

**ACCOUNTING FOR THE 1990 - 2013 CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM
CONFLICTS IN TANZANIA**

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN RELIGIOUS
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CERTIFICATION

The undersigned certifies that he has read and hereby recommends for acceptance by the Senate of The Open University of Tanzania, a thesis titled: “**Accounting for the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim Conflicts in Tanzania**” in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Religious Studies of the Open University of Tanzania.

.....

Prof. Joseph Mbwiliza

(Supervisor)

.....

Date

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DECLARATION

I, **Rabson Ntambala Nkoko**, do hereby declare that this thesis is a product of my own original work and that it has not been presented and will not be presented to any other university or any institution of higher learning for a degree or any other award.

.....

Signature

.....

Date

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my dear wife, Martha, and my four precious children, Elizabeth, Baraka, Beatrice and Esther. You are so special to me.

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Honestly, I cannot mention all the people who were instrumental – in one way or another, in the conception, development, and completion of this thesis. Therefore I enumerate a few of them in the following paragraphs.

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ABSTRACT

From 1990 to 2013, conflicts resulting in bloody violence erupted at different times and in different places between some Christians and some Muslims in Tanzania. The main objective of this thesis was to account for these conflicts. In examining these conflicts, the researcher used the Relational Theory of Conflict. The theory states thus: "Conflicts result from interactions of different people with opposed cultural experiences, values and interests." Guided by this theory, the researcher identified two hypotheses that address religious conflicts. The first hypothesis states that: Wherever two religions coexist in roughly equal sizes, in a particular geographical setting, there is a potential for inter-religious conflicts due to their doctrinal differences and their need to access resources. The second hypothesis states thus: In order for those conflicts to develop into violence, there must be *conditions*, *actors*, and *actions* that foment the violence. The specific objectives were to state the *conditions*, to identify the *actors*, and to describe the *actions* that fomented the 1990 - 2013 violent conflicts. The researcher used both the survey and explorative research designs in this research. Dar es Salaam was the study area and the study involved 1010 respondents - 521 Christians and 489 Muslims. The findings showed that the *conditions* included ignorance, poverty, and globalization. The *actors* in the conflicts were leaders of Islamist groups, public debaters and preachers, unruly Christians and Muslims, and others. The *actions* included instigative public preaching and selling inciting DVDs and CDs. The researcher recommends religious education to all, rigorous law enforcement, and government's fair treatment for all citizens.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AD	Anno Domino
AIDS	Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome
AMR	Adventist Muslim Relations
ARU	Ardhi University
ASP	Afro-Shiraz Party
BAKWATA	Baraza Kuu la Waislamu Tanzania
BIS	Basic Industrial Strategy
BPRS	Bachelor of Philosophy and Religious Studies
CBE	College of Business Education
CCM	Chama cha Mapinduzi
CCT	Christian Council of Tanzania
CE	Common Era
CPEA	Church of the Province of East Africa
CSSC	Christian Social Service Commission
CUF	Civic United Front
DUCE	Dar es Salaam University College of Education
EAMWS	East African Muslim Welfare Society
ESR	Education for Self-Reliance
FASS	Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
FFU	Field Force Unity
GDP	Gross Domestic Product

IFM	Institute of Finance Management
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IRCPT	Inter-Religious Council for Peace in Tanzania
KAS	Konrad Adenauer Stiftung
LGRP	Local Government Reform Programme
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NSSF	National Social Security Fund
OIC	Organization for Islamic Conference
OUT	Open University of Tanzania
PCCB	Preventing and Combating Corruption Bureau
PHC	Population and Household Census
REDET	Research and Education for Democracy in Tanzania
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SIDO	Small Industries Development Organization
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TEC	Tanzania Episcopal Council
TIA	Tanzania Institute of Accountancy
TUCASA	Tanzania Universities and Colleges Adventist Students Association
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
UDOM	University of Dodoma
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
WW I, II	World War I, II
WWW	World Wide Web

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

From 1990 to 2013 Tanzania witnessed religious conflicts between some Christians and some Muslims at different times and in different places. The conflicts involved destruction of property, desecration of holy books, burning houses of worship, inflicting bodily injuries as well as killing people. Places mostly affected included Dar es Salaam, Mwanza, Kigoma, and Geita. Other places like Arusha and Zanzibar experienced bomb explosions and shootings resulting in deaths and injuries.

Although there was no clear evidence to sustain the claims, religious hatred might have been behind the atrocious events. In Masasi, the police intervened before physical confrontations started. In this study, the researcher intended to account for these conflicts. The researcher is a Tanzanian who was born immediately after independence and attended primary and secondary schools as well as college between 1970s and 1990s.

So, immediately before and after 1990 the researcher was personally aware of what was going on in the country if it was of significant interest to the public. As a witness of what was going on in the country between 1970 and 1990, to the best of his knowledge and memory, the researcher was not aware about Christians and Muslims fighting or urinating on holy books or fight in public on the account of their religious differences.

Before 1990, the researcher never harboured the imagination that Tanzanians would one day hate each other because of their religious beliefs. With this, perhaps an uninformed background, the researcher was puzzled when he heard that Christians and Muslims were contending over who should slaughter goats, hens and cattle for public consumption. To him this was a puzzle because he was born in a family that is partly Christian and partly Muslim.

For a long, time the researcher took for granted that Muslims were the ones mandated to slaughter animals and birds to be eaten by both Christians and Muslims. Therefore, he failed to understand why Christians came up with that kind of assertion after 1990 and not before. On the other hand, the researcher was dismayed when he heard and read about some Muslims who publicly called Christians “kaffir.” When did Christians start to be “kaffir” in Tanzania? Was it after 1990? Why did Christians and Muslims remain calm before 1990 and rose against each other after 1990? What brought about this paradigm shift?

These questions prompted him to select this subject for this thesis. It is his belief that the information he gathered from the literature review and field surveys will benefit the reader and, probably, will prompt some readers to carry out further studies on the subject.

In this chapter, the researcher gives the background of the research problem and the statement of the problem. Further, the researcher states the research objectives, research questions, scope and significance of the study followed by a section delineating the organization of the thesis.

1.2 Background to the Research Problem

1.2.1 Tanzanian Social Diversities

The Tanzanian society was characterized by four major social diversities: ethnic, racial, religious, and economic immediately before and after independence,. Firstly, the Tanzanian society is composed into more than 120 ethnic groups that differ culturally, linguistically, and geographically. Examples of these include the Wagogo who occupy part of central Tanzania, the Wamakua who occupy part of the south, the Wamaasai who live on both sides of the border of Tanzania and Kenya. Others are the Wamakonde who inhabit an area in the south as well as in northern parts of Mozambique; the Wakuria and Wajaluo who live in the northern part of Tanzania as well as in southwestern parts of Kenya. Secondly, as regards racial differences, Tanzanians has three major racial groups: the indigenous Tanzanians who form the majority of the population; the Tanzanians of Asian origin; and the Tanzanians of other origins. Thirdly, Tanzanian has three major religious denominations, namely Christianity, Islam and Traditional religions like Shintoism, Buddhism, Sikhism, Jehovah Witness, Mormons, and atheism (Omari, 1995).

On arriving in the country, each Christian denomination operated its mission centres and schools in different areas of the country. There was some kind of scramble for Tanzania as far as Christian denominations were concerned. A protestant could not go to a Catholic school and vice versa. Muslims were mostly concentrated in business centres, especially those centres that were previously occupied by Arab traders - for example, along the coast (Bagamoyo, Tanga, Kilwa, Lindi, etc.), Tabora, Ujiji, Unguja, Pemba, etc)). Furthermore, Muslims belong to various independent

institutions and sects such as the Ismailia, the Ahamadiyya, the Suni, the Shia, the Ansar Sunni, and others. As a result, this arrangement, diversifies Tanzanians religiously and denominationally, as Roman Catholics, Protestants (Anglicans, Lutherans, Menonites, Moravians, Baptists, Seventh-day Adventists, etc.) as well as the Ismailias, the Sunnis, etc. (Mbogoni, 2004).

Fourthly, during the period from 1961 to 1967, the country continued to depend on the capitalist economic system. The system divided the Tanzanians into two social classes of the haves and the have-nots (Saruni, 2006). During this period, the major means of production remained in the hands of the Europeans and Asians. Only a few indigenous Tanzanians worked in the government offices and a few others worked as labourers in the industries owned by the colonial masters. The majority of indigenous Tanzanians did not see the benefits of independence they had won in 1961. The so called three enemies: poverty, ignorance, and disease continued to dominate in the country and the indigenous Tanzanians continued to suffer just as they had suffered before independence (Ngowi, 2009).

Additionally, African chiefs were also favoured because they helped the colonial government to collect taxes and in perform other administrative duties. Hence, the children of the African chiefs received their education in special schools to prepare them to take over positions in the colonial government in order to further the colonial interests. In this way, African chiefs consisted a special class compared to those who did not hold that office. As a result, at the time of independence, the Tanzanian society consisted of various social classes (Sivalon, 1992).

Records show that for nearly forty years of its rule (1920-1961), the British colonial government purposely treated Tanganyikans according to their race and religious affiliation (Omari, 1995). Europeans were rulers and belonged to the upper class citizenry. Arabs and Indians were traders and belonged to the second class. Indigenous Tanganyikans, who were the majority, were poor peasants, labourers and only a few who worked as middle or senior level Civil Service positions, and belonged to the third and lowest class (Thompson, 2013). Furthermore, the government offered social services to people based on their races. In town centres, there were different areas for different races as Europeans Indians Arabs and Africans The Europeans did not allow Africans to drink industrially brewed beer. They drank only local brews such as *dengerua* sold in *Mwafrika* or *pombe* shops. There were also schools for Africans, Indians, and Europeans. Even in hospitals, people received services based on their races. There were, for example, wards for Europeans, Indians/Arabs, and Africans (Kikwete, 2006).

As regards educational services, the British colonial education policy was highly unfavourable to Tanzanians who resisted conversion to Christianity. Most Muslims did not send their children to Christian schools because they feared their children would become Christians. On the other hand, those who converted to Christianity enjoyed the opportunity to study in the Christian schools and then had access to employment opportunities in the government sector. This kind of arrangement marginalized Muslims and other non-Christians in terms of education and employment (Mushi, 2006). Regarding the genesis of the inequality between Muslims and Christians in accessing colonial education, Mbogoni (2004) has also

written that, “Through the provision of education, missionaries were able to attract potential converts which excluded a majority of Muslims who were suspicious of the proselytizing role of mission schools.”

Therefore, the political leaders of the day found it imperative to develop new policies that would facilitate the building of a unified independent nation in which all citizens could have equitable social, political, and economic advantage irrespective of their tribe, race or religion. Nyerere defined the independence of 1961 in terms of the opportunity for Tanganyikans to plan together and decide for themselves what the future development of Tanganyika would be. Nyerere said:

We should remember that what we have achieved so far is the right to work for ourselves, the opportunity to plan and build our nation. Our nation will be a free nation of equal citizens, where each person has an equal right and opportunity to develop himself or herself and contribute to the development of our society (Nyerere, 1967:138,139).

Nyerere recognized the need for a united nation as a way of equitably providing the fruits of independence to all citizens of Tanzanians. He wanted the Tanzanians to know that independence meant nothing if people continued to differ in their abilities to access the national resources because of their religious or racial differences. Therefore, Nyerere developed policies that broke down the barriers caused by religious, tribal, regional and racial differences.

Nyerere considered the 1961 independence as an opening for creation of a new nation - a united nation whereby every citizen had an impartial chance to access the national resources (Mihangwa, 2011; Sekwa, 2012). However, Njozi (2000) criticizes Nyerere’s efforts in developing a united Tanzanian community, saying,

Nyerere was doing it to facilitate the implementation of the doctrines of his Church, the Roman Catholic Church. Despite, Njozi's criticism, however, the researcher acknowledges that Nyerere was a leader who won the confidence and support of the majority of Christians and Muslims during his term in office for over twenty years consecutively. After showing the diversified Tanganyikan society, immediately before and after the year of independence (1961), the researcher shows how Tanganyikans (and since 1964, Tanzanians) united into one community.

1.2.2 Unification of the Tanzanian Society

During the early years of independence (1961-1967) and in the subsequent years, the Tanzanian national leaders directed their efforts to unifying the people into one community of Tanzanians. Commonly, several authors state that Nyerere's phase concentrated its energies on developing a Tanzanian national identity. He achieved this goal by suppressing the divisive elements (tribalism, religious identities, racial differences, and regionalism) while elevating the commonalities among Tanzanians (such as the battle against the common enemies of Tanzanians: poverty, ignorance, and disease) (Omari, 1995; Nyang'oro, 2004; and Gahnstrom, 2012).

Consequently, Tanzanians came to regard themselves as brothers and sisters despite their religious, regional, tribal, and racial differences (Nyang'oro, 2004; Heilman & Kaiser 2002; and Gahnstrom, 2012). Just as they had united into one group to dismantle the British colonial government, they joined as one group to overcome the three enemies (poverty, ignorance, and disease) that confronted them. This involved developing and implementing policies that promoted freedom, equality and national

identity (Campbell, 1999; Kasembo, 2011). That is why during the period 1961-1990, Christians and Muslims lived together peacefully (Poncian, 2015).

After looking at how Tanzanians united into a single nation of Tanzania, it is worth looking at how this unity fostered also a relatively harmonious relation between Christians and Muslims in Tanzania in the period 1960-1990.

1.2.3 Relative Christian-Muslim Harmony 1960-1990

The fight for the Tanganyikan independence in the 1950s created a phenomenal unity between Muslims and Christians that became an important capital in the political life of the independent Tanganyika (between 1961 and 1964) and then Tanzania (since 1964). Tanganyikan Christians and Muslims united to dismantle the British colonial administration. Religious differences became irrelevant in favour of political independence. Christians and Muslims worked hand in hand to confront the British government and jointly pressed for independence. On 9 December 1961, Tanganyika achieved its political independence with the late Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, a Christian, being the first President of Independent Tanganyika (Liviga, 2006).

Using the unity between Christians and Muslims developed during the independence campaigns, Nyerere's government mobilized Tanzanians towards economic development. The same unity that was used to dismantle the British was then directed to the three enemies commonly facing the Tanzanians: disease, poverty, and ignorance. As a result, for the first thirty years of Tanzanian independence (1961-1990), Christians and Muslims in Tanzania lived in harmony. Although there has always been a certain degree of Christian-Muslim tension under the surface, it did

not lead to open conflict and the relationship between Christians and Muslims, by far and large, remained harmonious (Liviga, 2006).

During the period 1960-1990, Christians and Muslims in Tanzania lived together thinking of themselves as Tanzanians rather than as members of tribes or religious groups (Mwakyusa, 2013; Poncian, 2015). During the period 1960-1990 the relation between the followers of the two world religions in Tanzania could be described as “very good” (Lodhi, 1994:91), and “harmonious” (Tanner, 2012:10). During this period, Christians and Muslims “learnt to live together for the common good of the social unit (Tanner, 2012:10).”

Regarding the relative Christian-Muslim harmony in Tanzania in the period 1960-1990, Njozi (2004:38) has noted, “Although as citizens, Muslims are grossly underrepresented in educational opportunities and employment; Muslims have never considered Christians as their enemies who should be hated or killed. Muslims have continued to live in harmony with Christians without any alarming traces of social or religious animosities.” To that end also, on the side of Christians, Mbogoni (2004) reiterates that Christians and Muslims in Tanzania have always lived together peacefully since independence and that as “People of the Book, need to acknowledge each other’s humanity and equality before God” (Mbogoni, 2004:193).

However, the peaceful Christian-Muslim relation experienced in Tanzania during the period 1960-1990 did not remain the same in 1990 - 2013. From 1990 to 2013, Tanzania experienced Christian-Muslim clashes that deserve a serious consideration. On this change Njozi (2004) has remarked thus: “Tanzania which until very recently

was praised by Rasmussen (1993) as setting a fine example in Christian-Muslim relations in Africa, has now begun to experience the hostilities which come with ‘the demise of the social unity’ (Kaiser, 1996).” In the following section, the researcher gives some examples of violent confrontations between some Muslims and Christians after 1990 especially in the period 1993-2013. The 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts were the focus of this research. The following section describes some of the episodes of these conflicts in detail.

1.2.4 Christian-Muslim Conflicts 1990 - 2013

During the period (1990 - 2013) in Tanzania there were not only open verbal exchanges of criticisms, but also overt physical combats between some Christians and some Muslims. The conflicts resulted in destruction of property, deaths, prosecution and imprisonment (Kija, 2013; Langer, 2013; Mende, 2013; Mkotwa, 2013; Mtagaluka, 2013; Mtibuche, 2013; and Omar, 2013). The following is a brief account of some of the recorded violent confrontations between Christians and Muslims in Tanzania between 1990 and 2013.

In April 1993, a group of Muslims demolished three pork butcheries alleged to belong to Christians, in Kinondoni District, in the city of Dar es Salaam, on account that the butcheries were installed near Muslim residential houses. This led to the arrest and prosecution of 30 Muslims (Tanner, 2012).

Also in February 2000, Muslims and Christians clashed over the use of a graveyard located in Manzese area in the City of Dar es Salaam. The conflicts involved attacks on people who were going to the graveyard to bury a Christian. Furthermore, angry

people alleged to be Muslims knocked down some crosses on Christian graves in the graveyard. This again led to arrests of some Muslims something that further caused some Muslims to think there was a conspiracy between the Christian Church and the government against the interests of Islam and Muslims (Sekwa, 2012).

Another conflict erupted in Dar es Salaam following the arrest of a Muslim preacher in August 2001. The police apprehended the Muslim preacher on the allegations that he had caused chaos due to insults he had preached against the Christian religion. However, Muslims protested against the arrest and a big scuffle ensued along with the destruction of shops and houses and stealing of properties. This called for police intervention resulting in numerous arrests and prosecution (Heilman and Kaiser, 2002). Another violent confrontation between Muslim activists and police took place at Mwembechai Mosque on 13 February 2002. The fray resulted in two deaths and many more Muslims being arrested by the police force (Heilman and Kaiser, 2002).

As if that was not enough, in March 2004 there were some bomb explosions and burning of houses of worship and other properties in Zanzibar. Unknown people, alleged to be Muslims, destroyed one Catholic Church building and set fire to one vehicle belonging to a Christian school.

Furthermore, they demolished buildings in which people sell alcohol (bars). The mufti of Zanzibar intervened by rebuking the violent acts; however, the perpetrators did not listen to him and instead they attacked his residence with an explosive that exploded just in front of his residential house (Tanner, 2012). In 2000 -at Dodoma, William Benjamin Mkapa addressed the CCM special general meeting had just

appointed him the presidential candidate of the United Republic of Tanzania for the 2000 general election. He became the President of Tanzania and the CCM chairman subsequently. President Mkapa sternly rebuked all those who were advocating divisive sentiments sowing seeds of religious hatred. He cautioned that he would be hard on them. That was an indication of the religious clashes that had become a national concern at that time (Bassaleh, 2000).

Additionally, the years 2011, 2012, and 2013 witnessed more intense and frequent Christian-Muslim clashes reflecting even greater deterioration in Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania. For example, on September 21, 2011, some people burned down three church buildings belonging to the Tanzanian Assemblies of God Church in Mwanza. Angry Muslims retaliated after learning that there were four Christians, from Lumala Parish, who had previously burnt a copy of the Qur'an (Kamanzi, 2013; Langer, 2013). Furthermore, in May 2012, people believed to be Muslims destroyed about 25 churches and other Christian buildings in Zanzibar (Tanner, 2012). In addition, after just five months later, on October 19, 2012, Muslims torched or stoned five churches and other properties, particularly, motor vehicles in Mbagala area, in the city of Dar es-Salaam. This happened because there were reports that a Christian boy had urinated on the holy Qur'an (Mwankemwa, 2012).

Yet, on February 11, 2013, a group of Muslims fought with a group of Christians who had slaughtered a cow and several goats. The Christians were intending to sell the meat at a local butchery, at Buseresere centre in Geita region, in defiance of the common practice of only Muslims slaughtering animals and birds for public

consumption. The conflict included an attack on the owner of the butchery and the clash resulted in the death of one person by the name Mathayo Kachila, a leader of one of the Christian Churches in the locality. A number of individuals including both Muslims and Christians sustained injuries in different parts of their bodies (Sengo, 2013).

On a similar note, on March 2, 2013, an unknown group of people pestered the house of the leader of the Anglican Church of Tanzania, Dr. Valentino Mokiwa (Terdiman, 2013). Furthermore, in April 2013, the police were obliged to use extra force to scatter more than 200 angry Christians who were determined to burn down a Mosque in the Southern part of Tanzania demanding the right to slaughter animals and birds for public sale. The fight ensued when Muslims maintained that it was their sole right to monopolize the slaughtering business and that Christians did not have that mandate whatsoever (Langer, 2013).

Still, during the years 2012 and 2013 there were incidences in which explosions occurred in the houses of worship (Mngumi, 2013; Saiboko, 2013) and religious leaders were injured or killed suspected to be connected with religious hatred. During these years, one Roman Catholic Church priest, Father Ambrose Mkenda, was injured; and another, Father Evarist Mushi, was murdered (Eliud, 2013). All these events happened in Zanzibar.

Although no evidence was adduced implicating anybody, the events had a polarizing effect on the Christian-Muslim relations (Machira, 2013). In the backdrop of these turbulent events, a study that was conducted by Ipsos-Synovate Tanzania on 25

February 2013, involving 2,000 respondents, aiming at discovering the factors negatively impacting the quality of life of Tanzanians at that time, religious conflicts ranked number three after poverty and hunger (Machira, 2013). The religious conflicts that featured mostly in the media in the years 2012 and 2013, involved Christians and Muslims. In the following sections, the research presents the statement of the problem, objectives, research questions, limitation and significance, as well as the organization of the thesis.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

As the researcher showed in the background to the research problem, during the period 1960 - 1990 it was uncommon to hear or see Christians and Muslims engage in open quarrels such as the bloody ones that occurred during the period 1990 - 2013. During the first 30 years of independence, Christians and Muslims in Tanzania remained quite peaceful, without any religious based clashes.

However, in 1990 - 2013 there occurred clashes between some Christians and some Muslims at different times and in different places threatening the unity and peace of Tanzanians. The Christian-Muslim tensions that showed up openly in the destruction of pork butcheries in Dar es Salaam in 1993 culminated in the beheading of a Pentecostal pastor at Buseresere centre in 2013.

The problem this research addressed was lack of explanation of the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts, especially after the Christian-Muslim violent conflicts of 2011-2013 when the study was done. In this study the researcher sought to understand and hence to give an account or explanation for the 1990 - 2013

Christian-Muslim conflicts. As a responsible citizen, the researcher recognized his obligation to do whatever was within his reach to contribute to a continued peaceful life of the Tanzanians. The puzzle that vexed the researcher and needed an explanation was why some Christians and Muslims quarrelled to the point of killing each other during the years 1990 - 2013 given the peaceful relation Christians and Muslims had had during the period between 1960 and 1990. What had happened in 1990 - 2013? What were the dynamics behind these conflicts? After developing an understanding of these factors, the researcher wanted also to recommend actions that the government as well as common Christians and Muslims can do to prevent the reoccurrence of conflicts of that nature.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 Main Objective

The main objective of this study was to give an account or explanation of the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania in terms of identifying the conditions, actors, and actions that fomented those conflicts. The account or explanation revolved around the three specific objectives mentioned below. The three specific objectives also formed the bases of the three research questions that follow the list of the specific objectives. Hence, the main objective, the specific objectives and the research questions provided the framework and direction of this research.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

In order to realize the main objective of the research, the researcher pursued the following three specific objectives, namely:

- (i) To state the *conditions* that nurtured the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania.
- (ii) To identify the *actors* in the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania
- (iii) To describe the *actions* that instigated and/or constituted the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania.

1.5 Research Questions

- (i) What were the *conditions* that nurtured the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania?
- (ii) Who were the *actors* in the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania?
- (iii) What *actions* fomented the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania?

1.6 Scope of the Study

Firstly, the researcher recognizes the fact that Christian-Muslim conflicts have happened and continue to happen in other parts of the world (for example in Kenya, Nigeria, the Sudan, etc. (Omaiyo, 2015). However, the researcher limits his study to the Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania.

Secondly, although this study discusses Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania in general, the scope of the discussion is limited to the Sunni Muslims of the Qaddriya and Shaddhiliya orders. This study did not include Muslims of the Ismailis and Bohora orders. The thrust of this thesis is that every Tanzanian Christian and Muslim

(regardless his or her denomination) has the duty to maintain unity and peace in Tanzania. And that, if any Christian or Muslim (regardless his or her denomination) disrupts the unity and peace of Tanzania tarnishes the image of both Christianity and Islam since both religions advocate for peace and unity.

Furthermore, an attack on the symbols of Islam (for example, burning a Mosque, urinating on the Qur'an, even injuring any Muslim, for that matter, etc.) offends, in a special way, the Muslim community. Such an attack will unite all Muslims, regardless their denominations, against the attacker. Similarly, an assault on the symbols of Christianity (for example, burning a church, breaking a cross, or injuring a Christian, etc) engages, in a special way, the concerns of all Christians regardless their denominations (as well as all people of good will).

On a similar note, in this thesis, the researcher treats the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts as if all Muslims and Christians were involved; though, actually, only a few personally perpetrated the conflicts.

Thirdly, this study did not seek to enter into theological or doctrinal controversies or do any kind of judgment or evaluation of any of the two religions' distinctive theological or doctrinal positions. Also, this study did not concern itself with quarrels between Muslims and Christians resulting from causes that are not based on religious affiliations. For example, this study did not consider as a Christian-Muslim conflict if the conflict involved a Christian boy and a Muslim boy because one stole the other's pen.

Fourthly, this study focused on Christian-Muslim conflicts. The study did not discuss conflicts that Muslims and Christians may have with other religious groups or government institutions or any other person community. For example, the study did not discuss the conflicts between Christians and the Government or Muslims and the Government or Muslims with Buddhists.

1.7 Limitation of the Study

Since the distribution of the questionnaires to the majority of respondents needed the help of other people - and it took much time to distribute and get them back, it was hard for the researcher to have control over the exercise and this might have affected how and what the respondents wrote in the questionnaire.

Another factor that imposed a constraint on the researcher's work was the budgetary limitation. If the researcher had enough budgetary provision he could have travelled all over the country to collect the data. Since the student depended on a limited budget, he had to collect data within Dar es Salaam where he was living at the time of data collection. However, the fact that Dar es Salaam is a place where Christian-Muslim conflicts occurred thus mitigating this shortcoming. Furthermore, Dar es Salaam, as the major business and communication centre is a place where people have easy access to information of what happens in the country since they have TV sets, radio sets, Smartphone, internet, and other types of connectivity.

1.8 Significance of the Study

The significance of this study is threefold. The first is to contribute to the body of knowledge. The second significance of this research is to provide information to policy makers to help them develop new policies for continued harmonious

Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania. Finally, the third significance of this study is its proposed steps for intervention. The research suggests ways that can help to maintain harmonious Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania.

1.9 Organization of the Thesis

This thesis consists of five main chapters. Chapter 1 consists of the general introduction of the thesis. In this chapter, the researcher describes the background of the recurring nature of the Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania. In this chapter, the researcher also mentions the research problem, research questions as well as the scope, limitation and significance of the study.

