' door. Vanhanen's friends in Finland wanted to support her.<sup>777</sup> The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya nominated a team and when Anja-Maija Vanhanen returned to Finland for furlough in December 1985, LEAF founded a fund for the orphanage. LEAF appointed Vanhanen as its contact person in January 1986 and started fundraising for the orphanage two months later.<sup>778</sup> Although the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya had wanted help to the orphans, the church was very careful. It did, however, transfer Vanhanen from health care to orphan care in June 1987.<sup>779</sup>

The Lutheran missionaries were familiar with the orphanage run by the Pentecostals in Homa Bay, but they also learned from the experiences of the Lutherans in Tanzania.<sup>780</sup> Deliberately, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya chose a different strategy than that of the Finnish Free Foreign Mission in Homa Bay. Instead of building a large institution, it taught girls from the families of the orphans to nurse the children, and only built a small "first aid home", for 4-5 babies, at the Matongo station. After a short period of instruction, the nursing girls returned home with the baby and the family received material and spiritual support until the child was three years old. Many of the girls did not even need the period of instruction. Thus, the project helped over 50 children during its first full year of activity, of which only about ten stayed a longer time at the station.<sup>781</sup> The project grew without funds from FINNIDA or any

---

<sup>777</sup> Vanhanen 1995, 92.

<sup>778</sup> JK 12.12.1985 454 §. JK 1985. A-SLEY; LO 23.1.1986 3 §. LO 1983-. A-SLEY; Johtoryhmä 19.3.1986 157 §. JK 1986. A-SLEY; SLEY 1986, 32.

<sup>779</sup> Lähetyssoston työvaliokunta 3.3.1987 26 §. LO 1983-. A-SLEY; Aatos Vesamäki, "Kenian työalan vuosikertomus 1987" LK 1979-, 4. A-SLEY; Anja-Maija Vanhanen, "Vuosikertomus 1987". LK 1979-. A-SLEY.

<sup>780</sup> LK 31.1-4.2.1988 10 §. LK 1979-. A-SLEY.

<sup>781</sup> Salme Rinta-Komsi, "Kenian työalan vuosikertomus 1988", 4. Kenian vuosikertomus, toimintakertomus. LK 1979-, A-SLEY; SLEY 1988, 31. Salme Poukka who founded the orphanage in Homa Bay wanted a more modest institution, too.

other major investments, and LEAF built another transit home for urgent aid in 1989.<sup>782</sup>

The missionaries from the Swedish Lutheran Mission had organised women's groups in the whole of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya and SLEAF missionaries participated this work carrying responsibility for women's groups in Luoland. LEAF missionaries took part in this "women work" especially in Kisumu and the surrounding countryside. This activity had started before the Community Centre was built and became more effective after the centre was completed.<sup>783</sup> A women's group also preceded the Community Centre in Nairobi.<sup>784</sup> In fact, the planning of the Centre had taken into consideration the needs of women's groups, and women's activity became an integral part of this development project supported by FINNIDA.<sup>785</sup>

LEAF also had social work in Kisumu and Nairobi without public funds. Kisumu nursery developed from a modest beginning much the same way as the women's groups in the early 1970s, when the first the LEAF missionaries had sought contact with the local people in Kisumu.<sup>786</sup> The new Community Centre contained classrooms, and after the school for the handicapped children had moved to its own building, the nursery occupied all of them. LEAF also ran a nursery in Kibera slum in Nairobi.

---

SuVUL:n hallitus 17.8.1976 4 §. *Hallituksen ja sen työvaliokunnan pöytäkirjat 1974-1988*. A-SuVUL.

<sup>782</sup> *SLEY* 1989, 33; *Vanhanen* 1995, 92.

<sup>783</sup> *Sääksi* 1977, 204; Reijo Tuomisto, "Selostus matkasta Keniaan 9-24.10.1982", 6. *JK* 1982. A-SLEY.

<sup>784</sup> LK 12-13.2.1982 6 §. *LK* 1979-. A-SLEY; Sirkka Kuula, "Toimintakertomus 1982". *LK* 1979-. A-SLEY.

<sup>785</sup> Antti Kuokkanen, "Kenian kehitysyhteistyöprojektit 17.6.1987". *SLEY/Toiminnanjohtaja 1980-1987*. A-SLEY.

<sup>786</sup> *Sääksi* 1977, 205-206.

*Map 4 SLEAF and LEAF in development cooperation in Kenya from 1974*

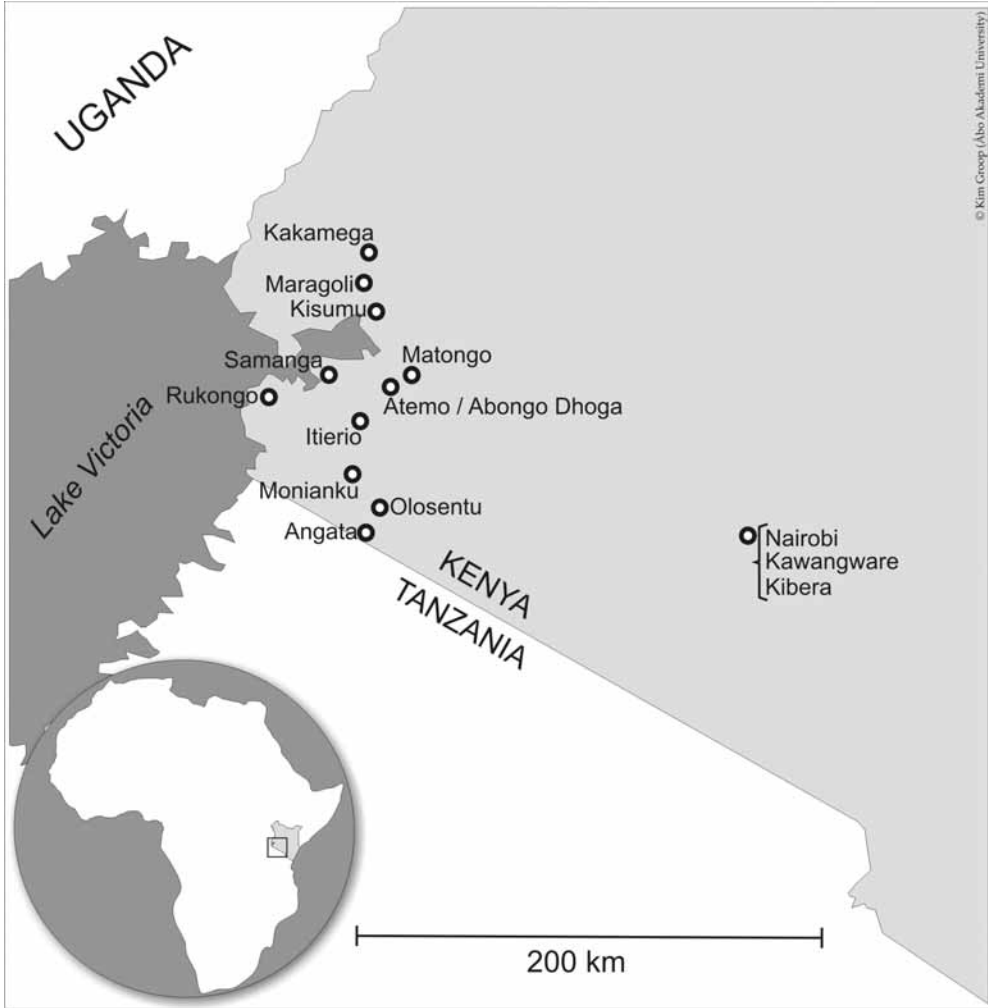
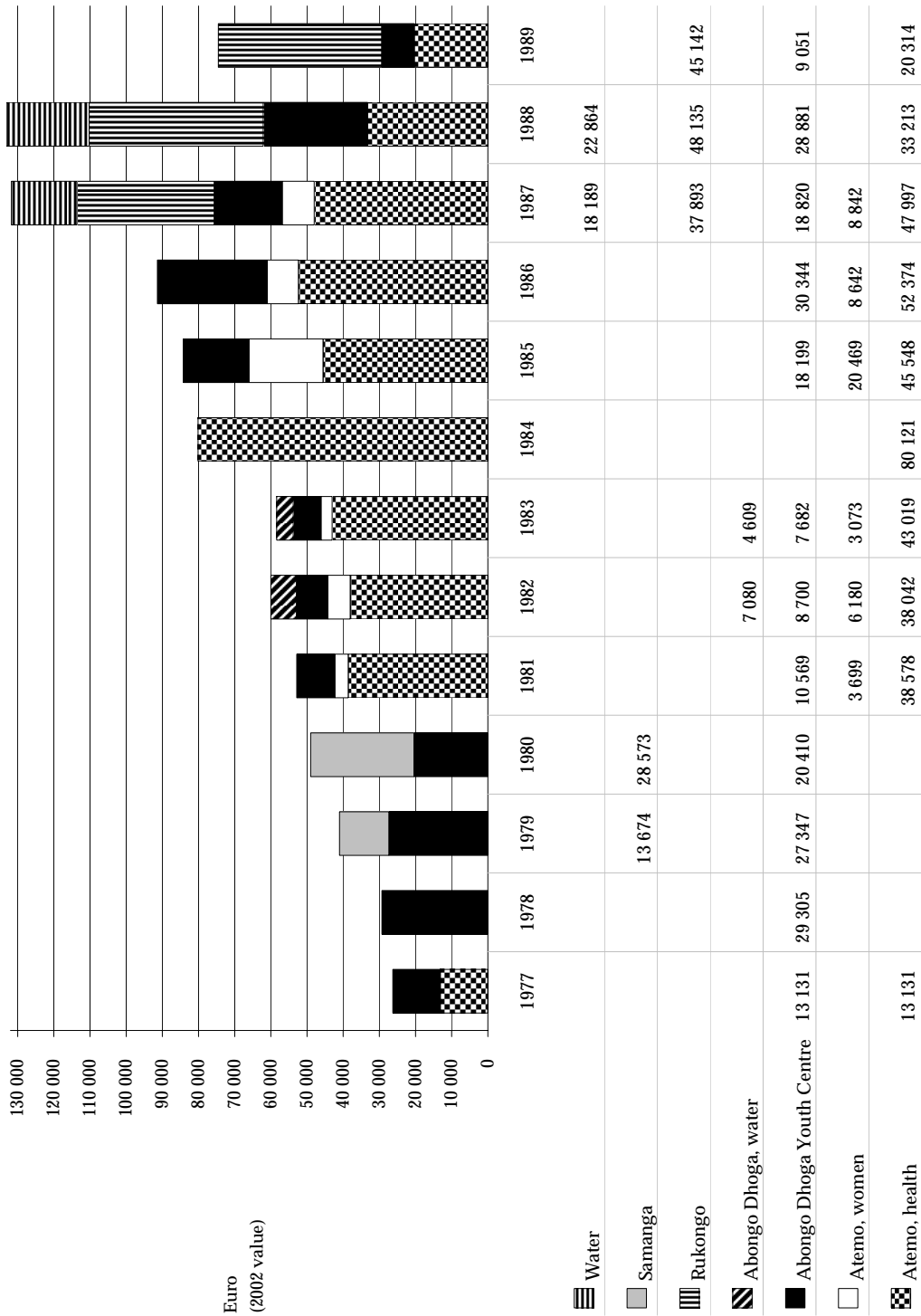


Figure 4 Funds from the Finnish government to SLEAF 1977-1989<sup>787</sup>



<sup>787</sup> Kehitysyhteistyö 1978-1989;UM12 and UM92. A-UM.

Two projects dominated the development cooperation of SLEAF: the Lutheran Youth Centre and Training School in Abongo Dhoga near Atemo and Atemo Health Project, and both of them needed funds from Finland continuously until the end of the 1980s. The funds granted for Samanga were also used in the Atemo Health Centre. SLEAF began building a new station with a vocational school in Rukongo in 1987 and received funds from the Finnish government from the very beginning.

The projects of SLEAF were compatible with the objectives of the United Nations Second Decade of Development aiming at improvement of education and raising levels of health and sanitation and reducing of unemployment and underemployment.<sup>788</sup> The goals of the UN Third Decade of Development 1981-1990 included improving the position of women and providing pure water to everyone and SLEAF also received funds for its women groups and two water projects.<sup>789</sup>

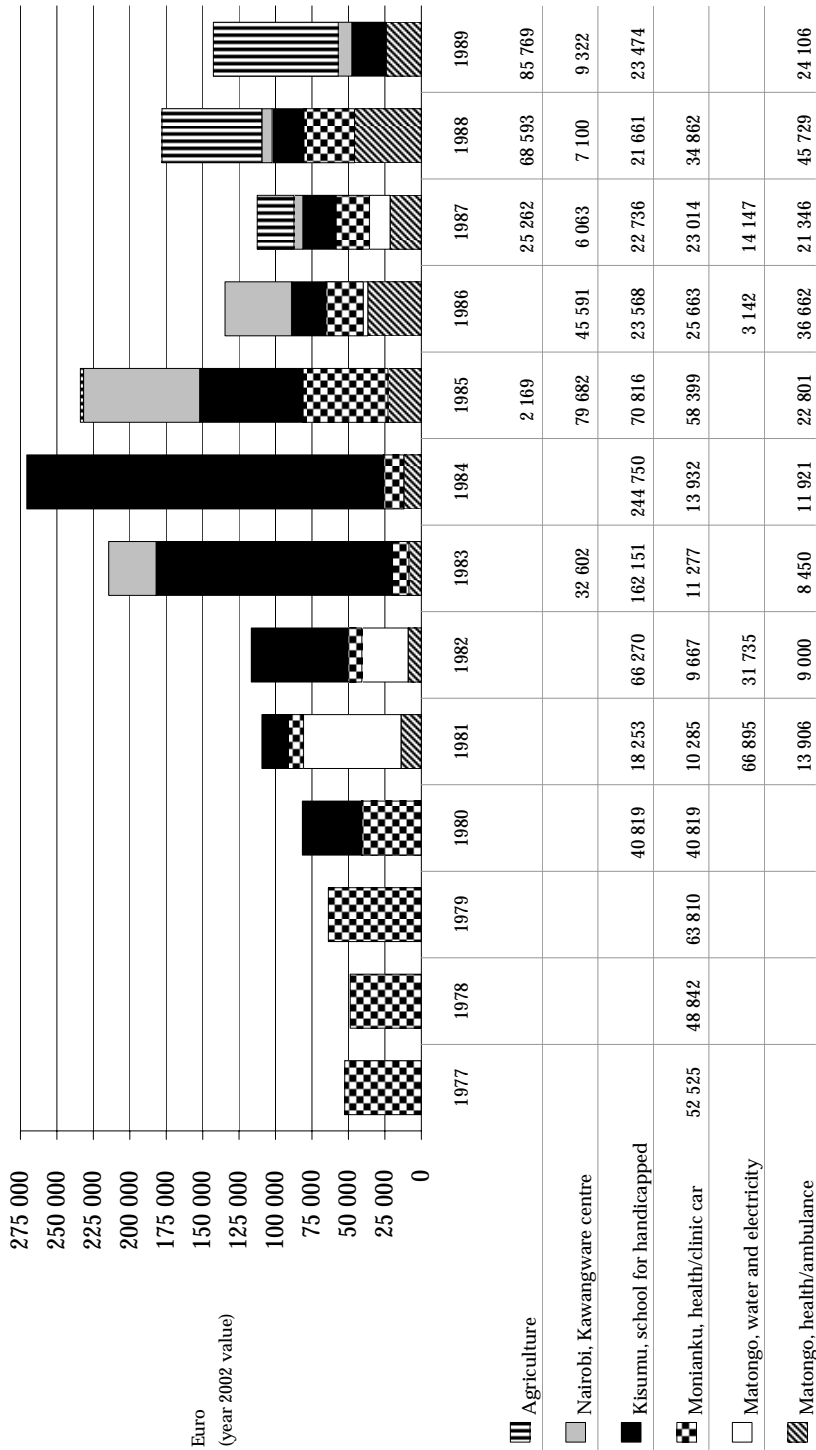
---

<sup>788</sup> *Everyone's United Nations* 1986, 196 and 200; Broms 1990, 626; *International Development Strategy* 1970, 4-5; cf. *Kansainvälisen kehitysyhteistyön periaateohjelma* 1975, 4.

<sup>789</sup> *Everyone's United Nations* 1986, 201 and 255.



Figure 5 Funds from the Finnish government to LEAF 1977-1989<sup>790</sup>



<sup>790</sup> Kehitysyhteistyö 1978-1989;UM12 and UM92. A-UM; JK 1977-1989. A-SLEY.

Because the Swedish Lutheran Mission received funds from the Swedish government for the schools of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya, LEAF used development funds of the Finnish government from 1977 to build a new health centre in Monianku and from 1981 to improve and maintain health facilities in Monianku and Matongo. LEAF carried out two large urban building projects: the Kisumu School for Mentally Handicapped and the Kawangware Community Centre in Nairobi. LEAF had to abandon the third large project, the agriculture project at the planning phase because the association could not purchase a suitable area.

The projects of LEAF also followed the guidelines of the UN and the Finnish government i.e. improving health services, education and employment. The agriculture and water project aimed at providing food and pure water for the local people as it was written in the targets of the United Nations Third Decade of Development.<sup>791</sup>

---

<sup>791</sup> *Everyone's United Nations* 1986, 201.

## 3.3 The Orthodox

### 3.3.1 Understandings of Mission

The representatives of the Eastern Orthodox Churches have met frequently since 1973 in order to consider the meaning of mission in Orthodoxy and they have created a Statement of the Orthodox Advisory Group to the World Council of Churches' Commission on World Mission and Evangelism.<sup>792</sup>

The oldest part of the Orthodox mission statement is the essay *The Good News and Evangelistic Witness*. This essay was composed in connection with the Sixth Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Nairobi 1975. It states that the final goal of evangelistic witness was conversion and baptism and among the intermediate goals was the interpenetration of the structures of society. The clergy, laity, martyrs and prophets performed the task of evangelistic witness. The priest acted as an evangelist when he strengthened the Orthodox roots in the land.<sup>793</sup> The chief means of witness was not announcing of Christ as Saviour to those who had already heard the word but remained unresponsive. It was that those who had acknowledged the love of God for themselves shared it with each other.<sup>794</sup>

“The primary means of today evangelical witness is the authentic Christian life to which every layperson is called. Also necessary to an effective witness are:  
-a vital and living participation in the divine liturgy  
-the personal witness of faith; and  
-Christian involvement of the believer in the social, political, economical, cultural and intellectual life of his or her nation and society.”<sup>795</sup>

---

<sup>792</sup> *Go Forth in Peace* 1992, 203-231. Chapters I (p. 203-208), III (p. 212-217), IV (p.217-220), V (p. 221-226) and VI (p. 226-231) are published in *Go Forth in Peace: Orthodox Perspectives on Mission*, comp. and ed. by Ion Bria. the WCC Mission Series No. 7. Geneva 1986 (p. 3-9 and 17-46).

<sup>793</sup> *Go Forth in Peace* 1992, 222-223.

<sup>794</sup> *Go Forth in Peace* 1992, 225.

<sup>795</sup> *Go Forth in Peace* 1992, 223.

Attempts to reform the world – according to the Orthodox – belonged to evangelistic witness.

“Evangelistic witness will also speak to the structures of this world, its economic, political and social institutions. Especially is the witness of social justice in the name of the poor and the oppressed.”<sup>796</sup>

This statement of 1975 thus reflects how the Orthodox Church defended her position against evangelising Pentecostals and other Christians who saw the Orthodox countries as their mission field and, at the same time, the Orthodox expressed their own vision of evangelical witness. The Orthodox had a good reason to remind the Evangelicals that the Orthodox did not want to be targets of mission.<sup>797</sup> It was the duty of the church and its members to strive for social development but the statement did not encourage the founding of special organisations for this work.

In later statements, the Orthodox emphasised very much the trinitarian theology and the eucharistic liturgy.<sup>798</sup> By definition, the church had continually to be in mission.<sup>799</sup> The Orthodox emphasised the mystery of the holy Eucharist as the centre of spiritual life and Christian mission and called mission “liturgy after the liturgy” describing how Christian life flows from eucharistic communities:

“The goal and aim of the proclamation of the gospel, and thus of mission, is the establishment of eucharistic communities in every locality, within its own context and culture and in its own language.”<sup>800</sup>

---

<sup>796</sup> *Go Forth in Peace* 1992, 224.

<sup>797</sup> The Finnish Pentecostals did not want to reveal their mission strategy in an ecumenical context to other churches whose members were their targets. Tapani Kärnä, “Helluntaiseurakuntien lähetystyö 1985”, 6. A-Lounela. Three youngsters had been evangelising in Greece and were imprisoned. The Finnish Missionary Council tried to get them released from prison. SLN 19.3.1985 12 §. *SLN 1977-1987*, A-ELK.

<sup>798</sup> *Go Forth in Peace* 1992, 203-204.

<sup>799</sup> *Go Forth in Peace* 1992, 208.

<sup>800</sup> *Go Forth in Peace* 1992, 209.

“The sharing of material things and of life itself thus flows from eucharistic communion and constitutes one of its radical requirements.”<sup>801</sup>

The sad experiences in the 1900s may have had the affect of making the church careful in its relationship with potential partners. The Orthodox document warned:

“The church in our time should resist the temptation to insure itself, or even enter into partnership with the authorities and powers of this world.”<sup>802</sup>

Together with worship, other forms of Christian activity had great importance for mission, such as: preaching, publications, personal contacts, welfare, religious education, youth movements and renewal of monastic life. Each church should take advantage of these forms if they were available to it. The Orthodox repeated old principles of mission saying that the gospel had to be proclaimed in the language of the listeners. The church, furthermore, had to oppose racism and those who brought the gospel had to understand the local culture and to immerse themselves in it.<sup>803</sup>

Finnish Metropolitan Johannes also stressed that mission belonged to the essence of the Church. The Church was apostolic. In other words it was sent into the world, the apostles were the foundation of the Church and the Church preserved and brought forward the office of the apostles. Responsibility for the brethren in their material and earthly problems and helping them belonged to the genuine Christian faith and to the unity in faith and Christ. Healing the sick or supporting those in need was often the mission of the Christians.<sup>804</sup>

The Finnish Orthodox tried to learn from the long, almost one hundred years experience of the Finnish Lutherans. The mission

---

<sup>801</sup> *Go Forth in Peace* 1992, 229.

<sup>802</sup> *Go Forth in Peace* 1992, 210.

<sup>803</sup> *Go Forth in Peace* 1992, 212.

<sup>804</sup> Metropolitan Johannes, “Lähetysten teologiaa”. *AK* 6/1981, 109.

director of the Finnish Missionary Society, Alpo Hukka assisted the first mission secretary of the Orthodox, Siina Taulamo, in an ecumenical spirit. Taulamo received advice when she had problems and Orthodox candidates could study at mission courses of the Finnish Missionary Society. Moreover, the lawyer of the Finnish Missionary Society wrote a draft for an Orthodox missionary society and Hukka recommended an experienced project manager, Jouko Järviö, for development projects.<sup>805</sup> Metropolitan Johannes had much deeper theological knowledge and better international relations than anyone else in the Finnish Orthodox Mission, and he also had a Lutheran background.<sup>806</sup> These contacts with the Lutherans very much affected the understanding of mission of the Finnish Orthodox in the 1970s.