Chapter two of the thesis consists of the literature review section in which the researcher presents both the theoretical and empirical analyses based on the works of other authors and researcher. In chapter two the researcher also identifies the gap in knowledge covered by this research. The third chapter presents the research methodology used in this research covering the research design, population and sampling techniques, data collection method as well as data processing and analysis methods. Chapter four presented the research findings and discussion while the fifth chapter consists of the summary, conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The literature review provided in the following paragraphs contributed to achieving the specific objectives of the research by defining some important terms used in this study and then surveying the theoretical and empirical literature addressing the subject. This equipped the researcher with the knowledge of what conflict theoreticians and other researchers have written on the Christian-Muslim conflicts in relation to the actors, actions and conditions that fomented the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania. The literature review assisted the researcher also to identify the gap in the existing literature thus by filling that gap, the researcher added new information to the hitherto existing body of knowledge.

2.2 Definition of Terms

2.2.1 Christian and Muslim

The researcher used the terms “Christian” and “Muslim” in this research in a nominal and inclusive sense to refer to those who identify themselves or others identify them as followers of Christianity and Islam respectively. The two words used in a nominal sense imply that the researcher did not go into the details to verify whether every individual referred to in this study as a Christian or Muslim was or is practising Christianity or Islam. For example, certain literatures refer to Vasco da Gama as a Christian. However, nobody can prove whether Vasco da Gama was a practising follower of Christianity or just a Portuguese trader who pursued his

economic interests under the banner of Christianity. However, due to the fact that he came from a “Christian land” and his ships were affixed with crosses and other Christian symbols, whatever he did, including his taking over of the city-state of Kilwa, is considered by some writers as having done it in the name and course of Christianity (Bashiri, 2012).

The researcher used these words in the inclusive sense, because, when any Muslim attacks any Christian symbol such as by burning a church building or knocking down crosses in the Christian grave yard or burning a copy of the Bible in public, such an attack tends to polarize the Christian-Muslim relations. That is, Christians (regardless their denominations) tend to unite against all Muslims. Similarly, when a Christian assaults a Muslim symbol such as by demolishing a mosque or urinating on a copy of the Qur’an, the assault inclines to create a gap between Christians and Muslims and all Muslims tend to unite against Christians. Hence, therefore, in this study, the researcher treats the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts as though all Christians and Muslims got involved although not every Christian or Muslim personally participated in the conflicts.

2.2.2 Conflict

The researcher used the term “conflict” in this study to refer to “a disagreement,” “friction,” or “clash” between ideas, principles, or people (Encarta Dictionary, 2008). There are two types of conflicts: intra-group and intergroup conflicts. Intra-group conflicts refer to conflicts within the same group while intergroup conflicts refer to conflicts between two or separate groups. Conflicts may take the form of verbal or

physical confrontations leading to violence and destruction of property and human life (Chukwu, 2008).

Conflicts are part of every society and if properly managed they can be a vehicle for the development of the society. As Nyirabu (2011:79) has noted, “Conflict itself, is unavoidable, and contains within itself the probability for both positive and negative effects.” However, if not properly handled, conflicts can lead to deterioration in human relations and hamper political and economic development. As it has been observed, “Rampant religious clashes retard both economic and political development...” (Chukwu, 2008:43) or tear down levels of economic development that took decades to achieve (Massesa, 2008).

As relates to Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania, Heilman (2006:301) has noted, “There is the danger that if Muslim-Christian conflicts are not properly handled, they could fuel an ‘us-them’ divide between the two major universal religions in Tanzania, which could adversely affect the overall society.” Tesfai (2008:13) points out that “Christian-Muslim conflict is capable of being a potential source of deadly wars if not properly handled both locally and globally.” Therefore, while conflicts can be a source of good, if properly managed, they can be the course of destruction, if not properly handled.

In this research, therefore, the Christian-Muslim conflicts the researcher considers are those conflicts that involve destruction of property, physical confrontation, violence, injuries and deaths. The Christian-Muslim conflicts that drew the attention of the researcher to the point of taking the initiative to do this research were not the

usual religious arguments that happen between a Muslim and Christian in a casual talk.

2.2.3 Conditions

The researcher used the word “conditions” in the first specific research objective and wanted to be clear as to what he meant by the word in this research. According to the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, New Edition, the word “conditions” used in the plural form, has several meanings. One of them is “all the things that affect the way something happens.” This is the meaning of the word in this research. The “conditions” referred to in relation to the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts were all the things that affected the way those conflicts happened.

2.2.4 Actors

The researcher used also the word “actors” in the second specific research objective and wanted the readers to understand the meaning he wanted to communicate by its use in this research. The word “actors” is the plural of the word “actor.” Now, the word “actor” as defined by the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, New Edition, is “someone who performs in a play, film or television program.” Therefore, in order to understand what this word means in this research, the reader has to visualize the events involving the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts as if they were episodes in a play, film or television program. With this imagination, then, the actors were the people who performed in those conflicts. That is, the actors in the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania were the people who participated in the conflicts as either instigators and/or perpetrators of the conflicts.

Furthermore, because of the importance of the words *instigators* and *perpetrators* in this research, the researcher defined them also. The word “instigator” is a noun derived from the word “instigate” which, according to the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, New Edition, means “to start trouble by persuading someone to do something bad. On the other hand, the word “perpetrator” is a noun that comes from the verb “perpetrate” which, the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, New Edition, means, “do something that is morally wrong or criminal.” Hence, therefore, the actors in this research, according to the researcher, were the people who either persuaded others and/or performed the acts that constituted the violence in the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania.

2.2.5 Actions

The word action has several meanings also. The researcher used this word in this research to mean, “something that someone does.” This definition comes from the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, New Edition. As far as the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts are concerned, the actions in the conflicts were the things that instigators and perpetrators did that fuelled or constituted the violent acts. The actions included distributing instigating CDs and DVDs, publicly insulting other religions, engaging in physical combat, destruction of property and killing human beings.

2.3 Theoretical Literature Review

Several theories and concepts are available in the literature that can possibly explain the causes of the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania. In this section,

the researcher surveys the general theories of conflicts as well as concepts and hypotheses that explain Christian-Muslim conflicts in particular.

2.3.1 Causes of Conflict Theories

Some of the commonly known causes of conflict theories are The Human Needs Theory, Relational Theory, Transformational Theory, and Political Theory. Others are the Structural Theory, the Marxist Theory, the International Capitalist Theory, and Realist Theory (Folarin, 2015).

The Human Needs Theory of Conflict assumes that a person or group's deprivation of access to their basic needs, as human beings, leads to conflicts. Basic human needs include freedom, identity, ability for action and creativity, privacy, meaning and participation, recognition and understanding, connectedness and affection, security and protection as well as subsistence. If anybody deprives them of any of these needs, human being will engage in violence in an attempt to reclaim them. On the other hand, the Relational Theory of Conflict postulates that conflicts result from interactions of different people and/or people groups with opposed cultural experiences, values and interests. When two people or groups who differ in their values have to coexist there is a potential for them to engage in conflicts rooted in their contradicting cultural elements, values, or interests (Folarin, 2015).

The Political Theory of conflict asserts that political interests are at the centre of all conflicts. The theory presupposes that the state is the context where various groups or individuals compete to take advantage of others. The theory assumes that those

who take advantage of others gain access to the helm of the state by eliminating or disabling others. Yet, the Transformative Theory of Conflicts assumes that conflicts are systemic and structural injustice and inequalities that are expressed in terms of “competing social, economic, religious and political frameworks” That is to say, the theory considers conflict as one of the agents of social transformation and human development (Folarin, 2015).

The Structural Theory of Conflict endeavours to describe conflict as the outcome of the inter-personal or inter-group struggle for resources. The key point of this theory is that conflict results from the structure or organization of the society concerned. The Marxist Theory of Conflict explains conflicts in terms of social classes. The theory assumes that the society consists of unequal classes: the bourgeoisie, that is, those who are strong, rich and noble on one hand; and the proletariat, that is, the have-nots on the other hand. The theory assumes, therefore, that the economic and social differences between these two social groups are the constant sources of conflict. The Economic Theory of Conflict considers conflicts as the direct result of economic situations in the society. The needs for accessing national resources force people to struggle for political power. The assumption is that if an individual has political control of the society he or she has control over the national resources as well. The theory considers the needs for resources, the scarcity of resources as well as the fear of deprivation of resources to be at the driving wheel of conflicts in the society. On the other hand, the Realist Theory of Conflict describes conflict as a product of the innate selfish nature of man, who continues to pursue his own best interests even at the expense of other’s interest (Folarin, 2015).

After acquainting himself with these theories, the researcher considered the Relational Theory of Conflict to be the best in the analysis of the 1990 - 2013 Muslim conflicts in Tanzania. He chose this theory because it addresses all the aspects related to the Christian-Muslim conflicts, namely, doctrinal differences and desire to have dominance over politics and resources. All the other theories do not address the doctrinal aspect.

2.3.2 Relational Theory and Christian-Muslim Conflicts

As noted above, the Relational Theory of Conflict states that conflicts result from interactions of different people and/or people groups with opposed cultural experiences, values and interests. The Christian-Muslim doctrinal differences and competition for resources are covered by the phrase “opposed cultural experiences, values and interests.” Closely related to this, Mushi (2006:30) has written, “Where two roughly equal religions dominate the scene, the potential for fierce inter-religious squabbles exists....Doctrinal differences may, of course, be used to legitimize or contextualize these interests. Tanzania is a good example of this scenario, with Islam and Christianity as the main contenders.” On a similar note, Gilchrist (2002) provides some historical evidence to support the concept that Christian-Muslim conflicts are rooted in their doctrinal differences and their competition for political and economic dominance.

Basing on both Mushi and Gilchrist’s ideas and building upon the framework the Relational Theory of Conflict provides, the researcher, creatively, came up with this statement: “Wherever Christians and Muslims are dominant and are roughly equal in numbers there is a potential for Christian-Muslim conflicts rooted in their doctrinal

differences and their desire for prominence and resources.” This statement became the first hypothesis the researcher used in his research to arrive at the conclusion he finally came to.

However, this hypothesis alone could not fully explain the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts because of itself does not explain why Christians and Muslims in Tanzania do sometimes remain peaceful and quarrel at other times. In the course of his literature review, the researcher found a solution to this predicament in a statement made by Mukandala (2006:3) to the effect that, “For there to be actual conflict over differences, resources, convictions, or anything else, there must be *actors, actions, and conditions* which promote a process in which divergence, disparity, or diversity are converted into conflict.” This hypothesis complements the first by explaining why sometimes there can be Christian-Muslim conflicts and sometimes there can be no such conflicts in Tanzania.

This suggests that even where Muslims and Christians are dominant and roughly equal in numbers, they can still live together peacefully despite their doctrinal differences and their desire for prominence and possessions. The second hypothesis postulates that the mere existence of Christian-Muslim doctrinal differences and desire for dominance and resources (as well as other differences) does not necessarily have to lead to Christian-Muslim conflicts. In order for these variables to foment into concrete clashes there must be *conditions, actors, and actions* that convert the Christian-Muslim differences and their competing interests into concrete clashes. Let us examine these concepts a little bit further.

Despite the fact that both Christianity and Islam teach mercy, forgiveness, and peace, because of their doctrinal differences and their desire for political and economic dominance, wherever Christians and Muslims dominate in a community, they have the potential to clash; develop misunderstandings and even engage in violence and wars. Addison (1942:12) has observed, “Misunderstanding and suspicion and hostility have marked the relations between Christendom and its powerful rival. As great political communities they have been in conflict time and again.”

The first potential cause for Christian-Muslim conflicts is rooted in their doctrinal differences. Gilchrist (2002) notes the fact that the conflicts between Christians and Muslims started during the time of Muhammad himself. Gilchrist notes further that the Qur’an, the Muslim holy book, contains numerous passages that polemically criticize the Christian fundamental beliefs. He tells us also that during the early centuries of Islam, Muslim scholars wrote to criticize Christianity. He says that the Christian beliefs that suffered attacks include the authenticity of the Bible (Ibn Hazm), and the doctrine of the Trinity (Abu Isa al-Warraq). On the other hand, Christians attacked Islam by discrediting Muhammad as a false prophet and the Qur’an as a false document (Gilchrist, 2000). Both religions, while advocating love and peace, due to their doctrinal differences, can hate and engage in active armed bloody wars and mercilessly kill those who oppose or challenge their beliefs (Halley, 1974). Their doctrinal differences have also led to scramble for followers and conflicts over intermarriage and other practices.

The second potential cause for Christian-Muslim conflicts is rooted in the desire for political and economic dominance. Historically, both Christianity and Islam started

as small, persecuted, and marginalized religious groups but later grew into large, global, persecuting and subjugating empires (Halley, 1974, Ayoub, 2007). Contrary to some people who think that only Muslims believe as their right to take part in both politics and wars (Liviga and Masabo, 2006), most Christians also believe and advocate as their religious duty to participate in politics and wars. While Muslims fight holy wars in the name of *Jihad*, Christians fight holy wars in the name of *crusade*. The terminologies may differ, but the principle is the same: they both fight to eradicate evil. Kreider and Yoder (1990) have described the criteria for Christians to engage in the just bloody war:

The Just War Theory has come to provide a series of criteria by which the permissibility of war in a particular situation can be weighed. Some of these criteria have to do with the origins of the war: Is there a just cause (for example, a clear injury which needs to be redressed)? Has every reasonable attempt been made to redress without bloodshed? Will a legitimate authority declare war? ... Is it to be waged solely by legitimate and moral means? Is the damage that is likely to result from the war less grievous than the prior injury? Is success likely?

If the answer to these questions is ‘Yes’, one may justly declare war. Unfortunately, this will entail killing. But Augustine emphasized that this does not clash with loving the enemy. What really matters are the intentions of the combatants’ hearts.

World history is replete with terrible marks of blood of innocent children and nursing mothers who died at the hands of the “Christian soldiers” in the eleventh to thirteenth century crusades (Halley, 1974). Furthermore, many lives were lost in the civil wars in Lebanon between Christian militias and Muslim militias in 1975-1990 and *jihadis* in the Arabian Peninsula and North Africa against early Christians and Jews (Clare, 1996). Of course, some Christians have taken the pacifist and non-combatant approach to wars. These are few. The majority would engage in war as described above (Kreider and Yoder, 1990).

The second hypothesis describes how the Christian-Muslim doctrinal differences and their desire for political and economic dominance lead to actual conflict. The hypothesis states, “For there to be actual conflict over differences, resources, convictions, or anything else, there must be actors, actions, and conditions which promote a process in which divergence, disparity, or diversity are converted into conflict” (Mukandala, 2006:3). According to Gilchrist (2002), the early conflicts between Christianity and Islam were over winning followers. So long as the controversies remained at the level of doctrinal or theological debates, no physical war erupted. However, when Islam started invading and politically dominating foreign nations including the Christian states and Jewish holy lands the hitherto doctrinal arguments changed into physical wars (Clare, 1996).

2.3.3 Conceptual Framework

Now, coming back to our study, “accounting for the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania,” we find that Christians and Muslims in Tanzania are roughly equal in number (accounting, roughly, for 35% of the Tanzanian population each (Mukandala, 2006; Mushi 2006)). That is to say, of the entire Tanzanian population, around 70% of them are either Christians or Muslims. There is no question, that, Tanzanian Christians and Muslims differ doctrinally and theologically.

Furthermore, there is no question that each of the two religions wants to be on the top in terms of political power and economic dominance. After all, could not that be the greatest achievement in their God-given mission? Hence, the first hypothesis, “Wherever Christians and Muslims are dominant and are roughly equal in number

there is a potential for Christian-Muslim conflict rooted in their doctrinal differences and desire for power and possessions,” applies.

This means therefore, that, so long as Christians and Muslims will continue to coexist and dominate the scene in Tanzania in roughly equal numbers as they are now, the potential for Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania will always be there. Another good example of this kind of scenario is found also in Nigeria. The 2014 statistics show that Christians and Muslims in Nigeria are dominant and are roughly equal in numbers. Christians account for 50.5% and Muslims 43.5% of the Nigerian population (Campbell and Harwood, 2013; Grundy, 2014). This means, therefore, that so long as Christian-Muslim ratio in Nigeria remains like this, the potential for Christian-Muslim conflicts will always be there in Nigeria.

Figure 2.1 is a schematic diagram showing how Christian-Muslim conflicts happen. Given the right conditions, the actors perform actions that trigger the Christian-Muslim violent conflicts.

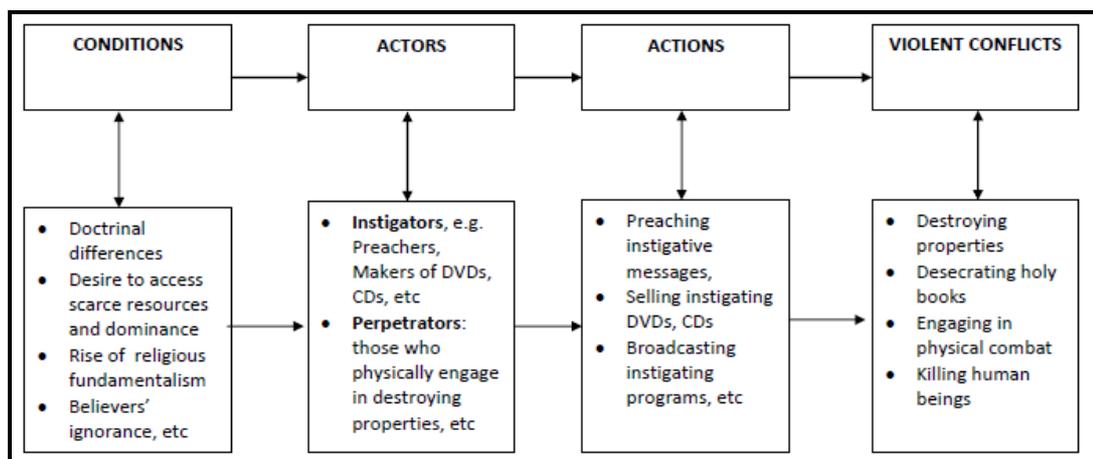


Figure 2.1: Conceptual framework of the fomentation of Christian-Muslim Conflicts

Source: Researcher's own formulation based on Mukandalas views

2.4 Empirical Literature Analysis

The empirical literature analysis presented in in this section surveys Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania in both periods 1960-1990 and 1990 and 2013. The researcher took this approach to sharpen his understanding and hence develop a more informed account for the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts. The analysis of the 1960 - 1990 Christian-Muslim relation became a background for the analysis of the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim relation. The analysis consists of the three major aspects that relate to the three specific research objectives: *conditions*, *actors*, and *actions* in connection with the Christian-Muslim relations in both periods. However, the discussion begins with an assessment of the Christian-Muslim relation in both periods to provide a background for the discussion on the three specific objectives.

2.4.1 Assessment of the Christian-Muslim Relation 1960-1990

The Tanzanian society that existed immediately after independence was a society highly susceptible to deep social conflicts. This was so because it was a society that was diversified into various social groups, particularly, ethnic, religious, regional, and racial (Omar, 1995). As regards Muslims and Christians, the two groups that grew to become the dominant social groups in Tanzania, the major disintegrative factors were the educational and employment gaps between the two groups (Mushi, 2006).

Studies show that during the early years of independence the educational and employment gap between Christians and Muslims in Tanzania was significantly big. One of such studies found that 75% of the Members of Parliament in Tanzania in 1970 were Christians. In 1983, 78% of all students who joined form one in secondary

schools were Christians. Only 22% were non-Christian. Another study that was conducted by the Dar es Salaam University Muslim Trusteeship (DUMT), during the years 1986-90, out of 4,191 students only 582, that is, 13% of all the students were Muslims. Furthermore, during President Nyerere's 24-year administration, the Minister for Education was never a Muslim (Jumbe, 1994; Lodhi, 1994). (Tables 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4 show some more statistics to this effect).

Table 2.1: Muslim and Christian Form one Registration in 1978-1981

Year	Muslim Percentage	Christians Percentage	Ratio Muslim: Christian
1978	28%	77%	1:3
1979	22%	78%	1:3
1980	23%	77%	1:3
1981	25%	75%	1:3

Source: Bassaleh, 2000.

Table 2.2: Muslim and Christian Form Five Registration in 1978-1981

Year	Muslim Percentage	Christian Percentage	Ratio Muslim: Christian
1978	12%	88%	1:7
1979	13%	87%	1:6
1980	13%	87%	1:6
1981	12%	88%	1:7

Source: Bassaleh, 2000.

Table 2.3: University of Dar es Salaam Muslim and Christian Students 1971-1984

Year	Muslim Percentage	Christians Percentage	Ratio Muslim: Christian
1971-72	13%	86%	1:6.6
1972-73	14%	84%	1:6.0
1973-74	13%	87%	1:6.6
1984-85	15%	85%	1:5.7
1986-87	16%	84%	1:5.7
1987-88	18%	82%	1:4.5
1988-89	18%	82%	1:4.5

Source: Bassaleh, (2000)

Table 2.4: Muslim and Christian Permanent Secretaries, Regional Commissioners, and District Commissioners in 1993

Year	Muslims	Christians	Ratio Muslim: Christian
Permanent Secretaries	4	16	1:4
Regional Commissioners	5	15	1:3
District Commissioners	8	121	1:14

Source: Bassaleh, (2000)

Despite these educational and employment imbalances, as well as other issues touching the Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania, during the first thirty years of independence, Christians and Muslims in Tanzania lived together and intermingled tolerantly (Njozi, 2004). As it was noted in the background to the research problem, during the period 1960-1990, Christians and Muslims in Tanzania lived together tolerantly, thinking of themselves as Tanzanians rather than as members of tribes or religious groups (Mwakyusa, 2013; Poncian, 2015). During the period 1960-1990 the relation between the followers of the two world religions in Tanzania was described as “very good” (Lodhi, 1994:91), and “harmonious” (Tanner, 2012:10). During this period, Christians and Muslims “learnt to live together for the common good of the social unity” (Tanner, 2012:10). This state of affairs was so due to a number of factors discussed in the following sections.

2.4.2 Conditions that Nurtured Harmonious Christian-Muslim Relations 1960-1990

Several factors created an environment that promoted the 1960 - 1990 Christian-Muslim harmony. The first was the nationalist consciousness that developed during the independence campaigns. The government inherited this value the from the

freedom struggles in which both Christians and Muslims waged against the British government (Mbogoni, 2004). Other factors were created as a result of the implementation of the policies the government of the day formulated. These included pan-Africanism, Kiswahili as the national language, and the national service program. Others were the single party system, the Arusha Declaration and the abolition of the tribal authorities. The following sections discuss these conditions in detail.

2.4.2.1 Nationalism Fostered by the Independence Campaigns

Unlike many other colonies, nationalism in Tanganyika, that is, a fight against a common enemy, was a hugely unifying factor (Thompson, 2013). The campaign for independence in the 1950s created a nationalist consciousness among Tanganyikans that became an important element in the political life of the independent Tanganyika and then Tanzania. Nationalism provided a key to peaceful Christian-Muslim relation in Tanzania during the first thirty years of independence.

The Tanganyikans who returned from Burma where they had been fighting in the World War II (1939 - 1945) developed a sense of nationalism. Muslims who had hitherto linked Christians with colonialism discovered that the issue was not Christianity; it was colonization. They realized that colonialism was their common enemy. Christians developed the same attitude. They were determined to forget about holy wars (jihad and crusades), and they envisaged political parties to oust the colonial administration (Said, 2002). While at Makerere University, Nyerere and his fellow students organized Makerere University Tanganyikan Students Association,

an association that wanted to form a united front with Tanganyika African Association (TAA), an association that had been in existence in Tanganyika since 1929. When he came back from Makerere, in 1953 Nyerere was elected President of Tanganyika African Association (TAA), the association he contributed to its growth while a student at Makerere University (Mbogoni, 2004).

In 1954 the name of TAA was changed to Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), which was more of a political party than TAA. Within one year TANU was the leading political party in the whole of Tanganyika. Nyerere's influence scared the colonial leaders until they asked him to choose between politics and teaching. He resigned from teaching and devoted all his time and energy going around the whole country talking with the commoners as well as the chiefs in order to unite them in pursuit of independence. He also addressed, on behalf of TANU, the Trusteeship Council and the Fourth Committee of the United Nations (UN) in New York. The cooperation that was developed between Christians and Muslims in the independence campaigns resulted in the achievement of independence in 1961 (Mbogoni, 2004).

The cooperation between Christians and Muslims during the independence struggle was quite phenomenal and this unity created a political capital for the unity of the newly independent Tanganyika and then Tanzania. Building on the nationalist consciousness created during the independence struggle Nyerere promulgated a vision that captivated both Christians and Muslims until their religious identities were nothing compared to the interests of their nation-building project. Nyerere's vision for his country was to eradicate three enemies common to all: poverty,

disease, and ignorance. Nyerere argued that it was a patriotic struggle that left no room for differences and united all people in the country that led to freedom; thus, the same nationalism was crucial in the fight against those enemies (Omari, 1995). Omari has written, “Nyerere attributed the achievement of independence to the unity of the people fighting as one force against a common enemy: colonialism. Nationalism was the weapon. After independence, the common enemy shifted from colonialism to challenges of development. And this ‘required national unity for its achievement’” (Omari, 1995:25)

The national consciousness that flourished during the campaigns for independence is one of the factors that explain why Christians and Muslims related well during the first three decades of independence.

2.4.2.2 Pan-Africanism

Scholars define Pan-Africanism as a concept that represents either an ideology or a movement. As an ideology it refers to “African kinship or brotherhood consciousness; a political and cultural phenomenon which regards Africa, Africans and African descendants on the Continent of Africa and in the Diaspora as a unit...it seeks to regenerate and unify Africa and promotes a feeling of oneness” (Falola and Essien, 2013:71).

By the nineteenth century, Pan-Africanism had become a powerful philosophy that inspired Africans to eradicate European colonization and combat exploitation of the African continent. This was so because “Pan-Africanist philosophy held that slavery and colonialism depended on and encouraged negative, unfounded categorizations of

the race, culture, and values of African people” (Adejumobi, 2001). These destructive beliefs in turn gave birth to intensified forms of racism, the likes of which Pan-Africanism sought to eliminate. Jobson and Kantai (2015) have noted further, “The pan-African spirit started as a means to define Africa’s identity and fight against racial oppression.” Briefly stated, Pan-Africanism was and is still an ideology or movement that is against imperialism in all its forms and aims at the liberation of Black Africans from the evils of Black enslavement, colonialism, racism and the stigma that these atrocities produced (Mckney Global Institute, 2010).

When the concept is used to mean a movement it “refers to an organized set of activities designed to relieve black people, especially but not exclusively Africans, from various kinds of exploitation and oppression” (Falola and Essien, 2013:72). As a movement, it took the forms of anti-slavery and anti-colonial interest groups amongst black people of Africa and the Diaspora in the late nineteenth century. The aims of Pan-Africanism have evolved through the ensuing decades. Pan-Africanism has covered calls for African unity (both as a continent and as a people), nationalism, independence, political and economic cooperation, as well as historical and cultural awareness. Some of the Pan-Africanists like Marcus Garvey called for political and economic gains as well as a return to Africa (either physically or through a return to an Africanized ideology) (Reid, 2009).

Perhaps the best researcher’s definition of Pan-Africanism is his own paraphrase he developed from a statement made by Kuryla (2016) to the effect that Pan-Africanism is the idea, ideology or philosophy that Africans are one and that they should put

their efforts together and jointly address their common challenges. In this research, the researcher prefers to consider Pan-Africanism as an idea, ideology or philosophy rather than a movement because an idea, ideology or philosophy is the power behind any movement or action. Furthermore, it is the belief of the researcher that for some more centuries to come Africans will continue to have common interests and a need for a philosophy that will inspire them to maintain collective efforts to address the challenges that will continue to face them as common occupants of the great Continent of Africa.

Undeniably, Nyerere was a staunch Pan-Africanist. Nyerere believed in not only the total liberation of Africa; but, also in the unity of Africa (Miguel, 2002). He believed that the security and development of Tanzania was only possible if the security and development involved the whole of Africa. Nyerere (1974:52) said, “Tanzania is a small portion of Africa, and our future development will depend on the development of the whole of Africa. Whether we like it or not, whatever happens on the Continent of Africa must affect us.” Nyerere believed that Tanganyika’s freedom was meaningless until the whole continent of Africa was free. He kept on reiterating, “The Tanganyikan independence was meaningless so long as many African countries were not free” (Nyerere, 1974:54).

Based on this pan-Africanist ideology, Nyerere united Tanzanians to help many African countries in their independence campaigns. Tanzania became not only the host of the Liberation Committee but also Tanzanians participated in the liberation struggles in Mozambique, Angola, and South Africa. Nyerere made Tanzania a

military base for freedom fighters from South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique. He also was among the leading founders of OAU, EAC, and the United Republic of Tanzania (The union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar).

The pan-Africanist ideology which Nyerere relentlessly championed and continuously inculcated in the minds of Tanzanians made Tanzanians to ignore their religious, ethnic and regional differences because Tanzanians came to regard these differences as very minor as compared to the bigger issues that concerned their existence as part of the big Continent of Africa. Through the pan-Africanist ideology, Nyerere made Tanzanians to see life from a bigger perspective rather than confining themselves to minor domestic squabbles. This ideology, which Nyerere espoused and caused Tanzanians, to literally practice, had a great unifying effect on Tanzanians as a community despite their religious, ethnic, regional, economic or educational diversities.

If properly articulated, this is the best ideology that can always unite Tanzanians. Its principle is timeless. Tanzania will always remain to be a small portion of Africa; and whatever affects any part of this continent affects Tanzanians as well. Hence, there is a need for constant appeal for a united Africa, a united East Africa, as well as a United Republic of Tanzania.

2.4.2.3 The Single Party System

Mainland Tanzania (Tanganyika before union with Zanzibar) achieved independence already virtually a one-party state. This was because of the overwhelming popular vote that the main political party received. Julius Nyerere, so pleased, but not

surprised, by the outcome, remarked, “The struggle for freedom from colonialism is a patriotic struggle which leaves no room for differences” (Omari, 1995:29)

Once the anti-colonial struggle was over, Nyerere was determined to maintain the unity that had made this possible in the service of other post-independence national battles. The single party, TANU, was to be the organizational expression of that unity. In 1964, Nyerere appointed a special Presidential Commission on the Establishment of a Democratic One-Party State. All that the Commission was required to do was to say what kind of a one-party state we should have in the context of our national ethics. He told the Commission that its task was not to consider whether Tanganyika should be a one-party state or not, because that decision was already obvious. The Commission submitted its report in March 1965, and its recommendations were on the main accepted (Okoth, 1995).

As things turned out, Tanzania became the most sincere of all African champions of the one-party state. In September 1965, there was a genuinely competitive general election under a one-party umbrella. A number of ministers lost in the election (and subsequent ones in 1970, 1975, and 1980), perhaps a measure of the sincerity and truthfulness of the determination to uphold the democratic norms (Okoth, 1995).

While Nyerere’s Government introduced a one-party State in Tanzania Mainland with TANU (Tanganyika African National Union) as the ruling party, ASP (Afro-Shiraz Party) ruled in Zanzibar and later CCM (Chama cha Mapinduzi the Swahili for Revolutionary Party) became the sole party monopolizing the politics of Tanzania after the amalgamation of TANU and ASP in 1977.

This political strategy diverted of all allegiances from tribal, religious or sectionalist groups and directed them towards the nation and the Party (Omari, 1995 and Ngowi, 2009) thus facilitating national cohesion.

2.4.2.4 The Arusha Declaration and Ujamaa Ideology

Firstly, the proclamation of the Arusha Declaration in 1967 ushered in an environment that did not allow exploitation of man-by-man. This was one of the major tenets of Nyerere's Ujamaa (an African brand of socialism) ideology. Part II (a) of the Arusha Declaration, prohibited all forms of exploitation of man-by-man in which one person depends on the sweat of others for his or her living while himself or herself doing nothing except for the elderly, little children, people with disabilities, and those who for the time being, the society is unable to provide them with employment. Furthermore, The Arusha Declaration promised a society with relatively small income disparities. The Arusha Declaration stated:

A perfect socialist state is a state where all citizens are workers: it has neither capitalism nor feudalism. It has no two classes of people: the lower class of people who are workers, and the upper class of people who live on other people's work. In a perfect socialist state a person does not exploit another person, to the contrary, every physically abled person does work, and every worker receives a just remuneration for his or her work and there is no much disparity among the incomes of the workers (Part II (a) of the Arusha Declaration).

Secondly, Part II (b) of the Arusha Declaration gave ownership of all the major means of production to the peasants and workers through the trusteeship of the State. The major means of production were identified as land, forests, minerals, petroleum and electricity, the seas and oceans, major means of transportation, banking and insurance, foreign and wholesale commerce, iron industries, machines, weapons,

motor cars, cement, cloths, any major industry, etc. The Arusha Declaration placed all these under the trusteeship of the State.

Thirdly, all party and government leaders were required to adhere to a code of ethics that prevented them from abuse of office for personal gain. Part II (d) of the Arusha Declaration required, for example, party and government leaders to be people who believed and practiced Ujamaa (socialist) principles:

A genuine TANU member is a Socialist, and his or her fellow Socialists, that is, those who subscribe to this political and economic ideology are all those who fight for the rights of peasants and workers in Africa and elsewhere in the world. The first responsibility of a TANU member and particularly a TANU member, who is a leader, is to practice socialist principles personally. Especially, a TANU member who is a leader shall not exploit another person or do anything related to capitalism or feudalism (The Arusha Declaration, Part II (d)).

Indeed, this factor enhanced good relation between Christians and Muslims. Even if the majority of those who held public offices were Christians, they were bound to maintain a lifestyle that did not fuel further the anger of Muslims, most of whom did not have the educational qualification to take those offices. Nyerere was aware of the educational and employment imbalance the nation had inherited from the British colonial administration. Nyerere made a statement as he spoke to the first parliament of the republic in December 1962 to the effect that he was going to work on the disparities in Education between Christians and Muslims. However, he cautioned that it was not going to be an easy task (Liviga and Tumbo-Masabo, 2006). The decision by the TANU government to nationalize the schools in 1969 was the fulfilment of Nyerere's promise of 1962. Muslims were happy about this move because their children could have access to the schools they had hitherto been unable to attend due to their religious status.

Furthermore, the CCM (formerly TANU) administration developed a custom of alternating presidents between a Christian and a Muslim since the election of 1985 although it was not a matter of policy. A Muslim president (Ali H. Mwinyi) followed the first Christian president (Julius K. Nyerere). A Muslim president (Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete) followed by a Christian president (Benjamin Mkapa). This, though not found in the formal constitution, was a practice that helped to maintain power sharing between Muslims and Christians (Tanner, 2012). However, while it worked well under the mono-party system, there is no guarantee for its survival in a multi-party system.

2.4.2.5 Separation between the Government and Religion

From the outset, the Tanzanian government promoted no state religion but rather provided religious freedom for all citizens. Article 19 (2) of the 1977 Constitution provides for separation of religion from the state machinery. It states that, “The profession of religion, worship and propagation of religion shall be free and a private affair of an individual; and the affairs and management of religious bodies shall not be part of the activities of the state authority.” Sub Article 1 provides for freedom of worship including the right of an individual to change one’s religion. It states, “Every person has the right to the freedom of conscience, faith and choice in matters of religion, including the freedom to change his religion or faith.” Sub article 3 of the same article guarantees protection of the rights accrued in this article, thus, “The protection of rights referred to in this Article shall be in accordance with the provisions prescribed by laws which are of importance to a democratic society for security and peace in the society, integrity of the society and the national cohesion.”

The government kept reiterating the danger of mixing religion with politics. This meant that political leaders could not use places of worship for political campaigns or use religious leaders to campaign for political leaders in the houses of worship (Tanner, 2012).

Nevertheless, despite the separation between religion and the government, religious institutions have always been partners with the government in offering social services, particularly education and health services (Mukandala, 2006).

2.4.2.6 Kiswahili as the National Language

The use of Kiswahili as a national language created an environment that facilitated interaction among Tanzanians of different social backgrounds. Civil servants could be sent to work anywhere in the country without suffering communication barriers. Furthermore, post-primary school students could be sent anywhere in the country to pursue their education. This made it possible for Christian students and Muslim students to interact as they studied together thus creating good relations.

Kiswahili, therefore, helped to reinforce the nationalist tendencies through a socialization process at school as well as subordination of the tribal vernaculars to the use of Kiswahili language (Omari, 1995; and Miguel, 2002). The use of the Swahili language by TANU proved to be a unifying factor in the nationalist campaigns (Thompson, 2013). However, English remained the medium of instruction for the rest of the subjects (except where Kiswahili was a subject) in secondary schools and in institutions of higher learning.

2.4.2.7 Abolition of Tribal Authorities

The third Nyerere's strategy that facilitated harmonious Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania between 1960 and 1990 was the abolition of the status of tribal authorities (Miguel, 2002). In 1963, the government took another big step towards national unity. The step was the abolition of the status of chiefs as administrative authorities in the country. In their strategies for subjugating Tanganyikans, the Britons had introduced the indirect rule of governance that was dependent on local tribal chiefs. The father of the indirect rule was Lord Lugard, the first British Governor of Nigeria. The Britons legalized the authority of tribal chiefs by passing the African Chiefs (Special Powers) Ordinance, Cap 393 of the Laws of Tanganyika. The colonial government channelled its directives through the chiefs who were the legitimate judicial and administrative authorities in their respective areas of jurisdiction.

In order to have a government that would equitably involve all citizens, it promulgated a law in 1962 to remove the position of tribal chiefs from the administrative structure of the Tanzanian government. The law was Act No 4 of 1962 that came to amend the Local Government Ordinance Chapter 333 and to repeal the African Chiefs (Special Powers) Ordinance Chapter 1939. Section 31 (1) and (2) read:

31.—(1) The African Chiefs (Special Powers) Ordinance is hereby repealed.

(2) Notwithstanding the provisions of subsection (1), any order or rule issued or made pursuant to powers contained in an Instrument made under section 3 of the African Chiefs (Special Powers) Ordinance and in force immediately prior to the commencement of this Act shall remain in force within the area

specified in such Instrument and shall be binding upon the person or persons by whom it is under the provisions of that Ordinance to be obeyed until it is amended, replaced or revoked by a by-law or notice made or issued by a District Council having power within such area to make or issue such by-law or notice and may be enforced by such District Council as though made by such District Council.

The abolition of the office of local chiefs from the government administrative structure opened an opportunity to all Tanzanians to have an equitable chance of participating in the leadership of the country. This opportunity promoted equality and harmonious relations among all Tanzanian people groups because, instead of inheritance-based chiefdoms, the government created District Councils that were under the administration of elected councillors (Kaduma, 2004). In any case, tribes in Tanganyika were significantly decentralized, and so did not command the same significance to people as they had elsewhere; it was easy for people to see themselves as Tanganyikan first. Unlike Kenya, no one ethnic group vastly dominated others. This promoted Christian-Muslim harmony because of the unifying effect of nationalism created by tribal decentralization (Thompson, 2013).

2.4.2.8 The National Service Program

The fourth Nyerere's strategy that contributed to harmonious Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania between 1960 and 1990 was the national service program. The National Service Act (1964) came into being to promote unity among the youth. It was compulsory for all post-secondary school leavers and the youngsters who joined it felt as Tanzanians. The National Service was thus an important socializing agent that made the participants to elevate their national identity above other identities. It created a sense of belonging for all participants (Omari, 1995). In other words, the

creation of the National Service Act of 1964 was in part, designed to pull together the nation's youth, and integrate them into a national community (Thompson, 2013).

2.4.3 Actors who Facilitated Harmonious Christian-Muslim Relations 1960-1990

The major actors in the creation of the environment that promoted the 1960-1990 Christian-Muslim harmony were Tanzanians under the leadership of the late Mwalimu Nyerere (Miguel, 2002). The harmony did not come by itself. Mwalimu Nyerere and his team of leaders who were both Christians and Muslims were at the helm of the machinery that facilitated Christian-Muslim relations that researcher describe as very good during the first 30 years of independence (Tanner, 2012). As the researcher indicated in the background to the research problem, Nyerere's government built on the unity between Christians and Muslims developed during the independence campaigns. The same unity that was used to dismantle the British was then directed to the three enemies commonly facing the Tanzanians: disease, poverty, and ignorance. As a result, for the first thirty years of Tanzanian independence (1961-1990), Christians and Muslims in Tanzania lived in harmony. Although there has always been a certain degree of Christian-Muslim tension under the surface, it did not lead to open conflict and the relationship between Christians and Muslims, by far and large, remained harmonious (Liviga, 2006).

2.4.4 Actions that Facilitated Harmonious Christian-Muslim Relations between 1960 and 1990

In addition to formulation of specific policies and laws that provided for an environment that enhanced Christian-Muslim harmony during the period 1960-1990,

Nyerere's government did not just relax. The government was very active in making sure that the policies and laws worked. The government was highly involved with making sure that Tanzanians understood the Ujamaa ideology. The government also assisted the people in their own development endeavours. The government also was very strict in law enforcement.

2.4.4.1 The Aggressive Political and Civic Education in Schools

During the 1960s and 1970s and early 1980, the government aggressively implemented political and civic education promoting Ujamaa and Self-reliance. In primary and secondary schools, "siasa" (politics) was a compulsory subject. At Secondary school (both O and A levels), though English was the medium of instruction, "siasa" was taught in Swahili to ensure that everybody understood well the subject. At university level, Development Studies was the "siasa" (political studies) course. In those days, it was necessary for all administrators to attend the Kivukoni Ideological College, to receive instructions in the tenets of national politics and values. Furthermore, "siasa" was one of the subjects taught in the evening adult literacy classes. In those days membership in TANU or CCM required one to attend a "siasa" class for a prescribed period of time and having to pass written and oral examinations. All media outlets educated people on the goodness of Ujamaa and the evil of capitalism. Political education was part of all kinds of military training: militia, national service, police force, prisons, defence forces, immigration, and fire. Furthermore, in those days it was a practice for every place of work to have a TANU/CCM branch office with full leadership to ensure that all workers at the particular workplace were given the opportunity to participate in politics.

That is how strong the program for civic and political education was during those days of Nyerere. The results of this political approach was that all people were cultured in the national values and politics which emphasized unity, peace, and respect for each other, respect for one another's religion etc. The political education program was so effective that we all of us who participated in the program saw ourselves as sisters and brothers regardless of our religious, regional or ethnic affiliations.

2.4.4.2 Rigorous Enforcement of the Laws

The ninth Nyerere's strategy that promoted harmonious Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania between 1960 and 1990 was the strict adherence to the Constitution and enforcement of relevant laws (Nyerere, 1995). In his speech to a *Press Conference* in 1995, Mwalimu Nyerere (1995) recounted his experience as the first phase president of Tanzania and testified to the fact that during his administration, he himself and his subordinates were very strict in the administration of the law of the country.

He gave an example of how they enforced the law on corruption. Nyerere (1995:15) said, "From the very beginning, we wanted people to take note of it. We wanted them to know that we were going to be very strict against receivers of bribe in the government as well as those who give it." A government that is strict in the administration of the law is highly respected. Observance of the law is very important for a peaceful and just society. Hence, therefore, the strict adherence to the Constitution and relevant laws contributed to harmonious relations between Christians and Muslims between 1960 and 1990.

2.4.5 Assessment of the Christian-Muslim Relation in Tanzania between 1990 and 2013

The year 2000 is of interest to this study. REDET conducted a survey intending, among other things, to assess the relations between Christian and Muslim believers in Tanzania and to know the factors behind the indicators of intolerance between Christians and Muslims showing up at around that time. The study which involved 839 respondents intended to assess the relation between Christians and Muslims and 822 respondents to determine the factors behind the indicators of intolerance between the two religious groups. REDET took samples randomly from different parts of Tanzania in both tests. REDET used the questionnaire method to collect the data.

REDET came up with the following findings: Out of 839 respondents, 654 (77.9% of the respondents) said it was good, 107 (13% of the respondents) said it was moderate (The Kiswahili used for moderate in the questionnaire was “wasiwasi”). Finally, 28 (3.3% of the respondents) said it was disharmonious (Kiswahili: mbaya). Table 2.5 below shows REDET’s findings on the assessment of Christian-Muslim relations in 2000.

Although the majority of the respondents (77.9%) said in 2000 the Christian-Muslim relations was good, the minority (22.1% of the respondents) who said it was not good, in different ways, were sufficient to communicate the fact that there was a problematic Christian-Muslim relation. In 2000, the Christian-Muslim relations had experienced some troubles that could deserve an assessment less than 100% harmonious.

Table 2. 5: Assessment of Christian-Muslim Relations in Tanzania in 2000

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Good	654	77.9
Moderate	107	12.8
Disharmonious	28	3.3
No response/Don't know	45	5.4
They don't want to cooperate in funerals	1	0.1
Uneducated believers think that they are better than others	1	0.1
There is a tug of war	1	0.1
Depends on the situation	1	0.1
Total	839	100

Source: Tambila (2006:59)

In the minds of some respondents, were still hanging the memories of the 1993 Muslims' demolition of pork butcheries and the subsequent prosecution of the perpetrators (Tanner, 2012). People were still remembering also the controversy over the membership of Zanzibar with OIC in the same year, as well as the 1998 Mwembechai saga (Njozi, 2004). Additionally, people were still recalling the Christian-Muslim clash over the use of a graveyard in Manzese in February 2000 (Sekwa, 2012). The researcher discussed these events in detail in the background to the research problem (section 1.1.5).

However, the fact that the majority of the respondents said the Christian-Muslim relation was good in 2000 implying that the scale of the Christian-Muslim conflicts at that time was not as pronounced as it came to be later especially during the years 2011-2013 during which the conflicts were more intense and quite more frequent.

2.4.6 Conditions Nurturing Christian-Muslim Conflicts in Tanzania 1990 - 2013

2.4.6.1 Poverty and Economic Hardships

Mushi and Mukandala (2006) view poverty and economic difficulties as the sources of religious conflicts. They argue, first of all, that, at the level of individual, a poor man is an angry person. Poor people are easily provoked and can do anything because they have nothing to lose. “As an English saying asserts, “a hungry person is an angry person” (p. 533).

Secondly, they posit that, “at community level, poverty creates competition for limited resources available; and competition leads to conflict.” Thirdly, they say, “at both individual and community levels, poverty creates a sense of insecurity. This insecurity encourages individuals and communities to link up, or identify themselves, with groups which can protect them or which can make them more competitive” (Mushi and Mukandala, 2006:533).

Also to that effect, Musoke (2012) adds, “interfaith clashes are more about the communities’ discontent with the economy than about each other’s religious beliefs. Religious fundamentalism always emerges when communities face economic crisis”. He further asserts, “Muslims and Christians in the country are increasingly under pressure due to financial hardship and use religion to cope. Under these circumstances, individuals are more likely to fall prey to fringe groups that advocate extreme ideologies to which they would otherwise not subscribe”. He then suggests that in order “to create a stopgap in the short term, national leaders need to reconcile the conflicting parties and stop tensions between the communities. In the long term,

the government should focus on economic development. Failure to do so will provide terrorist and extremist groups fertile ground to advance their misguided ideologies.”

Additionally, Mushi (2012) has written that, “Unemployment among the youth is a time bomb. Most rioters are unemployed youth who have nothing else to do. In Dar es Salaam, 57,000 youth aged between 15 and 24 are unemployed, corresponding to an unemployment rate of 16%, according to the World Bank”. Therefore, he says, “the conflict can only be put off once economic problems are solved.”

Furthermore, in a workshop organized by the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS), in collaboration with the Inter-Religious Council for Peace Tanzania (IRCPT), held at the New Africa Hotel, in Dar es Salaam, on 20-21 February 2013 (*The Express*, February 28-March 6, 2013, p. 2), three reasons for religious conflicts in Tanzania were highlighted as follows:

- (i) The economic hardships that have hit a big number of Tanzanians hard, while there is a segment of the citizenry enjoying more of the national cake than others do.
- (ii) Lack of the control on the part of the Government over the religious overzealous who propagate their cause through rallies and unethical media outlets.
- (iii) Unemployment which has created readymade pool of jobless youth who don't have a place to vent their grievances and/or the availability of a group of uneducated youngsters who can be easily manipulated and used for religious causes they don't understand.

On a similar note, Terdimann has gone as far as to consider the beheading of Mathayo Kachila, a Church Pastor at Buseresere, in Geita region, to be a clear evidence and proof to the effect that economic hardship is the root cause of the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania. He asserts that the entry of Christians into the meat industry after many decades of Muslim monopoly is a result of economic hardship and that Muslims felt as if Christians were intruding their right (Terdiman, 2013).

On the other hand, Kessler (2006) has said, "According to many conventional theories of conflict, Tanzania 'should' be beset by violent conflict. It has high unemployment, high poverty, a large youth population, highly heterogeneous ethnic and religious groups, and regional military insecurity. These are all indicators of a potentially volatile situation." What baffles Kessler, is that despite this scenario, "Tanzania has been able to remain an oasis of peace in the desert of war-ravaged countries of East and Central Africa" (Kessler, 2006).

However, Kessler's evaluation could have been a little bit different if he had witnessed the violent conflicts that involved Christians and Muslims during the year 2011 through 2013. During these years, some Christians and some Muslims quarrelled in public to the point of killing each other for various reasons including the issue of who has the mandate to slaughter goats and cows for selling in market butcheries. It is true that the magnitude of bloodshed was not comparable to what happened in the genocide of Rwanda in 1994 or the post-election massacre in Kenya in 2010. Nevertheless, what some Muslims and Christians caused in the name of

defending their religious faith during the years 2011 - 2013 be rebuked with all due diligence.

2.4.6.2 Lack of Specialized State Institutions

Thirdly, Mushi and Mukandala (2006) suggest lack of specialized state institutions for settling religious conflicts as the cause of the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts. They assert that state institutions that are presently concerned with religious conflict resolutions have proved to be weak and/or undemocratic. “Those dealing with law and order (the police and others) have lacked the sensitivity needed in handling religious conflicts, and often have succeeded in aggravating rather than subduing them” (Mushi and Mukandala, 2006:536). They then suggest that it is high time that the government developed specialized institutions for settling religious conflicts.

However, lack of specialized institutions for handling religious conflicts, is a question that needs much study. This is because even during the period 1960-1990 there were no such institutions, and yet, there were no Christian-Muslim quarrels such as were experienced in Tanzania during the period 1990 - 2013. The researcher also tested this issue in the course of field survey.

2.4.6.3 Inequality in the Distribution of National Resources

A report published by the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) (1995:97) pointed out that the major cause of ethnic and religious conflict is inequality in the distribution of national resources, education and employment opportunities. The report said, “When one group seems to dominate

access to land or jobs or public office, then the defining characteristic of the excluded group becomes a more important basis for mobilizing solidarity.” This statement reflects the principles of The Economic Theory of Conflict. The Economic Theory of Conflict considers conflicts as the direct result of economic situations in the society. The needs for accessing national resources force people to struggle for political power. The assumption is that if an individual has political control of the society he or she has control over the national resources as well. The theory considers the needs for resources, the scarcity of resources as well as the fear of deprivation of resources to be at the driving wheel of conflicts in the society.

However, according to the researcher’s point of view, the Economic Theory of Conflict and the hypothesis UNRISD advances do not embrace the elements that sufficiently explain the Christian-Muslim conflicts. This is because the two do not address the issue of Christian-Muslim doctrinal differences. That is why in the theoretical literature analysis section the researcher chose the Relational Theory of Conflict to analyze the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania (see section 2.2.2).

2.4.6.4 Dissatisfaction with the Prevailing Internal Conditions

Nyirabu (2011) has suggested that conflicts in Africa due to people’s dissatisfaction with the prevailing internal political, social, and economic conditions. Nyirabu states: “In broad spectrum, views advanced in explaining the causes of domestic conflicts in Africa have generally pointed out that conflicts in Africa occur due to dissatisfaction with the current political systems, patterns of governance, religious diversity and economic disparities” (Nyirabu, 2011:80). With this assertion, Nyirabu

is telling us that people engage in conflict when the present political systems, patterns of governance, religious diversities, and economic disparities weary them.

As far as the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts are concerned, Nyirabu's assertion may apply but it needs explanation to see the connection. Is it true that the Christian-Muslim bloody conflicts, let us say, at Buseresere, were caused by the dissatisfaction with the political system, pattern of governance, religious diversity and/ or economic disparity between the two religious groups? This may need a research to verify it.

The problem the researcher finds in connecting Nyirabu's assertion with Christian-Muslim conflicts is the the use of the word "dissatisfaction." It is obvious that Christians and Muslims fought at Buseresere over slaughtering, at least at face value, for economic reasons and religious diversities. Undeniably, Christians and Muslims differ in their religious beliefs and slaughtering animals and birds for public sale has some economic advantaged attached to it. Hence, the assertion that Christians and Muslims engaged in conflicts due to their religious diversities and economic reasons makes sense.

However, to assert that they quarrelled because they were dissatisfied with their religious differences and their economic disparities may need someone to conduct a research to prove it. Based on this reasoning the researcher will not consider Nyirabu's assertion of "dissatisfaction with the prevailing internal conditions" as helping in explaining the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania.

2.4.6.5 Incomplete Nation Building Project

Jackson and Zartman have argued that conflicts in Africa have been inspired and perpetrated by incomplete nation building derived from a wide range of internal factors such as ethnicity, religion, culture, language, inequality in economics; state-society relationship; political demands that exceed state capabilities and external causes (Jackson, 1991; Zartman, 1991). Based on the hypothesis established in the Literature Theoretical Analysis section, Christian-Muslim conflicts are based on their doctrinal differences and their needs for resources. Therefore, the concept of incomplete nation building project does not directly address the Christian-Muslim conflicts and the researcher had no reason to apply it in the analysis of the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania.

2.4.6.6 Liberalization

During the second half of the 1980s and due to the climate of prolonged economic decline, the government reintroduced the liberal ideology that it had forsaken in 1967. Liberalization is a political and economic ideology that originated in Western Europe. The ideology rejects categorically any form of authoritarian leadership approaches. On the other hand, the ideology promotes the fundamental human rights, particularly, freedom of speech, association, religion, and private ownership (Microsoft Encarta, 2008). As far as economy is concerned, liberalism stresses on “free-market economy;” it favours “free competition and minimal government regulation” (Microsoft Encarta, 2008).

The liberal ideology entered Tanzania under the pressure of the International Financial Institutions (IFIs), namely, the International Monetary Fund (IFM) and the

World Bank, and justified by the critical economic situation prevailing in the country at the time. Ndumbaro and Kiondo (2007) have said, “In the 1980s, Tanzania started to liberalize its economy following the country’s adoption of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) as prescribed by the international financial institutions.”

Following the economic predicament of the late 1970s and of the early 1980s, Tanzania adopted the Economic Recovery Programs (ERPs) proposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank as the only way out of the economic dilemma. Under these programs, Tanzania took actions to adopt the “economic stabilization measures, macroeconomic policy reforms and reforms in trade and the exchange rate system” (Mwandenga, 1988). By yielding to the pressures of the world financial institutions, the country was able to secure loans and grants, and the declining economy, somehow, picked up and some signs of growth started to be noticed.

Liberalization was promising because it opened up both the political and economic space for all actors in the development process. Liberalization won because of its perceived advantages to all sections of society: allowing citizens to participate in decision-making on matters affecting their lives. It seemed also as allowing and facilitating, among others, the private sector to take the lead role in economic development (Liviga (2011). In support of this Mwandenga (1988) has said, “The decline of the economy was halted with output growth recovering to about four per cent per annum.” Furthermore, in the late 1980s, the economic reforms widened to include a poverty reduction program. This program took the name of “the Economic and Social Action Program (1989-92)” (Mwandenga, 1988).