The Finnish missionary strategy in Kenya was clear: the FOM tried to have two female missionaries living together in a Mission Centre. Siina Taulamo shuttled between Kenya and Finland, bringing information to the North and material help to the South. While she was in Finland, a short-term missionary stayed in Bethany with Maria Iltola, whose term lasted three years.<sup>807</sup> The Finns enjoyed close contacts with African parish workers and ordinary people, having befriended them by giving small gifts, showing charity and supporting building projects.<sup>808</sup> The partners of the Finns in Kenya were the African Orthodox who expected the Finnish missionaries to support them like other Europeans in Africa supported their partner churches. The negative experiences with the expatriate missionaries in the colonial time belonged to the past, and the Africans in the

---

<sup>805</sup> "Kymmenen vuotta lähetystä" (an interview of Siina Taulamo) *AK* 5/1981, 81.

The first project manager, Jouko Järviö, was an active member of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland and had earlier served the Finnish Missionary Society. Siina Taulamo, "Tervetuloa, Epainito" (an article) *UV* 8/1983, 11; "Kaivoprojekti alkuun" (an interview of Jouko Järviö) *UV* 8/1985, 12.

<sup>806</sup> Metropolitan Johannes, originally Wilho Rinne, knew the Lutheran way of mission from the inside because he had been a Lutheran pastor and teacher of religion before he converted to Orthodox in his 40s.

<sup>807</sup> *Iltola* 1983, 108.

<sup>808</sup> Siina Taulamo and Maria Iltola, "Report on the Finnish Orthodox Mission in Kenya 1.11.1977-20.5.1978", 1. *Lähetysmappi 1978*. A-OL.; *Iltola* 1983, 39, 95-96.

independent Kenya thought about what advantage they could gain in cooperation with foreigners.

Archbishop Frumentios had a Greek background as all the leaders in the Patriarchate of Alexandria had – as a rule. The Finnish missionaries were surprised when they saw how the archbishop repulsed their attempts to support the Church in Africa and they accused the archbishop of opposing missionary work.<sup>809</sup> It was however not a question of one person. When an Orthodox magazine interviewed Mission Secretary Siina Taulamo – the mother of the Orthodox mission awakening in Finland – about her experiences, she explained what had been the most difficult thing in the missionary work in Kenya. It was the attitude of the “white leaders”, she said, because they did not have a missionary spirit.<sup>810</sup> This meant that the Greek speaking Orthodox did not understand the attitude and methods of the Finnish Orthodox, who had learned missionary work from the Finnish Lutherans.<sup>811</sup> Regardless, the Finnish missionaries tried to show respect for the Archbishop and stay neutral in his controversy with Auxiliary Bishop George Gathuna and other African Orthodox.

Project Manager Jouko Järviö understood the situation to be that the government of Finland supported the people of Kenya using the Orthodox Church in Finland and the Finnish Orthodox Mission as its channel. Järviö built schools and clinics with the Kenyans and tried to be independent of the local archdiocese when he ran development projects.<sup>812</sup> The Finnish Orthodox bishops and leaders of the Finnish Orthodox Mission understood the development projects in the same way. When the Orthodox Church in Finland drafted an agreement with the Archdiocese of Irenoupolis – or Dar es Salaam – it expressed

---

<sup>809</sup> *Iltola* 1963, 83. Archbishop Paavali in Finland regretted the negative attitude of the Archbishop of Irenoupolis towards the Finnish missionaries. Letter of Metropolitan Paavali the Archbishop of Karelia and All Finland to Nicholas VI, Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria and All Africa 21.4.1978. *Lähetysmappi 1978-*. A-OL.

<sup>810</sup> “Kymmenen vuotta lähetystä” (an interview of Siina Taulamo) *AK* 5/1981, 82.

<sup>811</sup> Jouko Järviö had similar experiences. He only cooperated successfully with Siina Taulamo and Archbishop Paavali. *Järviö*, interview 30.9.1994.

<sup>812</sup> *Järviö*, interview 30.9.1994.

clearly that the development projects paid by the Finnish government were not a matter for the archdiocese. The Finnish missionaries worried about the negative attitude of Archbishop Frumentios to their activity.

The close cooperation between the Finns and the Kenyans lasted until the end of the 1970s. After a Synod in Alexandria defrocked Auxiliary Bishop George Gathuna in 1979, the diocese was driven into a state of chaos.<sup>813</sup> When acting Archbishop Anastasios Yannoulatos restored the order, he tried to abolish the national boundaries among the missionaries. He emphasised that all missionaries from Greece, Cyprus, the USA, Finland or other countries belonged to the same missionary family and together with the Kenyans to a eucharistic community. The Finns assured him of their loyalty to the Archbishop. During this inner fighting between the leaders of the diocese and the African Orthodox, the diocese had lost contact with many of its members in Kenya.

The Orthodox understanding of mission, which became dominant in Kenya under the acting Archbishop Anastasios Yannoulatos did not agree with the Finnish development policy and led to a crisis in the mid 1980s. The Finnish project manager Jouko Järviö was not an Orthodox Christian and had no access to the eucharist in the Orthodox Church. He remained an outsider of the eucharistic community and was not able to cooperate with the members of the Orthodox hierarchy.<sup>814</sup>

---

<sup>813</sup> *Iltola* 1983, 68, 85. Gathuna was rehabilitated by Archbishop Makarios in 2005 with the consent of the Alexandrian Patriarchate.

<sup>814</sup> Archmandrite Johannes does not mention Järviö at all when he describes Finnish Orthodox projects in Kenya. *Johannes* (Arkkimandriitta) 2007, 135-143. Andreas Tillyrides who taught at the Orthodox theological seminary in Nairobi from 1982 relates how Charles Eko alias Archmandrite or Fr. Johannes carried out projects in Kenya and Järviö was only his co-worker. *Tillyrides* 2004, 466. This description is totally misleading. Pirkko Siili who was an Orthodox missionary in Kenya 1983-1985 appreciates Järviö's work very highly as project manager. *Siili* 2007a, 403.



### 3.3.2 Organisation and Administration

The missionary awakening in the Orthodox Church after World War II required new patterns of organisation:

The revival of interest in mission and of missionary work within the Orthodox Church in recent years has been the result of the vision and efforts of Orthodox youth movements, notably through the Porefthendes, an Inter-Orthodox Missionary Centre related to Syndesmos, the fellowship of Orthodox youth organisations.<sup>815</sup>

Metropolitan Johannes founded a committee in the early 1970s to survey the increasing missionary activity of the Finnish Orthodox. The committee gave its report in January 1974 and made several proposals. It mentioned Kenya as a possible mission field in addition to Uganda, Israel and Ethiopia. According to the committee, education, health care, vocational training and other social work prepared the way to the liturgical life that was central to the Orthodox spirituality.<sup>816</sup> The committee also recommended that the Finnish Orthodox build a mission station in Kenya if the political situation did not allow them to settle down in Uganda.<sup>817</sup>

When Bishop Johannes and Siina Taulamo visited East Africa for the first time in 1974 – as a response to an invitation by the Ugandan Bishop Theodoros Nankyama – they had the Ugandans and their needs in mind.<sup>818</sup> They met there Bishop Theodoros and received thanks for gifts the Finns had sent to Uganda.<sup>819</sup> On their way home, they stopped in Nairobi and met Archbishop Frumentios who gave a different list of targets.<sup>820</sup> The Archbishop was disappointed because the Finns had not thought in advance that Uganda also belonged to

---

<sup>815</sup> *Go Forth in Peace* 1992, 211. The mission awakening started in the 4<sup>th</sup> Assembly of Syndesmos in Thessaloniki in 1958 and the Inter-Orthodox Missionary Centre Porefthendes in Athens was established in 1961. "Activity report 1961-1966". *PGY* Vol. VIII (IV) Nr 32 1966, 49.

<sup>816</sup> *Iltola* 1983, 21-22.

<sup>817</sup> *Iltola* 1983, 23; *Siili* 2007a, 399.

<sup>818</sup> *Iltola* 1983, 13; *Siili* 2007a, 399. *PGY* Vol. VII (II) Nr 26, 24-28. 1965.

<sup>819</sup> *Iltola* 1983, 19.

<sup>820</sup> *Iltola* 1983, 20.

the territory of the Archbishop of Irinoupolis.<sup>821</sup> This was a sinister beginning to the future missionary work and projects in Kenya. In 1976, Maria Iltola, Leena Hiljanen and Timo Lehmuskoski visited Uganda and planned future missionary work in Uganda. This time the Finns did not meet Archbishop Frumentios.<sup>822</sup>

It was not possible to integrate the missionary activity immediately into the hierarchic structure of the Orthodox Church in Finland. When the lawyer of the Finnish Missionary Society had written a draft for the constitution of an Orthodox mission society, the Mission Commission of the Brotherhood of SS. Sergius and Herman revised it, recognising that the Church needed a genuine Orthodox form of organisation for missionary work.<sup>823</sup> One special reason to form a registered mission society of their own was the availability of public funds for development cooperation through mission agencies.<sup>824</sup> Thus, the mission supporters founded a registered society called *Ortodoksinen Lähetys* (The Finnish Orthodox Mission, FOM) in March 1977.<sup>825</sup> The Orthodox character and the close connection between the Finnish Orthodox Mission and the Church were maintained through the stipulation in the constitution. At least one bishop, one priest and one layman should be members of the Board.<sup>826</sup> The new Board elected Metropolitan Johannes the chairman. Siina Taulamo, who had been the convenor and later chairman of the Mission Commission, continued in the FOM Board as the mission secretary. The link between the new mission society and the Brotherhood of SS. Sergius and Herman was created when the FOM became a member of the Brotherhood.<sup>827</sup>

---

<sup>821</sup> *Johannes* (Metropoliitta) 2007, 431. In the text of the interview is a printing error, the visit was in 1974.

<sup>822</sup> *Iltola* 1983, 27.

<sup>823</sup> PSHV:n lähetysjaosto 15.5.1975 5 § and 8.1.1977 5 §. *PSHV:n lähetysjaosto*. A-OL; Archbishop *Johannes*, interview 10.9.1994.

<sup>824</sup> PSHV:n lähetysjaosto 21.4.1975 2 § and 8.1.1977 4 §. *PSHV:n lähetysjaosto*. A-OL.

<sup>825</sup> OL 31.3.1977. *JK 1977-1989*. A-OL; *Silli* 2007a, 400.

<sup>826</sup> OL 31.3.1977 5 and 6 §. *JK 1977-1989*. A-OL.

<sup>827</sup> This membership is mentioned in the Annual Reports from 1982. "Toimintakertomus 1982", 7. *Toimintakertomukset 1978-1990*. A-OL.

Siina Taulamo and Maria Iltola travelled through Nairobi again on their third visit to East Africa, in August 1977. Auxiliary Bishop George Gathuna, the secretary of the African Orthodox Church in Kenya (AOC), Father Eleftherios Muiruri Ndwaru, Father Elias Buzinde and an American-Greek missionary, Mrs Stavritsa Zachariou, received the Finns at Nairobi Airport and escorted them around the town and explained the state of affairs in the church. The Finns also met Archbishop Frumentios. One of the Finnish visitors followed the Africans, while the other accompanied the Archbishop Frumentios to see his relief work among orphans, and to give gifts on behalf of the Finnish Orthodox Church.<sup>828</sup> Both the Archbishop and the Auxiliary Bishop asked them to come again to Kenya.<sup>829</sup>

The Finnish Orthodox planned to send two missionaries to Uganda: Nurse Leena Hiljanen to the Namungona clinic and Teacher Maria Iltola to Ssambwe school. The nurse attended the mission course of the Finnish Missionary Society and studied language in England.<sup>830</sup> The Finnish Orthodox missionaries could no longer settle down in Uganda, where Idi Amin ruled, but Kenya was still open. The new plan of the Finns was to live in Muguga village in Kiambu, which was the home area of Bishop George Gathuna and a stronghold of the African Orthodox Church in Kenya. The Finnish missionaries even planned to open a dispensary in Muguga.<sup>831</sup> As Leena Hiljanen for family reasons could not leave for Africa, Mission Secretary Siina Taulamo, a retired teacher, went instead of her as the companion of Maria Iltola at the end of October 1977.<sup>832</sup> The two Finnish female missionaries tried to be on friendly terms with Archbishop Frumentios. They presented the letters of recommendation from the Finnish Orthodox Bishops to the Archbishop when they met him after the service on their first Sunday in Kenya. The Archbishop, however,

---

<sup>828</sup> Maria Iltola, "Selostus Kenian ja Ugandan matkasta 18.-28.8.1977", 1-4. *Lähetysmappi 1978*. A-OL.

<sup>829</sup> *Iltola* 1983, 30.

<sup>830</sup> *Iltola* 1983, 30.

<sup>831</sup> Maria Iltola, "Selostus Kenian ja Ugandan matkasta 18.-28.8.1977", 12. *Lähetysmappi 1978*. A-OL.

<sup>832</sup> *Iltola* 1983, 30.

remained aloof, telling the new missionaries to return to Finland, as he had not yet given them his canonical permission.<sup>833</sup> The archbishop was ready to receive money from Finland but not missionaries.<sup>834</sup>

Taulamo and Iltola stayed in Kenya and sought other contacts. Bishop Gathuna, and Fathers Elias Buzinde and Eleftherios Ndwaru received the Finns well, as did the people of the village and the parish in Muguga, in Kiambu District, where the Africans built a Mission Centre called Bethany for them. The Finns knew the controversy between Archbishop Frumentios and the hierarchy above him on one side, and Auxiliary Bishop Gathuna and the clergy and laymen under him on the other side, but the new missionaries thought that they could stay neutral and out of the struggle in Kenya.<sup>835</sup>

Patriarch Nikolaos of Alexandria visited Nairobi in November 1977, shortly after the arrival of Siina Taulamo and Maria Iltola from Finland, and he warned them about cooperating with Auxiliary Bishop George Gathuna.<sup>836</sup> Despite the attitude of the Patriarch and the Archbishop the Finnish missionaries could not abandon their missionary calling and turned instead to the Africans, who were extremely friendly.<sup>837</sup> The Finns' close contact with the African Orthodox made matters even worse, because the Patriarch and Archbishop Frumentios had to see the Finnish Orthodox working in their territory but could not control their activities.

The Finnish missionaries Siina Taulamo and Maria Iltola travelled to Orthodox churches in close cooperation with Bishop Gathuna and

---

<sup>833</sup> Siina Taulamo and Maria Iltola, "Report on the Finnish Orthodox Mission in Kenya 1.11.1977-20.5.1978", 1. *Lähetysmappi 1978*. A-OL. Iltola 1983, 32-33.

<sup>834</sup> Iltola 1983, 80; *Johannes* (Metropoliitta) 2007, 430.

<sup>835</sup> Iltola 1983, 30, 32-34.

<sup>836</sup> Siina Taulamo and Maria Iltola, "Report on the Finnish Orthodox Mission in Kenya 1.11.1977-20.5.1978", 10. *Lähetysmappi 1978*. A-OL.

<sup>837</sup> Iltola 1983, 34.

Fathers Elias Buzinde and Eleftherios Ndwaru.<sup>838</sup> The African Orthodox in Kenya founded, in January 1978, a Mission Committee with Bishop Gathuna as chairman, Father Eleftherios Ndwaru as secretary and Father Elias Buzinde as secretary for overseas communication. The other members were two Kenyan laymen, one American female missionary and the two missionaries from Finland. This body organised seminars in different areas in Kenya. One of these was in Gimengwa, in the Western Province, in March 1978, where far-reaching resolutions concerning the organisation and finances of the Orthodox Church were passed.<sup>839</sup> The main organiser was Elias Buzinde whom the Finns knew well in advance.<sup>840</sup> As the secretary for overseas communication, Buzinde reported:

Before closing it, the following Committees were erected: Sub-administrative Committee for Western Kenya, Translation Committee; Youth leaders Committee, Mother Union Committee; Financial Committee and Education Committee. It was also agreed upon that every Orthodox member should contribute five shillings monthly that will enable Bishop George Gathuna to pay the priests' salaries and pay for the journey of missionaries to enable them travel from province to province.<sup>841</sup>

Had these committees been working effectively, they would have replaced the hierarchic administration of the Archbishop. The poll tax and the cooperation with the Finnish and American missionaries would have made the Kenyans independent of the Greek speaking hierarchy. The Archbishop had to counter-attack.

In Africa, the Finns realised the gap or even hostility between the African Orthodox on one side and Archbishop Frumentios and others who had Greek backgrounds on the other side. The Archbishop and the Auxiliary Bishop were suspicious of each other and could not

---

<sup>838</sup> Maria Iltola and Siina Taulamo, "Report from the visit to the District of Nyeri" 5.2.1978. *Lähetysmappi 1978*. A-OL.

<sup>839</sup> Siina Taulamo and Maria Iltola, "Report on the Finnish Orthodox Mission in Kenya 1.11.1977-20.5.1978", 6-7. *Lähetysmappi 1978*. A-OL.

<sup>840</sup> During his studies in Greece and Germany, Elias Buzinde had visited Finland in 1964 and 1970. *Iltola 1983*, 14, 47.

<sup>841</sup> Elias Buzinde, "The Orthodox Mission in Kenya", 4. *Lähetysmappi 1978*. A-OL.

work together.<sup>842</sup> There were also other groups between these two extremes: the Greek speaking Cypriotes sympathised with the Kenyans because both had successfully striven for independency of the British colonial rule and the African priests who had been educated abroad knew both cultures. Taulamo and Iltola had not taken Patriarch Nikolaos' warning seriously but continued, in good faith that they had found a good way to serve.

The Patriarch tried to stop the work of the Finnish missionaries in Kenya by sending a letter to the Orthodox Metropolitan of Karelia and Archbishop of All Finland, Paavali on 23 March 1978. The Finnish Archbishop thus received the opportunity to express the Finnish viewpoints in his answer. Starting with the mission activities of the Protestant Finns, he described the new mission awakening among the Finnish Orthodox and the contacts with the Ugandan and Kenyan Orthodox. He remarked that the highest African hierarchy was acting as if it opposed missionary work. He further remarked and that sending money from Finland could not replace Finnish missionaries.<sup>843</sup>

The Patriarchate of Alexandria founded its own mission committee. Its chairman was Archbishop Frumentios, with two other metropolitans and two Greeks, but no indigenous Africans, as its members.<sup>844</sup> Bishop Johannes tried to communicate with members of the committee, but geographical distances and language barriers prevented immediate communication between the Mission Committee of the Patriarchate and the Finnish missionaries.<sup>845</sup>

George Gathuna had co-operated for many decades with the rising national leader, Jomo Kenyatta, who eventually became the president

---

<sup>842</sup> Iltola 1983, 38-39, 75.

<sup>843</sup> Archbishop Paavali to Patriarch Nicholas VI 21.4.1978. *Lähetysmappi 1978*. A-OL.; Iltola 1983, 48-50.

<sup>844</sup> Johtokunta 22.2.1979 11 §. *JK 1977-1989*. A-OL. A liaison service [Verbindungsdienst] for missionary work in the Patriarchate of Alexandria with some Greek members is mentioned in Heyer 1980, 432.

<sup>845</sup> This committee is not mentioned in the FOM minutes or documents.

of Kenya. The Patriarch had not punished Gathuna during Kenyatta's lifetime, though Gathuna had annoyed the local archbishop. President Jomo Kenyatta died on 22 August 1978, and the other leading Kikuyu politicians from Kiambu were seen to be losing their power in the "Second Republic"<sup>846</sup>. A new generation of African priests educated abroad similar to Elias Buzinde was emerging and this also weakened George Gathuna's position among the African Orthodox and in the archdiocese. The conflict between the Archbishop and the Auxiliary Bishop soon entered a new phase. On 11 November 1979, the West Kenyan priests celebrated the inauguration of the first Finnish development project in Gimengwa, together with the Ambassador of Finland, missionaries and the representatives of the Orthodox Church in Finland. Neither Archbishop Frumentios nor Auxiliary Bishop Gathuna was present in Gimengwa. There was a larger event to come. The Patriarchate of Alexandria had to prevent the Africans from cooperating with the Finns and by-passing the Archbishop. Auxiliary Bishop Gathuna was summoned before the Synod of the Patriarchate of Alexandria and defrocked on 29 November 1979.<sup>847</sup>

Gathuna lost his position as an Auxiliary Bishop in the Archbishopric of Irinoupolis, but due to his charisma, he remained a leader of many of the African Orthodox. This state of affairs caused quarrelling and even to open fighting throughout the remainder of his life.<sup>848</sup> The Finns could no longer remain neutral, and certainly could not cooperate with Gathuna. They expressed clearly, that they were loyal followers of the Archbishop of Irinoupolis under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Alexandria.<sup>849</sup>

The discussion between the leaders of the Orthodox Church in Africa and Finland continued. In an exchange of letters between the Patriarch of Alexandria and the Archbishop of Finland, both sides drafted individual versions of an agreement. In his letter of 14 June

---

<sup>846</sup> *Ballot* 1985, 102-103; *Kanyinga* 1994, 98-100, 103.

<sup>847</sup> *Iltola* 1983, 68.

<sup>848</sup> Gathuna died in 1987.

<sup>849</sup> *Iltola* 1983, 70.

1980, the Patriarch of Alexandria wanted to restrict the Finnish missionary staff to a maximum of three females, living together in their Mission Centre, and working as missionaries and teachers in Muguga and its surrounding area.<sup>850</sup> The Patriarch's version of the agreement would have changed the Finnish mission in Kenya into a small, but quite open convent, and would have restricted the travelling of the missionaries. The female missionaries in Bethany had, however, visited parishes as far away as in Western Kenya teaching Orthodox Christianity, supporting parishes, which needed churches, icons, sacral clothes or other items, and distributing relief and gifts.<sup>851</sup> In his version, the Patriarch did not touch projects such as building and staffing Gimengwa Primary School.

The Finnish bishops wrote a humble and polite answer in August 1980. They recognised the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Alexandria, and they proposed an agreement that would be signed by the Metropolitan of Irinoupolis and the President of the Finnish Orthodox Mission Council, with the approval of the Archbishop of Finland. In this version, the number of missionaries was not limited, and the way was opened for development cooperation in Kenya. Metropolitan Johannes, with the approval of Archbishop Paavali, sent a proposal that included the following points:

In 1977 the Finnish Orthodox Archdiocese established, through the agency of the Finnish Orthodox Mission Council, a Mission Centre in the village of Muguga near Nairobi on grounding belonging to the church of the Holy Trinity in the said village of Muguga [...] Besides the missionaries proper, the Finnish Orthodox Mission Council may have in its service in Africa building and other technical experts" [...] The said Centre works under the spiritual supervision of the Metropolitan of Irinoupolis and his permission is needed for the construction of all ecclesiastical buildings connected with work of the Centre. This does not in any way prevent the Finnish Orthodox Mission Council from acting as a representative and intermediary for the development aid of the government of Finland regarding buildings and constructions, intended for the Africans and being of a non-ecclesiastical character [...] The Centre

---

<sup>850</sup> *Iltola* 1983, 78-79.

<sup>851</sup> Siina Taulamo and Maria Iltola, "Report on the Finnish Orthodox Mission in Kenya 1.11.1977-20.5.1978", 3-7. *Lähetysmappi 1978*. A-OL.



in Muguga with its buildings and other possible buildings of the same character – excluding those built with money from the Government of Finland – are in principle the property of the Metropolis of Irinoupolis, but the Finnish Orthodox Mission Council has a permanent and unlimited right to use them.<sup>852</sup>

The Metropolitan of Irinoupolis had also proposed that the FOM pay him “compensation” every year of 50,000 Kenyan shillings, but the Finns wrote in the same document that they wanted to reduce this amount to 5,000 shillings.

The crisis concerning the Archbishopric of Irinoupolis did not end when the Synod in Alexandria defrocked Auxiliary Bishop George Gathuna in 1979. This disciplinary act inflamed the relationships between the African Orthodox or nationalist Kenyans and the Greek and Cypriot hierarchy. The situation became tense in Kikuyuland and especially in Gathuna’s home area, the Kiambu District, where the Finnish mission station was situated. Gathuna tried to continue being a religious leader although he had lost the authorisation from the Archbishop of Irinoupolis and the Patriarch of Alexandria. He sought new contacts beyond this hierarchy in order to preserve his status as a local leader of an international church seeking recognition from the Orthodox Old Calendarists.<sup>853</sup> The struggle continued throughout the life of Archbishop Frumentios, but even his death in March 1981 did not bring peace. Gathuna continued to act as a church leader and bishop despite the fact that even the court orders had barred him from conducting church services. He had lost his position in the Patriarchate of Alexandria, but he was the chairman of the African Orthodox Church in Kenya, which still existed as a registered society according to the Law of Kenya.

---

<sup>852</sup> "An agreement between the Patriarchate of Alexandria and the Orthodox Archdiocese of Finland [...]". *Lähetysmappi 1978*. A-OL.

<sup>853</sup> Gathuna received support from an Orthodox group which was more conservative than the Patriarchate and was therefore called the Old Calendarists. "Holy Archbishopric of Irinoupolis" and "African Orthodox Church of Kenya", one and the same Church" 1984, 3, *Holy Archbishopric of Irinoupolis*. A-OL; Yannoulatos, The Orthodox Church in Kenya, 3. *Holy Archbishopric of Irinoupolis*. A-OL; Siili, interview 8.2.1995.

As the Orthodox Church, was an international body and did not found a self-governing church in a particular country, the Holy Archbishopric of Irinoupolis was registered as a company. In Kenya it only needed to be registered under the Companies Ordinance, and it was enough to have trustees to take care of its property.<sup>854</sup> African Orthodox people had donated plots to the African Orthodox Church in Kenya and, with good reason, the AOC could claim to be the owner of many plots of the Orthodox churches, and it had authoritative supporters in the Kenyan government because both the ruling party Kenya African National Union and the AOC belonged to the nationalistic movement that had struggled for Kenya's independence. Gathuna's supporters had even prevented Archbishop Frumentios and his followers from entering the church in some locations.<sup>855</sup>

The Patriarch of Alexandria entrusted the Orthodox in Kenya to Bishop Ierotheos from Tanzania shortly after the death of Frumentios in March 1981. Bishop Ierotheos saw that the Orthodox Church in Kenya was in a state of chaos and realised that the Patriarchate of Alexandria had two alternatives: either start energetic missionary work in Kenya or withdraw from the country and let the members of the Orthodox Church move to other churches.<sup>856</sup> The former demanded a new approach to investing spiritual and financial resources in East Africa, and the latter would have turned the initial triumph of the Orthodox mission in Africa into a catastrophe. It was no longer enough just to invite African youngsters to Europe, offer them a European education hoping that they would one day lead the Orthodox Church in tropical Africa.<sup>857</sup>

The Patriarch of Alexandria decided not to abandon the problematic diocese in Kenya, but to do everything he could to help matters along.

---

<sup>854</sup> Anastasios Yannoulatos, "Mission efforts in East Africa, during the period 1982-1986" (A concise account), March 1987, 2. *Holy Archbishopric of Irinoupolis. A-OL.*; Anastasios Yannoulatos, *The Orthodox Church in Kenya*, 1-2. *Holy Archbishopric of Irinoupolis. A-OL.*

<sup>855</sup> *Itola* 1983, 85.

<sup>856</sup> *Itola* 1983 85.

<sup>857</sup> *Itola* 1983 83.

He put Dr. Anastasios Yannoulatos in charge of the Archbishopric in 1981.<sup>858</sup> Yannoulatos had been a leading figure in the Orthodox missionary movement since the 1960s. He had written his thesis on East Africa, and had a long list of credits as an Orthodox and ecumenical missiologist. Yannoulatos knew the leaders of the AOC personally, from his journey in East Africa in 1964, and had presented them favourably in his report.<sup>859</sup> He was the professor of History of Religions at the University of Athens, and had many academic, ecclesiastical and ecumenical functions and duties. Because of his responsibilities at the university, he could not settle down in Kenya, but only visit East Africa frequently, and be in charge as an acting archbishop. Because Yannoulatos was not nominated the Archbishop of Irenoupolis, he could stay in the Patriarchate of Constantinople and was not transferred to the Patriarchate of Alexandria. Even though he was not able to be permanently present in Kenya, he was able to channel funds, invite theologians, priests, monks and nuns, and start the Patriarchal Seminary in Nairobi.

The Finnish missionaries had tried to be neutral in the confrontation between the Kenyan Auxiliary Bishop George Gathuna and the Greek Archbishop Frumentios. Yet they had seen the Kenyans as their partners in the development projects, not the Greeks. Naturally, they had to reconsider their stand after Gathuna had been defrocked.<sup>860</sup> When Anastasios arrived, the Finns joined him, but the new acting Archbishop had to strive hard in order to unify all the separate missionary groups. There were also American, Greek and Cypriot Orthodox.<sup>861</sup> The Finns had first worked with Kikuyu and Luhya, but

---

<sup>858</sup> *OL* 1982, 2. A-OL.

<sup>859</sup> *PGY* Vol. VII (IV) Nr 26 1965, 24-28; *PGY* Vol. VII (III-IV) Nr 27-28 1965, 48-51.

<sup>860</sup> The controversy continued for years, but George Gathuna was rehabilitated officially in 2004. Patriarch Petros VII of Alexandria confessed that the Patriarchate had been wrong defrocking Gathuna and Archbishop Makarios of Kenya celebrated a memorial service for Gathuna in July 2004. *Makarios* 2005, 163; *Eko* 2007, 287. Patriarch Petros and Archbishop Makarios were both from Cyprus; the Cypriots sympathised with the Kenyan nationalists while the Greeks were on the side of the colonial rule during the Kenyan struggle for independence.

<sup>861</sup> Anastasios Yannoulatos, Mission efforts in East Africa, during the period 1982-1986 (A concise account), March 1987, 15-16. *Holy Archbishopric of Irenoupolis. A-OL; Iltola* 1983, 86-87.

they had soon become used to live in an international Orthodox missionary family under the Greek speaking hierarchy.

The lay members of the FOM Board changed throughout the decade. The Chairman, Bishop Johannes (who represented the bishops), Vice Chairman Aleksander Korelin (who represented the clergy), and Treasurer Anja Hakonen, (who assumed the office of mission secretary part-time in 1983), stayed on the Board beyond the end of the decade. Hakonen became the mission secretary full-time from September 1984. None of the three had ever worked on any mission field, but the visits of the chairman and the mission secretary to East Africa strengthened the ties between the Board and the field.<sup>862</sup> The mother figure of the Finnish Orthodox mission activity, Siina Taulamo, went back and forth between Europe and Africa. She visited Kenya seven times during the period 1977-1982, staying in Kenya, all together, over five years. She was a member of the Board until 1982, and died in 1985. Anja Hakonen attended a course for mission secretaries, offered by the Evangelic Lutheran Church in Finland.<sup>863</sup> She also participated in a missionary training course of a Lutheran organisation the Finnish Missionary Society.<sup>864</sup> Missionaries who knew Kenya were a link between the mission field and the Home Board. One of the eight Board members was, customarily, a former missionary, and from 1981 to 1985, even two of the eight members were former missionaries.<sup>865</sup> Two other members of the Board left for missionary work in 1981-1990.<sup>866</sup> The returned missionaries usually attended the first Board meeting after their homecoming.<sup>867</sup>

---

<sup>862</sup> The chairman, Bishop Johannes, was elected the metropolitan of Karelia and Archbishop of All Finland in 1988, but he remained as the chairman of the FOM, and, on the strength of his hierarchic position, theological education and knowledge of languages, including Greek, could communicate better than anyone else, e.g. with the representatives of the Patriarchate of Alexandria and the Archbishopric of Irinoupolis. *OL 1983, 1984.* A-OL.

<sup>863</sup> *OL 1983, 3.* A-OL.

<sup>864</sup> *Hakonen*, interview 24.1.1997.

<sup>865</sup> Maria Iltola was a Board member from 1981-1983, Anneli Lisitsin from 1983-1985, and Eija Ipatti from 1983-1989. *OL 1978-1990.* A-OL.

<sup>866</sup> Pirkko Siili in 1983 and Anneli Lisitsin in 1985. *OL 1983, 1985.* A-OL.

<sup>867</sup> JK 7.12.1985 3 § c. *JK 1984-1989.* A-OL.

It became clear in the early 1980s to the Finnish Orthodox Mission and the Finnish missionaries that the Finns could no longer carry out their development plans directly with the Africans. All national Orthodox missions in Kenya had to merge together into an Inter-Orthodox body. This concept of an Inter-Orthodox mission limited the independence of the Finnish missionaries in Kenya. The Home Board had to advise the missionaries on how to adjust them to the new situation. The missionaries were used to being responsible to the FOM for their work, and maintaining a Finnish presence. This corresponded to the attitude of Archbishop Paavali who, at that time, was the Orthodox Metropolitan of Karelia and Archbishop of All Finland. On one hand, the Board was the employer of the missionaries, and they were responsible to the Board for the implementation of the Finnish Orthodox plans. On the other hand, their plans had to be compatible with the plans of the Archbishopric of Irinoupolis, and they needed the approval of the Archbishop. The Finns had wanted to postpone the problem until a permanent Archbishop was elected but Anastasios Yannoulatos remained the acting archbishop beyond 1990.

The Board of the FOM considered that the problem of organisation could be avoided, and that the Finns could maintain their independent activity in Kenya, while participating in the general work if they were given a limited area of their own within the Archbishopric of Irinoupolis. This idea was not carried into effect. The FOM development projects were, in any case, outside of the Inter-Orthodox cooperation, because in this activity the FOM regarded itself as an instrument of FINNIDA. According to the FOM, the Finnish government required that the institutions be built for non-denominational use and transferred to the Kenyan authorities.<sup>868</sup>

Two or three female Finnish missionaries had been living since the late 1970s, in Muguga in the Bethany Mission Centre. The missionaries changed regularly and the succession continued until 1983. While most of them stayed for only a few months, one stayed for

---

<sup>868</sup> JK 2.10.1982 6 §, 4.12.1982 6 §. *JK 1981-1984. A-OL.*

almost three years, and three others for a little over one and a half years. The departure of the last two female missionaries in June 1983, marked the end of one mission period. The Bethany Mission Centre had fulfilled its task. In July 1983, instead of the typical staff of two single women, a priest and his wife arrived.<sup>869</sup> They came in order to run development projects. Subsequently, the FOM again sent single women. Two nurses and a pharmacist, successively attended to the medical work, and a female theologian participated in education and supervised the projects.<sup>870</sup>

Project Manager Jouko Järviö made several journeys to Kenya, each lasting about half a year, spending the winter in Kenya. In January 1986 Järviö returned to Finland for good. Deeply frustrated he left his job, and the building projects were postponed and reduced.<sup>871</sup> The American-Finnish teacher, Charles Eko, continued teaching at Gimengwa School and participating in parish work. He was the only long-term worker of the FOM in Kenya. Anja Hakonen, Siina Taulamo's successor as the FOM mission secretary visited Kenya in 1987 and 1988. Hakonen realised during her visits how much the situation had changed in the mission field since the 1970s. After her second journey, the Board of the FOM stated clearly that all projects should be carried into effect in cooperation with the administration of the Archdiocese, not according to the Finns' own ideas.<sup>872</sup> After the number of Finnish missionaries in Kenya decreased, the Home Board sent money to the Archbishopric, and their administration accounted for how it had been spent.<sup>873</sup>

---

<sup>869</sup> *OL 1983*. A-OL.

<sup>870</sup> The terms of the missionaries from the very beginning up to 1983 are in *Iltola 1983*, 108-109; after that in the Annual Reports of the FOM. *OL 1983-1990*. A-OL. About Anneli Lisitsin's task in the projects: "Projektisuunnitelma 1986-1988 Sosiaali-projekti - Maissimylly", 2. Ortodoksinen Lähetys Kehitysmääräraahakemus 1986-88. *UMKYO 92-7*. A-UM; "Projektisuunnitelma 1986-1988 Sosiaaliprojekti - Leipomo", 2. Ortodoksinen Lähetys Kehitysmääräraahakemus 1986-88. *UMKYO 92-7*. A-UM.

<sup>871</sup> *Järviö*, interview 30.9.1994.

<sup>872</sup> Anja Hakonen's report to the Board. JK 29.10.1988 3 §. *JK 1984-1989*. A-OL.

<sup>873</sup> *Hakonen*, interview 26.4.1994.

### 3.3.3 Development Projects

When the Finnish Orthodox came in contact with the African Orthodox in the 1960s and 1970s they were deeply affected by their poverty. Since then the Finns privately sent humanitarian aid to the clergy and church members. The mission groups collected money, sold items, and organised sales. They sent money, clothes, sewing machines, medicines and books to Kenya.<sup>874</sup> In May 1974, the Brotherhood of SS. Sergius and Herman recommended channelling money through Archbishop Frumentios in Nairobi, except in the case of minor sums that could be sent direct to their destinations as well as parcels.<sup>875</sup>

Some supporters of mission work visited in East Africa in 1974, 1976 and 1977, and these journeys acquainted them with the local people and their needs.<sup>876</sup> The idea to build a Finnish mission station in East Africa appeared in the journal *Aamun Koitto* after the first journey.<sup>877</sup> The original idea was to start missionary work by sending a nurse-midwife for medical work and a Finnish principal to the school that the Finnish Orthodox supported in Uganda.<sup>878</sup> When the Finnish Orthodox diverted their attention from Uganda to Kenya, they invited a Kenyan visitor. Father Eleftherios Ndwaru travelled in Finland, with his wife, from October to December 1978, making Kenya, its Orthodox, and their needs known to the Finnish Orthodox. After this journey, the Finns were more ready to support their African brethren in faith in their ecclesiastical and secular needs.<sup>879</sup>

The African Orthodox in Uganda and Kenya received the Finns well but because of Idi Amin's rule, the Finns could not start their work in

---

<sup>874</sup> *Iltola* 1983, 95-97.

<sup>875</sup> PSHV:n lähetysjaosto 16.5.1974 3 §. *PSHV:n lähetysjaosto*. A-OL.

<sup>876</sup> Metropolitan Johannes and Siina Taulamo in March 1974, *Iltola* 1983, 18, teacher Maria Iltola, nurse Leena Hiljanen and deacon Timo Lehmuskoski in March-April 1976, *Iltola* 1983, 27 and Siina Taulamo and Maria Iltola in August 1977, *Iltola* 1983, 30.

<sup>877</sup> *Iltola* 1983, 20.

<sup>878</sup> PSHV:n lähetysjaosto 9.8.1975 6 §. *PSHV:n lähetysjaosto*. A-OL.; *Iltola* 1983, 27.

<sup>879</sup> *Iltola* 1983, 56.

Uganda. For political reasons, the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs did not grant money when the Orthodox applied for support for their school project in Uganda.<sup>880</sup> Therefore, the Finnish Orthodox presented another plan to the ministry. When the Finns had returned from Uganda to Nairobi, their African hosts negotiated with them on a building project in Nairobi. The Orthodox Church Centre intended for the African Orthodox Church in Kenya, would include a church, the Bishop's residence, meeting rooms, etc. Siina Taulamo and Maria Iltola revised the plan together with Auxiliary Bishop Gathuna, Fathers Eleftherios Ndwaru and Elias Buzinde, and the Nairobi town architect when they met in Nairobi in August 1977.<sup>881</sup> The FOM applied to the ministry for money for this centre but the ministry rejected the application.<sup>882</sup>

The Finnish Orthodox Mission was also involved in another project. A Finnish member organisation of the Associated Country Women of the World, the Martha Organisation (*Marttaliitto*) wanted to start development cooperation when the Finnish government began to channel its funds through the non-governmental organisations. The representatives of the Martha Organisation travelled in several African countries. Subsequently the Martha Organisation decided to start courses in home economics, in cooperation with the Mother Union of the Orthodox Church and the Finnish Orthodox Mission. The courses were intended for the representatives of the 169 villages of the Orthodox Church. According to the Martha Organisation, the Mother Unions were under the Department of Community Development in the Ministry of Housing and Social Services.<sup>883</sup>

---

<sup>880</sup> Kehitysyhteistyöasiain neuvottelukunta 2.6.1975. Anomukset v. 1975, 8. UM 12 R Suomi 10. A-UM; PSHV:n lähetysjaosto 8.1.1977 4 §. PSHV:n lähetysjaosto. A-OL.

<sup>881</sup> Maria Iltola, "Selostus Kenian ja Ugandan matkasta 18.-28.8.1977", 10. *Lähetysmappi 1978*. A-OL.

<sup>882</sup> The board of the FOM was less enthusiastic over the building project than was the mission secretary who visited Kenya. The board wanted first a general plan of Finnish activities in Kenya. Johtokunta 29.4.1978 9 §. *JK 1977-1989*. A-OL.

<sup>883</sup> Marttaliitto ry, "Kansalaisjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyön määräraha-anomus" 31.5.1978; Ehdotus Marttaliiton projektiksi Keniassa 13.2.1979; A letter of Metropolitan Johannes was attached to the application. He encouraged ML to organise courses in co-operation with the FOM and the Mother Union. Metropolitan



However, the Martha Organisation cancelled its application in April 1979.<sup>884</sup> It started a similar project some years later with another Kenyan partner, *Maendeleo ya Wanawake* (women's progress).<sup>885</sup>

The FOM missionaries were subordinated to the Archbishop of Irinoupolis following the guidelines in Bishop Johannes' letters to Archbishop Frumentios.<sup>886</sup> However, the contacts with the African Orthodox in Kenya were important for the Finnish Orthodox Mission in development projects because Siina Taulamo collected ideas for projects from African Orthodox pastors. Using these ideas, Jouko Järviö planned work, wrote applications, carried the projects out and sent reports to the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs.<sup>887</sup> The FOM carried on with its project of building a school in Gimengwa, and a clinic in Kereita, 30 km from Muguga. This health project also consisted of a mobile clinic in Laikipia and a dispensary in Gachika near Nyeri town.<sup>888</sup> The projects strengthened the position of the Finnish missionaries between the quarrelling parties.<sup>889</sup> In addition to churches, the FOM built a multipurpose house for the Mother Union in Gatonye near Muguga and wells in several locations in the diocese.<sup>890</sup>

### *School Projects*

When a Mission Committee was founded in Gimengwa in March 1978, by Auxiliary Bishop George Gathuna as well as other African

---

Johannes to Marttaliitto on 13.2.1979. *UM 12 R Suomi 10. A-UM*; About common courses in Johtokunta 22.2.1979 7 §. *JK 1977-1989. A-OL*.

<sup>884</sup> "Kansalaisjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyömääräraha-anomukset 1979". Marttaliitto. *UM 12 R Suomi 10. A-UM*.

<sup>885</sup> "Äiti ja lapsi Keniassa" -kotitalousneuvontaprojekti. *UM 3 92-6. A-UM. Lounela s.a. A-Lounela*.

<sup>886</sup> There are no signs that either side had signed either of these proposals. The Finnish version was dated 25.8.1980, and the ailing Archbishop Frumentios died on 17.3.1981. He had received the proposal from Finland, but Maria Iltola did not hear anything about the matter thereafter. *Iltola 1983 82-83, 85*.

<sup>887</sup> *Järviö*, interview 30.9.1994.

<sup>888</sup> *OL 1980, 1 and 3. A-OL; Sili 2007c, 422-423*.

<sup>889</sup> *Iltola 1983, 69*.

<sup>890</sup> Johtokunta 16.2.1980 2 §. *JK 1977-1989. A-OL*.

Orthodox and missionaries, the Finns became immediately involved in a development project. The representatives of the local people asked the Finnish missionaries for support for Gimengwa Primary School as it needed permanent buildings.<sup>891</sup> The FOM decided as early as in April to apply to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for funds.<sup>892</sup> Jouko Järviö accepted the task to put the development projects into effect.<sup>893</sup> The secretary of the African Orthodox Church in Kenya, Eleftherios Ndwaru – not Archbishop Frumentios – applied for a work permit for Järviö.<sup>894</sup> Järviö arrived in March 1979 and worked for almost one year. Later, he worked for several shorter periods.<sup>895</sup> The new facilities of the Gimengwa Primary School were inaugurated on 10 November 1979, and the school received an American-Finnish missionary teacher Charles Eko.<sup>896</sup> The first phase consisted of a school building with six classrooms.<sup>897</sup> The FOM continued its development cooperation in Gimengwa, and received funds for the extension of the Gimengwa school project in 1979.<sup>898</sup> The second phase consisted of the administration block and apartments for three teachers and one visiting missionary.<sup>899</sup> The third phase of the primary school in Gimengwa was completed in 1981.<sup>900</sup> The four original classrooms were renovated, two more were

---

<sup>891</sup> Elias Buzinde, "The Orthodox Mission in Kenya", 3; Charles E. Eko and Epainito R. Muguna, "Evaluation report of the Gimengwa Primary School Report" 1.8.1984. *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM; Muguna, Epainito R., "Acknowledgement and appreciations for phase I aid". 17.3.1979. OL, määräraha-anomus vuosille 1979-80. *UM* 12 R Suomi 10. A-UM.

<sup>892</sup> Johtokunta 29.4.1978 9 §. *JK 1977-1989*. A-OL.

<sup>893</sup> Järviö was a retired manager (isännöitsijä) of a large printing press. He had technical training (M. Sc. in Technology) and was willing to serve the Orthodox as a voluntary worker as he had served the Lutheran Finnish Missionary Society. Johtokunta 29.12.1978 12 §. *JK 1977-1989*. A-OL; *Iitola* 1983, 58; *Järviö*, interview 22.9.1994.