Despite some positive effects resulting from the adoption of the liberal ideology, there were some negative effects as well. Actually, studies show that the negative effects outweighed the positive ones. The liberalization of the economy, media and politics caused people to develop “a new awareness about society, politics, and leadership itself facilitated by, among other things, literacy rate, and media....” However, because of this awareness “conflict, tension, greed, and self-interest started to develop in the minds of the people” (Mmuya and Chaghaliga, 1992). As Kessler has also noted: “With the end of the nation building project and the demise of socialist economy and single party system in the 1980s and 1990s, all the forces that created the peaceful political culture ... disappeared” (Kessler, 2006:vi). The forces Kessler refers to here are the policies and strategies the government put in place during the early years of independence to foster unity among Tanzanians. The policies and strategies were responsible for the harmonious Christian-Muslim relation during the first thirty years of independence (1960-1990).

However, Kessler’s statement is an exaggeration. It is not true that “all the forces that created the peaceful political culture...disappeared” (Kessler, 2006: vi). Yes, some disappeared; but some remained and still exist to date. Those that disappeared included the national service programme (though it was reinstated later), the Arusha Declaration and its Ujamaa ideology and code of ethics, price control policies, the mono-party system, as well as the aggressive political and civic education in schools. The ones that remained to date include the separation between the government and religion, the abolition of tribal authorities, Kiswahili as the national language, and the Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar (Omari, 1995).

In actual sense, liberalization ushered in individualism and stiff competition for power and resources in Tanzania. Both politically and economically, liberalism is a political theory that promotes individualism. The liberalization policies, ushered in a free market economy, a free media and a free political set up that subjected the Tanzanian society to consumerism and stiff competition for power and resources (Tambila and Rubanza, 2006). The researcher considers liberalization as a significant factor that prepared fertile ground for the 1990 - 2013.

2.4.6.7 Multiparty Politics

Following political liberalization, the Tanzanian parliament passed the eighth Constitution Amendment Act in May 1992 to allow for the establishment of a multi-party system and by August of that year over twenty different political parties had been formed (Thompson, 2013).

The one party system with its Ujamaa ideology coupled with the committed leadership of the day won the confidence of the majority of Tanzanians. As a result, the one party system (TANU in Tanzania Mainland, ASP in Zanzibar and CCM in Tanzania since 1977) became a unifying factor because it weakened other social ties — religious, tribal, racial and regional—and directed all the allegiances to the party. Some Tanzanians found their primary identity in the ruling party and the nation at the expense of other identities such as religious, tribal, regional or racial thus minimizing the potential for Christian-Muslim conflicts. Under the multiparty system, the Tanzanians who belonged to one political party were now open to a host of political parties. Under the one party system, party membership was mandatory

for almost all adult Tanzanians; under the multiparty system, party membership became optional. This created room for people to join the parties of their choice or seek identities in other social groups. However, others, especially the majority poor preferred to seek solace and identities in religion and tribalism. To some people, religious identities became more important than party or national identities thus preparing the ground for 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts (Mushi and Mukandala, 2006).

Additionally, liberalization weakened the Tanzanian unity by creating stiff competition for power and resources. The introduction of multiparty system and free-market economy ushered in competition for power and resources in Tanzania. The Ujamaa (a brand of African socialist) ideology was integrative because it promised development for all (Mushi and Mukangala, 2006). The new ideology ushered in a stiff competition for resources by creating a free market economy and a stiff competition for power by liberalizing politics.

As a result it quickly made a few people magnificently rich while making the majority staggeringly poor. Consequently, the huge gap between the haves and the have-nots coupled with other social factors such as religious, tribal, political, and regional differences bred a variety of conflicting ideologies. Hence the growing tendency of the have-nots to seek refuge, solace, and identity in sub-national sanctuaries such as religious, tribal, and regional groups as well as political parties. This disintegration prepared a fertile ground for Christian-Muslim conflicts because it created a “we-them” divide (Mushi and Mukandala, 2006:538-539).

2.4.6.8 The Gap between the Haves and the Have-nots

The liberal ideology opened for a free-market economy in Tanzania—a market that operates on the law of demand and supply. The free-market economy created a room for those who have the opportunity to amass wealth to do so while those who do not have the opportunity to remain in abject poverty (Mukandala and Mushi, 2006).

Liberalization did not reduce poverty, significantly, as it was expected. Instead, it has caused the poor to be even poorer. While liberalization promised some positive results, the reality was quite different. Liviga (2011) argues that:

Political and economic liberalization has not brought the intended outcomes in Tanzania. It is observed that some positive changes have occurred but the unintended outcomes outweigh by far the advantages. In fact there is in Tanzania a notable reversal of the gains the country has had before it embarked on liberalization politically and economically. The reversal is more apparent in the policymaking process where foreign influences dominate national interests.

Liviga (2011) contends further that, “the reasons advanced for countries like Tanzania to embark on wholesale liberalization are spurious. Foreign interests in general and flag bearers of neo-liberalism in particular are bent on sustaining their domination of developing countries under the guise of advocacy for good governance.”

With no control over ownership of property inherent in the liberal ideology, those who have the opportunity to grab the national resources continue to amass wealth without limit while those who do not have the opportunity continue to trail behind in abject poverty. The capitalist economy does not care for the poor people. When the situation allows, the poor majority resort to violence and vandalism as a means for their survival (Mushi and Mukandala, 2006).

In its recent publication, 'Tanzania: the story of an African transition' the IMF argues that in the last two decades the Tanzanian economy went through a period of successful transition in which economic liberalization and institutional reform led to a recovery of GDP growth to more than 7 % per year since 2000. A note by the Policy Forum demonstrates, however, that this 'successful transition' has failed to bring poverty reduction, that most of the progress has occurred in Dar es Salaam and not in rural areas, and that it is associated with the poorest getting poorer and the richest richer. Surveys by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) show the absence of any noticeable poverty reduction. Between 2001 and 2007, the fraction of poor people in Tanzania declined very little. The decline is so small that it is not possible to say with a high degree of certainty whether poverty actually went down, or whether it remained unchanged. Improvements, if any, are concentrated at Dar es Salaam (Eberlein, 2009).

To that effect, Hellinger (1999:14) has said:

The IMF's program has failed to benefit those who most need a boost in income and in fact has worsened the economic situation for Tanzania's poor. Between 1983 and 1991, the better off saw their incomes from agriculture rise by 279 percent, while the poor and very poor experienced income decreases of 42 and 60 percent, respectively. In 1983, the average adult equivalent of income for the richest income group was 24 times greater than that for the poorest group. By 1991, that figures was 1,454 times greater due to the large proportion of the population with zero or even negative incomes. Those living in households with income below the "hard core" poverty line (over eight million people in 1991, or 42 percent of the population) had lower incomes in 1991 than in 1983 (Hellinger, 1999:14).

This means, therefore, that, despite its seeming benefits, liberalization did not bring the economic advantage to all Tanzanians. Only those who had the opportunity, who were mainly those who held positions of trust in the government, and big businesspersons, were the ones who benefitted (Eberlein, 2009).

2.4.6.9 Privatization

Privatization is the act of reducing the role of the government or increasing the role of the private sector in an activity or ownership of assets (Sayas, 1987). Liberalization ushered in privatization of productive public enterprises and dissolution of unproductive or redundant state enterprises thus rendering many people jobless. As a result of the liberalization programme, 350 out of 400 state-owned firms were privatised (Vilby, 2009). The liberalization was so fast that just in the space of seven years “the state sold 330 enterprises” (Vilby, 2009:186).

Some of the parastatals that were dissolved included Tanzania Sisal Corporation (TSC), Tanzania Bicycle Corporation, Ubungo Farm Implements (UFI), Kampuni ya Mabasi Tanzania (KAMATA), Tanzania Housing Bank (THB), General Agricultural Product Exports (GAPEX), Kampuni ya Viatu Bora (Bora Shoe Company Ltd), Tanzania Packers, and General Tyre.

Other public corporations that were dissolved included Regional Trading Corporation (RTC), National Milling Corporation (NMC), Morogoro Regional Transport Corporation (MORETCO), Mwanza Textiles (MWATEX), Musoma Textiles (MUTEX), Urafiki Textiles, Tabora Textiles, Sungura Textiles, Sugar Development Corporation (SUDECO), Morogoro Canvass, Morogoro Ceramics, Morogoro Polyester Textiles, and many more.

The key objectives of privatization were getting the government out of business by strengthening market forces to promote competition that increases productivity and efficiency. Other objectives were lowering the cost and raising the quality of goods

and services, generating new sources of cash flow and financing of enterprises—by eliminating government crowding out of equity markets, and encouraging the return of flight capital.

Others were promoting foreign direct investment, facilitating domestic savings and investment and broadening and deepening domestic equity markets; and third, reducing the government's fiscal deficit by using privatization revenues to retire external and domestic debt, reducing fiscal transfers to state enterprises and increasing tax revenues through the higher profits generated by privatized enterprises (Galal et al., 1994).

Some of the positive aspects of privatization included the immediate revenue generated through sale of publicly owned assets as opposed to fiscal drain from public coffers. The exercise attracted new investors from within the country and from abroad. Investment came from a variety of sources, including retail investors, institutional investors, and corporate investors. The exercise encouraged private capital flows to emerging markets.

On the other hand, there were negative effects as well. First, whereas public ownership promised social progress, privatization did not. Second, privatization shifted ownership of major means of production from the majority to the minority. Third, the process marginalized the indigenous population's influence in decision-making processes. Fourth, whereas the huge public sector created many employment opportunities to the indigenous population, privatization went hand in hand with retrenchments and thus reduced employment opportunities (Mwandenga, 2008).

In fact liberalization aggravated the problem of joblessness not only in Tanzania but also in most of the countries that were funded by IFM between 1978 and 1995. On this Hellinger (1999:56, 57) has said:

A review by The Development GAP of 43 countries on which the International Labour Office (ILO) has published statistics, found that 31 countries, or 72 percent, suffered a rise in unemployment during periods of IMF funding between 1978 and 1995. The Central African Republic, for example, experienced an approximate 20-percent increase in unemployment between the years 1985 and 1994, a period in which that country received considerable IMF support. Ghana suffered an even greater increase -- nearly percent -- between 1986 and 1994, during which time the country was continually under IMF-financed structural adjustment programs. The Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) reports that more than one half of the 20 Latin American countries for which it has official data experienced rising unemployment in the 1980s and the first half of the 1990s, during which time these countries have received considerable and ongoing IMF lending. These figures probably underestimate the problem.

Economically, because of the increased number of poor people and the gap between the poor and the rich, many people are ready to try anything that promises them an alternative way of survival.

These are the ones who flock in Mosques and churches where they expect to hear messages of comfort and hope and messages about how they can extricate themselves from their predicament. When these people come to the mosques or churches and the preacher of the day tells them that their squalid condition emanate from a certain group of people or government, the listeners are likely to rise and do anything against such a group of people or government officers.

This is one of the ways in which liberalization set the ground for the bloody Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania between 1990 and 2013 (Mushi and Mukandala, 2006).

2.4.6.10 Resurgence of Religion

During the single party system and socialist era, particularly, under the leadership of the late Mwalimu Nyerere, the state, though, respecting freedom of worship, exercised strict control over the conduct of religious activities. Nyerere was always wary of the possibility for politicization of religious institutions (Omari, 1995). For example, although he was tolerant of religious diversities, he preferred to interact with individual denominational groups through the established religious bodies. This means that “Christians would work through either the Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT) or the Tanzania Episcopal Conference (TEC); Muslims would work through BAKWATA; Ismailis through the Ismaili Community; and Hindus through Hindu community organizations” (Omari, 29).

However, Nyerere’s success in controlling religious institutions in his time was due to the fact that, in the 1960s and 1970s religion was not as prominent as it came to be in the 1980s and in the subsequent years. In the sixties and seventies secularism was the most dominant ideology in the world. In the sixties and seventies, some popular people considered religion as belonging to irrational people. As secularism became prominent, those people even assumed that religion would ultimately vanish (Tesfai, 2000).

To the contrary, in the 1980s and in the subsequent years the situation changed. Instead of dying, religion became prominent in private and public life. On this shift Tesfai (2008:10) observes, “Religion has become a very potent force in the world” and that religion has come “back with a vengeance” (Tesfai, 2008:10). Tesfai continues to relate: “Not only has religion resurfaced as a powerful element in the

private lives of a great majority of the world's population, but also its role in influencing society is growing by leaps and bounds" (Tesfai, 2008:10).

Tesfai, (2008:10) has noted, "Furthermore, it is being acknowledged that religion has also become a significant player in the political arena. In many parts of the world, especially in the greater part of the developing world, no one can ignore religion anymore". "It is exerting a powerful influence on decisions that have to do with many global issues." Unfortunately, its ugly side in fomenting and perpetuating, sometimes, reckless violence, is becoming prominent as well (Juergensmeyer, 2003). Ultimately, religion has now become a potential factor in contributing actively to conflict and peace (Wells, 2000).

Due to the renewed prominence of religion which was enhanced by the adoption of the liberalization policies in Tanzania since in the 1980s, the governments that followed after Nyerere's could no longer enjoy dominance over religious institutions as Nyerere's government had enjoyed. As a result, some religious institutions demanded government's recognition apart from and outside the previously respected "established religious bodies," i.e., BAKWATA, TEC, CCT, etc. (Lodhi and Westerlund, 1997).

Since then, on the side of Islam, a range of competing institutions arose and started to challenge the BAKWATA's position as the representative of Muslims. The first among these was the Warsha ya Waandishi wa Kiislam (Islamic Writers' Workshop) which originally was a division within BAKWATA mainly responsible for educational issues, but which grew increasingly critical of both BAKWATA and the

status quo, and was eventually excluded from the organization in 1982 (Lodhi & Westerlund, 1997). Other well-known Muslim institutions that do not work through BAKWATA include the Uamsho in Zanzibar and Baraza Kuu la Jumuiya na Taasisi za Kiislamu Tanzania (The Supreme Council of Muslim Organizations and Institutions in Tanzania) founded in 1992 in Tanzania Mainland. Religious leaders express their political sentiments through their newspapers as well. The newspapers Muslims developed after liberalization included AlNuur, Kisiwa and Alhuda. Among these, the most politicized is AlNuur (Lodhi and Westerlund, 1997; see appendix 11).

On the side of Christianity, also, there were Churches that demanded government's recognition independently of and outside TEC and CCT. An example of these is the Seventh-day Adventist Church. For a long time the Seventh - day Adventist Church did not feature out in public events because, though it is a protestant church, it refused to work through CCT. Because of this refusal, the Adventist Church did not have access to the government's owned Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam. When the Adventist church leaders went to the government to complain about this denial, the government leaders told them, if they wanted to have access to the government radio, they had channel their request through CCT. When they went to see the CCT leadership, the leaders asked them to become members of CCT for CCT to assist them.

They had to succumb. But after liberalization, the Adventist Church enjoys the services of TBC like any other religious institution (Personal communication with one of the Seventh-Adventist Church leader, 2013). However, this does not mean

that this freedom does not have challenges. During the era of government's dominance over religious institutions, the government could easily monitor the activities of religious institutions through the "established religious bodies" (BAKWATA, TEC, CCT, etc.) thus managing religious conflicts in their early stages.

If the government wanted to work with any religious institution, it did so through the established body that held the membership of the institution and vice versa. Similarly, if there was a problem in any of the religious institution, the government solved it through the established body and vice versa. Through this arrangement, the government simplified its work of monitoring and supervising the activities of the religious institutions as well as managing religious conflicts. The established religious bodies worked as the functional arms of the government in controlling the activities of the religious institutions and hence helped in the management of religious conflicts (Omari, 1995).

However, after the liberalization of religious institutions the government has to deal with many of them and individually. There are many voices to attend to and many religious branches to monitor. This has made the work of the government of monitoring and auditing religious activities to be tough; hence, managing religious conflicts more complicated. The monitoring and auditing referred to here, does not mean government's interference with their freedom of worship; it simply means ensuring that their conduct is in harmony with relevant laws as well as suspecting and correcting clashing situations before they escalate into threatening proportions.

2.4.7 Actors in the Christian-Muslim Conflicts in Tanzania 1990 - 2013

Essentially, there were two categories of actors in the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslims conflicts in Tanzania: Instigators and Perpetrators.

2.4.7.1 Instigators

The word “instigator” is a noun derived from the verb “instigate.” According to the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (New Edition), one of the meanings of the word “instigate” means “to start trouble by persuading someone to do something bad.” Therefore, an instigator, in this sense, is an individual who persuades another person to do something bad.” This is the sense the researcher used this word in this research.

Mushi and Mukandala (2006) have proposed that political and religious leaders, who, by default or design, abuse their offices, were the instigators of the Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania in 1990 - 2013. These kind of political and religious leaders emerged after the Tanzania had adopted the liberalization policies, especially, in the second half of the year 1980. Comparative preaching using both the Bible and the Qur’an started after 1985.

Mushi and Mukandala (2006) argue that among these are preachers of both Islam and Christianity who do not care about other people’s religious feelings. They assert, “There have recently emerged in both Islam and Christianity fairly young preachers who have had relatively little secular education or formal religious teaching” (Mushi and Mukandala, 2006:537). As a result, they “offer heated public comparative preaching with no regard for the feelings of adherents of other religions” (Mushi and

Mukandala, 2006:537). They continue to argue that religious matters are very complicated just as or even more than other disciplines like law, medicine, or engineering. “To this category,” they assert,

We add all misguided political and religious leaders who incite religious conflicts for their personal interests regardless their level of education. These people mix up religion and politics for personal interest. These people are misguided because they take the course that will plunge the nation into dismal for short-lived gains (Mushi and Mukandala, 2006:537).

However, both Muslims and Christians who conduct comparative preaching argue against the accusation advanced against them by Mushi and Mukandala. One of them is Sheikh Rajab Salim Juma Alqushariyyu, the Amir (leader) of the Umoja wa Wahadhiri wa Kiislam Tanzania (The Association of Muslim Preachers). Alqushariyyu (2013) argues that the public preaching they conduct have reformed the society. He says that through their comparative preaching evil people forsake their evil ways and become better citizens without using the state machineries.

Alqushariyyu (2013:2) writes, “It is from such public preaching that people forsake their evil ways and embrace good ways of life without using the coercive state instruments, but through the influence of religious instructions.” On the side of Christianity, Bullegi (2013:3) writes: “Public comparative preaching, have to a large extent, contributed to uniting Tanzanians of different faiths enabling them to worship together.”

Nevertheless, during the second half of the year 2013 the government banned comparative preaching in which preachers used both the Bible and the Qur’an because there were people among Christians and Muslims who did not like this kind

of preaching because it looked like insulting other people's religion (*Jamhuri*, July 22, 2013). This was also one of the aspects tested in the field survey.

2.4.7.2 Perpetrators

The word "perpetrators" is a noun derived from the verb "perpetrate." According to the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (New Edition), the word "perpetrates" means, "to do something that is morally wrong or criminal." Therefore, in this thesis, when a perpetrator is "a person who does something wrong or criminal." As far as the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts are concerned, the perpetrators of the conflicts were the people who physically performed acts such as fighting, burning houses of worship, killing their opponents, and demolishing pork butcheries, etc. These are normally common Christians and Muslims who perform these acts in obedience to the instructions they receive unquestioningly from their leaders they trust and cherish. These lured individuals end up in jail or in death. Some of them go back home with injuries or permanent deformities. These people get fired that they lose common sense and act as if they were mad.

2.4.8 Actions Fuelling Christian-Muslim Conflicts in Tanzania from 1990 to 2013

These are actions performed by the instigators and perpetrators. The greatest job lies with the instigators who carefully prepare their presentations calculated to mislead their followers. Then, they put the messages on CDs, DVDs, books, pamphlets and leaflets. Some of the instigators preach the inciteful messages in the mosque or church. Some instigators achieve their end through radio broadcast. Still, recently, religious institutions foment religious conflicts based on seemingly legitimate

undertakings, for example, through participation in legally stashed fora. The researcher believes there should be clear demarcation between religion and politics for interreligious harmony to flourish.

2.4.8.1 Mixing Religion and Politics

Some of the religious institutions are almost assuming the roles of political parties. According to Mogella (2011:67), in liberal democracy, one of the functions of political parties is “to respond and accommodate the concerns of its members and a wide range of voters ... articulate and translate popular demands, interests, and needs of a wider society fabric, into a policy programme that can attract a wide range of voters.” That is, one of the roles of political parties in liberal democracy is to listen to the concerns of their potential voters as well as the concerns of the community at large and champion them on their behalf as a way of legitimating their existence and winning elections (Mogella, 2011).

Another author, Easton (1979:34) has said that political parties are the “major inputting devices that ensure the government heeds the needs and wishes of the larger society.” Here, Easton is saying that political parties collect the views and wishes of the society then influence the government to transform them into policies. This is exactly what some religious institutions have been doing since the beginning of the liberalization era in Tanzania. Examples of these politically religious activities included religious representation in political forums such as constitutional reform forums; issuing publications or speeches giving directions to their followers and the public regarding the kind of political leaders they should elect. Other activities

included prophesying the names of the people who will win in the elections (which amounts to campaigning for them), and openly criticizing the government.

Others included issuing election manifestos like what the Roman Catholic Church did immediately before the 2010 Tanzania General Election (Ruzoka, 2009). Other politically oriented activities were the Tanzania Christian Forum's statement on the proposed Constitution (Appendix 10), the directives issued by Muslim leaders to Muslims instructing them to boycott the national census exercise in 2012; the directives issued by Muslim leaders to all Muslims regarding the Constitutional reform process, etc. (George and Ceasar, 2013).

If every religious institution, with its religious interests struggles to impose its influence on the leadership of the country how will the situation look like? It seems the line of separation between religion and state is getting thinner and thinner. In this process, the Christian-Muslim divide is increasingly widening because each group thinks and plans in terms of its own political, economic and religious interests. When two groups with different and divergent personal and selfish interests compete for the same resources, if not properly managed, they may engage in deep conflict.

This is in harmony with one of the concepts that guide this study, which states, "Wherever Christians and Muslims coexist in roughly equal numbers, there is a potential for Christian-Muslim conflicts rooted in their doctrinal differences and their desire for prominence and resources" (Mushi, 2006:30). During the period 1960-1990, the religious leaders' role in public events was to pray for the government and political leaders and for the peace of the country. The major role of religion was to

preach the word of God to their believers (some of whom were government and political leaders) in their houses of worship or in the public meetings organized and managed by them. Politics belonged to politicians. To the contrary, during the liberalization era, some religious leaders are increasingly taking active roles in politics in addition to their religious functions. This contributes to religious tension because each religious leader would like to influence the government for the benefit of his or her religion. However, this scenario, of itself, could not have led to the 1990 - 2013 bloody conflicts. There are some more problems associated with the liberalization of religion as are explained in the following paragraphs (Personal Communication with a Muslim Leader, 2013).

2.4.8.2 Expressing Social Problems in Terms of Religious Discrimination

Some religious leaders publicly expressed social problems in terms of religious discrimination something that fueled religious hatred in the country. For example, the inequalities and injustices that were once viewed through a class lens under Ujamaa and self-reliance ideology were then expressed through religious terms for the political, economic or religious gains of the perpetrators (Bakari and Ndumbaro, 2006).

For example, since colonialism, there is a considerable education imbalance between Christians and Muslims, with Christians having the upper hand. This education imbalance has led to imbalance in employment between adherents of the two religions, especially in the higher echelons of the civil service (Ishumi, 2006). After liberalization, some Muslim leaders are politicizing these imbalances, which are historical in nature, by alleging the existence of a discriminatory policy in education

and employment. They explain the existence of the inequalities in education and employment in terms of unproven discrimination policy rather than in terms of the manner in which Muslims and Christians reacted to the school program brought by Christian missionaries before, during and after the establishment of formal colonialism (Mushi and Mukandala, 2006).

In addition, by politicizing these imbalances, some Muslims conclude that the government of Tanzania, which is Christian dominated, exists to implement the mission of the Church. They even coined a Swahili word that is quite disturbing to Christians (Yericko, 2015), *mfumokristo* (roughly meaning Christian dominance) to describe the employment imbalance in Tanzania. As a result of politicization of these imbalances, Muslims started to look at the government, which is perceived as Christian dominated, and the Christian church, which is perceived as dominating the government, as being the malignant foes of Islam and Muslims.

With the freedom of expression liberalization ushered in, various media outlets became the channels of communication of these sentiments. Such materials included the books *Mwembechai Killings*, by Hamza Mustafa Njozi and *Harakati za Sheikh Ilunga Hassan Kapungu*, by Jukwaa la Vijana wa Kiislamu Tanzania. Other media outlets for these sentiments were newspapers (for example, AlNuur), CDs, and DVDs. Some used the method of preaching in mosques, preaching in public, as well as through other media outlets. In addition, all this took place in the name of defending Islam and the interests of Muslims. On hearing these inciting messages, Muslims became highly embittered against the government, Christianity, and Christians (*Rai*, April 1997:36 as quoted in Tambila and Rubanza, 2006:189). No

wonder, that there were bloody Christian-Muslim fighting in Tanzania between 1990 and 2013.

During that period 1990 - 2013, there were times when some religious leaders preached openly and insultingly against the government and other religions. Radio Stations owned by religious institutions aired broadcasts that were instigating interreligious hatred and violence. Furthermore, during that period there were times when CDs and DVDs that had messages fuelling interreligious violence were rampant around Kariakoo main market and in many parts of Tanzania. These inciting messages resulted in Christian-Muslim fighting in different places and at different times because members of one religion were inspired to believe that members of the other religion are their archenemies (Siyovelwa, 2015).

For example, one Muslim preacher is quoted to have said in the course of his preaching, “Hali imekuwa mbaya sana, ukiona nyumba nzuri ni ya Kaffir (Christian), gari nzuri ni ya Kaffir, kila kitu kizuri ni cha Kaffir [...] utafika wakati itabidi tujivike mabomu kisha tuingie kwenye makasiri yao na kujilipua baada ya kula kiapo cha Jihadi...” Its meaning in English is, “The situation is very bad, when you see a good house it belongs to a Kaffir, a good car belongs to a Kaffir, and everything good is owned by a Kaffir [...]. A time will come when we will have to wear bombs, walk into their mansions, then blow ourselves up after taking the oath of Jihad” (*Ibid.*). Is it true that there are no Muslims, who are equally rich? Is it true that all Christians are rich? A religiously politicized lens is quite misleading and provocative. This kind of politicization partly explains why there were bitter Christian-Muslim contentions in Tanzania between 1990 and 2013. In actual fact, the

issue is not religious discrimination; the problem is the staggering economic disparity that has been brought about by liberalization in which a few rich (who are Christians, Muslims, and others) have astonishingly distanced themselves economically from the majority poor (who are Christians, Muslims, and others).