<sup>894</sup> This shows the close relationship between the Finnish development projects and the African Orthodox in the beginning.

<sup>895</sup> *Iitola* 1983, 109.

<sup>896</sup> *Iitola* 1983, 66; *OL* 1979, 2. A-OL.

<sup>897</sup> Charles E. Eko and Epainito R. Muguna, "Evaluation report of the Gimengwa Primary School Report" 1.8.1984. 1986/OL. 1. *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>898</sup> *OL* 1979, 1. A-OL.

<sup>899</sup> Charles E. Eko and Epainito R. Muguna, "Evaluation report of the Gimengwa Primary School Report" 1.8.1984, 1. 1986/OL. *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>900</sup> *OL* 1982. A-OL.

built, and all of them were furnished.<sup>901</sup> A Finnish company, KEFINCO, which was involved in water projects in the same Western Province, dug a borehole for the school.<sup>902</sup>

Charles Eko, who taught at Gimengwa, visited Finland in 1982, and informed the FOM about the needs at Gimengwa and the new situation in the mission field. He encouraged the Finnish missionaries to co-operate more closely with each other, the Home Board, the Orthodox from other countries, and, especially, with the Greek speaking hierarchy. He requested a small dispensary in Gimengwa and suggested that the FOM invite the Kenyan headmaster of the Gimengwa School, Epanito Muguna, to Finland.<sup>903</sup> When the headmaster travelled to Finland in 1983 he visited FINNIDA to request funds for a polytechnic secondary school.<sup>904</sup> Charles Eko repeated this request in his evaluation report on the Gimengwa project. He made reference to the policy of the Government of Kenya, which supported the idea of practical training.<sup>905</sup>

The FOM did not build a polytechnic or dispensary, but continued the project by constructing a new school building, which was ready in 1984, and installing electricity in the school.<sup>906</sup> Although the Gimengwa Primary School, in 1985, consisted of 14 classrooms, a staff house and an office building, the local people expected the project to continue. Both the headmaster and Eko repeated their requests for the secondary school, a small dispensary and support for starting a

---

<sup>901</sup> Charles E. Eko and Epanito R. Muguna, "Evaluation report of the Gimengwa Primary School Report" 1.8.1984, 2. 1986/OL, UM31 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>902</sup> E. Muguna and Ch. Eko "Gimengwa Primary School. Ref: Evaluation report of the Gimengwa Primary School Project" 1.8.1984. OL Kehitysmäärärahahakemus 1986-88. UM31 92-7. A-OL.

<sup>903</sup> Charles Eko at the meeting of the Board of the FOM. JK 27.4.1982 6 §. JK 1981-1984. A-OL.

<sup>904</sup> "Keskustelumuistio" 19.10.1983. Epanito Muguna and Markku Aroma. Ortodoksinen Lähetys 1983 II. UM31 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>905</sup> Charles E. Eko and Epanito R. Muguna, "Evaluation report of the Gimengwa Primary School Report" 1.8.1984, 3. 1986/OL. UM31 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>906</sup> Eko, Suomen Ortodoksinen Lähetys Länsi-Kenia. "Toimintakertomus 1984", 1. Toimintakertomukset 1978-1990. A-OL.

nursery.<sup>907</sup> Even though the Kenyan government paid the teachers' salaries, the school still needed support from FINNIDA for supplementary construction work, operating expenses, and especially for the salary of Charles Eko, who continued as a teacher and was also responsible for the project. The new buildings were primarily intended for practical subjects, not for a secondary school. Former pupils could only receive vocational training when they had completed their primary education. In 1988 FOM applied, for the first time, for funds to build the nursery, and after that pre-primary education was a part of the project.<sup>908</sup>

At the end of the year 1981, the chairman, headmaster and secretary of the Lobere Primary School sent a letter to the Finnish missionaries in asking them to apply for funds for a permanent school. It promised support from a Cabinet Minister, G. G. Kariuki, who was a leading Kikuyu politician and whose constituency this was, and an architect from the Ministry of Basic Education. Copies of the letter were sent to the minister in question, to government officers at both district and the division levels, and to the former secretary of the AOC, Father Eleftherios Ndwaru, in Nairobi.<sup>909</sup> The original plan for the school at Lobere included nine classrooms, workshops, dormitories, a kitchen, a dining hall, teachers' houses, a school assembly hall, bathrooms and toilets, an administration block, a dispensary or clinic, a day nursery

---

<sup>907</sup> E. Muguna and Ch. Eko "Gimengwa Primary School" (date 1.8.1984). Ortodoksinen Lähetys Kehitysmääräraahakemus 1986-88. *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>908</sup> "Projektin loppuraportti. Gimengwan peruskouluraportti 1984-1985". Ortodoksinen Lähetys Kehitysmääräraahakemus 1986-88. *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM; "Projektisuunnitelma 1986-1988. Gimengwa Primary School". Ortodoksinen Lähetys Kehitysmääräraahakemus 1986-88. *UM* KYO 92-7. A-UM; *Kansalais- ja lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyöhankkeet 1991*, 70. A-UM.

<sup>909</sup> The letter was signed by Chairman Samuel Kunyare, Secretary (Headmaster) Moses Mwangi and Treasurer Samuel Mwangi. They sent copies to Minister of State in the President's Office G.G. Kariuki, District Basic Education Officer (in Laikipia District), Assistant Basic Education Officer in Ng'arua division, District Officer, Ng'arua Division and Father E. Ndwaru Muiruri. Lobere P/S to Sisters in Christ Jesus, FOM, Bethania Muguga Parish 28.12.1981. OL Keh. määräraha 1982 I. *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM. Demetrios Kinyanjui, Kenian ortodoksinen kirkko. *Lähetysmappi 1978-*. A-OL.

school, a school library and a laundry.<sup>910</sup> Jouko Järviö scaled down the plans of the school and reduced the cost estimate, and FOM applied to FINNIDA for money in 1982.<sup>911</sup> At first, the school centre consisted of three buildings, but the headmaster made a new initiative and the school applied, about one year later, for an additional five classrooms.<sup>912</sup> The Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs granted funds in 1982-83 and the Lobere people thus acquired two school buildings, each with five classrooms, an office building with six rooms and a staff house with three rooms,.

The school was inaugurated in March 1984.<sup>913</sup> The Roman Catholic English School in Helsinki sent textbooks through the FOM to Lobere, and the FOM also gave school materials and equipment to the school in Lobere.<sup>914</sup> In 1986, the FOM again applied to FINNIDA for funds for a meeting hall, with a dispensary, nursery, office, guest room, meeting room or classroom, and three more classrooms for the primary school.<sup>915</sup> Because Project Manager Jouko Järviö had left in January 1986, he was unable to build more for the school. Nevertheless, Lobere became the base for the second phase of the FOM health project.

The people in Karunga, near Gilgil, founded a *harambee* secondary school, and they wanted a permanent building with four classrooms. They hoped that the government would send at least one teacher if the school had proper facilities. In order to get financial support, both the Board of Governors and the Parents Association resolved that the

---

<sup>910</sup> Lobere P/S to Sisters, FOM 28.12.1981, OL Keh. määräraha 1982 I. *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>911</sup> Metropolitan Johannes to UM KYO 12.3.1982. OL Keh. määräraha 1982 IUM 31 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>912</sup> Jouko Järviö's report JK 28.8.1982 6 §. *JK 1981-84*. A-OL; Headmaster Moses Mwangi to Metropolitan Johannes, FOM 27.1.1983. *JK 1981-84*. A-OL; JK 20.8.1983. 8 § 3. *JK 1981-84*. A-OL.

<sup>913</sup> JK 20.8.1983. *JK 1981-84*. A-OL. *OL 1984*. A-OL.

<sup>914</sup> "Projektisuunnitelma 1985-1987 Lobere Primary School". Ortodoksinen Lähetys Kehitysmäärärahahakemus 1986-88.. *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM; "Ortodoksinen lähetysten kehitysyhteistyöhankkeita Keniassa", *LV (Orthodox)* 3/1988, 11.

<sup>915</sup> "Projektisuunnitelma 1986-1987. Lobere Primary School", 1. Ortodoksinen Lähetys Kehitysmäärärahahakemus 1986-88. *UMKYO* 92-7. A-UM.

Orthodox Mission should sponsor the school and build the needed facilities. The Board and the Parents' Council of the school supplied the information that they had requested the Finnish Orthodox Mission to build the new school and they said that the Finns had agreed to the request. The planning committee included the chief, the local Orthodox priest, the headmaster, representatives from the Board and the Parents' Council, and the Finnish missionary priest.<sup>916</sup> FOM applied to FINNIDA for funds for the planning and building of the Karunga *Harambee* Secondary School in 1986 and 1987.<sup>917</sup> The Nakuru District Development Plan emphasised the need for secondary schools in this area.<sup>918</sup> However, FOM did not finance the building of the school.

In Nyeri, the people in Ngoru also requested a secondary school. Jouko Järviö had brought the matter before the Board as early as in 1982,<sup>919</sup> but FOM decided to work on other projects first, and received funds to build the school in 1989. According to the original plan the school, intended for 200-400 pupils, should have been completed in the following year, but the project proceeded slowly and it was built in the early 1990s. One reason of the delay of the project in Ngoru was that FOM did not have any Finnish builder in Kenya.<sup>920</sup> When the school projects were completed they were Kenyanised and handed over to the Kenyan government.<sup>921</sup>

---

<sup>916</sup> The school sent a letter regarding sponsorship to the local District Education Officer and a copy to the representative of the Finnish Orthodox Mission, Teppo Siili, who was the Orthodox priest in that area. Headmaster David J. Mwangi to the District Education Officer 1.8.1984. "Ortodoksinen Lähetys Kehitysmääräraahakemus 1986-88". *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>917</sup> "Projektisuunnitelma 1986-1988 Karunga Harambee Secondary School." Ortodoksinen Lähetys Kehitysmääräraahakemus 1986-88. *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM; JK 12.7.1986 4 § 1. *JK 1984-1989*. A-OL; *OL 1987*, 3. A-OL.

<sup>918</sup> *Nakuru District Development Plan 1984-1988*, 17.

<sup>919</sup> Jouko Järviö's report. JK 28.8.1982 6 § c. *JK 1984-1989*. A-OL.

<sup>920</sup> Ortodoksinen Lähetys KEN/Orthodox Secondary School. Kehitysyhteistyöosaston tukemat kansalaisjärjestöhankkeet v. 1989. A-UM; Kansalaisjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyöhankkeet 1991, 70-71. A-UM.

<sup>921</sup> *Hänninen*, interview 8.6.2007.

### *Health Project*

An extensive health project demanded the attention of the missionaries during the second half of the 1980s. It consisted of three phases. The first phase included the building of a dispensary in Kereita, 25 km from Muguga. The construction began in 1982 and was finished in 1984. The Kereita Dispensary opened in February 1985 and was transferred to the local staff and committee in October.<sup>922</sup> The second phase improved mobile clinic services in Laikipia. Its base of support was the new house of the missionaries in Lobere. Two Finnish nurses regularly visited about 15 locations in the surrounding countryside from 1985. When they left in 1988, the project was Kenyanised but the Kenyans did not have cars and the programme could not continue.<sup>923</sup> During the third phase a dispensary was opened in Gachika in the Nyeri District. A local company built the house in 1988, and a Finnish pharmacist started running it. She also organised health education throughout the archdiocese.<sup>924</sup> The FOM started to transfer the Gachika Dispensary to a local committee in 1989, but this process was not accomplished according to the timetable.<sup>925</sup> This dispensary also got its own committee with representatives from the local administration.<sup>926</sup> In the beginning of the health project, the Finns sent medicine and instruments to the missionary nurses in Kenya. Even the members of the Order of Lazarus of Jerusalem donated medicines through the FOM.<sup>927</sup>

---

922 "Loppuraportti. Terveystenhoitoprojekti". Ortodoksinen Lähetys. Kehitysmääräraahakemus 1986-88.. *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM. When the health projects were completed, the Finnish Orthodox Kenyanised them handing them over to the archdiocese and the local congregation not to the Kenyan government, as with the school projects. *Hänninen*, interview 8.6.2007.

923 *Hänninen*, interview 8.6.2007.

924 *OL* 1988-1989. A-OL.; "Ortodoksinen Lähetysten kehitysyhteistyöhankkeita Keniassa" *LV*(Orthodox) 3/1988, 12-13.

925 *Kansalais- ja lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyöhankkeet 1991*, 70. A-UM.

926 *Hakonen*, interview 5.5.1994.

927 *OL* 1982, 3. A-OL.; *OL* 1984, 6. A-OL. The Lazarus of Jerusalem was a medieval order from the Netherlands, which originally had a special duty of protecting leper hospitals.

Health education was included in the programme of Kereita as early as during the first phase in 1981, but this activity became more important during the second phase in 1986-1987. The Finnish missionaries tried to train Kenyan communal health workers, who could continue the work independently after the project had been Kenyanised.<sup>928</sup> Family planning was also included in the education, and the missionary nurse reported about this activity to the FOM.<sup>929</sup> The Home Board did not want to take a stand in this sensitive issue, but instead, the Board advised Nurse Liisa Kyöstilä to consult the hierarchic leadership of the diocese.<sup>930</sup> The FOM did not mention family planning in its applications or reports after that. It was not a part of the normal services in Orthodox clinics.

### *Other Projects*

Mission Secretary Siina Taulamo forwarded messages from Muguga to the Board of FOM in February 1980 relating that the local people wanted a multipurpose house for the Mother Union.<sup>931</sup> When the third phase of the Gimengwa Primary School was completed, FOM applied to FINNIDA for funds for a project in Gatonye near Muguga, in the heartland of the African Orthodox Church in Kenya. FOM received funds from FINNIDA in 1981 and 1982 and the house was completed in 1982 and donated to the local community.<sup>932</sup>

The colleagues of a Finnish businessman wanted to celebrate his birthday and have his portrait painted, but the businessman

---

<sup>928</sup> "Projektisuunnitelma 1985-1987. Terveystenhoitoprojekti". Ortodoksinen Lähetys Kehitysmääräraahakemus 1986-88. 1986/OL. UM 31 92-7. A-UM; "Edistymisraportti Terveystenhoitoprojekti" 22.7.1985. Ortodoksinen Lähetys Kehitysmääräraahakemus 1986-88. 1986/OL. UM 31 92-7. A-UM; Loppuraportti Terveystenhoitoprojekti. 5.11.1986. Ortodoksinen Lähetys Kehitysmääräraahakemus 1986-88. 1986/OL. UM 31 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>929</sup> OL 1985, 3. A-OL.

<sup>930</sup> JK 12.7.1986 4 § b). JK 1984-1989. A-OL.

<sup>931</sup> JK 16.2.1980 Liite pöytäkirjaan 1/80, Muistio pykälästä 7. A-OL. The site of the house is sometimes called Gatonye, sometimes Muguga and sometimes Kamugaga.

<sup>932</sup> JK 10.1.1981 7 §; JK 12.9.1982 9 §; JK 28.8.1982 6 §. JK 1981-84. A-OL; "Evaluatio 1984". Ortodoksinen Lähetys. Kenia. OL Keh. määräraha 1982 I. 1982/YL 1982/4940. UM 31 92-7. A-UM.



preferred, instead, that a donation be made to a charitable cause. As he knew about the FOM school projects in Kenya, he contacted the former project manager, Jouko Järviö. Järviö suggested digging wells instead of building schools or classrooms because such a project would be more flexible, and it would be easier to make plans according to the sum available. Therefore, the tradesmen in North Karelia, where Orthodox Christianity was common, collected money for wells in Kenya. The goal was to build 30 wells in those villages where the Kenyan Orthodox were living.<sup>933</sup> This project crossed church boundaries, because the donor, as well as Jouko Järviö were Lutherans, as were many – probably most – of the contributors.

The Board considered that the FOM should hire a professional builder for the unfinished and new projects in Kenya, but believed that it could start the well project without sending a new worker from Finland.<sup>934</sup> Teppo Siili, a missionary priest in Kenya, drafted the plans, which the Board forwarded to FINNIDA. Because Siili was near the end of his term, the Board put an advertisement in the paper, to find his successor for the well project.<sup>935</sup> Jouko Järviö had not volunteered for the well project, but, when the FOM did not find any other builder, he was ready to go to Kenya. Järviö arrived at the beginning of October 1985 and started work immediately. The wife of the State President of Finland, Mrs Tellervo Koivisto was the protector of the fund raising, and she was expecting to inaugurate one of these wells only one month later. With the help of a Finnish company working on water projects in Kenya, Järviö was so successful in his task, that the guests of honor could open two wells with due ceremony in presence of the other Finnish visitors.<sup>936</sup>

The Board of FOM nominated a team of three members for this project in October 1985. Unfortunately, the well project did not progress

---

<sup>933</sup> Jouko Järviö, "Kaivoprojekti alkuun", *UV* 8/1985, 12.

<sup>934</sup> JK 29.12.1984 6 § 1) 2. *JK 1981-84*. A-OL.

<sup>935</sup> JK 24.4.1985 4 §. *JK 1981-84*. A-OL.

<sup>936</sup> *Järviö*, interview 22.09.1994; *OL 1985*, 7. A-OL; Antero *Manninen*, "Suomen ortodoksien kaivoprojekti Keniassa vv. 1984-1992", 2-4. A-OL and A-Lounela; "Tellervo Koiviston ja arkkipiispan kaivot toimivat Keniassa", *AK* 4/86, 57.

according to the plans. Due to technical problems, it was possible to complete only about one half of the intended 30 wells.<sup>937</sup> Project manager Jouko Järviö fell ill and had to return to Finland in January 1986.<sup>938</sup> One of the members of the well team visited Kenya after Järviö's return, but could stay for only three weeks.<sup>939</sup> After that, the local Finnish missionaries – who were teachers and nurses – took over the well project. The last part of the project was a borehole, which was drilled near the Gachika Dispensary in 1988.<sup>940</sup> The personnel and machines of the Finnish company, KEFINCO, which had been working on water projects in West Kenya, had a decisive role in the start of the FOM well project. KEFINCO also assisted FOM later on.<sup>941</sup>

---

<sup>937</sup> "Projektisuunnitelma 1985-1987. Kaivoprojekti". Ortodoksinen Lähetys Kehitysmääräraahakemus 1986-88. *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM; "Projektin loppuraportti 16.10.1986. Kaivoprojekti". Ortodoksinen Lähetys Kehitysmääräraahakemus 1986-88. *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM; "Projektisuunnitelma 1986-1988. Kaivoprojekti". Ortodoksinen Lähetys Kehitysmääräraahakemus 1986-88. *UM* 31 92-7 A-UM; Jouko Järviö visited Kenya in 1991 and was disappointed with the results of the project. "Ministeriö tutkii ort. lähetysken Kenian kaivoprojektin rahoitusta: Pohjois-Karjalasta alkunsa saanut kaivoprojekti jäi kesken, sanoo projektin suomalainen vetäjä Jouko Järviö" (news item with Järviö's interview) *Karjalainen* 6.8.1994. Archbishop Johannes replied to the critics. Arkkipiispa Johannes, "Ortodoksien kaivoprojekti Keniassa", *AK* 18/1994, 1.

<sup>938</sup> The cooperation between Järviö and the leadership of the FOM did not progress well in 1985. The Board of the FOM decided on 18.1.1986 that it was no longer using Järviö's services in the well project and Järviö returned to Finland on 26.1.1986. *JK* 18.1.1986 3 § b) 2. *JK 1984-1989*. A-OL. The FOM was not able to send any other competent projects manager who could stay in Kenya.

<sup>939</sup> The members of the team were Aleksander Korelin, the Board's vice chairman, Teppo Siili, who had worked in Kenya as a missionary priest 21.7.1983-4.8.1985, and Tapani Kuusela, who visited Kenya in February 1986. After Kuusela, Anneli Lisitsin and Charles Eko supervised the project. The businessman who initiated the project was Jaakko Paalasmaa, and he, himself, had suggested that such a team be created, when the project met difficulties in 1985. *JK* 7.12.1985 3 § d 1. *JK 1984-1989*. A-OL; *OL* 1983, 1. A-OL; *OL* 1985, 4. A-OL *OL* 1986, 2. A-OL.

<sup>940</sup> "Ortodoksinen lähetyskehitysyhteistyöhankkeita Keniassa", *LV* (Orthodox) 3/1988, 13. This borehole did not belong to the original plan but it was the most expensive part of the project. A Kenyan company dug the borehole in the plot of a convent of Greek nuns but it did not cover the needs of the Gachika Dispensary or the village. "Loppuraportti 31.5.1993. Ortodoksinen Lähetys. Kaivoprojekti. Länsi- ja Keski-Kenia (Rift-Valley ja Loberen alueet) 1986-1990. *UM* 92.61. A-UM; *Manninen* 1993 A-Lounela; *Hänninen*, interview 8.6.2007.

<sup>941</sup> *OL* 1985, 4. A-OL; *Toimintakertomukset* 1978-1990. A-OL; *JK* 13.12.1986 3 § 6. *JK 1984-1989*. A-OL.; "Kaivoprojekti alkuun" (an interview of Jouko Järviö) *UV* 8/1985, 12.

FOM received money from FINNIDA to send a group of eight people to Kenya, for about three weeks in July and August 1984. The members of the group studied African culture and the Kenyan way of life. They also participated in work as volunteers, became acquainted with local people and collected material in order to inform the Finnish supporters of projects. The visitors were well received by the Kenyans, who also invited other groups to Kenya.<sup>942</sup> In 1986, FOM applied for funds for three small projects namely, a maize mill in Gimengwa, a bakery in Kabartini near Gimengwa and the planning of Karunga secondary school.<sup>943</sup> The maize mill and the bakery were planned as self-help projects in order that the women in the local Mother Union groups could run the projects in the future. The mill was still incomplete at the end of the decade, despite the efforts of its supervisor, Charles Eko to get it running.<sup>944</sup> The supervision of both of these industrial projects belonged to the duties of a female Finnish parish worker, Anneli Lisitsin, but she soon returned to Finland.<sup>945</sup> Thereafter, the FOM did not apply to FINNIDA for any more support for either project.

### *Social Work without Support from FINNIDA*

FOM continued collecting money for its work in Kenya. It had to pay its own share of the development projects, but it also gathered funds from Finland for other social purposes. The Orthodox organised nurseries in the parishes because children gathered in churches or schools where there was no building, especially for children under school age. The Finnish Orthodox supported the payment of the

---

<sup>942</sup> "Projektin loppuraportti. "Tukiryhmän" tuotantomatka Keniaan". Ortodoksinen Lähetys Keh. määräraha 1984-86. *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM.

<sup>943</sup> JK 18.1.1986 5 §. *JK 1984-1989*. A-OL.

<sup>944</sup> An information letter of the FOM on 17.3.1991, quoting a letter of Charles Eko. A-Lounela.