Furthermore, out of politicization of religion, some Muslims expressed embezzlement of public funds by government officials as a conspiracy between the Church and the government to scoop public funds for furthering the course of Christianity. In a book published in 2014 by the Jukwaa la Vijana wa Kiislamu Tanzania (Tanzania Muslim Youth Forum) *Harakati za Sheikh Ilunga Hassan Kapungu*, the embezzlement of the billions of Tanzanian Shillings through the Tegeta ESCROW account is claimed to have been perpetrated by and for the benefit of the Church. Bashir (2014) writes: “Jinsi Serikali na Kanisa zinavyokwapua na kupora mali za umma kwa manufaa ya Kanisa ushahidi unaojitokeza waziwazi wakati tukiandika kitabu hichi ni huu wa mabilioni ya pesa yaliyokwapuliwa kwa wizi kupitia Account TEGETA ESCROW” (Bashir, 2014:15). Translation: “How the Government and the Church misappropriate public funds for the benefits of the Church—clear evidence is happening even as we write this book—the swindling of billions of money through TEGETA ESCROW account.” Bashir continues to explain: “Wizi huo umepitishwa katika Benki ya Kanisa ya Mkombozi na mgao wa pesa hizo za wizi umekwenda kwa Maaskofu na Wachungaji mbalimbali” (Bashir, 2014:15). Translation: “The Church owned Mkombozi Bank facilitated the swindling and the money thus swindled was distributed to various bishops and pastors.” The message sent by the Tanzania Muslim Youth Forum is that Christianity in Tanzania

is depends on money swindled from the public coffers, something that meant not only to tarnish the image of Christianity but also to infuriate Muslims against the government and Christians. This is how far politicization of religion can mislead and incite people to bloody fighting.

Among the followers of both Christianity and Islam there are some people who are violence oriented—people who always seek an opportunity to inspire hatred in the minds of their fellow believers against the rival religion or government. As El-Ezabi (2008:85) has observed: “there are some individuals (including scholars and clergymen) from both sides (of Christianity and Islam) who choose to propagate hatred and inspire it into the hearts of simple-minded people—people who always look for an enemy to fight.”

2.4.8.3 People Taking the Law in their Hands

This is the major source of Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania directly connected with the perpetrators of the conflicts. Christian-Muslim conflicts occurred in Tanzania between 1990 and 2013 because people took the law in their hands to appease their anger instead of following the normal course of seeking redress of injustice one feels he or she has suffered.

An example of this kind of skirmishes occurred on August 17, 2012 at Nguruka in Kigoma Rural District in which fighting broke after Muslim evangelists accused an Anglican evangelist of blaspheming Islam. Instead of reporting the incident to the police, Muslims started to attack the Christian preacher and his company. The Christians had to engage in the fight to defend themselves (*The Citizen*, 2012). This

was true also of the bloody conflicts that happened at Busereree in Geita and Mbagala in Dar es Salaam (see what is said in the background of the research problem). The problem was that people took the law in their hands.

2.4.9 REDET's List of the Causes of Christian-Muslim Conflicts in Tanzania in 2000

In a study that was conducted by REDET in 2000, out of 822 respondents, 741 (90.1% of them) could not assign weight to any of the reasons stated in the questionnaire. That is, 90.1% did not consider as reasons for conflicts between Muslims and Christians in Tanzania all of the reasons listed on Table 2.6.

Table 2.6: Suspected Reasons for Christian-Muslim conflicts in 2000

Response	Frequency	Percentage
None	741	90.1
Humiliate each other through public preaching	19	2.3
Muslim allegations against government favouritism	4	0.5
Muslims and Christians over pork butcheries	17	2.0
Muslims and Christians about cemetery	20	2.4
Despising other's religion	6	0.7
Slaughtering of animals	1	0.1
Muslims wanting Christians to convert to Islam	2	0.2
Ownership of piece of land	4	0.5
Fighting	1	0.1
Church blown up in Zanzibar	1	0.1
Muslims threatening to blow up a church in Shinyanga	1	0.1
Christians insulting Muslims	2	0.2
Beliefs	1	0.1
Politically biased conflicts	2	0.2
TOTAL	822	100

Source: Tambila (2006)

Once again, although the majority of the respondents (90.1% of them) did not consider any of the proposed factors to be the cause of the 1990-2000 conflicts, the minority respondents (9.9% of them) who pinpointed some factors as the cause of the conflicts are important. It could be that the majority who said none of the suspected factors were responsible for the conflicts were not aware of the conflicts and hence were not in the position to make any judgment. Therefore, the few respondents who assigned some weight to the proposed factors as the causes of the Christian-Muslim conflicts around the year 2000 furnish us a clue of what were the actors, actions and conditions that gave rise to those conflicts.

From the list, the researcher deduced that the actors in those conflicts included some people who identified themselves or others identified them as Christians and Muslims. The actions that fomented and/or constituted the conflicts were insulting each other through public preaching, torching houses of worship, and contending over cemetery. Others were threatening to burn a church in Shinyanga, Christians and Muslims humiliating each other through public preaching, as well as Christians and Muslims despising each other's religion. Still others were Christians slaughtering animals for public sale in defiance of the common practice of Muslims monopolizing the service, etc. The conditions that nurtured the conflicts were the Muslims' perception that the government favours Christians, the articulation of the Christian-Muslim doctrinal differences, mixing religion and politics, etc.

2.4.10 REDET's Recommendations to Future Researchers

As a way forward, REDET recommended to future researchers a new list of possible factors behind Christian-Muslim conflicts that seemed to continued to increase in

the years 2000s. Mushi and Mukandala (2006), writing for REDET, list five factors with the potential for causing religious conflicts, which they recommended for future research as follows:

Thesis 1: Poverty/hardship of life

Thesis 2: Inequalities in education/employment

Thesis 3: Lack of specialized state institutions for settling religious conflicts

Thesis 4: Misguided Religious/Political leaders with personal interest

Thesis 5: Absence of an integrative ideology

From this list, the researcher developed a list of seven factors by breaking down the second and the fourth into two factors each. The following was the resultant list:

- (i) Poverty/hardship of life
- (ii) Inequalities in education
- (iii) Inequalities in employment
- (iv) Lack of specialized state institutions for settling religious conflicts
- (v) Religious leaders with personal interest
- (vi) Political leaders with personal interest
- (vii) Absence of an integrative ideology

These factors were among the issues that the researcher investigated by asking the respondents to give their opinions or assessment of each on how much each contributed to the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania. Under the motivation of REDET's study and the results thus presented, the researcher undertook a similar but slightly different research project on the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania. This is the present research.

2.4.11 Differences between REDET's Study and this Study

The differences between REDET's study and the present study were as follows:

- (i) REDET's study was done in 2000 whereas this study was done in 2013 (13 years later);
- (ii) The samples for REDET's study were taken from different regions of Tanzania whereas the samples for this study were taken from Dar es Salaam only;
- (iii) The sampling by REDET did not take into consideration the religious affiliation of the respondents; this research required identification of the respondent's individual religious affiliation.
- (iv) There were more frequent and more intense clashes between Christians and Muslims (including bloodshed) between 2000 and 2013 immediately after which this study was done as compared to the period between 1990 and 2000 after which REDET's study was done.
- (v) In REDET's study, the set of factors tested as the causes of conflicts between Christians and Muslims differ from those tested in this study (look at Tables 2.6 and 2.7 above).
- (vi) In REDET's study respondents were limited to assessing the factors given in Table 2.1; on the other hand, in this study, in addition to assessing the seven factors suspected to be the causes of conflicts as listed above, the respondents had an opportunity to generate an additional list of the possible causes of the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania.

2.4.12 Gap Filled by this Research

Three items constitute the gap in the literature that this study filled:

- (i) An assessment of the relation between Muslims and Christians in Tanzania in 2013 after a series of exchanges open violent conflicts experienced between the two religious groups, especially during the years 2011, 2012, and 2013 in which the conflicts involved injuries and death of people.
- (ii) A list of proposed factors that fomented the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim violent and bloody conflicts in Tanzania.
- (iii) Recommendations for maintaining a harmonious Christian-Muslim relation in Tanzania.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher describes the research methodology he used to arrive at what he presents in this thesis as the solution to this puzzle. The chapter also discusses the population of the study and strategies used in getting the sample, procedures used in data collection, instrumentation, the methods used in data analysis and presentation, and the mechanisms used to ensure validity.

D'Cruz and Jones (2004) as cited in Samzugi (2004) describe research methodology as an analysis of how research should or does proceed. Such research undertakings include discussion of how researchers develop and test theories, the kind of logic they use, the criteria they have to satisfy, the theories they employ and how they relate a particular theoretical perspective to particular a research problem. Research methods, in particular, constitute actual techniques and procedures used to gather and analyse data related to some research question or hypothesis.

3.2 Research Design

This research used two types of research designs. The first was the survey research design (Saunders et al., 2007). The second was the exploratory (also known as formulative research design) (Gimbi, 2012). The researcher adopted these two designs to help him better capture the information he needed to meet the objectives of his research. Here below is a detailed description of the two research designs employed in this study.

3.2.1 The Survey Research Design

The researcher used the survey research design to collect data related to the assessment of the Christian-Muslim relations as well as the relative weight given to each one of the factors suspected to be the cause of conflicts between Christians and Muslims experienced in Tanzania during the period 1990 - 2013. The survey strategy is usually associated with the deductive approach (Saunders et al., 2007). Surveys are famous for their usefulness in collecting a large amount of data from a sizable population for effective generalization. Surveys use standardized tools, particularly, the questionnaire to obtain the data. Survey design employs other structured methods such as structured interviews and observations.

The reason for adopting a survey strategy was to enable the researcher to make generalisation from the findings. Another advantage of using the survey study was that the researcher had more control over the research process. The researcher used the survey research design to assess the Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania in 2013 as well as to assess the seven factors the researcher adopted from the literature review as the possible causes of the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania. The researcher depended on questions 9 and 10 on the questionnaire form for the survey research design. Question 9 required the respondents to say whether the relation between Christians and Muslims was “good,” “worrying,” or “bad” in 2013 when the researcher did this research. Question 10 required to indicate whether each of the seven proposed factors as causes of the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania was either “very much,” “little,” “not applicable,” or “no response/I don’t know.” The questionnaire with these questions appears as

appendices 6-8. The major contribution of the survey research design was the assessment of the Christian-Muslim relation in 2013. For the discovery of the factors that fomented the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania, the researcher depended heavily on the explorative research design discussed in section 3.2.2.

3.2.2 Explorative Research Design

The explorative research design was the second research design the research employed in this study. Gimbi (2012:73) has written, “Exploratory research is research into the unknown. It is used when you are investigating something but really don’t understand it all, or are not completely sure what you are looking for.” Exploratory research aims at providing insight into, and understanding of, the problem confronting the researcher. Often this is very useful when the researcher does not have enough information on a topic and wants flexibility in the exploration of the issue or when the subject of study is itself relatively new and unstudied (Samzugi, 2012). This describes exactly the case of this study. First, very few empirical studies are available on the Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania during the period 1990 - 2013. A critical review of those few studies that have been done indicate that the findings are not convincing and leave a lot to be desired; hence, therefore, the subject needs to be further explored. Second, the subject is sensitive and complicated, it touches the feelings of people and at times, it can even be very scaring. The researcher approached this study with the spirit of a learner, with humble inquiry. Flexibility and humility were very essential in this research.

The researcher used the explorative research methodology to give room for discovery of new information and ideas from the respondents and interviewees. The

researcher achieved this by designing many and varied questions that generated a wide range of responses from the field thus giving him a rich source of information that helped him understand the *conditions*, *actors*, and *actions* that fomented the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania. Questions 11-17 on the questionnaire form and questions 1-6 on the interview guide were instrumental in the explorative research design.

Whereas the questionnaire was distributed to all respondents, the interview guide was used the in-depth interviews (individual in-depth interview and Focus Groups Discussions (FGDs)). The explorative research design generated many ideas that helped in the discovery of the *conditions*, *actors*, and *actions* that fomented the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts. It is obvious that this research depended heavily on the explorative research design than the survey design.

3.3 Research Population

Population refers to people or things with similar characteristics, which the researcher intends to study within the context of a particular research problem (Rwegoshora, 2006). In addition, Ghauri and Kjell (2002) have defined the population to mean all members, individuals, groups or elements involved in the study. For this study, the target population consisted of Christians and Muslims aged 20 years old and above and were willing to fill the questionnaire forms or participate in interviews. The minimum age of 20 was chosen because this is the collegiate age and being above 18 years of age were considered mature enough to provide meaningful responses.

3.4 Research Area

Dar es Salaam region was the research area. The justification for this selection is threefold: First, Dar es Salaam is one of the places that experienced open Christian-Muslim clashes at different times in from 1990 to 2013. It was in the city of Dar es Salaam where Biblical-Qur'anic comparative preaching and debating started in the 1980s.

The demolition of pork butcheries took place in Kinondoni area in Dar es Salaam. Explosions in houses of worship occurred in Dar es Salaam also. Furthermore, urination on the Qur'an by a Christian boy was a Dar es Salaam event. The Qur'an's desecration preceded the stoning of houses of worship and properties (Tambila, 2006; Mwakemwa, 2013).

Second, according to REDET studies, Dar es Salaam residents are more exposed to information about many things including religious issues compared to those residing elsewhere in the country (Tambila, 2006). Third, According to the official 2012 census, Dar es Salaam Region had a population of 4,364,541, which was approximately 10% of the Tanzanian population, which was then 44,928,923 (National Bureau of Statistics, 2013) which is a good representation of the Tanzanian population statistically.

Dar es Salaam consists of three districts: Ilala, Kinondoni, and Temeke. All three are governed as municipal councils, and so all of the city's suburbs or wards are affiliated with them. The 2012 Population and Housing census revealed that the populations of the three districts of Dar es Salaam city were as shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Population of the Three Districts of Dar es Salaam Region, 2012 Census

District	Population
Kinondoni	1,775,049
Ilala	1,220,611
Temeke	1,368,881
Dar es Salaam (Total)	4,364,541

Source: The National Statistics Bureau, (2013)

3.5 Sampling Techniques

Sampling is the process of selecting a sample group (Adam and Kamuzora, 2008). It is the process of selecting a group of people or products used as a representative of a larger population. For this study, the researcher employed simple random sampling. A Simple random sampling is “a probability sampling whereby all members in the population have an equal chance of being selected” (Adam and Kamuzora, 2008:128). In this study, the people who were Christians and Muslims living in the city of Dar es Salaam at the time of data collection aged 20 years and above and were willing to fill the questionnaire form had equal chance of being part of the sample.

3.6 Research Assistants

When the researcher conducted this research, the tensions between Christians and Muslims were very high. The relationship between Christians and Muslims was highly affected by the events that transpired in 2012 and 2013 in which some Christian leaders died and some Muslim leaders suffered injuries. The researcher did this research at the time when the news about the Muslim-Christian conflicts in Tanzania was still live. Some Muslims who were approached by some of his research

assistants refused to fill the questionnaire forms because they thought the questionnaire forms were meant to collect information for census—an exercise they had boycotted in 2012. In order to get a sufficient number of Muslim respondents he had to get the help of leaders of some Muslim organizations.

Some leaders of the Muslim organizations were very instrumental in getting more respondents that were Muslims for this research. These were The Supreme Council of the Muslim organizations and Institutions of Tanzania (Baraza Kuu la Jumuiya na Taasisi za Kiislamu Tanzania) headquartered in Kinondoni area under the leadership of Sheikh Mussa Kundecha whom the researcher, met personally and he offered to help him distribute some questionnaire forms to members of his organization.

The researcher consulted also the leadership of BAKWATA (where he was assisted by the Sheikhs Mohamed Khamis Said and Alhad Mussa Salum at the national office and Dar es Salaam regional office respectively); Ahmadiyyah Mission (Ahmadiyya Muslim Jamaat Tanzania) under the leadership of Tahir Mahmood Chaudhry, the Amir and Missionary in charge. The Inter-Religious Council for Peace in Tanzania (IRCPT) under the leadership of Rev. Canon Thomas Godda, helped me for consultation and introduction to Muslim organizations.

The researcher had one Muslim research assistant, Juma Nasoro (a tailor), who assisted him to distribute most of the questionnaire forms among Muslims in Mwenge area. Some questionnaire forms were distributed by himself to some Muslims he was acquainted with. Dr. Ramadhan Ngoma of Mama Ngoma Health

Centre filled the form and helped him distribute some questionnaire forms to Muslims who worked at their family health facility.

The areas that were involved in the survey were: Mbagala, Temeke, Kariakoo, Mwenge, Mikocheni, Ilala, Kigogo, Sinza, Mwananyamala and Magomeni. Other specific targeted people were University and College students and staff. The reason why the researcher targeted this group of people was to get informed responses. University students and staff were people who were academically oriented and the most politicized. The Universities and colleges whose students and staff filled most of the questionnaire forms were University of Dar es Salaam (main campus), Mabibo hostel and Institute of Finance Management.

Others were College of Business Education (Dar es Salaam Campus), Ardhi University (ARU), The Open University of Tanzania (Main Campus), Tanzania Institute of Accountancy (TIA), Dar es Salaam University College of Education (DUCE), Herbert Kariuki University, Unique Academy, Tanganyika Education Centre (Sinza Mori), Kinondoni Muslim Secondary School, and Al-Haramain Islamic Centre.

Selection of these areas depended on the availability of a research assistant who lived in that area and was ready to help in the distribution of the questionnaires. Furthermore, the researcher interviewed six religious religious-two from Christianity and four from Islam. Table 3.2 below gives a summary of the number of the questionnaire forms and places where they were distributed:

Table 3.2: Distribution of the Questionnaire Forms

S/NO	Target area/institution/distributor	Number of questionnaire forms distributed
1.	BAKWATA (Dar es Salaam region)	200
2.	Baraza Kuu la Jumuiya na Taasisi za Kiislamu Tanzania	50
3.	Ahmadiyya Muslim Jamaat Tanzania	150
4.	Mbagala	100
5.	Temeke (SDA Church)	50
6.	Ilala	50
7.	Kigogo	100
8.	Sinza	100
9.	Kariakoo	50
10.	Mikocheni	150
11.	Mwenge	100
12.	Magomeni	50
13.	Mwananyamala	50
14.	UDSM (Main Campus)	200
15.	Mabibo Hostel	100
16.	Ardhi University (ARU)	100
17.	Institute of Finance Management (IFM)	100
18.	College of Business Education (CBE)-Dar es Salaam Campus	100
19.	The Open University of Tanzania (OUT)-Main Campus	200
20.	Tanzania Institute of Accountancy (TIA)	200
21.	Dar es Salaam University College Education (DUCE)	100
22.	Herbert Kariuki University	100
23.	Unique Academy	30
24.	Tanganyika Education Center (Sinza Mori)	50
25.	Kinondoni Muslim Secondary School	50
26.	Al-Haramain Islamic Center	50
	TOTAL	2,300

Source: Field Research, (2013)

3.7 Methods of Data Collection

3.7.1 The Questionnaire

According to Wilson (1994) cited in Samzugi (2012), a questionnaire generally provides “structured” often-numerical data, often administered without the presence of the researcher. Kothari (2010) recommends this method because it accommodates large samples and its findings are dependable and reliable. The questionnaire was one of the methods used to collect the primary data for the study.

Generally, questionnaires are associated with surveys since they are most productive when used with a large number of respondents, as was the case with respondents drawn from both Muslims and Christians. According to Jupp (2006) cited in Samzugi (2012), with questionnaires, a survey measures some characteristics or opinions of the respondents.

This study used one type of questionnaire form for all respondents. The Directorate of Research and Postgraduate Studies at the Open University of Tanzania issued a research clearance letter (see Appendix 1). This is in line with Government Circular MPEC/B/10/1 of 4 May 1980 issued by the then Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs (cited in Samzugi, 2012). The survey questionnaire aimed at collecting data related to the research objectives. Specifically, the questionnaire generated responses to questions that determined the relational status of the Christian-Muslim relation in Tanzania during the test period. The information generated was instrumental in making the recommendations on the improvement of the Christian-Muslim relation in Tanzania and elsewhere.

There were specific efforts and instructions to all research assistants to distribute questionnaire forms equally to members of both gender and of both religions except for leaders of Muslim organizations who were to distribute the questionnaire forms to Muslims only (both males and females).

Respondents were required to disclose their gender and age. Disclosing names was not a requirement. All respondents took note that the information they were giving could be used only for academic purposes and not otherwise. The exercise was a voluntary one.

Since the questionnaire forms did not have many questions to fill, the respondents were encouraged to fill them immediately after they received the forms. The researcher did this in order to monitor and assure integrity. The language of the questionnaire was Kiswahili because most Tanzanians are more comfortable expressing themselves in Kiswahili.

As stated above, the targeted total number of respondents was 1000: 500 Christians and 500 Muslims. However, for fear of some questionnaire getting lost in the process, the researcher printed and distributed 2300 forms, more than two times of the target number of respondents. Finally the researcher was able to get 1010 questionnaires that were properly filled and whose data he used in the data presentation and processing for this research. Out of all of the forms that the respondents properly filled, Muslim respondents filled 489 while Christian respondents filled 521. Many of the questionnaires were returned to the researcher

uncompleted while many others got lost in the process despite the researcher's efforts to follow up through his research assistants.

3.7.2 In-depth Interview

An in-depth interview is a data collection method that puts emphasis on verbal communication and it is the best method when you want to discover the inner feelings and attitudes of the interviewee regarding the research problem. There are several types of them; however, this research used the most common two, namely, the individual in-depth interview and the focus group discussion (FGD). The in-depth interviews gathered qualitative data based on an interview guide. Below, the researcher briefly outlines the two types of data collection methods.

3.7.2.1 Individual in-depth Interviews

This type of the interview is a person-to-person dialogue and the interviewer can obtain very specific and precise answers. A researcher can conduct interview by phone or via internet-based media, from a centralized location, this can greatly reduce the costs associated with research and the results are quite accurate as the ones obtained from the face-to-face interview. However, the researcher used the face-to-face interview method due to the nature of the subject he was studying.

3.7.2.2 Focus Groups Discussion, (FGD)

FGDs were discussions the researcher conducted with groups who represented Christians on one hand and Muslims on the other. The meetings were in informal settings and the researcher moderated them. FGDs are the ideal techniques of data collection. The researcher used these discussions to test new ideas and concepts

about the causes of Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania between 1990 and 2013. The discussions helped the researcher also to discover new ideas of which he did not think of about the problem and the objectives of the study.

3.8 Triangulation

Triangulation involves the use of multiple data-gathering techniques to investigate the same phenomenon. Triangulation serves as a means that authenticates the measures and validates the findings. The researcher used various methods to collect data. The researcher pre-tested the instruments before fieldwork to establish validity and reliability of the instruments. Another reason for doing so was to determine whether the instruments were in line with the objective of the study. The researcher also incorporated the views and criticisms arising from the test in the questionnaire wherever deemed necessary.

3.9 Types of Data Collected and Methods of Data Processing

In addition to the secondary data obtained from the works of other researchers and authors, in this study, the researcher collected primary data using the questionnaire and an interview guide (see appendices 6, 7, 8, and 9). There were two types of primary data collected in the course of the research: quantitative and qualitative data.

3.9.1 Primary Quantitative Data Processing

The quantitative data consisted of the responses given by respondents to questions 9 and 10. By question 9, the researcher intended to assess the relation between Christians and Muslims while by question 10, he intended to assess the factors that considered as the causes of the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania.

For the question intended to assess the relation between Christians and Muslims in Tanzania during the period 1990 - 2013, the responses expected were good (Mzuri), worrying (wa wasiwasi); poor (mbaya); and no response/I don't know (Sijui). (See question 9 on the questionnaire form, appendices 6 and 7).

For the question intended to assess the factors considered to be the causes of the conflicts between Christians and Muslims in Tanzania during the period 1990 - 2013, the expected responses were very much (sana), little (kidogo), not applicable (Hapana), no response/don't know (Sijui) (See question 10 on the questionnaire, appendices 6 and 7).

The researcher processed the collected data in order to present it in an easily analysable form. The key activities in the primary data processing were editing, coding, classification, and tabulation. Editing involved the researcher going through the questionnaire forms to identify mistakes, incorrect or irrelevant information, etc. The purpose of data editing was to secure quality standard of the data collected. The researcher did most of the data editing while he was still in the field with or after the respondents had submitted the questionnaire forms.

This helped the researcher get clarification on whatever information he found not clear to him so that he could still try to correct whatever he needed to correct. On the other hand coding refers to the process of assigning numerals or other symbols to classes (Kothari, 2004). Coding is some kind of classification because the first step in coding is to specify the categories or classes into which the responses belong (Ghauri and Kjell, 2002).

For responses related to the test of relational status between Christians and Muslims in Tanzania, the coding was as shown in Table 4.3.

Table 3.3: Responses Related to the Test of Relational Status between Christians and Muslims

Response	Code
Good	1
Worrying	2
Poor	3
No response/Don't know	4

Source: Researcher's own formulation, 2013

For responses related to the weight given to causes of the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania the coding was as shown in Table 3:4.

Table 3.4: Responses Related to the Weight Given to Factors behind Suspected Causes of Christian-Muslim Conflicts

Response	Code
Very Much	1
Little	2
No	3
Response/Don't know	4

Source: Researcher's own formulation, (2013)

On the other hand, classification refers to the process of putting responses of the same characteristics into same group or class. In the case of relational status between Christians and Muslims in Tanzania, the responses were classified as: Good, doubtful, poor or don't know/no response. In the case of the factors behind indicators of Christian-Muslim intolerance, the responses were classified as: "very much" (sana), "little" (kidogo), "not applicable" (hapana) and "no response/I don't know" (hakuna jibu/sijui) for each factor. Finally, tabulation is the process of summarizing

collected raw data in a table to facilitate computation of various measures during data analysis. The researcher arranged the data in the form of rows and columns by presenting the number of frequencies falling into each category or class. Apart from facilitating statistical computation tabulation saves space, makes comparison possible and identification of errors easy. Microsoft excel software was used in summarizing the data.

3.9.2 Primary Qualitative Data Processing

Primary qualitative data processing involved translating the written responses from Swahili to English without losing the intent of the respondent and without repeating similar ideas in order to capture all the opinions given by the respondents.

3.10 Trustworthiness, Credibility, and Transferability

Trustworthiness, credibility and transferability of the findings were an important criterion in judging the results of this study. The results of a study are trustworthy when they accurately represent the experiences of the study participants (Streubert and Carpenter, 1999). According to Beck (1993:264) cited in Samzugui (2012), “credibility” is a term that relates to how vivid and faithful the description of the phenomenon is. The findings thus become credible when they are believable and transferable and can apply to other settings or group of people. Credibility is demonstrated when participants recognise the research findings as their own experiences (Streubert and Carpenter, 1999). To ensure credibility in this research, the researcher employed several measures. These were (a) all the respondents answered the same questions; (b) the researcher distributed the questionnaire forms to people who were knowledgeable enough to give intelligent answers (All

respondents were supposed to be aged 20 years and above); (c) the researcher returned to some of the participants to ascertain whether the transcribed data was a trustful version of their experiences. Indeed, according to Glaser (1978:4), results must “fit the data”, meaning the findings must emerge from the data and not follow preconceived ideas or theories predating the analysis.

Transferability refers to the extent to which the research findings can be applied in other contexts/situations or with other participants (Montorn, 2001 cited in Samzughi, 2012). The processes deployed for data collection determine such transferability, sampling, pilot project, and determining the accuracy of the data. If done efficiently and systematically, transferability implies that the methodology employed in the study when simulated in a similar environment with similar conditions, the results could be the same.

In this context, the researcher provided the description of the research methodology, the participants’ background, and the research context to provide the necessary information that would facilitate transferability. The study also ensured the trustworthiness, credibility and transferability through the selection of respondents who had experience with Christian-Muslim relation. In addition, the study adhered to all the data collection, analysis and write up processes as outlined in the data processing section. This included the use of comparative methods of analysis to check whether the categories were in the data. Furthermore, it included comparing the findings with other findings of other researchers who have written on the subject. The researcher also ensured trustworthiness, credibility and transferability by setting

the findings of this study within the context of Christian-Muslim relations and coexistence.

3.11 Method of Data Processing and Data Analysis

3.11.1 Data Processing

The key activities in data processing are: editing, coding, classification, and tabulation.

(a) Editing

The researcher went through the questionnaire forms and interview responses to identify mistakes, incorrect or irrelevant information, etc. The purpose of data editing was to manage the quality of the data.

The researcher did most of the data editing while he was still in the field. This helped the researcher get clarification on whatever information he found not clear to him so that he could still try to correct whatever needed some correction.

(b) Coding

Coding refers to the process of assigning numerals or other symbols to classes (Kothari, 2004). Coding is some kind of classification because the first step in coding is to specify the categories or classes into which the responses belong (Ghauri and Kjell, 2002).

For responses related to the assessment of relation between Christians and Muslims in Tanzania, the coding as shown in Table in 3.5.

Table 3.5: Summary of Responses Assessing Christian-Muslim Relation

Response	Code
Good	1
Moderate	2
Poor	3
No response/Don't know	4

(Source: Researcher's Own Formulation)

For responses related to the weight given to factors behind indicators of Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania the coding was as shown for each factor in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6: Assessment of Factors Causing Christian-Muslim Conflicts

Response	Code
Very Much	1
Little	2
No	3

(Source: Researcher's Own Formulation)

(c) Classification

Classification refers to the process of putting responses of the same characteristics into same group or class. For this study,

- (i) In the case of relational status between Christians and Muslims in Tanzania, the responses were classified as: Good, moderate, poor or don't know/no response; while,
- (ii) In the case of the factors behind the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania, the responses were classified as very much, little, and no for each factor.

(d) Tabulation

Tabulation is the process of summarizing collected raw data in a table to facilitate computation of various measures during data analysis. The arrangement of the data is in the form of rows and columns by presenting the number of frequencies falling into each category or class. Apart from facilitating statistical computation tabulation saves space, makes comparison possible and identification of errors easy.

Table 3.7 below is the kind of table the researcher used to summarize the responses from the respondents on the relational status between Christians and Muslims in Tanzania during the period 1990s-2013.

Table 3.7: Assessment of the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim Relation in Tanzania

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Good		
Moderate		
Poor		
No response/Don't know		

Source: Researcher's Own formulation

Table 3.8 is the table the researcher used to summarize the responses of the respondents on the factors behind the indicators of conflicts between Christians and Muslims in Tanzania during the period 2000-2013.

Table 3.8: Assessment of Factors Causing 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim Conflicts

FACTORS	VERY MUCH		LITTLE		NOT APPLICABLE		I DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE	
	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Poverty/Economic hardship								
Inequality in education between Christians and Muslims								
Inequality in employment between Christians and Muslims								
Lack of specialized state institutions for settling religious conflicts								
Religious leaders with personal interests								
Political leaders with personal interests								
Absence of an integrative ideology								

Source: Researcher's Own Formulation

3.11.2 Quantitative Data Analysis

Data analysis refers to the computation of certain measures along with searching for patterns of relationship that exist among data groups (Kothari, 2004). For this study quantitative data will be based on frequency of responses and the percentages resulting from them of the assessments given by respondents to various categories of research variables. The frequencies and percentages provided basis for analysis. The researcher used Microsoft excel software to help him in summarizing and analyzing the data.

3.11.3 Qualitative Data Analysis

Qualitative data employs meanings expressed through words and its collection results in non-standardized data requiring classification into categories. Its analysis is conducted with conceptualization (Saunders, M., et. al., 2012). Qualitative data for this study consisted of the responses on the questionnaire forms, results of the focus group discussions, and personal interviews.

(a) Aids that Helped the Researcher in Quantitative Analysis (during data collection)

- (i) interim or progressive summaries
- (ii) transcript summaries
- (iii) document summaries
- (iv) self-memos
- (v) a research note book
- (vi) a reflective diary or journal

(b) Procedures for Qualitative Data Processing and Displaying

- (i) Describing the sample population in relation to sampling procedures
- (ii) Content analysis: ordering and coding of data: answers to open questions and elaborate narratives
- (iii) Summarising data in compilation sheets
- (iv) Summarising data in matrices, figure, and tables
- (v) Drawing and verifying conclusions
 - * Identifying variables and associations between variables

- * Finding confounding or intervening variables
- * Integrating qualitative and quantitative data
- * Content analysis of qualitative data for action

(vi) Reporting qualitative data: integrating with quantitative findings

3.12 Ethical Consideration

In observance of the ethics for academic research data collection, the researcher and his research assistants informed all respondents that they were voluntarily participating in the research. They further informed them that the information they were giving was for academic purposes and not otherwise. Since the subject is very sensitive, the researcher did not attempt to identify the information in this research with any particular individual.

3.13 Summary

This chapter was devoted to describing the research methodology used in carrying out this study. It explains the philosophical and theoretical aspects of the research methodology used in this research namely the quantitative and qualitative method approaches as applicable in social science research as well as the researcher's reasons for integrating both the two approaches in conducting this study. The chapter discusses the population of the study and strategies used in getting the sample, procedures used in data collection, instrumentation, the methods used in data analysis and presentation, and the mechanisms used to ensure validity. The research methodology presented in this chapter outlines the procedures used to arrive at the findings presented, analysed and discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents, analyses, and discusses the research findings obtained from the field with the view of realizing the specific objectives of this research. It consists of three major sections: Section 4.2 deals with the characteristics of the respondents while section 4.3 deals with the findings of the research and the discussions of the findings based on the specific research objectives.

4.2 Characteristics of the Respondents

Muslims and Christians were the two categories of respondents that were involved in this research. The major respondent characteristics considered were gender, age group, education, and employment of both categories.

4.2.1 Characteristics of the Key Informants

In the course of his data collection, the researcher conducted interviews with some key informants on Christian-Muslim relation. Since the researcher was dealing with Christian-Muslim conflicts, he interviewed people he thought were experienced with Christian-Muslim relations. The following were the people the researcher interviewed, their names and positions as they were at the time of the interview. They were seven.

(1) The first key informant was Pastor Dominic Mapima. At the time of the interview, Pastor Mapima was the Adventist-Muslim Relation coordinator for

Eastern Tanzania Conference of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. He is a Christian with a Muslim background. The researcher chose him because he is a Christian leader who is an expert in Biblical-Qur'anic comparative preaching and debating. He is among the first preachers and debaters in public Biblical-Qur'anic comparative preaching since in the 1990s.

(2) The second key informant was Reverend Canon Thomas Godda. Rev. Godda is a Christian leader who is the Executive Director of the Inter-Religious Council for Peace in Tanzania. The researcher chose Rev. Godda because of his long time expertise and experience in Christian-Muslim relation in Tanzania. Rev. Godda also wrote a letter introducing the researcher to the leaders of the Muslim organizations (See Appendix 2).

(3) The third key informant was Sheikh Yahaya Mgonja. He is an Imam of the AlNur Mosque in Mbagala area, Dar es Salaam. This imam is an expert in Biblical-Qur'anic comparative preaching as well.

(4) The fourth key informant was Sheikh Mohamed Khamis Said. Sheikh Mohamed is the Secretary General of BAKWATA (National) dealing with religious matters. In addition to having an interview with him, he wrote a letter to introduce the researcher to the Dar es Salaam regional BAKWATA leadership and other BAKWATA institutions in Dar es Salaam city (See appendices 3, 4, and 5).

(5) The fifth key informant was Sheikh Alhad Mussa Salum. He is the Dar es Salaam regional BAKWATA chairman. He is also the Chair of the Dar es Salaam Religious Peace Committee.

(6) The sixth key informant was Sheikh Mussa Kundecha. Sheikh Kundecha is the Chair of the Jumuia na Taasisi za Kiislamu Tanzania (Association of Islamic Institutions of Tanzania) with Headquarters in Kinondoni area just near the Open University of Tanzania.

(7) The seventh key informant in this research was Tahir Mahmood Chaudhry, the Amir and Missionary Incharge of the Ahmadiyyah Mission (Ahmadiyya Jamaat Tanzania). The amir was so kind to the researcher.

(8) The eighth key informant in this research was a Muslim man whose identity the researcher feels should not disclose. The researcher interviewed this Muslim because the informant was a typical Muslim fundamentalist. He was an individual who was clearly against BAKWATA. He also spoke acrimoniously about the government.

(9) The ninth key informant in this research was a Christian woman who is a retiree who happened to have been married to a Muslim. She shared about the life of being married to a Muslim and her understanding about Christian-Muslim relation from her personal experience. Very unfortunately, the Muslim husband divorced her and he married a Muslim woman. The woman was highly bitter with Muslims.

(10) The tenth key informant in this research was a Christian woman who was living in a Muslim's house. The researcher was interested in this informant because the woman who was a widow lived in a three room house a Muslim family granted to her for free. At the time of the interview the woman had stayed in the house for more than thirteen consecutive years for free. It was a wonderful experience to learn that

there was such kind of Muslims who could even offer a house to a Christian for free without any strings attached to the offer. The woman talked nothing but the goodness of Muslims. The woman lives in Mwananyamala area.

(11) The eleventh key informant the researcher interviewed regarding the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim was a Muslim originates from Pemba. He was a computer repairer in Kariakoo. He was a person who serviced the researcher's laptop. He was then a degree holder in Computer Hardwares. He seemed to be a staunch Muslim believer.

(12) Mr Nyasebwa, a lawyer with the Ministry of Home Affairs, dealing with registration of Associations.

4.2.2 Distribution of Respondents by Category and Gender

Table 4.1: Distribution of Respondents by Category and Gender (N=1 010)

Gender	Category of Respondents				Total	
	Christians		Muslims		Frequency	Percentage
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage		
Males	259	49.7%	304	62.2%	563	56.7%
Females	262	50.3%	185	37.8%	447	44.3%
Total	521	100%	489	100%	1 010	100%

Source: Field Research, (2013)

Table 4.1 is a summary of the respondents by category and gender. It was easier for the researcher and for his research assistants to secure the cooperation of Christian respondents compared to Muslim respondents in some places, particularly, in Mbagala, Kariakoo, and Kigogo areas. Some Muslims refused to fill the forms because they thought it was the government census that they had boycotted in 2012. Most of the Muslim respondents who generously filled the questionnaire forms were University students. University students, both Christian and Muslim, were very cooperative. Student respondents filled the forms freely and generously.

However, in order to get a sufficient number of Muslim respondents the researcher had to work with leaders of some of the Muslim institutions. The leaders themselves took the responsibility to distribute the questionnaire forms to the Mosque imams and the imams distributed the questionnaire to the members. Through this method, the researcher was able to get a sufficient number of Muslim respondents.

4.2.3 Distribution of Respondents by Category and Age Group

The following table presents a summary of the respondents and their age groups.

Table 4.2: Distribution of Respondents by Category and Age Group (N=1 010)

Age group (in years)	Category of respondents				Total	
	Christians		Muslims		Frequency	Percentage
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage		
20-29	303	58.2%	269	55.0%	572	56.6%
30-39	128	24.6%	106	21.7%	234	23.2%
40-49	45	8.6%	64	13.1%	109	10.8%
50-49	27	5.2%	41	8.4%	68	6.7%
60-69	13	2.5%	8	1.6%	21	2.1%
70-79	5	0.9%	1	0.2%	6	0.6%
Total	521	100%	489	100%	1 010	100%

Source: Field Research, (2013)

Table 4.2 shows that the majority, that is, 572 (56.6%) of the respondents belonged to the age group 20-29 years because this is the University students' age group. University students who found the exercise exciting as could be deduced from the answers they properly filled most of the questionnaire forms. University students constituted the majority of the respondents who volunteered to fill the forms. This was because, as students, they found the exercise exciting filled the questionnaire readily. While this group consisted of those who were not yet born during the period 1960-1990 and possibly not aware of what was happening during the early period of 1990 - 2013, yet they were the ones who were mostly of the collegiate age and had sufficient knowledge about the subject either through narrative or through reading books to give intelligent answers. It is also true that the largest Tanzanian population consists of this age group.

4.2.4 Distribution of Respondents by Category and Education

Table 4.3: Distribution of Respondents by Category and Education (N=1 010)

Education	Category of Respondents				Total	
	Christians		Muslims		Frequency	Percentage
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage		
Below STD VII	2	0.4%	4	0.8%	6	0.6%
STD VII	55	10.6%	108	22.1%	163	16.1%
Form IV	39	7.5%	46	9.4%	85	8.4%
Form VI	18	3.5%	7	1.4%	25	2.5%
Certificate	45	8.6%	42	8.6%	87	8.6%
Diploma	56	10.7%	63	12.9%	119	11.8%
First Degree/its equivalent	278	53.4%	205	41.9%	483	47.8%
Masters	26	4.9%	14	2.9%	40	4.0%
PhD	2	0.4%	0	0.0%	2	0.2%
Total	521	100%	489	100%	1 010	100%

Source: Field research, (2013)

Take note that the phrase “First Degree/its equivalent” in Table 4.3 includes undergraduate students. The results in Table 4.3 also show an imbalance in the education status with Christians slightly leading thus reflecting the findings in the literature review about the dominance of Christians in education. However, the education imbalance problem is not as staggering as it was during the first thirty years of independence. Currently there are many Muslims who are highly educated than it was during the early years of independence. There are many opportunities for education for all for now. It only depends on one’s willingness to sacrifice his or her time and money for it. As was noted in the section 4.2.3, the majority of the respondents were undergraduate students in the institutions of higher learning who properly filled and promptly returned the questionnaire forms. These were both Christians and Muslims.

4.2.5 Distribution of Respondents by Category and Employment

Table 4.4: Distribution of Respondents by Category and Employment (N=1 010)

Employment	Category of Respondents				Total	
	Christians		Muslims		Frequency	Percentage
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage		
Government/Public Sector	59	11.3%	46	9.4%	105	10.4%
Private sector	152	29.2%	122	25.0%	274	27.1%
Self-employed	143	27.4%	113	23.1%	256	25.4%
Jobless/students	167	32.1%	208	42.5%	375	37.1%
Total	521	100%	489	100%	1 010	100%

Source: Field Research, (2013)

Table 4.4 shows that more than half of the respondents were people who were employed by the government or public sector, private sector or self-employed. Only 37.1% of the respondents indicated they were jobless. These included females who identified themselves as homemakers, students and a few others.

The findings on employment are in harmony with the findings obtainable from the literature review, which revealed, that privatization, which was ushered in Tanzania by liberalization, reduced the government's employing capacity (see chapter 2). The field research here indicates that the private sector was leading in the provision of employment followed by the self-employment sector. The government/public sector had the lowest capacity for employment.

Table 4.4 reveals also that the proportion of Christian employees in the government/public sector (11.3%) and in the private sector (29.2%) is slightly higher than the proportion of Muslim employees in those sectors 9.4% and 25.0% respectively. This is in agreement with the findings in the literature review to the effect that Christians are dominant in the government and private sector employment. However, the imbalance is significantly less acute than it was during the early years of independence (see chapter 2 Section 3.1).

4.2.6 Distribution of FGD Participants by Category and Education

There were two Focus Group Discussions based on a guide for in-depth interviews (personal interviews and focus group discussions) on Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania between 1990 and 2013 (see appendix 9). Both FGDs took place in a home setting conducted by research assistants.

Table 4.5: Gender and Academic Qualifications of FGD Participants

Samples	Expected	Gender		Education		Remarks
		Male	Female	Below 1 st Degree	1 st Degree and above	
Christians	10	5	5	3	7	6 attended
Muslims	10	5	5	3	7	7 attended
Total	20					

Source: Field Research 2013

The research assistants led in the discussions and the participants in both cases gave their opinions according to their knowledge and experience as they attempted to answer the questions on the interview guide. Each moderator asked one participant to take notes as the discussion went on. Finally, the research assistant brought the notes to the researcher. The ideas thus collected became part of the data discussed in section 4.3.

4.3 Research Findings

4.3.1 Quantitative Data Presentation and Analysis

4.3.1.1 Assessment of Christian-Muslim Relations in 2013

The first type of quantitative data collected by a survey research methodology was related with the assessment of the Christian-Muslim relation in 2013 (see question 9 on the questionnaire form, Appendix 7). Table 4.6 is a summary of the results.

The survey was intended to assess Christian-Muslim relations in 2013. When this assessment is compared with the assessment REDET did in 2000 there is a difference

in the results. In REDET's study the majority of the respondents said the Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania in 2000 was good (see section 2.3.5).

Table 4.6: Assessment of Christian-Muslim Relation in 2013

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Good	188	18.6%
Worrying	630	62.4%
Poor	146	14.5%
No response/Don't know	46	4.5%
Total	1 010	100%

Source: Field Research, (2013)

However, in the assessment that was done in 2013 the majority of the respondents said the Christian-Muslim relations were worrying. That is Muslims were worried by Christians and vice versa. It is true that the methods of research and study areas differed but the results reveal that the conflicts that transpired after 2000 were more worrisome than those that occurred before 2000. This means then that in 2013, following the violent bloody conflicts that had happened in Buseresere and elsewhere, especially in 2011, 2012, and early 2013, the Christian-Muslim tension had increased. The majority of the respondents expressed the general feeling of those who were aware of the conflicts. Both Christians and Muslims were worried by each other.

The researcher, as an individual who was living in Dar es Salaam and saw on TV and read in Newspapers what some Muslims and Christians were doing, concurs with these results. There were times when shops in Kariakoo had to be closed because of the riots that were happening due to Christian-Muslim tensions. The churches and cars that were stoned following a Christian boy who was alleged to desecrate the Holy

Qur'an were not fictions or fabricated stories. They were real happenings. Still, during the years 2012 and 2013 there were incidents in which explosions occurred in the houses of worship and religious leaders were injured or killed. During these years, one Roman Catholic Church priest, Father Ambrose Mkenda, was injured; and another, Father Evarist Mushi, was murdered. All these events happened in Zanzibar. Although no evidence was adduced implicating anybody, the events had a polarizing effect on the Christian-Muslim relations.

Furthermore, in the context of these turbulent events, a study that was conducted by Ipsos-Synovate Tanzania on 25 February 2013, involving 2,000 respondents, aiming at discovering the factors negatively impacting the quality of life of Tanzanians at that time, religious conflicts ranked number three after poverty and hunger (Machira, 2013). The religious conflicts that featured mostly in the media in the years 2012 and 2013, involved Christians and Muslims.

4.3.1.2 Assessment of the Factors Causing the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim Conflicts in Tanzania

The second type of quantitative data collected by a survey research methodology was related with the assessment of the factors causing the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania (see question 10 on the questionnaire form, Appendix 7). The results were summarized in Table 4.7.

This list of factors came from the literature review (see section 2.5.3). REDET proposed this list to prospective future reserchers. The researcher took the list and formed a question that was intended to have respondents assess each of the seven

factors so as to discover how people rated them as factors that fomented the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts. The survey was intended to realize the first, second, and third specific research objectives; that is, to know the *conditions*, *actors*, and *actions* that fomented the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim relation in Tanzania.

Table 4.7: Assessment of the Factors Causing the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim Conflicts in Tanzania

FACTORS	VERY MUCH		LITTLE		NOT APPLICABLE		I DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE	
	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Poverty/Economic hardship	170	34.8%	189	38.6%	86	17.6%	44	9.0%
Inequality in education between Christians and Muslims	185	37.8%	184	37.6%	88	18.0%	32	6.6%
Inequality in employment between Christians and Muslims	174	35.6%	173	35.4%	94	19.2%	48	9.8%
Lack of specialized state institutions for settling religious conflicts	292	59.7%	88	18.0%	72	14.7%	37	7.6%
Religious leaders with personal interests	263	53.8%	102	20.9%	77	15.7%	47	9.6%
Political leaders with personal interests	320	65.4%	77	15.8%	51	10.4%	41	8.4%
Absence of an integrative ideology	159	32.5%	126	25.8%	93	19.0%	111	22.7%

Source: Field Research, (2013)

Using the schematic diagram available in Figure 2.1, according to the results of Table 4.7, the *conditions* that created the context for the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania, in the order of importance, as per respondents, consisted of the following things: lack of specialized state institutions for handling religious conflicts, inequality in education between Christians and Muslims as well as inequality in employment between Christians and Muslims. Others were poverty and hardness of life and absence of an integrative ideology. The following is a discussion on each of these conditions.

(a) Lack of Specialized State Institution for Settling Religious Conflicts

A discussion on this aspect as the cause of the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts was done in literature review section 2.3.6. In this section the researcher observed that lack of specialized institutions for settling religious conflicts, is a question that needs much study. He observed that during the period 1960-1990 there were no such institutions, and yet, there were no Christian-Muslim quarrels such as were experienced in Tanzania during the period 1990 - 2013.

Nevertheless, despite the novelty of the idea, the researcher is of the opinion that since this matter seems to be a concern of some people, the government may need to examine its practicability. This will require, however, a thorough study of other factors such as who should man that kind of institution, what should be their qualifications, and what are to be the powers and limitations of the institution. Other issues that will need to be considered in the formation of such an institution will include matters related to freedom of worship and separation between religion and

politics and/or government. Surely of course, the institution will have to be formed based on the National Constitution and relevant laws or laws that may need to be designed for its sake. Otherwise, if not properly done, the institution may become a stumbling block and hence interfere with religious freedom which is also very crucial to all human beings.

(b) Inequality in Education between Christians and Muslims

As the researcher showed in the background to the study, section 1.1.1 and in the literature review section 2.3.1, the problem of inequality in education between Christians and Muslims started since during the colonial times. However, in the course of time government took measures to nationalize the former missionary schools and put them under the government. For a long time now since 1969, education in Tanzania is given to all Tanzanian children without asking them to forsake their religious beliefs. Furthermore, currently, the government allows religious institutions to start schools as well. To the best of the researcher's knowledge, Muslim institutions do have a number of schools. During this research, the researcher visited two of them. During the research also, the researcher met Muslim students in Universities and they were among the majority of the respondents who filled the questionnaire forms for this research. Although this research was not intended to survey the inequality in education between Christians and Muslims in Tanzania, the table that shows the respondents' distribution according to category and education indicates that among the respondents who filled the questionnaire for this research, out of 483 who were holders of first degrees or undergraduate students, 278 (53.4%) were Christians whereas 205 (41.9%) were

Muslims (see Table 4.3). This indicates that the educational gap between Muslims and Christians is narrowing down.

However, the researcher's opinion is that complaints alone may not solve the problem. People should know that education is always expensive. It costs individual efforts, determination, money and sleepless nights. One has to forgo his or her comforts to secure a good education. Normally, people who acquire higher degrees, whether Muslims or Christians, are people who sacrifice much. Those who want education should be willing to pay for it not to keep lamenting about it.

(c) Inequality in Employment between Christians and Muslims

Inequality in employment between Christians and Muslims emanates from the inequality in education between the two groups. The findings Table 4.4 on distribution of respondents by category and employment show however, that the gap is also narrowing down. Take for example, out of 105 respondents who were employees in the government and public sector, 59 were Christians; whereas, 46 were Muslims. However, the researcher's opinion on the employment inequality between Christians and Muslims is that the focus should not be on the inequality or equality. The focus should be on acquiring the right qualifications. Prudent employers want employees who can make a difference. Very few people, if any, will employ a lazy person or an unqualified person simply because they go to church or mosque together.

(d) Poverty/Economic Hardships

Poverty and economic hardships were conditions that fomented the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts were discussed in section 2.3.6.1. The researcher noted in

that section that poverty and hardship in life were among the factors that were found to have contributed to the said conflicts. That is, people experiencing poverty and hardship of life go to church, mosque, or religious public meetings to worship God. When these poor people attend these worship appointments, they do so to seek God's assistance in their troubles.

Unfortunately, something that may happen instead is the information that their squalid condition has been created by some people who live with them. And that these people happen to be members of the other religion. And that if they wanted to extricate themselves the solution is to fight. When this kind of message is delivered in the name of defending religion and developing a solution to their economic predicament, the result will surely be bloodshed.

An example of this scenario is the contents of a book that appeared in 2014 by the title *Harakati za Sheikh Ilunga Hassan Kapungu*. This book was published by the Jukwaa la Vijana wa Kiislamu Tanzania (Tanzania Muslim Youth Forum). In this book, the embezzlement of the billions of Tanzanian Shillings through the Tegeta ESCROW account was claimed to have been perpetrated by and for the benefit of the Church. Bashir (2014) writes: "Jinsi Serikali na Kanisa zinavyokwapua na kupora mali za umma kwa manufaa ya Kanisa ushahidi unaojitokeza waziwazi wakati tukiandika kitabu hichi ni huu wa mabilioni ya pesa yaliyokwapuliwa kwa wizi kupitia Account TEGETA ESCROW" (Bashir, 2014:15). Translation: "How the Government and the Church misappropriate public funds for the benefits of the Church—clear evidence is happening even as we write this book—the swindling of billions of money through TEGETA ESCROW account." Bashir continues to

explain: “Wizi huo umepitishwa katika Benki ya Kanisa ya Mkombozi na mgao wa pesa hizo za wizi umekwenda kwa Maaskofu na Wachungaji mbalimbali” (Bashir, 2014:15). Translation: “The Church owned Mkombozi Bank facilitated the swindling and the money thus swindled was distributed to various bishops and pastors.” The message sent by the Tanzania Muslim Youth Forum is that Christianity in Tanzania depends on money swindled from the public coffers, something that was meant not only to tarnish the image of Christianity but also to infuriate Muslims against the government and Christians. This is how far poverty and hardship of life can be easily fired into religious blood conflicts.

(e) Absence of an Integrative Ideology

The suggestion is that Tanzania has no an ideology that is integrative, as per now. This is in not true. The 1977 Constitution Article 9 stipulates that the objective of the Constitution is to facilitate the implementation of Socialism and Self Reliance. As per the current Tanzanian constitution Tanzania is still under Ujamaa ideology. What is needed is to have an aggressive political and civic education program to all Tanzanians especially the youth. Furthermore, using the schematic diagram available in Figure 2.1, according to the results of Table 4.7, the *actors* that fomented the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania, as per respondents, in the order of importance, were political leaders with personal interests and religious leaders with personal interests.

(f) Political Leaders with Personal Interests

These are people whose interest in their political career is to cater for their own economic interests. These are people who make politics as a source of income. These

kinds of politicians will use whatever means available to them to win elections. They may use houses of worship for their campaigns or ask religious leaders to campaign for them. As one key informant told the researcher, politicians who use religion as a stepping stone to winning elections promise their fellow believers that if they elect them they will use their positions to further the course of their religion.

The issue here is that members of one religious group may also subscribe to different political parties or prefer different contestants. If this is the case, when a contestant campaigns in a church or mosque setting the chances are that he will please some and offend others. That will be the beginning of divisions in the church or mosque. It will be even worse where two politicians who belong to different campaign in the same church or mosque. However, even if the whole mosque or church supports the contestant, how will members of other religious groups think of it?

Normally, if one religious group hears that a certain politician is favouring another religious group, it becomes a source of hatred between the two religious groups. Politicians, whether they are campaigning for Presidency, parliamentary seat, or councillor, ultimately, they seeking positions that will make them all people not only those who share religious beliefs with them. It is an unlawful to campaign for a political post using religion as a stepping stone. Surely, politicians who use religion as their tool to win elections are misguided people. Prudent people cannot elect such kind of people.

However, the researcher found it difficult to connect political leaders with the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania. Both the literature review and field

research did not give specific evidence to show that politicians were instigators and/or perpetrators of the conflicts. The researcher did not read or hear a politician instigating the m conflicts. There is no record that a politician, among the known politicians, to the effect that he or she was arrested or prosecuted in connection with the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts.

(g) Religious Leaders with Personal Interests

Religious leaders with personal interest are religious leaders whose major aim is to make money. While they wear a religious cloak externally, they are power and money mongers inside. They will use all kinds of strategies to achieve their goals. These are leaders who mix religion and politics it helps. You will find that these kinds of leaders are politically oriented. At times they issue political statements or criticize political leaders just as leaders of the opposition parties will do. They also tend to identify themselves with famous or popular political leaders. Sometimes, these leaders openly conduct campaigns for political leaders or parties of their choice. Sometimes, they prophesy victory for the candidate they are in favour with. Reverend Kakobe of Full Gospel Fellowship is an example of these kinds of leaders. He once prophesied that Mr. Agustino Lyatonga Mrema would win the 1995 Presidential election. Nevertheless, Mr. Mrema lost and Mr. Benjamin William Mkapa won the election.