<sup>945</sup> "Projektisuunnitelma 1986-1988 Sosiaaliprojekti – Maissimylly", 2. Ortodoksinen Lähetys Kehitysmäärärahahakemus 1986-88. *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM; "Projektisuunnitelma 1986-1988 Sosiaaliprojekti – Leipomo", 2. Ortodoksinen Lähetys Kehitysmäärärahahakemus 1986-88. *UM* 31 92-7. A-UM.

construction or the operating expenses.<sup>946</sup> It was not only the wishes of the local people, but the education policy of the Kenyan government also to encouraged people to build nurseries. The Government promised to pay the salaries of competent teachers in schools that fulfilled official requirements.<sup>947</sup>

The missionary priest's wife, Pirkko Siili, taught women at Mother Union meetings.<sup>948</sup> FOM arranged Kenyan godchildren for Finnish godparents whom the Finns supported individually. The Finns could also pay the school fees of Kenyan pupils attending secondary or technical schools. In 1984, FOM organised a hunger project, for the purpose of collecting money for food and medicine, and distributing them within its parishes in Kenya.<sup>949</sup> Mission Secretary Siina Taulamo encouraged the Finnish Orthodox to join small-scale humanitarian aid efforts.<sup>950</sup>

The Lobere Primary School also offered to be the base for another development project. The Association for Educational Activity (*Opintotoiminnan Keskusliitto*) organised an education and literacy project in Laikipia, from 1986 up to the 1990s. It worked through the Finnish Orthodox because FOM was a member of its organisation. The Association for Educational Activity promised in its application that a FOM missionary could supervise work of the local teacher and the use of the money.<sup>951</sup>

---

<sup>946</sup> The FOM supported Mathakwa Nursery in 1980, St. Elias Nursery in Meru in 1981, St. Mattheus Nursery in Bunyore in 1982, and St. Luke's Nursery in Nyeri in 1982. *Iltola* 1983, 98. The Finns also supported nurseries in Sidion, Gimengwa, Ebujuangu, Lobere and Muguga. Anneli Lisitsin, Lastentarhat Keniassa *AK* 22/1984, 264-265.

<sup>947</sup> Charles E. Eko, Gimengwan peruskouluhankkeen III vaihe – lastentarha – on jo toiminassa *LV* (Orthodox) 2/1989, 31.

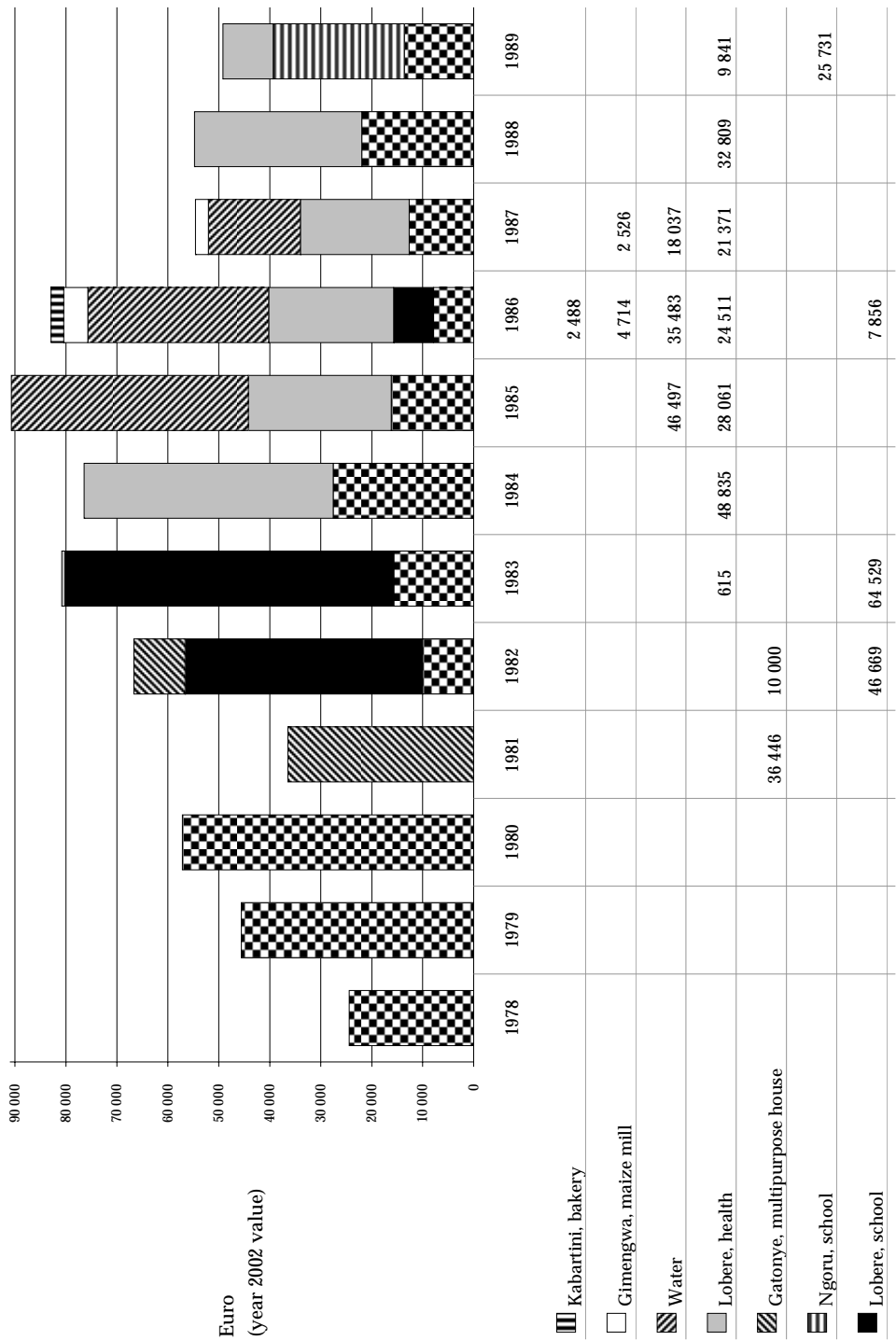
<sup>948</sup> *OL* 1984, A-OL, 4; *OL* 1985, 3, A-OL.

<sup>949</sup> *OL* 1984, 2 and 5-6, A-OL.

<sup>950</sup> Her report paints a good picture of various targets in Kenya. Siina Taulamo, "Nyt on kiitoksen aika", *AK* 15-16/1982, 304.

<sup>951</sup> Opintotoiminnan Keskusliitto. Kansalaisjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyön tukeminen 1986-1988. *UM* 31 92-7, A-UM.

Figure 6 Funds from the Finnish government to the FOM 1978-1989<sup>952</sup>



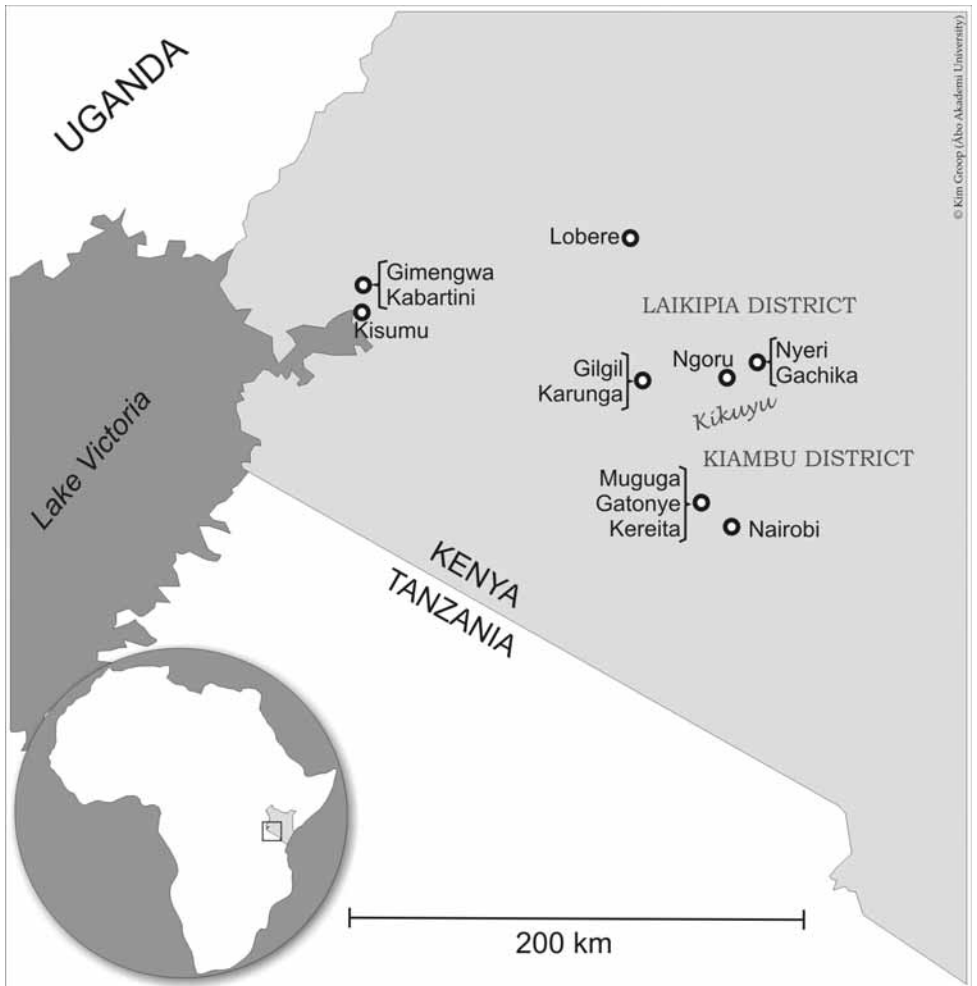
<sup>952</sup> Kehitysyhteistyö 1978-1989; UM12 and UM92. A-UM; JK 1977-1989. A-OL.

The third phase of building a primary school in Gimengwa was completed in 1981, but the project continued until the end of the decade because the school needed money for its staff, equipment, facilities and extension. FOM built another primary school in Lobere and started planning a secondary school in Ngoru. The multipurpose house in Gachika was intended for adult education and community development, especially among women. FOM started a health project in three phases: a dispensary in Kereita was completed in 1984, mobile clinics in Laikipia started in 1985 and a health centre was built in Gachika in 1988. The development policy of the UN and the Finnish government was best seen in the education, health and water projects.<sup>953</sup> The small industrial projects employed local people.

---

<sup>953</sup> *Everyone's United Nations* 1986, 196 and 200.; *Broms* 1990, 625; *International Development Strategy* 1970, 4-5; cf. *Kansainvälisen kehitysyhteistyön periaateohjelma* 1975, 4; *Pietilä*, 1985, 16.

*Map 5 The FOM in development cooperation in Kenya from 1974*



## 4 Conclusions

In this treatise I have investigated four Finnish mission agencies in the context of government supported development work in Kenya. The agencies were the Pentecostal Finnish Free Foreign Mission (FFFM), the Swedish Lutheran Evangelical Association in Finland (SLEAF) and its Finnish-speaking counterpart, the Lutheran Evangelical Association in Finland (LEAF) and the Finnish Orthodox Mission (FOM). In the introduction three questions were posed to which particular attention was to be given in the research. Now it is time to summarise the results that the investigation has given regarding the questions at issue.

### *What was the attitude of the mission agencies with regard to government aid?*

The four Finnish mission agencies, mentioned above, had a positive attitude. Among the Lutherans, some leaders and missionaries of SLEAF criticised the development aid in the 1960s but the representatives of SLEAF tried hard to get funds from the Finnish government for a vocational school in Kenya as early as in the beginning of the 1970s when it was not yet possible. The leaders of LEAF had in their mind development projects when they planned work in Kenya at the end of the 1960s. When some members of the Finnish Parliament proposed in their motion in 1970 that the government should channel development fund through mission agencies, the FFFM and LEAF were mentioned as good examples. The Pentecostals who supported the FFFM emphasised, however, that it was not right to use government funds in spiritual work, and here they totally agreed with the policy of the Finnish government. These funds were not for religious activity but exclusively for development projects. A minority of about 20-25% of the Pentecostal preachers and leaders opposed the public funds totally in the decisive vote in 1979, and also many missionaries were against the public funds or at least against the way a small group had organised this significant issue. The Orthodox began their missionary work later than the Pentecostals and Lutherans, but they thought that they had a right to receive



public funds for their social work in Kenya as well as the other Christians. All four associations applied for development funds regularly when it became possible.

The Pentecostals, Lutherans and Orthodox had already received support from public funds in Kenya before the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs began to channel funds through mission agencies for development projects in 1974. As early as in the 1960s, the Kenyan government had supported Pentecostals in Kapedo hospital, schools and relief work and in Homa Bay orphanage. The Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA) had channelled funds to development projects in the Lutheran Church of Kenya through the Swedish Lutheran Mission and the chairman of LEAF had development projects in his mind when he and the director of LEAF negotiated with the leaders of the Lutheran Church of Kenya about opening the new mission field in Kenya. Among the Orthodox, both the African Orthodox and the Greek speaking leaders had close contacts with political rulers. The African Orthodox were a part of the ruling national movement in Kenya and in Greece and Cyprus, the Orthodox Church and the state were closely connected with each other.

The Pentecostals received support from the Finnish government for development projects from 1974, both Lutheran associations from 1977 and the Orthodox from 1978. The Finnish speaking Lutherans sent their first application as early as in 1974 but it was rejected by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs due to its technical defects. In the FFFM, an unregistered group of Pentecostals under the name *Lähetysten Kehitysapu* (LKA) sought support for social projects of Pentecostal missionaries. The LKA worked formally under the FFFM, and after long discussions, the Pentecostals approved the LKA policy when the representatives of the Pentecostal congregations agreed in 1979 that the FFFM could use money from the Finnish government for development projects.

When the Pentecostals approved the use of public funds, they wanted to keep these separated from the mission offerings of the members.

The mission offerings were intended for spiritual work or evangelism. The Pentecostals said that money from other sources than from the believers should only be used for social work and in countries where evangelising missionary work was not possible. The doors for evangelising missionary work were wide open in Kenya, but here the Pentecostals planned that the LKA could release evangelising missionaries from social projects and add resources for spiritual work when it was no longer necessary to use mission offerings for social projects.

There were, however, Pentecostals working in Kenya who did not accept public funds. Many missionaries and congregations that were connected with the Finnish Free Foreign Mission did not accept the use of public funds in missionary work. A small independent Finnish Pentecostal missionary society, called the Zion Harvest Mission, later *Siion Lähetys*, avoided links with the Finnish government and was absolutely against the use of public funds for its projects.

*To what extent did the mission agencies receive government aid?*

Finnish mission agencies received government funds of almost 8 million euros for development projects in Kenya during the period 1974-1989. The FFFM alone received about one half of this sum (3,4 M) and the three others together received the other fifty percent: SLEAF 0,9 M, LEAF 1,8 M and FOM 0,7 M. This corresponded roughly to the volume of their missionary work in Kenya because FFFM was the largest, FOM the smallest, and LEAF was larger than SLEAF.

Although the government of Finland channelled more funds through mission agencies every year and the share of the non-governmental organisations was cut from 50% to 40% in 1984, the amount the Finnish mission agencies received for development projects in Kenya decreased rather after 1984; only the support to FFFM increased annually. Both Lutheran mission agencies and the FOM received less government support in 1989 than in 1984. The Lutherans and the Orthodox had different reasons why they used less public development funds at the end of the 1980s.

The Lutherans carried the development projects out in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya. The leaders of this church knew that their Nordic partner missions were able to build large social institutions using money from their government but the African church would not be able to run these institutions in the future when the government support ended after a limited period. The social projects were not self-supporting nor profit making. The Lutheran mission agencies had a lot of concern about the existing projects and LEAF failed totally in its attempt to found a large profit making agricultural project.

The development cooperation revealed the deep rift between the African Orthodox and the local Archdiocese of Irinoupolis in the Orthodox Church in Kenya. The Finns planned the development projects in good cooperation with the African Orthodox but independent of the Archdiocese of Irinoupolis. When the Finns and Kenyans started carrying out these plans, the Alexandrian Patriarchate defrocked the Kikuyu Auxiliary Bishop who was the leader of the African Orthodox and the Orthodox Church in Kenya was forced into a chaotic situation. The Patriarchate of Alexandria tried to solve the problem by nominating the most prominent Orthodox missiologist Anastasios Yannoulatos as acting Archbishop of Irinoupolis. He united all missionaries from different countries into a missionary family. FOM had run its projects independent of the Archdiocese of Irinoupolis, but the leaders of the archdiocese integrated the Finnish development projects into the work of the archdiocese. The Finnish project manager Jouko Järviö was a Lutheran and remained an outsider under the new policy. He could not adapt himself to the change and cooperate with the Orthodox bishops in the new circumstances. Nobody else with the same high technical training and long experience in industrial life replaced him, and the FOM mostly completed unfinished plans after his final departure in the beginning of 1986. The Finnish project activity among the Orthodox in Kenya began to disappear gradually.

*How did the government aid affect the organisation and work of the mission agencies?*

The effects of the government aid are clearly seen in the organisation of the mission agencies. Only registered Finnish societies could receive development funds from the government of Finland. The Pentecostals and Orthodox had to reorganise themselves in order to meet this requirement and adjust themselves to the pattern where registered societies represented the church in mission, as was the case among the Lutherans. The Pentecostals and Orthodox agreed, like the Lutherans, that mission is a matter for the church but they applied this doctrine in a different way and this caused different problems and solutions in their organisation.

When the Finnish government started to channel development funds through registered non-governmental organisations, some Pentecostals wanted to use this opportunity. The Pentecostals emphasised that the local sending congregations were the real mission agencies but they were mostly small and not ready for development projects, neither was the umbrella organisation the Finnish Free Foreign Mission (FFFM) because development cooperation was not part of its field of activity. Only Pentecostals joined the *Lähetysten Kehitysapu* (LKA), and therefore Kalevi Helimäki, Vilho Kivikangas and Pauli Rantanen made it the tool of the Pentecostals in development cooperation. This was the beginning of the reorganisation among the Pentecostals. Arto Hämäläinen had, as early as in 1975, gathered well trained professionals who wanted to serve in mission fields with their skills, and they founded a new organisation, called the Finnish Christian Development Aid (FINCO). At significant meetings in 1979, the Pentecostals decided three important things. First, the preachers and elders considered in the Winter Conference that the LKA should remain an unregistered society and work under the FFFM. Secondly, the Annual Meeting of FINCO decided to dissolve FINCO, merging it into the FFFM, and thirdly, the Annual Meeting of the FFFM decided that the FFFM changes its bylaws so that development aid was included in its activities. When Hämäläinen became the mission secretary of the FFFM in 1987, the LKA became a

recognised department of the FFFM and development cooperation an integral part of the activity of the FFFM.

The mission agencies had to invest in the development projects as much money as the government granted to them. Because the Pentecostals had decided to use their own mission offerings for evangelism, not for social work, and the public development funds only covered a part of the costs, the LKA had to collect money from outsiders for the projects. The Pentecostals had successful fund-raisings in Finland and organised a net of second-hand shops and founded a factory to process rejected textiles. Through these campaigns, the Pentecostals reached people who did not have other contact with them. Thus, the LKA emphasised the humanitarian character of its activity calling it development aid, and was busy trying to meet the needs of the local community and administration in Kenya. In Finland, it was important to reduce the prejudices of the customers and prospective donors by showing how political leaders in Kenya, as well as in Finland, appreciated the work of the LKA. Almost all of the people who pledged to support the LKA regularly were not members of the Pentecostal congregations. Participation in development cooperation thus led to public fund-raisings and an extensive commercial and even industrial activity and gave a new face to the Finnish Pentecostals in a revolutionary way.

In Kenya, the Pentecostals also met problems because the church organisation was not appropriate for development cooperation projects. The local Kenyan congregations were not real partners of the LKA in development projects and the Full Gospel Churches in Kenya was only an umbrella organisation of the independent local congregations. Thus, the Pentecostals found themselves in closer cooperation than the Lutherans with the Kenyan government at all levels. Project Manager Åke Söderlund utilised his personal contacts with the Vice President and later President Daniel arap Moi. The Pentecostals attached recommendations from prominent Kenyan officials in their project applications and their projects corresponded to the Kenyan District Development Plans better than the projects of the Lutherans or the Orthodox.

The Dioceses and monasteries were the normal patterns of organisation among the Orthodox. Thus, the Orthodox had no suitable organisation when the first Finnish Orthodox wanted to start missionary work in the 1950s, and the Church did not found a new society. When a mission awakening began among the Finnish Orthodox in the 1970s, they founded a Commission of Foreign Mission of the Brotherhood of Ss. Sergius and Herman and also mission circles in local congregations. Because these could not apply to the Finnish government for funds for development projects, the Orthodox founded a registered society in 1975, called the Finnish Orthodox Mission, according to the pattern of the Lutheran mission agency Finnish Missionary Society. The Orthodox character of the society became apparent in the strong position of the clergy in the organisation, Metropolitan Johannes became the chairman. This new organisation was needed when the Orthodox started their development projects in Kenya.

The Lutherans did not found any new organisation for development work similar to the Pentecostals and Orthodox, but their attitude towards their partner church changed. When SLEAF entered Kenya in the 1960s and LEAF in the early 1970s, they did not have any definite plans of their own, but they let the local Lutheran Church of Kenya place the missionaries according to the needs of the church. The associations negotiated with the Kenyan church about the development work, trying to find projects that corresponded with the wishes and needs of the church. However, when the leaders of SLEAF and LEAF learned more about the work in Kenya and former missionaries rose to leading positions in the home board, the Lutheran mission agencies carried into effect their large development projects despite reservations of the Kenyan partner church; these projects were the Lutheran Youth Centre and Training School in Abongo Dhoga near Atemo and the Kisumu School for Mentally Handicapped. In SLEAF, the Missionary Conference became important in the decision making process and in LEAF the Team of Leaders; although both were unofficial bodies.

In addition to the changes in the organisations, there were changes in the work. The Pentecostals and Lutherans extended their existing health and other social services and built new schools. The government funds also gave them an opportunity to start new institutions according to the needs of the local people and serve defined target groups, such as mentally handicapped, unemployed or slum dwellers. The change in the work was most radical among the Orthodox. They only had very modest humanitarian activity in the beginning of the 1970 but had schools, clinics and wells by the end of the 1980s.

Among the Pentecostals, social work became more visible during the period of this survey. The change was apparent in the FFFM, but it was also seen in the Pentecostal ZHM, which did not use government funds. These changes corresponded to the general change in the evangelical movement.

The critical voices against development cooperation in the mission agencies abated from the 1960s to the 1970s, but the public development policy also changed. It became clear that the Finnish government did not want to replace missionary work with secular development aid but accepted non-governmental organisations, mission agencies included, as partners in development. Thus, SLEAF could uphold the long-standing opinion that mission work is the best kind of development aid and receive public funds for its work in Kenya.