The researcher considers the act of a religious leader prophesying for a political leader or party's winning an election as amounting to campaigning for that leader or party. What do religious leaders achieve in their political campaigns? They hope to be favoured by the leaders they campaigning for. Sometimes when they are popular

enough they step out their ecclesiastical roles and go out for politics. Some of them become members of parliament while still holding their religious potfolios. While this may not be constitutionally wrong, it becomes a problem in case the leader uses his postion to further the interests of his church or religion.

Just as it was with political leaders who use religion to win an election, religious leaders who engage in politics instigate religious hatred by pleasing one group while offending another. That is, they become divisive. Consider a Priest who holds an office in the Church who is found campaigning in the church for a parliamentary candidate, who ultimately wins the election. How will Muslims feel? On the other hand consider an Imam who is found campaigning in a mosque for a parliamentary candidate, who ultimately wins an election? How will Chistians feel about it? Surely, all will be offended.

It is the researcher's opinion that religious leaders should be devoted to serving the spiritual needs of the people and leave politics to politicians. In case religious leaders feel they want to do politics, it will be good for them, and for the good of the people they lead, to surrender their ecclesiastical potfolios and become full-fledged politicians. Unlike political leaders, there is evidence that religious leaders instigated the 1990 - 2013 either through books or CDs and DVD. There were religious leaders who were arrested and prosecuted.

Whether they were convicted or not, still, their being questioned was sufficient evidence that they were perceived as having connection with the conflicts. One of the researcher's key informants was one of the religious leaders who was once called to

the police station and questioned. He had to change his method of preaching. There were several well known Muslim preachers who were also apprehended or being hunted by the police for being suspected to preach instigatively. One of them was Sheikh Ponda Issa Ponda who was accused of instigating religious hatred. Information about his arrest and accusation is available at (Mwakwangwale, 2013).

Another form in which religious leaders instigated the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts, Christian leaders, specifically, was their recent demand for the right of Christians to slaughter animals and birds for public sale. Whether the demand was justified or not the fact that the slaughtering business had for a long time been in the hands of Muslims, their demand made Muslims defensive. Muslims felt they were being intruded.

An interview with Rev. Canon Godda, IRCPT Executive Director, revealed that Christian leaders were divided on the question of slaughtering. There were some who advocated that Christians should boycott meat from animals Muslims had slaughtered. They thought that Muslim prayers during the slaughtering process amounted to offering the meat to the Muslims' God, a God they were not ready to believe in because He was not the same God Christians worshipped. Others did not see why Christians should quarrel on such an issue. They regarded slaughtering as insignificant. Rev. Godda held this position. He wondered how leaders of mainstream Christian denominations were trapped in the slaughtering saga since, according to him, it was not a theological point at all.

In the view of the researcher, the Christian leaders who demanded for the right of slaughtering animals for public sale after a long time of silence on the subject were

instigators of the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts. They may have had a point in their demands; however, considering the change that they were making in the process needed time of sensitization and preparation. Muslims should be prepared for the anticipated change so that they become aware that things will not remain the same. The researcher is of the opinion that Christians who want to embark on slaughtering business may consider using various platforms to express their feelings and question the present practice. The researcher is of the view that such kind of awareness program should take a period of two to three years. After the sensitization Christians may, perhaps, encounter less resistance.

However, it is hard to determine whether or not religious leaders who instigated religious hatred did it for personal interests. That is too hard to prove. The researcher did not find any clue suggesting a way by which one can prove the motive behind religious leaders who instigated the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania. Neither literature review nor field research proved this. Nevertheless, there is sufficient evidence that religious leaders, in one way or another, contributed to the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts. An example of these leaders is the late Sheikh Ilunga Hassan Kapungu who, in his lifetime, moved from place to place telling his followers to kill leaders of the Christian Churches (Ilunga, 2013).

4.3.2 Qualitative Data Presentation and Analysis

The following is a presentation of the qualitative data and discussion arranged according to the second, third, and fourth research specific objectives. The presentation and discussion follow also the arrangement of the *conditions*, *actors*, and *actions* as were indicated in the schematic diagram available in Figure 2.1.

4.3.2.1 Conditions that Nurtured the Conflicts

The schematic diagram available in Figure 2.1 indicates that Christian-Muslim conflicts erupt within a context made up of *conditions* that prompt *actors* to perform *acts* that lead to violence. After carefully examining the responses written on the questionnaire forms, the researcher came up with the list of items that constituted the conditions that fomented the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania. The list is shown in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8: Conditions for the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim Conflicts (As Suggested by Respondents)

A	Doctrinal differences	G.	Lack of respect of other people's religions
B	Educational and employment imbalance	H.	Ignorance of law
C	Poverty and economic hardship	I.	Diminished patriotism
D	Low level of understanding	J.	Religious fundamentalism
E	Increased awareness (Globalization)	K.	Liberalization
F	Diminished moral values and lack of integrity		

Source: Field Research, (2013)

(a) Doctrinal Differences

As it was noted in section 2.2.2, Christians and Muslims are naturally antagonistic due to their conflicting doctrines. The first reason for the antagonism between the two religious groups is based on their diametrically opposite beliefs and the second has to do with their quest for political and economic dominance. Doctrinal differences between Christians and Muslims were among the things that nurtured the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania. The Christian-Muslim doctrinal differences are not a Tanzanian phenomenon alone; it is a universal issue.

The conflicts between Christians and Muslims started during the time of Muhammad himself. These differences originate from the teaching of the Qur'an which is the Muslim holy book. The Qur'an contains numerous passages that criticize the Christian fundamental beliefs such as the authenticity of the Bible, the Trinity, and the divinity of Christ. Other controverted points arise from their misinterpretation of the Bible and the Qur'an in which they make the two Holy Books teach that Jesus was sent to the Jews only not to the whole world. They then conclude that Jesus is not for the Christians. Muslims go to the extent of teaching that Christians are "kaffir," that is they are unbelievers.

On the other hand, Christians attacked Islam by discrediting Muhammad as false prophet and the Qur'an as false document. Some Christians argue that the Qur'an did not come from God as Muslims claim but it was fabricated. Currently, Christians go to the extent of saying that Allah the God of Muslims is not the same God Christians worship. Christians also discredit Muslims' practice of marrying many wives saying they do it because they want to satisfy their bodily lust. Muslims and Christians articulate their doctrinal differences in their efforts to win followers. Both religions, however, while advocating love and peace, due to their doctrinal differences, end up hating each other and engaging in physical fighting.

Normally, in 1990 - 2013, the teachings were conducted in open air public meetings both Christians and Muslims organized together. However, there were times when each religious group organized the meeting without involving the opposing side. As the meeting continued members of the opposing side came one by one until the both sides became fully represented. No matter how the meetings were organized, in most

cases the controversial meetings ended up in the police intervention in which the main speakers and debaters were arrested and taken to court. Sometimes those who felt highly humiliated report their grievances to the police stations to vent their hurt feelings.

An interview with Pastor Dominic Mapima, one of the researcher's key informants, revealed that Muslims were the ones who started public comparative preaching and debating in the 1980s. He told the researcher that comparative preaching was introduced in Tanzania by a South African Muslim by the name Mohamed Deedat. Christians decided to join the debates because they found that Muslims' polemic preaching was Islamizing many Christians. They joined the debates also because they believed Muslims were misleading people by misinterpreting the Bible and the Qur'an. Some of the misinterpretations that Muslims were spreading included the Christian Bible is full of errors, Jesus is not the Son of God, the Bible teaches about the coming of Muhammad, and others.

Therefore, out of their religious concern, Christians determined to diffuse these misinterpretations which they believed were confusing the common Christian believers who were ungrounded in the Christian faith. So the earliest Christians who engaged in the Biblical-Quranic debating business attended Muslim meetings and asked questions that challenged the Muslims' interpretations. When they found that Muslims failed to answer some of the questions Christians posed they were happy. Since then Christians, being encouraged by these first attempts, they started organizing their own meetings purely intended for challenging Muslims' beliefs. It is obvious that the two religions will continue to coexist for some more time. After

learning this Muslims and Christians started organizing joint meetings sponsored by both sides. However, the debates took the same approach of pestering each other until some of the meetings ended up in chaos. However, according to Pastor Mapima, there were some meetings that ended up peacefully.

However, one Muslim respondent wrote on the questionnaire saying Biblical-Qur'anic debates started when Christians distributed Bibles to Muslims for the purpose of converting them to Christianity. When Muslims read the Bibles they discovered errors in it. Since then Muslims started to preach to Christians pointing out the biblical errors to them. When Christians knew that the Bible contained errors, they became Muslims. What this respondent forgot is that there are Muslims who are also converting to Christianity. There are many factors that lead people to embrace this or that religion. Doctrinal conviction is one of them, but friendship and fellowship are more important than doctrinal conviction.

The desire for economic and political dominance is also exhibited in the Qur'anic-Biblical comparative preaching business. Ultimately, the goal of the debaters is to show that the religion they represent is superior to the other religion. A Muslim debater gives evidence from both the Qur'an and the Bible sometimes quoting the books out of context to prove that Islam is the only one religion God ordained to represent Him on earth and urge Christians and all people listening to him or her to embrace Islam. Likewise, a Christian will martial all the evidence from both the Qur'an and the Bible, sometimes wresting the Scripture for the single purpose of proving the superiority of Christianity.

In the course of time, there developed from both sides, groups of experts in Biblical-Qur'anic comparative debating and preaching. The groups were made up of people who were lay members who took interest in the debates. Because of their expertise they were paid by private sponsors or by the congregations they belonged to. As a result the debates provided an employment opportunity for those who were capable and courageous enough to participate in the debates. Therefore, the debates that started as doctrinal matters developed into some kind of financial investment for some. While it is hard to know the motive behind each individual's decision, it is clear also that there might be some debaters who got more interested in money than merely defending their's religions. To such individuals it may be difficult to stop debating even if it ends in chaos because to them it is business.

However, doctrinal differences formed part of the conditions that nurtured the 1990 - 2013 Christian-muslim conflicts because people took lightly religious matters. Take the example of the Mbagala riots over a Christian boy who urinated on the Qu'ran. To Muslims, the Qu'ran is the most revered book. There were some Muslims who shed tears upon receiving the news. The issue was faith. The young boy did not know that his action would cause some people to cry.

The researcher, however, concurs with Mbogoni (2004) who has said, "Christians and Muslims in Tanzania should choose to coexist or coextinct." Tanzanians have a good precedent of a peaceful Christian-Muslim coexistence. Tanzanians need to cherish the peaceful Christian-Muslim relations they developed since the pre-independence campaigns so as to.

(b) Educational and Employment Imbalance

There were some allegations from Muslim respondents against some officials in the Ministry of Education who fail Muslim students because of their religion. Actors in the government should do justice to both Muslims and Christians especially as far as education, employment, and economy are concerned. There should not be any kind of favouritism in all sectors based on religious affiliations. The actors in the government should not fail students because of their religious affiliation. If this is being done, and then it's quite unjust. If at all such kinds of government officials exist, then they should be found out and tasked for their evil doing.

On the other hand, some respondents (Christians and Muslims) said for now, everybody has an equal chance as far as education is concerned. The problem is that education is expensive and requires hard work. If Muslims want education, they must toil for it. There is no short cut. Education is not a matter for a few or people who belong to one religion. There are plenty of schools where one can go and study from kindergarten to University without any religious discrimination.

Furthermore, some respondents said, for now there is a big number of Muslims who are educated. Nowadays there are Muslim lecturers and professor. Some went far to suggest that even among Christians, not all of them are educated. They are Christians who do not know how to read and write. There are Christians who are standard seven leavers. Therefore, the cry that Muslims are segregated in education should not be a loud as it was thirty years ago.

As far as employment is concerned, employment is associated with education. Only those who have a good education have the chance to be employed. Furthermore,

employers want people who are productive, people who can make a difference. This means therefore, employment cannot be given as a gift. Employment is a contract between an employee and an employer; hence they have a mutual agreement. Muslims should prove employable; they will be employed. Let them develop the right skills; they will surely get employed.

(c) Poverty and Economic Hardship

Some respondents and interviewees mentioned poverty and economic hardship as being part of the conditions that nurtured the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania. This happened because the poor who went to attend the lectures of the debaters and preachers to get some words of comfort from them went back with wrong and misleading information.

Instead of hearing the Word of God that could have healed their broken hearts they were fed with the political sentiments of the preachers. They were told they were poor because members of the other religions had blocked their passage to prosperity. If the preacher convinced the poor listener that the solution was to kill the people that blocked their way to riches, surely they will do whatever is within their reach to remove that block.

While some respondents said poverty fomented the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania; some were of the opinion that it was not true. Those who said it was one of the causes of the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts added that they were either paid or promised to be paid for their participation in the riots. However, there is no evidence whatsoever to prove this. To the contrary, as

disclosed in personal communications with some interviewees; people who participated in riots were either angry Christians or Muslims who felt their religion was insulted and/or they were being interfered in their slaughtering business.

There is no evidence that those who participated in the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts went home with money; to the contrary, most of those who participated did so emotionally and ended up sustaining injuries or suffering death. To some, the only motivation was that they were receiving eternal life if they died in the conflicts and go to heaven. Poor people were just lured into the conflicts.

The question is why did the majority of those who participated in the conflicts belong to the poor? The answer is that the majority of Tanzanians are poor. If you call a public meeting, whether religious or political, the chances are to the effect that the majority who will attend will be those who belong to the lower income bracket. Those are the ones you meet walking on the street. They work to eat and they eat to work. They are the ones who live in rented rooms in the outskirts of the cities and towns. They flock at the public meetings because they want to hear if the speaker has any new message of hope to them. So they come to see if you will tell them how to overcome their squalid condition. So, that is how the majority poor are found in such events. As one Muslim respondent said, Muslims and Christians should work hard to overcome poverty. It is unrealistic to think that there will come a time when the government or any other person will take the place of individual efforts.

(d) Low Level of Understanding

Some respondents asserted that low level of understanding (*uelewa mdogo*) contributed to 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania. This is true

because some believers do not have a thorough understanding of the basic teachings of their religions. When a misguided preacher preaches incorrect doctrines to an audience with low level of understanding, there is a potential for the believers to embrace the false doctrines and implement them. Most believers depend on their leaders for their faith. They cannot reason for their faith. Very unfortunately, religions, both Christianity and Islam, have some kind of principle requiring believers to respect and trust their leaders. Therefore, believers' actions will highly depend on what their leaders tell them.

Low level of understanding that may contribute to Christian-Muslim conflicts was not only related religious education but also to secular education. When people who do not understand, for the example the history of Tanzania, and a preacher shows how Christians or Muslims have always been discriminated in terms of resources and religious advantages in Tanzania, they will think the speaker is correct and believe him or her. This is because they are ignorant of the historical facts which the speaker may have twisted. If the listeners were an enlightened audience they would compare what the speakers says and what they know about what the speaker is saying. Therefore, both religious and secular education is required for protection against such kind of instigative feats.

(e) Increased Awareness (Globalization)

The awareness that contributed to religious conflicts refers to the exposure to misleading and distorted personal views of the preachers both local and foreign. An example of the people who created this kind of awareness was those preachers who mixed religion and politics and twisted the information to appear as if the

government and Christianity were the archenemy of Islam and Muslims. On the other hand, some Christian preachers and leaders created this kind of awareness by telling their listeners that Islam was the source of terrorism.

However, awareness has been caused by the increase of communication facilities. The media, print and electronic, are highly responsible for this awareness. This communication network is what is known as globalization. Respondents mentioned Globalization also as one of the aspects that nurtured the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania. Globalization comes from the word “global,” a word that means “of the whole world.” “Globalization,” then, means the network of communication that connects people all over the world through modern information technologies. Globalization has simplified the process of sharing information, particularly, through the internet. While, globalization has many positive things; it has the negative ones too. For now, people can market their product and make sales through the internet. People can now access Radio and Television programs on the internet. Other information technologies include media gadgets such as DVDs, CDs, MP3 and Flash Disks. All these have the potential for the good of the society.

However, the same media gadgets may have a negative impact on the society. During the period between 1990 and 2013, there were times, when some people took advantage of the available information technology to spread inciting messages. They used CDs and DVDs to spread the offensive and inciting messages. Some preached inciting messages over radio (*Raia Mwema*, Feb. 28, 2013). Through these kinds of media, people developed “a new awareness about society, politics,” and because of

this awareness “conflict, tension, greed, and self-interest started to develop in the minds of the people” (Mmuya and Chaghaliga, 1992).

(f) Diminished Moral Values and Lack of Integrity

The liberalization of the economy, media and politics caused people to develop “a new awareness about society, politics, and leadership itself facilitated by, among other things, literacy rate, and media...” However, because of this awareness “conflict, tension, greed, and self-interest started to develop in the minds of the people” (Mmuya and Chaghaliga, 1992). As Kessler has also noted: “With the end of the nation building project and the demise of socialist economy and single party system in the 1980s and 1990s, all the forces that created the peaceful political culture ... disappeared” (Kessler, 2006:vi).

(g) Lack of Respect for other People’s Religions

Wrong interpretation and incorrect application of Scripture contributed to the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania. The perpetrators of the practice were those who called themselves “experts of other religions.” Mukandala and Mushi (2006) have discussed about these kinds of people to the effect that the preachers and debaters who wrongly interpret and apply scriptures could possibly have highly contributed to the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts. These were the people who instigated violence as well as the people who insulted other people’s religions in public preaching and debates. These also, were the very people who abused their freedom of worship and caused inter-religious hatred. Some of these kinds of preachers interpreted Scripture and came up with the idea of demanding for the

dissolution of the Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar on the pretext of better carrying out their religious duties.

Respondents and interviewees considered some of the common Muslim and Christian believers to have taken part in the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts as well. Acts such as Christians urinating on the Qur'an or Christians publicly announcing plans to burn the Qur'an were law breaking and constituted part of the clashes. Other actions associated with Christian and Muslim believers were acts such as relating terrorism with Muslims as well as Muslims boasting that their religion is superior and calling Christians "kaffir". Furthermore any Christian or Muslim is guilty of favouritism, is an enemy of the entire community of Tanzanians. The acts of Muslims burning churches or Christians burning mosques were simply law breaking. Other acts Muslims and Christians committed were fighting and executing fearful killing.

In addition, espousing false and incorrect beliefs that misguided people teach them; entertaining enmity/prejudice/hatred between Christians and Muslims, as well as nurturing religious fundamentalism were acts that had the potential to cause the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts.

(h) Ignorance of Law

In 2004 the Court of Appeal of Tanzania quashed the conviction of a Muslim preacher, one, Mr. Dibagula. The lower courts had convicted Mr. Dibagula of injuring the religious feelings of Christians because he had proclaimed in a public meeting one of the tenets of his Islamic faith that Prophet Isa (that is Jesus Christ)

was a prophet and not a son of God. The Court argued that the preacher had the fundamental right to believe in the religion of his choice and that he had no intention to injure anyone's feeling. He was only exercising his right to freedom of worship under the Constitution ([Court of Appeal, 2004] cited in Shivji, 2004). This case entails important lessons as far as Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania are concerned.

Dibagula's case teaches us that not everything that sounds like insulting other people's religion is necessarily wrong in the eyes of the law. Dibagula's proclamation through a loud speaker that Jesus is not the Son of God sounds very offensive and painful to Christians because it is one of their key beliefs. However, under the law it is not an offence and a Muslim is at liberty to proclaim it in public because it is also a fundamental belief to him. The researcher, therefore, consents to the respondents' suggestions that ignorance of law may lead to unnecessary reaction. If, for example, in Dibagula's case, Christians had taken the law in their hands, and went ahead to beat him or injure him, that would have been victimizing him for nothing. Some of the things that cause commotion between Christians and Muslims are not crimes in the eyes of the law.

Undeniably, however, to know the difference, people must have knowledge about those laws. Furthermore, it seems that legal matters are not easy to understand. Just in the same case, Dibagula's case, the matter began with a District court in Morogoro, went to the High court, and then to the Court of Appeal. This suggests that there are different opinions in the interpretation of the same law. Now, that that troubles legal experts from the District court and the high court, how much difficult

it will be for a common Muslim or Christian on the street of the Municipality of Morogoro to interpret it? How many Christians and Muslims know that decided cases in the High Court and the Court of Appeal become laws having same authority like those made in the parliament? Therefore, ignorance of law is factor in the Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania that needs to be addressed.

(i) Diminished Patriotism

Patriotism got lost after the adoption of the liberal ideology because in actual sense, liberalization ushered in individualism and stiff competition for power and resources in Tanzania. Both politically and economically, liberalism is a political theory that promotes individualism. The liberalization policies, ushered in a free market economy, a free media and a free political set up that subjected the Tanzanian society to consumerism and stiff competition for power and resources (Tambila and Rubanza, 2006). Liberalism operates on the principle of the survival of the fittest. This is a principle whereby those who have the power continue survive at the expense of the weaker community who are normally the majority. Such a context does not enhance patriotism.

(j) Religious Fundamentalism (elevating religious identity more than anything)

Writers express religious fundamentalism using various terms such as “religious extremism,” “religious fanaticism,” and “religious radicalism” (Lodhi and Westlund, 1997; Brankmap, 2013). Another term with a slightly different and only used to describe Muslim fundamentalism is “Islamism” which is more bent towards politics (Brandmap, 2013). Islamism is different from Islam. Islamism is a political movement in Islam. Muslim fundamentalism in Tanzania is more of Islmism than

religious fanaticism. However, the common term used in Tanzania to describe all these kinds of ideologies, is an inclusive term “an elevation of religious identity over other identities” a term equivalent to “Udini” in Kiswahili (Nyerere, 1995). This refers to the belief that one’s religion is superior to other religions and is more important than anything else is. People who believe in this ideology cause all kinds of trouble in the name of defending their religion. Respondents and interviewees referred to these people using various terms. Some called them “Christians and Muslims who tenaciously embrace their religions,” and “people who care nothing except their religions.”

During the period 1990 - 2013 there was great manifestation of the elevation of religious identity over other identities. Nyerere described this as nonsense (Nyerere, 1995). Along this was the rise of tribalism and regionalism. It was during this period that loud voices demanding the dissolution of the Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar started to rock the government. The elevation of religious identity over other identities contributed to Christian-Muslim tension because it widened the “we-them” gap between Christians and Muslims.

(k) Liberalization

The nation’s adoption of the liberal ideology prepared the ground for the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts by removing the policies that promoted unity such as the Arusha Declaration, Ujamaa ideology, liberalizing market and politics and religion. Furthermore, the liberal ideology widened the gap between the haves and the have-nots. This was so because the liberal ideology gives room for those who have the access to the national resources do so without limit. Because of this, the gap between

the rich and the poor becomes wider. In similar vein, the liberal ideology had the effect of increasing the problem of joblessness. This happened, because, liberalization was accompanied by privatization of unproductive public corporations and selling the productive ones.

Finally, the liberal ideology prepared the ground for the conflicts by providing room for politicization of religion. Politicization of religion created room for abuse of the freedom of worship as well as making religions to be like political parties (Liviga, 2011; Mmuya and Chaghaliga, 1992; Mukandala and Mushi, 2006).

4.3.2.2 Actors in the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim Conflicts in Tanzania

Table 4.9 presents a list of people or institutions the respondents and interviewees pointed out as the instigators and perpetrators of the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts.

Table 4.9: Actors in the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim Conflicts in Tanzania

A.	Leaders of Islamist Groups and Christian groups demanding for the right of Slaughtering
B	Distributors of instigating DVDs, CDs, and books
C.	Public preachers and debaters belittling other religions
D.	People who desecrated/burned the Qur'an in public
E.	Common Christian/Muslim believers who perpetrated violence

Source: Field Research, (2013)

The following is a discussion on each of the five kinds of people who were the actors in the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts as were mentioned by the respondents.

(a) Leaders of Islamist Groups and Christian Groups Demanding for the Right of Slaughtering

Religious leaders who instigated the 1990 - 2013 were leaders of Islamist groups and leaders of Christian groups who fought for Christians' right to slaughter animals for public sale. The following is a brief explanation of these two types groups.

The first type of religious leaders who instigated the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania, were leaders of Islamist groups. These were people, among Muslims, who were fundamentalists and politically oriented. Islamism is a religious and political movement within Islam that derives its legitimacy from a literal interpretation of various texts of the Qur'an. The goal of Islamists is to make the whole world live according to Sharia, the moral and religious legal system that comes from the Qur'an. Sharia stipulates strict moral code for almost every aspect of societal and personal life including trade, government, personal hygiene and marriage. Islamists define the word *islam* (which means submission) literally, requiring that every person either dies or submits to Sharia (Brankap, 2013).

In 2012, the Mufti of Tanzania and the national leader of BAKWATA, Sheikh Issa bin Shaaban Simba, issued a statement describing Mr. Ponda Issa Ponda as the leader of a group that could be described as an Islamist group (See Appendix 11). In his statement, Sheikh Simba said,

1. The group that identifies itself by the name of *Jumuiya Na Taasisi Za Kiislamu* (Association of Muslim Organizations) does not represent all Muslims in this country; to the contrary, it is a group of a few individuals who follow the WAHABI ideology, who, according to their ideology, believe

that any Muslim who does not follow their *ideology is not a muslim* and is not fit to lead Muslims at any level.

2. This group which is committed to carrying out what they call Islamic Activism is a group of a few people who do not obey rules and orders whether religious or governmental, and they want to get whatever they want and they want to have every body do whatever they command.

3. Chaos, instigations, and violence involving vandalism did not begin with BAKWATA, the same have happened in different places upcountry; they have been invading and occupying mosques and then removing legally elected leaders by the use of force and much humiliation; and then vandalizing the mosque properties.

4. They have been carrying out *karate* training inside the mosques they captured and occupied by force; then they use young people to perpetrate vandalism in mosques and other Muslim centres (See Appendix 11).

From the description of this group, one can easily conclude that these were the kind of Muslims who engaged in the 1990 - 2013 bloody conflicts. The earliest Christian-Muslim clashes happened in Dar es Salaam, in April 1993. The perpetrators were members of the association named BALUKTA under the leadership of Sheikh Yahya Hussein. His followers destroyed pork butcheries and vandalized shops selling alcohol in Dar es Salaam. The government banned the BALUKTA in the same month, April 1993 on account that the association was plotting to overthrow the government (Brankap, 2013).

An example of instigative speeches delivered by Islamist leaders is a sermon preached by one of them. He is quoted to have said in the course of his preaching: “*Hali imekuwa mbaya sana, ukiona nyumba nzuri ni ya Kaffir (Christian), gari nzuri ni ya Kaffir, kila kitu kizuri ni cha Kaffir [...] utafika wakati itabidi tujivike mabomu kisha tuingie kwenye makasiri yao na kujilipua baada ya kula kiapo cha Jihadi...*”

This in English means: “The situation is very bad, when you see a good house it belongs to a Kaffir, a good car belongs to a Kaffir, and everything good is owned by a Kaffir [...]. A time will come when we will have to wear bombs, walk into their mansions, then blow ourselves up after taking the oath of Jihad” (Rai, April 1997:36 as quoted in Tambila and Rubanza, 2006:189). This typical fiery speech will inspire an Islamist into action.

The second type of religious leaders who instigated the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania, were Christian leaders who openly insisted that Christians had the right to slaughter animals for public sale. While their demands were legally right in the sense that there was no law prohibiting them from doing so, they were socially wrong because it had been a long time custom for Muslims to monopolize the service until it looked like it is the Muslims’ right. They needed extra wisdom to process their demands. Why did not they demand that right in 1985? Why did they press for that right in 2013? By their demand for entering into the business, they provoked Muslims, some of whom were Islamists.