The Pentecostals and Lutherans were used to receiving support from outsiders for their social projects or development work. The funds from the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs gave them a chance to expand their work in Kenya, transferring a part of the financial burden to the Finnish government. The late comers, the Orthodox, received the same benefits as the others before them. Although many wishes of the Kenyans and plans of the mission agencies were not realised, countless number of Kenyans received health, education and employment, when the Finnish government channelled development funds through mission agencies in Kenya in 1974-1989.

# Abbreviations

AOC	African Orthodox Church
DYM	<i>Delegation för Yttre Mission</i> – Delegation for Foreign Mission (SLEAF)
ELCK	Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya
FGCK	Full Gospel Churches in Kenya
FIM	Finnish mark
FINCO	Finnish Christian Development Aid
FINNCHURCHAID	FinnChurchAid of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland
FINNIDA	Finnish International Development Agency
FOM	Finnish Orthodox Mission
JK	<i>Johtokunta</i> – Board
JR	<i>Johtoryhmä</i> – Team of Leaders (LEAF)
KYO	<i>Kehitysyhteistyösasto</i> – Department for Development Cooperation (Finland)
LCK	Lutheran Church of Kenya
LK	<i>Lähettien kokous</i> – Missionary Meeting (LEAF)
LKA	<i>Lähetysten Kehitysapu</i> – International Relief and Development Agency (FFFM)
LO	<i>Lähetysosasto</i> – Mission Department (LEAF)
LVF	<i>Lutherska Världsförbundet</i> – Lutheran World Federation
LWF	Lutheran World Federation
MK	<i>Missionärkonferens</i> – Missionary Meeting (SLEAF)
MKé	<i>Missionskommitté</i> – Mission Committee (SLEAF)
MLTC	Matongo Lutheran Theological College
MU	<i>Missionutskott</i> – Mission Commission (SLEAF)
NCKK	National Christian Council of Kenya / National Council of Churches in Kenya
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NLM	Norwegian Lutheran Mission – <i>Norsk Luthersk Misjonssamband</i>
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
OL	<i>Ortodoksinen Lähetys</i> – Finnish Orthodox Mission



P/S	Primary school
PAOC	Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada
PSHV	<i>Pyhään Sergein ja Hermanin Veljeskunta</i> – Brotherhood of Ss Sergius and Herman
S/S	Secondary school
SIDA	Swedish International Development Authority
SLEF	<i>Svenska Lutherska Evangeliföreningen I Finland</i> – Swedish Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland
SLEY	<i>Suomen Luterilainen Evankeliumiyhdistys</i> – Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland
SLN Council	<i>Suomen Lähetysneuvosto</i> – Finnish Missionary
SuVUL	<i>Suomen Vapaa Ulkolähetys</i> – Finnish Free Foreign Mission
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund
VP	Village Polytechnic
W/S	Water supply
WCC	World Council of Churches
ZHM	Zion Harvest Mission

# Sources and Literature

## Unprinted sources

### Archives and offices

#### **Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission (*Suomen Lähetysseura*), Helsinki (A-SLS)**

*SLS II 3, Suomen Lähetysneuvoston asiakirjat 1969-1978, Pöytäkirjat, esityslistat, toimintakertomukset, kentät ym.*

#### **Finnish Free Foreign Mission (*Suomen Vapaa Ulkolähetys*), Vantaa (A-SuVUL)**

*FINCO:n asiakirjoja 1975-1979.*

*Kenia 1981-1989.*

*Kenia 1987-1991.*

*Lähetien kortisto 1993.*

*LKA Raportteja 1977-.*

*Hallituksen ja sen työvaliokunnan pöytäkirjat 1974-1988.*

*SuVUL:n hallituksen pöytäkirjat 1952-1974.*

*SuVUL-yhdistys 1977-1990.*

*Yhdistys 1946-1982, SuVUL:n vuosikokousten pöytäkirjat.*

#### **Finnish Lutheran Overseas Mission, (*Evangelisluterilainen Lähetisyhdistys Kylväjä*), Kerava (A-ELK)**

*SLN (Finnish Missionary Council), Suomen lähetysneuvosto 1971-1978,  
1977-1987.*

**Finnish Orthodox Mission (*Ortodoksinen Lähetys*), Helsinki (A-OL)**

*Holy Archbishopric of Irinoupolis, administration/Kenya.*

*JK Johtokunnan pöytäkirjat 1977-1980, 1981-1984, 1984-1989.*

*Lähetysmappi 1978-.*

*Manninen, Antero*

1993 Suomen ortodoksien kaivoprojektit Keniassa vv. 1984-1992.  
Unprinted report of 9.9.1993.

*PSHV:n lähetysjaosto Pyhain Sergein ja Hermanin Veljeskunnan  
lähetysjaosto.*

*Toimintakertomukset 1978-1990.*

*Petros, Metropolitan of Accra, Patriarchal Exarch of Irinoulopi  
s.a The Greeks in Egypt and their Identity. Mimeographed.*

***Kivikangas, Vilho, Helsinki (A-Kivikangas)***

*Helimäki Kalevi*

1982 Lähetyksen kehitysavun alku ja nykyhetki. Unprinted.

*Pöytäkirjoja 1978-1984.*

*Uotila Ari*

1990 Matkaraportti, 3-16.10.1990: Kenya, Tanzania. Unprinted.

***Lounela, Jaakko, Oulu (A-Lounela)***

*SLEY:n pöytäkirjoja Suomesta ja Keniasta, LEAF documents from  
Finland and Kenya.*

*Kapeddo Health Care and School Projects 1964-1991.*

1991 Full Gospel Churches of Kenya, s.l.

*Koski, Mike*

1988 World Mission Prayer League in ELCK 1969-1988. In  
*Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya 1963-1988*, pp. 40-43. The  
Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kenya, Kisii Bilingual, in  
Swahili: Kanisa la Kiinjili la Kilutheri katika Kenya;  
Mimeographed.

*Kupiainen, Anna*

s.a. Välähdyksiä Kapeddon työn alkuajoilta. Lukemisto. A leaflet.  
*Kärnä Tapani (ed.)*

1985 Helluntaiseurakuntien lähetystyo 1985.

Kapeddo sähköistettiin

1988 *LKA 1988* An information brochure on the LKA p. 4.

*Lounela, Jaakko*

s.a. Marttaliitto in development co-operation in Kenya,  
unpublished research paper.

*Lutheran Church Work in Kenya 1948-1973: Lutheran Church of Kenya  
1963-1973*

1973 A short historical review. Kisii. Mimeographed.

*Lutheran Church in Kenya: Constitution and by-laws*

s.a. Approved on August 10th, 1963, revised in 1971.

*Lähetysstrategian tarkistusta*

1987 Suomen Vapaa Ulkolähetys ry:n kokous 26.9.1987.

*Manninen, Antero*

1993 Suomen ortodoksien kaivoprojektit Keniassa vv. 1984-1992.  
Unprinted report of 9.9.1993. Copy, original report in the  
archive of the Finnish Orthodox Mission.

*Muriithi, Samuel*

1986 The History and Doctrine of Full Gospel Churches of Kenya. In  
*A Seminar on Local Church History at Matongo Lutheran  
Theological College*, edited by Jaakko Lounela, pp. 1-4. Matongo  
Lutheran Theological College, Matongo, Kenya.  
Mimeographed.

*Pohjapelto, Marjaana, and Kupiainen, Anna*

1991 Kapedo: Kapedon alkuaian historiikki. Mimeographed.

Letters from

Kalevi *Helimäki* 10.3.1997 and 23.4.1997.

Vilho *Kivikangas* 25.4.1997.

Elly *Sigfrids* 11.5.2000.

**Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland (*Suomen Luterilainen Evankeliumiyhdistys*), Helsinki (A-SLEY)**

*ELCK yhteisneuvottelut the Swedish Lutheran Mission NLM, SLEAF 1981-.*

*Johtaja Kenia 1980.*

*JK Johtokunnan pöytäkirjat 1968-.*

*JK liitteet Johtokunnan pöytäkirjojen liitteet 1979-1985, 1986-1989.*

*JR Johtoryhmän pöytäkirjat 1976-.*

*JR Liitteet 1980- Johtoryhmän pöytäkirjojen liitteet 1980-.*

*Kehitysyhteistyöraportit 1989-.*

*Kenia ELCK Kenia ELCK Constitution, sopimukset, pöytäkirjat, kirjeet 1985.*

*LK 1979- Kenian lähettienkokoukset 1979- (ja 1974- vuosikertomukset).*

*Kenian vuosikertomus 1974-1983.*

*Kenian vuosikertomus, toimintakertomus 1984-88.*

*LO Lähetysosasto 1977-1980, 1983-.*

*LO Muistiot 1990- Lähetysosasto Muistiot 1990-.*

*Sekalaista 1976-.*

*SLEY/Toiminnanjohtaja 1980-1987, Lähetysosastomappi -87.*

*Kaitera, Pentti*

1973 Matka Etiopiaan lähetystoimintaan liittyvien kehitysapukysymysten selvittämiseksi, Unprinted.

**Ministry for Foreign Affairs (*Ulkoasiainministeriö*), Helsinki (A-UM)**

*UM 12 Kehitysyhteistyö.*

*UM (3/31/5) 92 Suomen kahdenvälinen kehitysyhteistyö, henkilöapu, koulutustoiminta, kotimaiset järjestöt.*

*UM 93 Suomen ja yhteispohjoismaisen kehitysyhteistyön maakohtainen aineisto.*

*Kansalais- ja lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyö.*

1984. Evaluointiryhmän raportti: Lokakuu 1984

Ulkoasiainministeriö. Kehitysyhteistyöosasto, Helsinki.

*Kansalais- ja lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyöhankkeet 1991*

s.a. FINNIDA Ulkoasiainministeriö Kehitysyhteistyöosasto, s.l.

*Kehitysyhteistyöosaston tukemat kansalaisjärjestöhankkeet v. 1989*

*Lähetysjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyö Etiopiassa ja Keniassa*

1987 Evaluointiryhmän raportti: marraskuu 1986. Ulkoasiainministeriö. Kehitysyhteistyöosasto, Helsinki.

*Olasvirta, Leo*

1986 Raportti Leo Olasvirran virkamatkasta Keniaan 5-13.11.1986 ja Etiopiaan 13-26.11.1986, Unprinted.

***Ristin Voitto, Vantaa (A-RV)***

*Veljeskokousten pöytäkirjat 1966-1986.*

***Swedish Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland (Svenska Lutherska Evangeliföreningen i Finland), Helsinki (A-SLEF)***

*Årsrap. Kenya 1970, 1975-1986.*

*DYM Delegationen för yttremission 1974-1980, 1981-1989.*

*Dokum. 1963-.*

*FM + Brev.*

*Kenyamissionen 1963-.*

*LCK Excom 1963-1976.*

*MK Missionärskonferensser 1972-1988.*

*MU 1953- Missionsutskottet 1953-.*

*MU 1968-1974 Missionsutskottet I 1968-1974, Also memo "Evangeliföreningens fortsatta arbete i Kenya", av G. Norrback 27.3.1974; Överläggningen mellan BV, SLEY och SLEF, 7.3.1974.*

*Nordiska överläggningar 1973-1978, Also Plan for Lutheran Teachers' Training College, 18.8.1986.*

*UM 1970-1971.*

**Swedish Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland (*Svenska Lutherska Evangeliföreningen i Finland*), Vaasa (A-SLEF Vasa)**

*Styrelse 1962-1964, 1965-1967, 1968-1973, 1974-1980, 1985-1988.*

**Zion Congregation (*Siion Seurakunta*), Helsinki (A-Siion)**

*Soininen, Rauno*

1997 Zion Harvest Mission (Kenya) 1977-1997, 5 pages, unprinted.

**Theses**

*Jerkku, Anneli*

2001 A History of the Finnish Free Foreign Mission in Kenya (1949- 1998), A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of Global University System (Berean/ICI), in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Biblical Studies, Springfield, Missouri, April 2001.

*Kunnas, Ismo*

1993 Valtion tuki Suomen lähetysneuvoston jäsenjärjestöille vuoteen 1990 asti, Master of Theology, Helsingin yliopisto.

*Lundberg, Riitta*

1980 Lähetysjärjestöt Riitta Lundberg, Lähetysjärjestöt ja kehitysyhteistyö. Kriittinen tutkimus lähetysjärjestöjen kehityskaatoiminnasta ja sen vertailua valtion kehitysyhteistyöhön, Master of Political Sc., Helsingin yliopisto.

*Paasonen, Jarno*

2001 Suomen luterilaisen evankeliumiyhdistyksen lähetystyö Keniassa 1970-1985, Master of Theology, Helsingin yliopisto.

*Palmén, Camilla*

2002 Tidskriften Sändebudets bild av Svenska lutherska evangeliföreningen i Finlands Kenyamission under åren 1960-1970, Master of Theology, Helsingin yliopisto.

*Peltola, Eeva-Liisa and Peltola, Pekka*

1985 Moraali ja käytäntö kansalaisjärjestöjen kehitysyhteistyötoiminnassa, Master of Political Sc., Turun yliopisto.

## **Interviews**

Hakonen, Anja, the FOM mission secretary, 26.4.1994, 5.5.1994, 24.1.1997.

Heikkinen, Kaija, LEAF, missionary, 16.11.1994.

Heikkinen, Pauli, LEAF, missionary, project manager 14.11. 1994 (by telephone) 16.11.1994.

Helimäki Kalevi, the FFFM, chairman of the LKA, 17.6.1993.

Hänninen, Maria, the FOM, missionary, 8.6.2007.

Järviö Jouko, the FOM, project manager, 22. and 30.9.1994.

Johannes, the FOM archbishop, chairman of the FOM, 10.9.1994.

Karras, Anneli, the FFFM, secretary of the LKA, 11.12.1995.

Kivikangas, Vilho, the FFFM, chairman of the LKA 5.3.1997.

Kukkonen, Olli, LEAF, missionary, 3.9.1994.

Pohjapelto, Marjaana, the FFFM, missionary, 9.12.1993 and 16.12.1993.

Siili, Teppo, the FOM, missionary, 8.2.1995.

Söderlund, Åke, the FFFM, project co-ordinator, 15.6.1993.

Soininen, Rauno, the ZHM, director, 16.6.1997.

Torikainen, Leo, Suomen Kirkon Sisälähetysseuran Hankintakeskus, managing director, 1.4.1993.

Uotila, Ari, the FFFM, the LKA project manager, 2.4.1990.

Viitala, Timo, LEAF, missionary, 28.10.1997.

Villikka, Matti, the FFFM, missionary, 22.1.1992.



## Printed sources

### Records of the Parliament (*Eduskunnan pöytäkirjat*) 1970-1980

1970-1977, 1980 *Valtiopäivät*.

### Journals

AK *Aamun Koitto*, 1981-1982, 1984, 1994.

HS *Hyvä Sanoma* 1983.

*Karjalainen* 1984.

*Kehitysyhteistyö* 1978-1989.

LV (Orthodox) *Lähetysviesti* 1988, 1989.

LV (Pentecostal) *Lähetysviesti* 1977.

MÄ *Maailman Ääret* 1969, 1972.

PGY *Porefthentes Go Ye* 1965.

RS *Ristin Sanoma* 1971-1973, 1976-1984, 1986-1987, 1989-1990.

RV *Ristin Voitto* 1956-1957, 1959-1960, 1970, 1975, 1978-1980, 1982-1990.

*Salamu* 1986.

ST *Sanoista Tekoihin !/1984*.

Sb *Sändebudet* 1960-1965, 1967-1973, 1989.

UV *Uskon Viesti* 1983, 1985.

### Annual Reports

SLEF *Årsberättelse/Verksamheten*.

BV *Bibeltrogna Vänners Årsberättelse*.

OL *Ortodoksinen Lähetys*.

LKA *SuVUL Lähetyskeskuksen kehitysraportti Vuosikertomus/Toimintakertomus*.

SLEY *Suomen Luterilaisen Evankeliumiyhdistyksen Vuosikertomus*.

SuVUL *Suomen Vapaa Ulkolähetys r.y. Toimintakertomus*.

## Other printed sources and literature

Aalto, Kaj

1994 Köyhien Pauli: Kierrättäjä Jumalan armosta, Helsinki.

Ahonen, Eino O.

1977 Vuoden merkillisin päivä. In *Auttavat kädet*, edited by Unto Kunnas, pp. 38-44, [Helsinki].

Ahonen, Lauri

1989 Lähetystyön kasvuun vaikuttaneet seikat. In *Kaikkeen maailmaan 1929-1989: 60 vuotta helluntaiseurakuntien lähetystyötä*, pp. 51-56, Vantaa.

1994 *Suomen helluntaiherätyksen historia*, Hämeenlinna.

Ahtisaari, Martti

1973 Kehitysapukysymyksen esilletulo Suomessa. In *Kehitysmaat ja Suomi*, pp. 9-24. Julkaisuja, C:8, Polittisen historian laitos, Turun yliopisto, Turku.

Albertson, Anna-Brita

1952 Sjukvården. In *Berättelse över Missionssällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänners verksamhet år 1951*, pp. 44-46, [Stockholm].

1955 Sjukvården. In *Berättelse över Missionssällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänners verksamhet år 1954*, pp. 55-56, [Stockholm].

*Ammattikoulun perustamismahdollisuutta johonkin kehitysmaahan selvittävän työryhmän muistio*

1974 Opetusministeriö, Mimeographied, Helsinki.

Anderson, William B

1977 The Church in East Africa 1940-1974, Dodoma.

Andersson, Ann Marie

1964 Sjukvården på Wanjare. In *Berättelse över Missions-sällskapet Bibletrognä Vänners verksamhet år 1963*, pp. 43-44. [Stockholm].

Arkkila, Reijo

1995 Kristuksen kirkko Afrikassa. In *Niin kaukana kuin pippuri kasvaa*, edited by Reijo Arkkila, pp. 13-46, Jyväskylä.

2004a Den första tiden av den evangeliska väckelserörelsens missionsarbete i Kenya. In *Hemåt: Evangelisk årsbok 2004*. Årgång 109, edited by Siv Bergman, Begt Forsblom et al, pp. 85-102, Vasa.

2004b Evankelisen herätysliikkeen Kenian lähetystyön alku. In *Kotimatalla 2004: Suomen Luterilaisen Evankeliumiyhdistyksen vuosikirja*. 109. vuosikerta, edited by Seppo Suokunnas, pp. 45-78, Helsinki.

Ballot, Frank

1985 Politische Herrschaft in Kenia: Der neo-patrimonale Staat 1963-1978. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität zu Freiburg i. Br. N.

*Baringo District Development Plan 1984-1988*

1984 Ministry of Planning and National Development, [Nairobi].

*Baringo District Development Plan 1989-1993*

1988 Ministry of Planning and National Development, [Nairobi].

Barrett, David B.

1973 The Expansion of Christianity in Kenya AD 1900-2000. In *Kenya Churches Handbook*, edited by David B. Barrett, George K. Mambo, et al, pp. 157-181, Nairobi.

*Barrett, David B.* (editor)

1982            *World Christian Encyclopedia: A Comparative Study of Churches and Religions in the Modern World AD 1900-2000*, Nairobi.

*Barrett, David B. Mambo, George K., et al.* (editors)

1973            *Kenya Churches Handbook*, Kisumu.

Beetham, Thomas A.

1973            *Co-operation Between the Churches*. In *Kenya Churches Handbook*, edited by David B. Barrett, George K. Mambo, et al., pp. 149-153, Kisumu.

*Boberg, Åke, Hammarberg, Jenny, and Swahn, Gunnar* (editors)

1980            *Från vision till verklighet: 15 år med Pingstmissionens utlandshjälp: en jubileumsskrift*, Stockholm.

Brixen, Lars

1978            *Skolverksamheten i LCK*. In *Berättelse över Missionssällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänners verksamhet år 1977*, pp. 59-61, [Stockholm].

*Broms, Bengt*

1990            *The United Nations*. Ser. B; Tom. 257. *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*, Helsinki.

*Chepkwony, Agnes*

1987            *The Role of Non-Governmental Organizations in Development: A study of the National Christian Council in Kenya (NCCCK) 1963-1978*. Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy dissertation, Faculty of Theology, University of Uppsala. *Studia Missionalia Uppsaliensia XLIII*, Uppsala.

*Corfield, F. D.*

1960 Historical Survey of the Origins and Growth of Mau Mau. Presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for the Colonies by Command of Her Majesty. Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London and Nairobi.

*Development Plan 1974-1978*

1974 Part I, Nairobi.

*Development Plan 1979-1983*

1979 Part I, Nairobi.

*District Focus for Rural Development*

1987 Office of the President. Revised in March, 1987, Nairobi.

*Ekström, John-Erik*

1965 Lutherska Kyrkan. In *Berättelse över Missionssällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänners verksamhet år 1964*, pp. 40-44, [Stockholm].

*Ekström, Stefan*

1991 Byggnadsverksamheten. In *Missionssällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänners årsberättelse för 1990*, pp. 119-122, [Stockholm].

*Eriksson, Roger*

1977 De frivilliga finländska organisationernas utvecklings-samarbete åren 1972-74. Forskningsrapporter och meddelanden Nr 13. Institutet för ekumenik och socialetik. Åbo Akademi, Åbo.

*Everyone's United Nations: A Handbook on the Work of the United Nations*

1986 10th ed, New York.

Farrelly, Thomas

- 1973 Religious Education in the Schools. In *Kenya Churches Handbook*, edited by David B. Barrett, George K. Mumbo, et al, pp. 49-58, Kisumu.

Go Forth in Peace: Orthodox Perspectives on Mission

- 1992 Orthodox Advisory Group to the WCC-CWME. In *New Directions in Mission & Evangelization*, vol. 1, edited by James A. Scherer, and Stephen B. Bevans, pp. 203-231, New York.

*Guds ord och löfte skall bestå*

- 1986 Jubileumsskrift utgiven av Missionssällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänners styrelse vid sällskapets 75-årsjubileum, Stockholm.

Hansson, Erling

- 1973 Lutherska kyrkan i Kenya (Kasörens redogörelse). In *Berättelse över Missionssällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänners verksamhet år 1972*, pp. 68-70, [Stockholm].
- 1974 Kassörens översikt. In *Berättelse över Missionssällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänners verksamhet år 1973*, pp. 62-64, [Stockholm].
- 1976 Kassörens översikt. In *Berättelse över Missionssällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänners verksamhet år 1975*, pp. 62-65, [Stockholm].

Heikkinen, Kaija

- 1995 "Dr Kaya" – Health Services Co-ordinator. In *Niin kaukana kuin pippuri kasvaa*, edited by Reijo Arkkila, pp. 81-85, Jyväskylä.

Helimäki, Kalevi

- 1986 "Lähetyksen kehitysapu" In *Lähetyksen kehitysapu 1985*, pp 1-28, [Helsinki].

2004a        Ensimmäiset kohdemaat Etiopia ja Kenia. In *Kehitys avusta kumppanuuteen: Fida International Kehitysyhteistyötä 30 vuotta*, edited by Ulla Silvast, pp. 29-31, Jyväskylä.

2004b        Lähetyksen kehitysapu muotoutuu. In *Kehitys avusta kumppanuuteen: Fida International Kehitysyhteistyötä 30 vuotta*, edited by Ulla Silvast pp. 16-24, Jyväskylä.

Heppling, Sixten

1986        The Very First Years: Memories of an Insider. In *Swedish Development Aid in Perspective: Policies, Problems & Results Since 1952*, edited by Pierre Fühling, pp. 13-26, Stockholm.

Heyer, Friedrich

1980        Kirchen und Religionsgemeinschaften. In *Südosteuropa-Handbuch*, Band III: Griechenland, edited by Klaus-Detlev Grothusen, in Verbindung mit d Südosteuropa-Arbeitskreis d Dt Forshungsgemeinschaft, pp. 425-447, Göttingen.

Hildén, Helge

1973        Svenska Lutherska Evangeliföreningen. In *Evangeliumi liikkeellä: Suomen Luterilainen Evankeliumiyhdistys satavuotias 1873-1973*, edited by Esa Santakari, pp. 105-112, Helsinki.

*Hildén, Sirkku, Klemets, Sven, and Norrback, Gustav (editors)*

1983        På ditt ord: Kenyamissionen 1963-1983, Vasa.

*Hollenweger, W. J.*

1969        Enthusiastisches Christentum: Die Pfingstbewegung in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Wuppertal.

*Holm, Nils G.*

1978            Pingströrelsen: En religionsvetenskaplig studie av  
pingströrelsen i Svenskfinland. Publications of the  
Research Institute of the Åbo Akademi Foundation 31,  
Åbo.

*Human Development Report 1990*

1990            UNDP, New York.

*Human Development Report 1991*

1991            UNDP, New York.

*Hämäläinen, Arto*

[1979]            FINCO:n ja Suomen Vapaa Ulkolähetys ry:n Lähetyksen  
kehitysapuesite. In *FINCO:n ja Suomen Vapaa Ulkolähetys  
ry:n Lähetyksen kehitysapuesite*, p. 10. S.l., s.a.

2004            Shalom-ohjelma koko ihmiselle. In *Kehitys avusta  
kumppanuuteen: Fida International Kehitysyhteistyötä 30  
vuotta*, edited by Ulla Silvast, pp.9-11, Jyväskylä.

*Iiskola, Jorma*

1995            Kylän ammattikoulu – toivoa nuorille. In *Niin kaukana  
kuin pippuri kasvaa*, edited by Reijo Arkkila, pp. 61-64,  
Jyväskylä.

*Iltola, Maria*

1983            Tule ja katso: Ortodoksista lähetystyötä Itä-Afrikassa,  
Helsinki.

*International Development Strategy:*

1970            Action Programme of the General Assembly for the  
Second United Nations Development Decade.  
ST/ECA/139, editor United Nations: Department of  
Economic and Social Affairs, New York.



Johannes, Metropoliitta

- 2007 (Nikean metropoliitta Johanneksen haastattelu). In *Hiekanjyvä, tomuhiukkanen, sadepisara – Jumalan suuren luomistyön kokonaisuuden osia*, edited by Pirkko Siili, pp. 429-432, Jyväskylä.

Johansson, Ingegerd

- 1981 Kassörens rapport. In *Berättelse över Missionssällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänners verksamhet år 1980*, pp. 62-65, [Stockholm].
- 1985 Kassörens rapport. In *Missionssällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänners årsberättelse för 1984*, pp. 70-72, [Stockholm].
- 1986 Kassörens rapport. In *Missionssällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänners årsberättelse för 1985*, pp. 80-81, [Stockholm].
- 1988 Kassörens rapport. In *Missionssällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänners årsberättelse för 1987*, pp. 77-79, [Stockholm].
- 1989 Kassörens rapport. In *Missionssällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänners årsberättelse för 1988*, pp. 119-120, [Stockholm].

Johnstone, Patrick

- 1993 *Operation World: Day-to-Day Guide to Praying for the World*. Carlisle, UK.

Jones, Charles Edwin

- 1932 *A Guide to the Study of the Pentecostal Movement*, vol. 1-2. ATLA Bibliography Series; 6, Metuchen, N.J.

*Kansainvälisen kehitysyhteistyön periaateohjelma*

- 1975 Hyväksytty hallituksen istunnossa 9.10.1974. Ulkoasiainministeriön kehitysyhteistyöosasto, Helsinki.

*Kansalaisjärjestöjen kansainvälisen toiminnan komitean mietintö*

1974 Komiteamietintö 1974: 24. Ulkoasiainministeriö,  
Helsinki.

**Kanyinga, Karuti**

1994 Ethnicity, Patronage and Class in a Local Arena: "High" and "Low" Politics in Kiambu, Kenya, 1982-92. In *The New Local Level Politics in East Africa: Studies on Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya*, edited by Peter Gibbon, pp. 89-117. The Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala.

*Kenya: An Official Handbook*

1973 Nairobi.

*Kisii: District Development Plan 1989-1993*

1988 Nairobi.

**Kivikangas, Vilho**

1989 Sosiaalinen työ, osa lähetystyötä. In *Kaikkeen maailmaan 1929-1989: 60 vuotta helluntaiseurakuntien lähetystyötä*, pp. 83-85, Vantaa.

**Klemets, Sven**

1965 Missionsarbetet i Luo. In *Hemåt: Evangelisk julbok 70*, pp 84-87.

1972 Vårt missionsarbete i Kenya. In *Hemåt: Evangelisk julbok 77*, pp. 109-115.

1980 Glimtar från 16 år i missionens tjänst. In *Hemåt: Evangelisk julbok 85*, pp. 53-63.

**Koskenniemi, Lauri**

1984 Suomen evankelinen liike 1896-1916, Helsinki.

1992 Evankeliumi Japaniin: Suomen Luterilaisen  
Evankeliumiyhdistyksen lähetystyön kotimainen  
toiminta 1896-1939, Jyväskylä.

*Koukkunen, Heikki*

1982 Tuiskua ja tyventä: Suomen ortodoksisen kirkon historia  
1918-1978, Heinävesi.

Kungl. Maj:ts proposition nr 100 år 1962

1962 *Bihang till riksdagens protokoll 1962. 1. samling Nr. 100.*

*Kuosmanen, Juhani*

1979 Herätyksen historia: Herätyskristillisyyden kirkkohistorial-  
lisena joukkoliikkeenä, Helsinki.

1989 Helluntaiherätyksen lähetystyön historia. In *Kaikkeen  
maailmaan 1929-1989: 60 vuotta helluntaiseurakuntien  
lähetystyötä*, pp. 9-45, Vantaa.

[Kupiainen, Anna]

1977 Mikä on Kapeddon tulevaisuus? In *Auttavat kädet*, edited  
by Unto Kunnas, pp. 45-50, [Helsinki].

Kururia, John Momanyi

1982 Evangelisk-lutherska kyrkan i Kenya. In *Berättelse över  
Missionssällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänners verksamhet år 1981*,  
pp. 61-65, [Stockholm].

Kydd, R. A. N.

1988 Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. In *Dictionary of  
Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, edited by Stanley  
M. Burgess, Gary B. McGee, and Patrick H. Alexander,  
pp. 695-699. Regency Reference Library. Grand Rapids,  
Mich.

Kärnä, Tapani

- 1989 Miten lähetystyöhön koulutetaan. In *Kaikkeen maailmaan 1929-1989: 60 vuotta helluntaiseurakuntien lähetystyötä*, pp. 57-61, Vantaa.

*Lapintie-Kastemaa, Tuuli*

- 1975 De frivilliga finländska organisationernas deltagande i det internationella utvecklingsarbetet åren 1969-1971. Forskningsrapporter och meddelanden Nr 12. Institutet för ekumenik och socialetik, Åbo Akademi, Åbo.

Liimatainen, Tauno

- 1978 Helluntaiseurakuntien lähetyskannatus. In *Suomen Lähetyskongressi 77 Finlands Missionskongress 77*, edited by Kaija Käyhty, Aysa Andersson, and Yrjö Vainio, pp. 134-135, Helsinki.

Lindberg, Johan

- 1984 Suomen kehitysyhteistyö Kenian kanssa. In *Millaista kehitystä Suomen tuella?*, edited by Mervi Vanhatalo, pp. 90-102. Ulkoasiainministeriö, Helsinki.

*Lindqvist, Ingmar*

- 1969 Kyrkan och u-hjälp. Institutet för ekumenik och socialetik. Skrifter I, Åbo Akademi, Åbo.

Lounela, Jaakko

- 1989 An old Mission and a Young Church: Lutheran Work in Kenya from Scandinavian and Kenyan Viewpoints. *Mission Studies VI-2*. pp. 68-76.
- 1996 Finnish Mission Agencies Involved in Development Cooperation in Kenya. *Mission Studies XII-1&2*: 25&26, pp. 235-346.

2007 Ero lähetysjärjestöjen ja muiden kansalaisjärjestöjen välillä kehitysyhteistyössä. *Lähetysteologinen Aikakauskirja* vol 9 (2007) pp. 122-138.

Lundström, Martin

1958 Predikoversamheten. In *Berättelse över Missionssällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänners verksamhet år 1957*, pp. 47-50, [Stockholm].

Makarios, Archbishop of Kenya (Tillyrides, Andreas)

2005 Speech on the Occasion of the Memorial of (Bishop) George Arthur Gathuna & Ordination of Deacon Evangelos Thiani on 27<sup>th</sup> July 2004. *Yearbook and Review 2005. Greek Orthodox Archbishopric of Kenya. African Orthodox Church of Kenya*, pp. 159-163. S.l.

Manninen, Veikko

1989 Lähetystyön raamatulliset perusteet. In *Kaikkeen maailmaan 1929-1989: 60 vuotta helluntaiseurakuntien lähetystyötä*, pp. 46-50, Vantaa.

Mononen, Valma

1995 Terveydenhoitotyöstä vastaamassa. In *Niin kaukana kuin pippuri kasvaa*, edited by Reijo Arkkila, pp. 76-78, Jyväskylä.

*Nakuru District Development Plan 1984-1988*

1984 Ministry of Finance and Planning, Nairobi.

*Narok District Development Plan 1984-1988*

1984 Ministry of Finance and Planning, Nairobi.

*Narok District Development Plan 1989-1993*

1988 Ministry of Planning and National Development, Nairobi.

Nchogu, James Otete

- 1970           Lutherska Kyrkan i Kenya. In *Berättelse över Missions-  
sällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänners verksamhet år 1969*, pp. 48-  
50, [Stockholm].
- 1975           Lutherska Kyrkan i Kenya. In *Berättelse över Missions-  
sällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänners verksamhet år 1974*, pp. 49-  
50, [Stockholm].
- 1976           Lutherska Kyrkan i Kenya. In *Berättelse över Missions-  
sällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänners verksamhet år 1975*, pp. 60-  
62, [Stockholm].
- 1978           Lutherska Kyrkan i Kenya. In *Berättelse över Missions-  
sällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänners verksamhet år 1977*, pp. 46-  
50, [Stockholm].
- 1980           *Lutherska Kyrkan i Kenya*. In *Berättelse över Missions-  
sällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänners verksamhet år 1979*, pp. 59-  
70, [Stockholm].

Nilson, Hans Hugo

- 1977           Byggnation av the Lutheran Church of Kenya nya  
Bibelskola, Matongo. In *Berättelse över Missionssällskapet  
Bibeltrogna Vänners verksamhet år 1976*, pp. 72-74,  
[Stockholm].

*Nilsson, Sam-Arne* (editor)

- 1981           Skörden är mycken – arbetarna är få: Information om  
Missionsällskapets Bibeltrogna Vänners missionsarbete  
inom Evangelisk-lutherska kyrkan i Kenya, [Stockholm].

*Norrback, Gustaf* (Gustav)

- 1967           Vårt arbete i Kenya. In *Hemåt: Evangelisk julbok 72*, pp.  
179-185.

1995 Wasundista Atemoon. In *Niin kaukana kuin pippuri kasvaa*, edited by Reijo Arkkila, pp. 49-53, Helsinki.

1998 Kenyamissionen 1963-1973, Vasa.

*North American Protestant Ministers Overseas Directory*

1986 Missionary Research Library in cooperation with Missions Advanced Research and Communications Center. 8<sup>th</sup> ed, Waco, Tex.

Nyberg, Nils-Evert

1990 Byggnadverksamheten. In *Missionssällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänner årsberättelse för 1989*, pp. 89-92, [Stockholm].

Ohlsson, K. G.

1964 Skolverksamheten. In *Berättelse över Missionssällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänners verksamhet år 1963*, pp. 42-43. [Stockholm].

Olak, Richard Otieno

1985 Generalsekreterarens rapport till ELCK:s årsmöte på Matongo den 24-25 januari 1985. In *Missionssällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänners årsberättelse för 1984*, pp. 66-70, [Stockholm].

1987 Generalsekreterarens rapport till ELCK:s årsmöte på Matongo den 29-30 januari 1987. In *Missionssällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänners årsberättelse för 1986*, pp. 65-70, [Stockholm].

1990 E.L.C.K:s generalsekreterares årsrapport (1989) till årsmötet 1990. In *Missionssällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänner årsberättelse för 1989*, pp. 71-75, [Stockholm].

Onderi, Francis Nyamwaro

1991 Evangelisk-lutherska kyrkan i Kenya. E.L.C.K:s ordförandes årsrapport (1990) till årsmötet på Matongo

den 23-25 januari 1991. In *Missionssällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänner årsberättelse för 1990*, pp. 97-104, [Stockholm].

*Osborn, T. L.*

1960 Maan äärten evankelioiminen: Jumalan vertaansa vailla oleva järjestelmä maailman evankelioimiseksi. English original: Frontier Evangelism with Miracles of Healing, translated by Helvi Taponen, Helsinki.

*Petersson, Valborg*

1958 Sjukvården. In *Berättelse över Missionssällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänners verksamhet år 1957*, pp. 50-52, [Stockholm].

1961 Sjukvårdsarbetet i Matongo. In *Berättelse över Missionssällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänners verksamhet år 1960*, pp. 55-56, [Stockholm].

1964 Sjukvården i Matongo. In *Berättelse över Missionssällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänners verksamhet år 1963*, pp. 46-47, [Stockholm].

*Pietilä, Hilikka*

1985 UNDP: YK:n kehitysyhteistyön sydän, Helsinki.

*Poats, Rutherford M.*

1986 Twenty-five Years of Development Co-operation: A Review. Efforts and Policies of the Members of the Development Assistance Committee: 1985 Report. OECD, Paris.

*Raatikainen, Alma*

1961 Tummaa viljaa, Helsinki.

*Raatikainen, Alma, and Raatikainen, Eeva*

1955 Afrikka kutsuu, Helsinki.



*Rapeli, Toivo*

1971 Valoa Afrikan varjoissa, Helsinki.

1983 Myötätuulta myrskyssäkin, Helsinki.

*Riikonen, Terttu*

1993 Kuinka kuu on silloin?, Vantaa.

*Sandberg, Elsie*

1976 Sjukvården inom LCK. In *Berättelse över Missionssällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänners verksamhet år 1975*, pp. 63-64, [Stockholm].

*Sandgren, David P.*

1989 Christianity and the Kikuyu: Religious Divisions and Social Conflict. Series 9, History; 45. American University Studies, New York.

*Siili, Pirkko*

2007a Ortodoksinen Lähetys ry:n ja suomalaisten lähetien työtä lähetyskentällä. In *Hiekanjyvä, tomuhiukkanen, sadepisara – Jumalan suuren luomistyön kokonaisuuden osia*, edited by Pirkko Siili, pp. 399-417, Jyväskylä.

2007b Ortodoksinen Lähetys ry:n toiminta järjestönä. In *Hiekanjyvä, tomuhiukkanen, sadepisara – Jumalan suuren luomistyön kokonaisuuden osia*, edited by Pirkko Siili, pp. 392-398, Jyväskylä.

2007c Ortodoksinen Lähetys ry:n valtionapuhankkeet 1978-2005. In *Hiekanjyvä, tomuhiukkanen, sadepisara – Jumalan suuren luomistyön kokonaisuuden osia*, edited by Pirkko Siili, pp. 418-428, Jyväskylä.

*Siltanen, Risto*

2004 Jumalan ja ihmisten palveluksessa: Veikko Mannisen elämäkerta, Helsinki.

*Smedjebacka, Henrik*

2001 I Guds fotspår. Kyrkohistoriska Arkivet vid Åbo Akademi. Meddelanden 32, Åbo.

*Stokke, Olav*

1978 Sveriges utvecklingsbistånd och biståndspolitik. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala.

*Suomalaiset lähetystyöntekijät 1970-71*

1971 Pieksämäki, Sisälähetysseuran Raamattutalon kirjapaino.

*Suomen teologit- Finlands teologer*

1982 Edited by Irmeli Paarma, Sigvald Gustavson, Tuula Anttonen et al, Lahti.

*Svensson, Marie*

1991 Sjukvården. In *Missionssällskapet Bibeltrogna Vänners årsberättelse för 1990*, pp. 112-113, [Stockholm].

*Sääksi, Tuula*

1977 Kenia, päiväntasaajan maa, Helsinki.

*S[öderlund], Å[ke]*

1977 Menivät perille. In *Auttavat kädet*, edited by Unto Kunnas, pp. 60-61, Helsinki.

*Söderlund, Åke*

1985 Safarilla, Vantaa.

*Tillyrides, Makarios*

2004 Adventures in the Unseen: The Silent Witness I, Harare.

*Tolvanen, Sami*

2006 Savannin sankarit, Keuruu.

*Turkana District Development Plan 1989-1993*

1988 Ministry of Planning and National Development,  
[Nairobi].

*Vahtera, Taisto*

1990 Jerusalemista Satakuntaan. Satakunnan helluntaiseura-  
kunnat, [Pori].

*Waldemarson, Harald*

1984 Byggnadsverksamheten. In *Missionssällskapet Bibeltrogna  
Vänners årsberättelse för 1983*, pp. 96-98, [Stockholm].

1985 Byggnadsverksamheten. In *Missionssällskapet Bibeltrogna  
Vänners årsberättelse för 1984*, pp. 82-85, [Stockholm].

*Vanhanen, Anja-Maija*

1995 Orpojen äitinä. In *Niin kaukana kuin pippuri kasvaa*, edited  
by Reijo Arkkila, pp. 92-94, Jyväskylä..

*Wentink, D. E.*

1968 The Orthodox Church in East Africa. *The Ecumenical  
Review* XX 4/1968, pp. 33-43.

*West Pokot District Development Plan 1989-1993*

1988 Ministry of Planning and National Development,  
Nairobi.

*Vikstén, Mauri*

1957 5000 kilometriä päiväntasaajalla, Helsinki.

# Index

- Aalto, Kaj, 28, 93, 125, 131  
Abongo Dhoga, 70, 74, 147, 148,  
149, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 181,  
211, 213, 214, 260  
Ageza, Priskila, 196  
Ahonen, Eino O., 36, 110, 124  
Ahonen, Lauri, 14, 19, 26  
Ahtisaari, Martti, 73  
Airaksinen, Anna-Liisa, 36  
Albertson, Anna-Brita, 61  
Alexander, Daniel William, 79  
Alexandria, 78  
America, 11, 20, 22, 31, 40, 61, 77,  
111, 168, 175, 189, 191, 199, 203,  
225, 227, 233, 236, 240  
Amin, Idi, 225, 237  
Anderson, William B., 20, 22  
Andersson, Ann Marie, 44  
Andersson, Gunhild, 68  
Andiwo, 179  
Angata, 189, 204, 211  
Angeno, 177  
Anttila, Eeva, 107  
Anttio, Maija-Liisa, 163  
Antturi, Anna-Liisa, 21, 36  
Antturi, Kai, 22, 23, 25, 32, 93, 94,  
101, 124  
Arkkila, Reijo, 42, 44, 47, 146, 155,  
156, 157, 158, 159, 162, 164, 181,  
182, 183, 190, 191, 196, 200  
Aro-Heinilä, Veikko, 184  
Asmara, 48  
Atemo, 46, 49, 53, 55, 56, 59, 60, 66,  
67, 68, 71, 74, 75, 140, 144, 146,  
147, 148, 149, 151, 152, 155, 169,  
171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177,  
178, 180, 181, 185, 189, 194, 211,  
213, 214, 260  
Athenagoras, Patriarch, 80  
Athens, 78  
Auramo, Matti, 206  
Awach, 31, 36, 38  
Aweyo, James Edwin, 97, 98, 135  
Awiti, Oganda, 179  
Baghdad, 116, 120, 125  
Ballot, Frank, 229  
Baragoi, 32, 38  
Baringo, 32, 33, 38, 121, 125, 134,  
138  
Barratt, Thomas Ball, 19  
Barrett, David B., 21, 30, 32, 51, 78,  
79, 80, 81, 85  
Bergstén, Gösta, 25  
Botswana, 71  
Broms, Bengt, 214  
Brouillette, Ron, 197  
Bungoma, 128  
Buzinde, Elias, 80, 81, 82, 225, 226,  
227, 229, 238, 240  
Bäck, Yngve, 42  
Canada, 31, 36  
Carlsnäs, Sara, 34, 35  
Chemelil, 31, 32, 38, 112, 131, 138  
Chemon, Daniel K., 111, 113  
Chepkwony, Agnes, 70, 71  
China, 22  
Christophoros, Patriarch, 78  
Corfield, F. D., 77  
Cyprus, 222, 228, 231, 233, 255  
Danielsson, Emil, 19  
Dar es-Salaam, 77  
Ebujangu, 250  
Egypt, 77  
Eko, Charles. See Johannes,  
Archmandrite  
Ekström, Stefan, 209  
Elowson, Folke, 43, 62, 209  
Embu, 32, 102, 138  
England, 36, 80, 225  
Erelä, Paavo, 166, 167  
Eriksson, Kerstin, 43  
Eriksson, Roger, 13  
Ethiopia, 27, 28, 29, 43, 58, 61, 62,  
72, 110, 115, 116, 137, 223  
Europe, 11, 22, 78, 79, 80, 83, 220,  
232, 234  
Farrelly, Thomas, 61  
Finell, Odin, 19, 21, 23, 122  
Fred, Jorma, 110

Frumentios, Archbishop, 82, 85,  
     221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227,  
     228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 237,  
     239, 240  
 Gachika, 245, 248, 252, 253  
 Gatanga, 79  
 Gathuna, Arthur. See Gathuna,  
     George  
 Gathuna, George, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81,  
     82, 83, 85, 221, 222, 225, 226,  
     227, 228, 229, 231, 232, 233, 238,  
     239  
 Gatonye, 246, 251, 253  
 Germany, 123, 128, 227  
 Gilgil, 243, 253  
 Gimengwa, 227, 229, 230, 236, 239,  
     240, 241, 242, 246, 249, 250, 251,  
     252, 253  
 Gitenyi, Samwel Mogeni, 152, 155,  
     193  
 Gjelsten, Gudmund, 46  
 Got Kokech, 36, 116, 138  
 Greece, Greek, 31, 77, 78, 81, 83,  
     218, 221, 222, 225, 227, 228, 231,  
     233, 234, 241, 248, 255  
 Gusuta, Peter, 194  
 Hakonen, Anja, 83, 85, 234, 236,  
     245  
 Halme, Esko, 99  
 Hanko, 47  
 Hansson, Erling, 59, 74, 142, 172,  
     189  
 Harjula, Jukka, 111, 112, 119, 120,  
     121  
 Hedborg, Heikki, 94  
 Heikkinen, Kaija, 193, 194  
 Heikkinen, Pauli, 166, 185, 188,  
     193, 207  
 Heiskanen, Outi, 95  
 Helimäki, Kalevi, 20, 27, 28, 29, 36,  
     91, 94, 98, 99, 100, 101, 103, 104,  
     105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 112,  
     116, 117, 120, 124, 125, 129, 132,  
     258  
 Helsinki, 19, 21, 25, 27, 28, 30, 59,  
     72, 82, 85, 93, 99, 100, 101, 103,  
     109, 114, 115, 149, 160, 162, 163,  
     165, 184, 243  
 Herman, Archbishop, 80  
 Herttua, Tytti, 158, 159, 165, 166  
 Heyer, Friedrich, 228  
 Hildén, Helge, 40, 44, 46, 48, 57,  
     59, 65, 66, 69, 71, 74, 173, 174,  
     194  
 Hildén, Sirkku, 50, 57, 147, 175,  
     179, 181  
 Hiljanen, Leena, 224, 225, 237  
 Hollenweger, W. J., 22, 24, 32  
 Holmgård, Helena, 177, 179, 180  
 Holmström, Melita, 47  
 Homa Bay, 32, 36, 38, 112, 116,  
     117, 118, 124, 136, 138, 210  
 Hukka, Alpo, 73, 220  
 Hurri, Maija, 21, 107  
 Hämeenlinna, 92  
 Hämäläinen, Arto, 24, 29, 30, 93,  
     94, 95, 109, 110, 131, 133, 258  
 Hänninen, Maria, 244, 245, 248  
 Ierotheos, Archbishop, 232  
 Iiskola, Brita, 68  
 Iiskola, Jorma, 57, 59, 70, 71, 72,  
     73, 74, 140, 147, 167, 171, 172,  
     173, 179  
 Iltola, Maria, 80, 81, 82, 85, 220,  
     221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227,  
     228, 229, 230, 232, 233, 234, 236,  
     237, 238, 239, 240, 250  
 Imberg, Josef, 53  
 India, 40  
 Irinoupolis, Archbishop of, 82  
 Irinoupolis, Archbishopric of, 229,  
     231, 232, 233, 235  
 Isinya, 124, 126, 136, 137, 138  
 Isoaho, Raija, 128  
 Israel, 223  
 Itierio, 43, 52, 53, 61, 63, 66, 75,  
     143, 168, 185, 211  
 Japan, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 51, 54, 55,  
     56, 58, 153, 154, 156  
 Jaques, Alpha, 189  
 Jerkku, Anneli, 14, 22, 112, 132  
 Jern, Olof, 151

Johannes, Archmandrite, 222, 233,  
236, 240, 241, 242, 248, 249, 250  
Johannes, Metropolitan, 81, 219,  
220, 223, 224, 228, 230, 234, 239,  
243, 247, 248, 260  
Johansson, Ingegerd, 152, 167, 171,  
209  
Johansson, Thorleif, 24, 34  
Johnstone, Patrick, 85  
Juntunen, Anitta, 37, 117  
Juvonen, Paavo, 94  
Jyväskylä, 89, 100  
Järviö, Jouko, 220, 221, 222, 236,  
239, 240, 243, 244, 247, 248, 257  
Kabarnet, 34  
Kabartini, 249, 251, 253  
Kaitera, Pentti, 27, 28, 73, 186  
Kajiado, 138  
Kakamega, 164, 182, 211  
Kanyinga, Karuti, 229  
Kapedo, 21, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36,  
38, 94, 110, 111, 112, 118, 119,  
120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 136, 137,  
138, 255  
Kapenguria, 94, 126, 127, 128, 129,  
130, 134, 136, 137, 138  
Karelia, 76, 247  
Karén, Artturi, 44  
Karén, Irene, 44  
Kariuki, G. G., 242  
Karjalainen, Matti, 135  
Karjalainen, Terttu, 135  
Karras, Anneli, 105, 109  
Karunga, 243, 244, 249, 253  
Kawangware, 155, 156, 159, 160,  
162, 182, 183, 197, 199, 200, 201,  
202, 204, 208, 211, 215, 216  
Kekki, Pertti, 96  
Kenyatta, Jomo, 18, 77, 80, 228, 229  
Kereita, 245, 246, 252, 253  
Keuruu, 100  
Kiambu, 225, 226, 229, 231  
Kibaki, Mwai, 119  
Kibera, 203, 211  
Kibue, C. K., 78, 83  
Kikuyu, 38, 77, 80, 229, 231, 233,  
242, 257

Kinnunen, Asko, 123  
Kinyanjui, Demetrios, 242  
Kipsigon, 94, 127, 128, 136, 137,  
138  
Kisii, 32, 38, 40, 61, 62, 63, 64, 75,  
188, 189, 191, 192, 205  
Kisumu, 31, 32, 49, 54, 55, 75, 77,  
143, 148, 155, 156, 159, 160, 162,  
163, 169, 181, 182, 183, 184, 190,  
194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 201, 204,  
207, 208, 211, 215, 216, 253, 260  
Kitale, 110, 112, 126, 127, 136, 137,  
138  
Kitui, 32, 130, 131, 136, 138  
Kivikangas, Vilho, 26, 28, 90, 94,  
99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105,  
106, 107, 108, 109, 111, 112, 117,  
120, 124, 127, 134, 258  
Kivisaari, Simo, 159, 204, 205  
Klemets, Linnéa, 39, 50, 52, 55, 64,  
66, 67, 68, 71, 147, 178  
Klemets, Sven, 39, 45, 50, 52, 53,  
54, 55, 56, 57, 61, 64, 66, 67, 68,  
69, 71, 73, 140, 147, 148, 149,  
151, 176, 179, 195  
Klemetti, Veikko, 28  
Koivisto, Tellervo, 247  
Koivula, Irma, 117  
Korelin, Aleksander, 234, 248  
Koru, 23, 30, 31, 32, 38, 112, 138  
Koskenniemi, Lauri, 39, 41, 142,  
143, 144, 152, 154, 155, 156, 182,  
184, 190, 192, 195, 199  
Koski, Lahja, 111  
Koski, Mike, 202  
Kotisaari, Liisa, 129  
Koukkunen, Heikki, 76, 81  
Kröger, Eeva, 205  
Kujanpää, Antti, 200  
Kukkonen, Olli, 193  
Kumpulainen, Elina, 134  
Kunnas, Ismo, 13, 14  
Kunnas, Kristiina, 28, 107  
Kunnas, Risto, 124  
Kunnas, Unto, 23, 90, 103, 116  
Kunyare, Samuel, 242

Kuokkanen, Antti, 145, 155, 157,  
 160, 161, 162, 164, 166, 184, 191,  
 192, 197, 205, 211  
 Kuosmanen, Juhani, 19, 31, 37, 131  
 Kupiainen, Anna, 21, 31, 32, 33, 34,  
 35, 36, 111, 112, 119, 120  
 Kurki, Juho, 131  
 Kurkiala, Juhani, 47  
 Kururia, John Momanyi, 155, 167,  
 168, 205  
 Kurvinen, Pekka, 144  
 Kusmin, Paavo, 20, 22, 30, 31, 36,  
 114  
 Kusmin, Vieno, 20, 30, 31, 36  
 Kuula, Sirkka, 200, 211  
 Kuusela, Tapani, 248  
 Kydd, R. A. N., 20  
 Kyllönen, Seija, 127  
 Kymäläinen, Aimo, 143, 153, 154,  
 155, 157, 186  
 Kyöstilä, Liisa, 246  
 Kärnä, Tapani, 20, 23, 24, 29, 92,  
 93, 94, 96, 106, 107, 108, 109,  
 112, 132, 133, 218  
 Laikipia, 242  
 Laitinen, Elsi, 163, 190, 195  
 Laitinen, Martti, 154, 163  
 Laitinen, Tapio, 195  
 Lapintie-Kastemaa, Tuuli, 13  
 Larinkoski, Helca, 95  
 Latvasalo, Leila, 112, 126, 127  
 Lausanne, 88, 94  
 Lavanti, Antti, 160  
 Lehmuskoski, Timo, 224, 237  
 Lehtimäki, Mauri, 185  
 Lehtonen, Risto, 175  
 Leino, Pekka, 153  
 Leino, Raija, 166  
 Liimatainen, Tauno, 29  
 Lindberg, Johan, 203  
 Lindqvist, Ingmar, 13  
 Lindqvist, Johan, 180  
 Lisitsin, Anneli, 234, 236, 248, 249,  
 250  
 Lobere, 242, 243, 245, 248, 250, 251,  
 253  
 Lokitaung, 130  
 Lomelo, 36, 38, 122  
 Lounela, Jaakko, 15, 29, 40, 192,  
 194, 204, 205, 239  
 Luhya, 38, 75, 77  
 Lundberg, Riitta, 14  
 Lundström, Gunborg, 52, 61  
 Lundström, Martin, 42, 43, 50, 51,  
 52, 61, 62, 63, 67  
 Luo, 31, 46, 51, 53, 54, 55, 64, 66,  
 68, 71, 72, 75, 142, 148, 171, 172,  
 176, 180, 194, 211  
 Luoto, Valtter, 89  
 Lutheran World Federation, 262  
 Lähteenmaa, Kaarlo, 71  
 Lönnquist, Alf, 149  
 Maasai, 75, 171, 182, 189, 190, 191,  
 192, 203, 204, 205, 207  
 Makarios, Archbishop. See  
 Tillyrides, Andreas  
 Makumira, 172  
 Mambo, George K., 21, 30, 32, 51,  
 79, 80  
 Manilla, 88  
 Mannikam, Rajah B., 40  
 Manninen, Antero, 247, 248  
 Manninen, Eino I., 122  
 Manninen, Erkki, 108  
 Manninen, Heikki, 110, 187  
 Manninen, Veikko, 23, 28, 93, 94,  
 101, 103, 116, 120  
 Maragoli, 43, 45, 50, 51, 53, 54, 55,  
 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 75, 148, 182,  
 194, 195, 211  
 Marienga, 114, 135, 138  
 Maron, 121  
 Matongo, 49, 53, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64,  
 65, 68, 69, 70, 75, 110, 142, 143,  
 148, 154, 155, 156, 160, 162, 163,  
 164, 165, 169, 181, 185, 186, 187,  
 188, 189, 192, 199, 203, 207, 208,  
 210, 211, 215, 216  
 Meru, 250  
 Moi, Daniel arap, 89, 111, 113, 117,  
 119, 120, 124, 125, 137, 259  
 Momanyi, John. See Kururia, John  
 Momanyi

Monianku, 49, 70, 75, 155, 159,  
 160, 165, 169, 181, 182, 184, 185,  
 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 205, 206,  
 208, 211, 215, 216  
 Mononen, Valma, 60, 167, 184,  
 185, 186, 189, 190, 191  
 Muguga, 220, 225, 226, 230, 231,  
 235, 239, 242, 245, 246, 250, 253  
 Muguna, Epainito Ralph, 220, 240,  
 241, 242  
 Mukurwe In. See Ngoru  
 Mukutani, 121, 122  
 Muriithi, Samuel, 30  
 Musinde, Elam, 50, 51, 63, 64  
 Mwakibinga, A., 43  
 Mwangi, David J., 244  
 Mwangi, Moses, 242, 243  
 Mwangi, Samuel, 242  
 Mäkelä, Airi, 112, 127, 128  
 Mänttari, Raimo, 24  
 Nairobi, 32, 34, 38, 58, 64, 65, 70,  
 75, 80, 82, 97, 114, 132, 138, 155,  
 156, 159, 160, 169, 170, 182, 184,  
 194, 197, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203,  
 207, 208, 211, 215, 216, 217, 222,  
 223, 225, 226, 230, 233, 237, 238,  
 242, 253  
 Nakuru, 33, 34, 38, 138, 244  
 Namungona, 225  
 Nankyama, Theodoros, 80, 81,  
 223  
 Nchogu, James Otete, 49, 50, 53,  
 56, 58, 62, 64, 65, 66, 69, 71, 72,  
 74, 143, 155, 172, 174, 180, 189,  
 195, 203, 204, 205  
 Ndwaru, Eleftherios Muiruri, 225,  
 226, 227, 237, 238, 240, 242  
 Netherlands, the, 245  
 New York, 79  
 Ngoron, 119, 122  
 Ngoru, 244, 251, 252, 253  
 Ngyinyang, 32, 33, 38  
 Nikolaos, Patriarch, 79, 82, 221,  
 226, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232  
 Nilson, Hans-Hugo, 70, 142  
 Nilsson, Gunnar, 43, 62, 209  
 Nilsson, Sam-Arne, 68  
 Njogu, Samwel Mureithi, 122  
 Nordic countries, 11, 26, 27, 30, 46,  
 59, 83, 124, 141, 150, 155, 167,  
 168, 170, 208, 257  
 Norrback, Gustav, 42, 45, 46, 47,  
 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 63,  
 64, 66, 67, 68, 69, 146, 147, 149,  
 179, 180  
 Norrback, Märta, 51, 52, 55, 63, 64,  
 66, 67  
 Norway, 27, 117, 123, 141, 208  
 Nyagesa, 65  
 Nyagowa, 176, 177  
 Nyamunga, 65  
 Nyamwaro. See Onderi, Francis  
 Nyamwaro  
 Nyang'ori, 31, 38  
 Nyanza, 193  
 Nyberg, Nils-Evert, 209  
 Nyeri, 244, 245, 250, 253  
 Nykänen, Sisko, 36  
 Nylund, Solveig, 152  
 Obolo, 135  
 Odongo, G. W. S., 128  
 Ohlsson, Irene, 52  
 Ohlsson, Karl Gustav, 44, 51, 52  
 Okombo, Elkana, 179  
 Olak, Richard Otieno, 53, 54, 64,  
 66, 72, 73, 74, 155, 170, 171, 172,  
 173, 176, 180, 181, 203, 207, 209  
 Olasvirta, Leo, 130, 202  
 Olosentu, 169, 205, 206, 211, 215  
 Onderi, Francis Nyamwaro, 50, 85  
 Onyango, Walter, 135  
 Ortum, 128, 138  
 Osborn, Daisy, 20  
 Osborn, Tommy Lee, 20, 21, 22, 23,  
 24, 25, 26, 31, 32, 35, 111  
 Owade, Elisha, 179  
 Oyare, David, 179  
 Paalasmaa, Jaakko, 248  
 Paasonen, Jarno, 15  
 Paatelma, Heikki, 107  
 Paavali, Archbishop, 76, 221, 228,  
 229, 230, 235  
 Palmén, Camilla, 15  
 Palonen, Uuno, 131



Pate, Larry D., 51  
 Patriarch of Alexandria, 18, 77, 78,  
     79, 82, 85, 221, 226, 228, 229,  
     230, 232  
 Patriarch of Constantinople, 76, 80  
 Patriarch of Moscow, 76  
 Patriarchate of Alexandria, 77, 79,  
     82, 221, 222, 228, 229, 230, 231,  
     232, 233, 234, 257  
 Patriarchate of Moscow, 76  
 Pekuri, Joel, 72  
 Peltola, Eeva, 14  
 Peltola, Pekka, 14  
 Petersson, Valborg, 44, 61, 62  
 Petros, Metropolitan, 77, 233  
 Petros, Patriarch. See Petros,  
     Metropolitan  
 Pohjapelto, Marjaana, 32, 33, 34,  
     35, 36, 112, 120  
 Pokot, 34, 36, 38, 94, 119, 134, 138  
 Poukka, Salme, 112, 116, 117, 210  
 Poussa, Pauli, 158, 184, 207  
 Punkaharju, 81  
 Puttonen, Seppo, 101, 106  
 Raatikainen, Alma, 20, 21, 23, 30,  
     31, 32, 36, 112, 131  
 Raatikainen, Eeva, 20, 21, 30, 31,  
     36  
 Rae, G. O., 191  
 Raivonen, Lea, 97, 134  
 Raivonen, Pauli, 134  
 Rantanen, Pauli, 28, 29, 103, 105,  
     106, 107, 108, 109, 258  
 Rapeli, Toivo, 40, 44, 48, 49, 53, 58,  
     64, 68, 69, 71, 72, 152, 195, 199,  
     207  
 Remes, Viljo, 46  
 Remo, 135  
 Rift Valley, 248  
 Riikonen, Terttu, 33, 34, 35, 121,  
     122  
 Rinne, Wilho. See Johannes,  
     Metropolitan  
 Rinta-Komsi, Salme, 164, 165, 182,  
     193, 195, 196, 198, 210  
 Roisko, Eeva, 95  
 Rukongo, 169, 180, 181, 211, 213,  
     214  
 Russia, 76  
 Sainio, Juho, 108  
 Sainio, Kauko, 143, 153, 154, 157,  
     203  
 Saitoti, George, 126, 137  
 Salomaa, Freija, 90, 107  
 Samanga, 169, 179, 180, 211, 213,  
     214  
 Samburu, 32, 38  
 Samuelsson, Enok, 61  
 Sandberg, Boris, 148, 178, 179, 180,  
     181  
 Sandberg, Elsie, 190  
 Sandberg, Iris, 178, 179, 181  
 Sandgren, David P., 80  
 Savolainen, Paavo, 59, 60, 153, 154,  
     190  
 Siaya, 198  
 Sidion, 250  
 Sigfrids, Elly, 87  
 Siikala, Kalervo, 71, 72  
 Siili, Pirkko, 222, 234, 250  
 Siili, Teppo, 244, 247, 248  
 Silfverberg, Nancy, 43  
 Siltanen, Risto, 28  
 Sipilo, 122  
 Smedjebacka, Henrik, 51, 88  
 Soininen, Rauno, 26, 97, 98, 114,  
     115, 134, 135  
 Soininen, Vilho, 97  
 Solian, 112, 124, 125, 126, 136, 137,  
     138  
 Sorsa, Kalevi, 90, 113  
 South Africa, 34, 79  
 South Nyanza, 36, 53  
 Soviet Union, the, 76  
 Spartas, Reuben, 78, 81  
 Stjernberg, Anders-Gustaf, 42, 45,  
     46, 50, 53, 62, 63, 64  
 Stjernberg, Majgret, 66  
 Stockholm, 42, 150, 168, 170, 171,  
     186  
 Suna, 98  
 Sundh, Bengt, 97, 98, 114  
 Sundh, Eila, 97, 114

Suuronen, Hillevi, 127, 128  
 Suvanto, Pasi, 166, 183, 187, 197,  
 198, 203, 208  
 Sweden, 35, 40, 42, 52, 64, 65, 68,  
 76, 97, 100, 103, 125, 141, 142,  
 155, 167, 186, 187, 208, 209, 255  
 Svensson, Marie, 209  
 Sääksi, Tuula, 49, 70, 142, 144, 145,  
 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 184,  
 189, 190, 195, 199, 200, 207, 211  
 Söderlund, Åke, 23, 24, 30, 35, 36,  
 93, 94, 110, 111, 112, 113, 124,  
 125, 131, 259  
 Takala, Väinö, 158  
 Tamminen, Tuuli, 196, 197, 207  
 Tampere, 22, 92, 100, 106  
 Tanganyika, 20, 43, 50  
 Tangulbei, 122  
 Tanzania, 52, 71, 85, 113, 118, 123,  
 128, 129, 130, 134, 163, 189, 195,  
 204, 210, 232  
 Taponen, Helvi, 22  
 Taulamo, Siina, 85, 220, 221, 223,  
 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 230, 234,  
 236, 237, 238, 239, 246, 250  
 Thessalonike, 81  
 Tillyrides, Andreas, 222, 233  
 Toikka, Paavo, 166  
 Tollander, Ingmar, 73  
 Tolvanen, Sami, 34  
 Torikainen, Leo, 27, 28, 29, 60  
 Tuomisto, Reijo, 146, 158, 159, 160,  
 197, 200, 201, 211  
 Turhanen, Viktor, 80, 81  
 Turkana, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 94,  
 123, 134, 138  
 Turunen, Veikko J., 35  
 Uganda, 29, 51, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81,  
 82, 83, 85, 94, 107, 114, 126, 134,  
 223, 224, 225, 228, 237, 238  
 United Arab Republic, 71  
 Uotila, Ari, 112, 113, 118, 122, 123,  
 128, 129, 130, 134  
 Uusitalo, Väinö, 145, 158, 159, 162,  
 206  
 Vaasa, 100, 109  
 Vahtera, Taisto, 31, 33, 34  
 Waldemarson, Harald, 187  
 Vallisaari, Aleks, 153, 154  
 Valtonen, Tauno, 153, 154, 160  
 Vanhanen, Anja-Maija, 164, 193,  
 210, 211  
 Wasundi, 51, 52, 54, 56, 64, 66, 75,  
 147, 182  
 Venäläinen, Arvo, 110  
 Vesamäki, Aatos, 165, 210  
 Vesamäki, Aino, 164  
 Westerholm, Raino, 35  
 Wheaton, 88  
 Viitala, Timo, 166  
 Vikstén, Mauri, 22, 23, 24, 30, 32,  
 102, 111  
 Villikka, Matti, 23, 32, 36, 113  
 Vimpeli, 109  
 Virtanen, Veikko, 153, 157  
 Visuri, Elina, 73  
 Vuorinen, Jouko, 47, 48, 68, 71, 72,  
 152, 153  
 Väyrynen, Paavo, 113  
 Yala, 135, 138  
 Yannoulatos, Anastasios, 77, 80,  
 81, 82, 83, 222, 231, 232, 233,  
 235, 257  
 Zachariou, Stavritsa, 225  
 Zambia, 71, 204  
 Åbonde, Maj-Len, 67, 148

---

What happens when Christian mission agencies are entrusted with government funding for development cooperation?

In 1974, the Finnish government began channelling funds through non-governmental organisations and a few years later the Finnish Pentecostals, Lutherans and Orthodox were running their own government-supported projects in Kenya. For all three the new source of income implied changes – which sometimes brought conflict and chaos. Yet through these development schemes – and through friendly cooperation between Finns and Kenyans – many projects were accomplished and a great number of people were helped.

In this book, Jaakko Lounela examines the development work of the Finnish Pentecostal, Lutheran and Orthodox missionaries in Kenya. He shows how deeply-rooted differences in faith led the mission agencies to formulate different solutions to similar problems. The survey also shows that the funds of the Finnish government offered the mission agencies excellent opportunities to expand their work.

Åbo Akademi University Press

ISBN 978-951-765-394-7

978951765394-7



9789517

653947

---