An example of the contribution of the Christian leaders to the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim violence is their combative approach in the Buseresere slaughtering saga. On January 12, 2013, the Mwanza Regional Commissioner, Evarist Ndikilo, banned Christians from slaughtering animals for their food and ordered that the whole process must be done by Muslims only. He further warned the Christians that disobedience to his order would have incurred severe punishment. Despite this order, tensions between Muslims and Christians continued to escalate. Therefore, in early

February 2013, the Minister of State in the President's Office responsible for social relations, planning, and coordination, Stephen Wassira, travelled to Mwanza to meet with Christian and Muslim leaders in an effort to defuse tensions. Stephen Wassira categorically directed that only Muslims were to continue with the task of slaughtering animals for public consumption. He said that followers of other faiths may slaughter animals if the meat is solely for family or private consumption – but certainly not for sale to, or consumption by the general public (Terdiman, 2013).

After Wassira's order, the Mwanza regional government prevented Christian religious leaders from making a public statement on the matter for fear of agitating their followers against Wassira's order. Therefore, Christian religious leaders called upon their followers to 'retaliate' by boycotting 'Muslim-oriented' butcheries and were planning to seek judicial intervention through the court system. They suggested that since the Tanzanian government had registered a Muslim body to supervise Islamic laws in foods and beverages, it is also necessary to register the same to the Christians to reduce crisis in society (Terdiman, 2013).

As a result, on February 11, 2013, Muslim fury over the Christian boycott of 'Muslim-oriented' butcheries along with the Christian leaders' threat to have the discrimination addressed through the courts erupted into clashes. The clashes resulted in the beheading of Pastor Mathayo Kachila of the Tanzanian Assemblies of God Church, the injury of several others and significant property damage (Terdiman, 2013).

It is clear that in this instance, Christians behaved like militant Islamists. In the aftermath of the clashes, the police arrested three people: Pastor Isaya Rutta, who

slaughtered the animals on church grounds and two other people who members of Pastor Rutta's church. The three people under arrest were charged for breaking health laws, inciting the public, and causing the death of Pastor Kachila. According to the Geita Acting Regional Police Commander, Paul Kasabago, "the law requires that any slaughtered animal be certified by a qualified veterinarian [to ensure] it is fit for human consumption. Short of that, you risk consumers' health (Terdiman, 2013).

Other types of religious leaders who contributed to the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts were those leaders who were telling their followers to kill members of other religions. An example of these leaders is the late Sheikh Ilunga Hassan Kapungu who, in his lifetime, openly told his followers to kill leaders of the Christian Churches. Kapungu's videos are available online. In his approach, Sheikh Ilunga followed in the footsteps of Sheikh Rogo of Mombasa who openly used the Qur'anic texts to inspire his listeners to kill leaders of the Christian faith (Ilunga, 2013).

Among the respondents who filled the questionnaire, there was one who said that BAKWATA had a share in the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania. He said one of the causes of those conflicts was "forcing unaccepted people to be the spokespersons of others (BAKWATA); that is, BAKWATA's assumption of representation of all Muslims." It is obvious that this was a Muslim respondent who wanted to vent his anger about BAKWATA on a questionnaire form. The researcher does not accept this assertion.

Historically, Muslims formed BAKWATA. Some writers say that the government engineered the formation of BAKWATA. Regarding BAKWATA's connection with

the government (Lodhi and Westerlund, 1997) have written, “The pro-TANU Moslems, with several leading Qadiriyya sheikhs playing important roles, formed with the support of TANU the new national organization Baraza Kuu la Waislam wa Tanzania (Tanzania Muslim Council), BAKWATA, whose constitution was in large parts a copy of the TANU constitution.” However, in an interview with Sheikh Mohamed Khamis Said, national BAKWATA the Secretary General dealing with religious affairs, the Sheikh denied that the existence of BAKWATA-government connection.

(b) Distributors of DVDs, CDs, Casset Tapes and books instigating hatred

These people were agents of violence. These people were making money through spreading media outlets that contained messages of destruction. They were found in places with large gathering of people especially around Kariakoo market, Manzese area and others. In the 1990s, people used video tapes and casset tapes. When CDs, DVDs and flash discs became more available the inciteful messages were spread through them. These messages are currently uploaded on social media such as YouTube, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and others. Some of the inciting messages are spread through books.

An example of books that could like instigate religious violence as a book published in 2014 and distributed by the Jukwaa la Vijana wa Kiislamu Tanzania (Tanzania Muslim Youth Forum) *Harakati za Sheikh Ilunga Hassan Kapungu*, the embezzlement of the billions of Tanzanian Shillings through the Tegeta ESCROW account is claimed to have been perpetrated by and for the benefit of the Church. Bashir (2014) writes: “*Jinsi Serikali na Kanisa zinavyokwapua na kupora mali za*

umma kwa manufaa ya Kanisa ushahidi unaojitokeza waziwazi wakati tukiandika kitabu hichi ni huu wa mabilioni ya pesa yaliyokwapuliwa kwa wizi kupitia Account TEGETA ESCROW” (Bashir, 2014:15). Translation: “How the Government and the Church misappropriate public funds for the benefits of the Church—clear evidence is happening even as we write this book—the swindling of billions of money through TEGETA ESCROW account.”

Bashir continues to explain: “*Wizi huo umepitishwa katika Benki ya Kanisa ya Mkombozi na mgao wa pesa hizo za wizi umekwenda kwa Maaskofu na Wachungaji mbalimbali*” (Bashir, 2014:15). Translation: “The swindling was channeled through the Church owned Mkombozi Bank and the money thus swindled was distributed to various bishops and pastors.” The message sent by the Tanzania Muslim Youth Forum is that Christianity in Tanzania is thrives on money swindled from the public coffers, an allegation that intends, not only to tarnish the image of Christianity; but also, to infuriate Muslims against the government and Christians.

Other channels the instigators used to spread religious hatred were radio and newspapers. There were radio stations that were closed temporarily because they were associated with religious hatred one of them being Iman FM Radio belonging to Muslims in Morogoro and the other being Kwa Neema FM Radio belonging to Christians based in Mwanza (George and Ceasar, 2013).

The government closed Iman FM Radio because the station was broadcasting information instigating Muslims to boycott the National Census exercise. Although the boycott was not directly related to Christian-Muslim relation, however, as a rule,

anything that tends to elevate religious identity above all other identities tends to suppress the national identity thus elevating other sub-identities.

The government closed Kwa Neema FM Radio because the station was broadcasting information instigating Christian believers to stop buying meat from butcheries belonging to Muslims. The radio broadcasts were requiring Christians to open their own butcheries and to have every Christian have an identification card to use when buying meat from Christian butcheries (George and Ceasar, 2013). That is how leaders of some Christian groups instigated the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania.

(c) Public preachers and debaters belittling other religions

Respondents and interviewees considered some of Christian/Muslim preachers and debaters to have taken part in the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts as well. Following is a list of the actions the Christian/Muslim preachers and debaters did to foment the conflicts:

- (i) Wrongly interpreting and applying the Scriptures
- (ii) Instigating violence
- (iii) Demanding for the dissolution of the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar
- (iv) Insulting other people's religions in public preaching and debates
- (v) Abusing freedom of worship done by preachers from both religions
- (vi) There was an increase in public religious debates involving insults against other people's religions undertaken by Muslim and Christian preachers
- (vii) Hatred caused by people who make themselves experts of other people's religions.

Item (1) suggests that wrong interpretation and incorrect application of Scripture contributed to the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania. The perpetrators of the practice were the ones who called themselves “experts of other religions” (item 7). Mukandala and Mushi (2006) have discussed about these kinds of people to the effect that the preachers and debaters who wrongly interpret and apply scriptures could possibly have highly contributed to the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts. They authors assert that these were untrained and inexperienced people in their respective religions who are insensitive to other’s religious feelings.

These were the people who instigated violence (item 2) as well as the people who insulted other people’s religions in public preaching and debates (item 4). These also, were the very people who abused their freedom of worship and caused inter-religious hatred (item 5). Because their number increased day by day, “there was an increase in public religious debates involving insults against each other people’ religion” (item 6). Some of these kinds of preachers interpreted Scripture and came up with the idea of demanding for the dissolution of the Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar on the pretext of better carrying out their religious duties (item 3).

However, both Muslims and Christians who conduct comparative preaching and debating did not succumb to these allegations. One of them is Sheikh Rajab Salim Juma Alqushariyyu, the Amir (leader) of the Umoja wa Wahadhiri wa Kiislam Tanzania (The Association of Muslim Preachers). Alqushariyyu (2013) argues that the public preaching they conduct have reformed the society. He says that through their comparative preaching evil people forsake their evil ways and become better citizens without using the state machineries. Alqushariyyu (2013:2) writes, “It is

from such public preaching that people forsake their evil ways and embrace good ways of life without using the coercive state instruments, but through the influence of religious instructions.” On the side of Christianity, Bullegi (2013:3) writes: “Public comparative preaching, have to a large extent, contributed to uniting Tanzanians of different faiths enabling them to worship together.”

Nevertheless, the government was not in favour with the practice of comparative preaching in which a preacher uses both the Bible and the Qur’an. During the second half of the year 2013 the government banned comparative preaching in which preachers used both the Bible and the Qur’an due to the fact that there were people among Christians and Muslims who did not like this kind of preaching because it looked like insulting other people’s religion (*Jamhuri*, July 22, 2013).

(d) People who Desecrated/Burnt the Qur’an

Some of the obvious immediate instigators of the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania were the people who burned or urinated on the Qur’an. In addition to being unlawful it is an insult to the believers who love and cherish the book. These kinds of people were reported in Mwanza and Dar es Salaam. In both instances, the perpetrators invited much trouble to themselves and to others. In order to maintain peace and order in Tanzania, according to the point of the researcher, the public should always learn to respect sacred objects. It seems that some people do not know how other people feel about their religions. It is even worse at this time when a number of people who elevate religious identities above other identities is on the increase. People should be careful how they treat other people’s religious books and objects.

(e) Common Christian/Muslim believers who perpetrated Violence

These were common Muslim believers and common Christian believers who took stones and peaces of concrete blocks and threw them onto cars belongin to members of other religions. These were the people who took matchets and clubs and other tradional weapons fought with members of other religions. These were Christians who publicly announced that Muslims were terrorists. Furthermore, these were Muslims who were boasting that their religion is superior and openly calling Christians “kaffir.” These were people who took the law in their own hands.

4.3.2.3 Actions in the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim Conflicts in Tanzania

The following were pointed out by the respondents as being the actions in the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania.

Table 4.10: Actions in the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim Conflicts in Tanzania

A.	Distributing CDs and DVDs with inciting messages	H.	Desecrating or mutilating holy books or part of them in public
B.	Distributing publications instigating religious hatred	I.	Speaking derogatory words against followers of other religions
C.	Broadcasting radio programs instigating religious hatred	J.	Stereotyping followers of other religions
D.	Preaching and Teaching Messages inciting religious hatred	K.	Burning houses of worship
E.	Teaching and preaching false or biased messages	L.	Using explosives, detonators, corrosives, and ammunition to destroy property or kill people
F.	Destroying other people’s properties by stoning or burning them	M.	Injuring or killing religious leaders or members of other religions
G.	Engaging in physical combat		

Source: Field Research, (2013)

Table 4.10 is a summary of the actions the instigators and perpetrators did in the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts. The list originated from the responses respondents and interviewees gave in the course of the field research. The list consists of the actions the instigators and perpetrators committed and in so doing conflicts became noticeable.

However, as noted in section 4.3.2.2 (h), not everything that Muslims and Christians complain against each other is necessarily bad in the eyes of the law. Dibagula's case teaches us that not everything that sounds like insulting other people's religion is necessarily wrong in the eyes of the law. In the Dibagula's case cited in that section the proclamation through a loud speaker that Jesus is not the Son of God was not bad in the eyes of the law. It was Dibagula's constitutional right. But it was severely painful to Christians. Basing on this premise, a Christian who proclaims in public that Mohammed was not a true prophet of God is not an offence in the laws of Tanzania because the Christian will be exercising his or her Constitutional right to proclaim his or her faith. But what will be the reaction of the Muslim? Mostly likely a fight will ensue. That is the complication with the Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania.

While determining whether the actions mentioned above were legally offensive may require legal expertise, they were the ones that instigated and/or constituted the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts. However, there are some of the actions on the list that are easily determinable as criminal acts. Actions such as destroying houses of worship, urinating on the Qur'an, the use of ammunition to kill other human beings, destroying religious books are criminal offences, and others. The Penal Code

Chapter 16 of the Laws, Section 125, states that, “Any person who destroys, damages or defiles any place of worship or any object which is held sacred by any class of persons with the intention of insulting the religion of any class of persons or with the knowledge that any class of persons is likely to consider such destruction, damage or defilement as an insult to their religion is guilty of an offence.”

Furthermore, Section 129 of the Penal Code states that, “Any person who, with the deliberate intention of wounding the religious feelings of any person, utters any word, or makes any sound in the hearing of that person or makes any gestures in the sight of that person or places any object in the sight of that person, is guilty of an offence and is liable to imprisonment for one year.” Dibagula was charged for breaking this section, and he was acquitted. That is why the researcher feels that expertise in law interpretation may be required to determine the criminality of some of the items mentioned in Table 4.10. For example if someone reads from the Qur’an and publicly proclaims that Christians are “kaffir” (unbelievers) and gives reasons that Christians are “kaffir” because they eat pork. Is that a criminal offence? Most probably, it is not. Nevertheless, what will be the reaction of Christians? Some may fight. The issue is should they fight? What will happen when a Christian publicly proclaims that the Qur’an is not the true word of God? Will the Christ be guilty in the eyes of the law? Probably it is not because Christs do not consider the Qur’an as an inspired book. However, what will Muslims do? Probably they will fight.

With this kind of legal wrangle, how do one develop a plan to manage Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania? The first researcher’s opinion is to consider the content of Table 4.10 as symptoms of the problem rather than the problem itself. In

dealing with social problems, the tendency is to deal with the symptoms rather than tackling the root causes. In dealing with the Christian-Muslim conflicts people may think of rebuking the actions, arresting and prosecuting the instigators and perpetrators while forgetting the conditions that nurtured the conflicts. It is like fighting malaria. Malaria will continue to dominate so long as mosquitoes are around. The permanent solution for malaria is to destroy mosquito nests—the water ponds where mosquitoes breed. The mosquitoes are not Christians and Muslims, the mosquitoes are their ideologies and the ponds are the conditions that nurture their ideologies.

The researcher would wish to draw the attention of all stakeholders envisioning continued harmonious Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania to the conditions that nurtured the 1990 - 2013 conflicts and find ways to destroy the mosquito nests. Section 4.3.2.1 consists of the water ponds that breed the mosquitoes that brought about the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts. The first pond was elevating religious identity above other identities. This can be destroyed by consistently elevating the identities that are common to all. In the 1960-1990 period nationalism was very instrumental. This needs to be articulated. The fight against the three enemies common to all Tanzanians should continue to unite Tanzanians. Efforts should be done to suppress all other sub-identities, such as tribalism, regionalism and racialism. Economic differences should not be allowed to be too much bigger among Tanzanians. The rationale is that anything that tends to divide a society tends to nurture other divisive elements.

The other breeding nests for Christian-Muslim conflicts were low levels of understanding, ignorance of law, poverty and economic hardships, doctrinal

differences, and others. The researcher thinks that the Tanzanian society, just like any other African societies, is a delicate one that needs to be handled with care. The researcher thinks that Tanzania is what it is now because its national leaders have had that capacity to understanding the people they lead. Much of the troubles are caused by ignorance, human ego, and selfishness. There is a need for tolerance and tenderheartedness on one hand; there is a need for rigorous law enforcement on the other hand. This is a balance that is needed to manage Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter consists of the summary of the findings, conclusions, and recommendations based on the specific objectives of the research. The chapter consists of three sections. Section one consists of a summary of the research findings in relation to the objectives of the study; section two presents conclusions on the study findings; section three recommends some possible measures to be taken to maintain peaceful Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania as well as areas that may need to be studied by future researchers.

5.2 Summary of the Findings

Firstly The study found that Tanzanians are accustomed to peace and unity and they do not want to see their country ravaged by civil wars. They are accustomed to living together as Tanzanians regardless of their religious, tribal differences, or regional differences and they would like to continue like that. Anything that inclines to disrupt their unity and peace attracts the close attention and fierce censor of all Tanzanians (including Christians and Muslims). The eagerness and voluntariness with which the respondents participated in filling the questionnaires for this research gave evidence of their concern for a harmonious Christian-Muslim relation.

Secondly this research found that the Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania between 1990 and 2013 constituted a significant problem that was worthy of this research. The relation between Christians and Muslims was “very good” between

1960 and 1990 (Lodhi, 1994:91), it was “good” in 2000 (Tambila, 2006), and, it was “worrying” in 2013 (Field research, 2013).

Thirdly the study found that a list of ten factors that constituted the conditions that nurtured the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts. The conditions were: (1) doctrinal differences, (2) educational and employment imbalance, (3) poverty and economic hardship, and (4) low level of understanding. Other conditions were (5) increased aware (globalization), (6) diminished moral values and integrity, and (7) lack of respect for other people’s religions. Others were (8) diminished patriotism, (9) religious fundamentalism (elevation of religious identity over other identities), and (10) liberalization.

Fourthly the study found that a list of five types of actors in the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania: (1) leaders of Islamist groups and Christian groups that demanded for the right slaughtering and (2) distributors of DVDs, CDs, and books with instigative messages. Others were (3) public preachers and debaters belittling other religions, (4) people who desecrated/burned the Qur’an in public, as well as (5) Common Christian/Muslim believers who perpetrated violence.

Fifthly the study identified a list of twelve actions that instigated the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania: (1) distributing CDs and DVDs with inciting messages, (2) distributing publications instigating religious hatred, (3) broadcasting radio programs instigating religious hatred. Other actions were (4) preaching and teaching messages inciting religious hatred, (5) teaching and preaching false and biased messages, and (6) destroying by stoning or burning other people’s properties.

Others were (7) engaging in physical combat, (8) desecrating or mutilating holy books or part of them in public, and (9) speaking derogatory words against followers of other religions. Others were (10) stereotyping followers of other religions for example, saying Muslims are “terrorists” or Christians are “kaffir,” (11) using explosives, detonators, corrosives, and ammunition to destroy property or kill people, and (12) injuring or killing religious leaders or members of other religions.

5.3 Conclusions

The first conclusion is that Tanzanians consider peace and unity as being of the most important values. The government should always consider anybody who is against peace and unity as an individual who is against the interest of the majority of Tanzanians.

The second conclusion is that so long as Christians and Muslims coexist in Tanzania in roughly equal number, there will always be a potential for Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania rooted in their doctrinal differences and their desire for prominence and material resources. This explains why the conflicts recur from time to time. The government should always be on the watch out to discover and manage any *actors, actions or conditions* that may likely convert this potential into concrete clashes.

The third conclusion is that even during the liberalization era, peace and unity are feasible if people are educated on how to cope with the new system of life and endeavour to obey the law of the land. This calls for a rigorous political and civic education on the new economic system at all levels of education. Just as during the

Ujamaa ideology people learned about the Ujamaa ideology, people today need to know the principles that undergird the liberal ideology.

The fourth conclusion is that since the liberal ideology is a variable that is likely to remain constant for a long time, the only way is to circumvent its effects is by hard work to overcome poverty. It has to be the duty of each citizen to use whatever is in their means to build their economy using whatever resource available within their reach instead of lamenting about it.

The fifth conclusion is that the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts were essentially law breaking. If people had pursued their rights through lawful channels instead of resorting to physical confrontation or taking the law in their hands, there would have been less harm than what transpired in 1990 - 2013. People should be educated to obey the law without coercion. No matter what happens, obedience to law is crucial for the maintenance of peace and order in the county.

5.4 Recommendations

The first recommendation is that all Tanzanians should correctly know the basics about Islam, Christianity, and other religions as well as about the followers of these religions. That is, Tanzanians should learn to love and respect followers of other religions and learn how to live together peacefully.

One of the major causes of the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania, were the Christians and Muslims themselves. Common Muslims and Christians were the ones who fought over slaughtering at Buseresere centre. Common Muslims were

the ones who demolished the butcheries in Kinondoni area in Dar es Salaam in 1993. A Christian boy urinated on the Qur'an in Mbagala area in Dar es Salaam and infuriated Muslims to the point of burning churches and destroying other properties. Therefore, in order to curb the conflicts our focus should be on the common Christians and Muslims in the first place.

To avoid future Christian-Muslim clashes, the researcher recommends to the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training as well as institutions of learning, to develop appropriate curricula for maintaining Christian-Muslim harmony. The Open University of Tanzania happens to have taken course towards that direction. Section 3.6 of The OUT prospectus and curriculum for Bachelor of Philosophy and Religious Studies, consists of the aims of the BPRS programme. Parts (ii), (ii), and (iv) of that section address the relations between people of different faiths. Part (ii) aims at helping the student to respect and tolerate a "diversity of ideas, behaviours and conducts." Part (iii) aims at "consolidating humanity, human respect and preserve nature by facilitating understanding in today's rapidly changing world." Additionally, part (iv) intends to "mould national and global citizens endowed with high integrity humanness in their human resource capacity and mind set able to offer best and competitive civic, public and corporate services necessary for sustainable development."The researcher recommends that all schools, colleges and universities emulate what the Open University of Tanzania is doing.

The researcher recommends several items that may be included in the curricula to help common Muslims and Christians avoid engaging in conflicts. First, Muslims and Christians should learn to love and respect each other and avoid using offensive

languages. Muslims should stop using the word “kaffir” to describe Christians because it is insulting and anger provoking. On the other hand, Christians should stop associating Muslims with terrorism because the association is distasteful and embittering to Muslims as well.

Instead, both Christians and Muslims should engage in common activities that promote unity, cohesion and cooperation among between them. Second, they should organize various seminars in order to remove their differences, especially, by beginning with the leaders of both sides. Third, they must all come to the agreement that they are all brothers and sisters; therefore, they need to focus on their commonalities rather than on their differences. Their religious differences should give them an opportunity to exercise love, patience, and understanding. They need to learn to cooperate while respecting their differences. It all needs maturity, wisdom, and understanding. As one respondent said, “Let us put our religions aside when we meet, everyone should respect another’s faith and we should educate ourselves regarding the importance of peace.”

The second recommendation is that the government should form an institution with the responsibility of dealing with religious conflicts. Currently, when Christian-Muslim conflicts erupt, the police force addresses them. That is, the government’s use of the police force as the government institution that handles Christian-Muslims conflicts is inadequate. According to the interviewees and respondents, the government waits until the conflicts have scaled up into law breaking before it

intervenes. As one interviewee said, “Government leaders are not serious in dealing with religious conflicts as compared to other government problems.

Probably, that is what people can expect from the present government’s arrangement. The police force is an instrument of coercion. Moments of violence and law breaking put the police force into maximum use. The police force has nothing to do in moments of arguments that do not amount law breaking. The government can think of developing an entity, in addition to the police force, to manage religious conflicts in their early stages before the conflicts mature into active violence. The police can then come to the rescue in moments of concrete clashes. The government can make good laws consonant with the Constitution to deter the entity from interfering with the freedom of worship.

The researcher’s personal conversation with an official with the Ministry of Home Affairs revealed that the Ministry has a desk dealing with religious conflicts. However, the availability and the work of the desk are unknown to the stakeholders. The respondents and interviewees suggested to the government to develop an entity that consists of something more than just a desk. They said, “The government should put in place an institution which will deal with religious conflicts with prudence and honesty in order to maintain good relation between Muslims and Christians” and that “Wisdom and good judgment should be exercised when religious conflicts erupt.”

The third recommendation is that the actors in the government should avoid partiality. Probably one of the Muslims’ long-standing complaints in Tanzania is the

education and employment inequality. However, the government has since independence taken steps to address the problem. One of the earliest measures was to nationalize the education system. The nationalization of the school system provided an equitable opportunity for all Tanzanians, including both Christians and Muslims, to access education regardless their religious affiliation.

However, some respondents from the Muslim quarters said there were some imprudent government officers who purposely failed Muslim students in exams and intentionally discriminated Muslims in employment. The respondents, therefore, recommended that there should be equality in education and employment. In this respect, Muslims should enjoy their rights of education and employment instead of suffering the identification with dangerous people and peace breakers. That is, the government actors should give equal chances to all Tanzanians to benefit from the national resources whether they are Christians, Muslims or anybody else. The government should fairly treat members of both religions without bias or favouritism. In this case, therefore, the problem is lack of justice and not religion. This is because even during Nyerere's era there were injustices perpetrated by some imprudent government officials because not everybody was just even then.

On the other hand, all religious leaders who preach religious hatred because of inequality in education and employment should be educated and asked to refrain from doing so in order to combat religious frictions. In addition, the government should not favour any one of these groups in the administration of the law. Furthermore, the Muslims' suspicion of government's favouritism to Christian

institutions; for example, the MOU between the government and the Christian institutions through CSSC, should be studied and cleared because the government should always give equitable chance to all and not to allow some people to feel they are segregated in their own country.

The fourth recommendation is that the government should maintain the demarcation between itself and religious institutions. This recommendation is in consonant with the findings in the literature review. During the period 1990 - 2013, there were obvious efforts by religious institutions to impose their religious influence on the government. The question is if every religious institution, with its religious interests struggles to impose its influence on the leadership of the country how will the situation look like. It seems the line of separation between religion and state was almost becoming non-existent. When two groups with different and divergent personal and selfish interests compete for the same resources, if not properly managed, they may engage in deep conflict. This is in harmony with the theory that guides this study, which states, “Wherever Christians and Muslims coexist in roughly equal numbers, there is a potential for Christian-Muslim conflicts rooted in their doctrinal differences and their desire for prominence and resources” (Mushi, 2006:30).

During the period 1960-1990, the religious leaders’ role in public events was to pray for the government and political leaders and for the peace of the country. The major role of religion was to preach the word of God to their believers (some of whom were government and political leaders) in their houses of worship or in the public

meetings organized and managed by them. Politics was left for politicians. To the contrary, during the liberalization era, some religious leaders are increasingly taking active roles in politics in addition to their religious functions. This contributes to religious tension because each religious leader would like to influence the government for the benefit of his or her religion (Mogella, 2011).

The demarcation the researcher refers to here does not mean the non-involvement of religious institutions in the fight against the three enemies of Tanzanians, namely, disease, poverty and ignorance. The researcher recognizes the contribution of religious institutions in medical and educational services. Religious institutions, though, not assuming the role of political parties, they can contribute to peaceful relations in the country by preaching faithfulness, love, tolerance and understanding among Tanzanians. They can also teach their adherents to work hard in their places of work to contribute to the nation's development and alleviation of human suffering (Nyerere, 1974). The demarcation the researchers talks about here is the demarcation the Constitution prescribes. Religious leaders should be careful how they relate to politics and with politicians. This should be clear to Islamists whose ideology is both political and religious. They need to understand that by swaying away from their role as spiritual leaders they are doing injustice to the society and their calling. Currently, religious leaders practice politics, take sides with political parties, and some act as if they were political party leaders. The researcher recommends to religious leaders not to assume spiritual leadership and practice politics at the same time. It is better to choose one and leave the other. Sub-section (2) of the Constitution provides for separation between the government and religious institutions. The government has

no state religion. This is a policy that needs to be always in mind. The state is neither Christian nor Islam. The citizens have their own religions but the state is neutral as far as religion is concerned.

The researcher recommends also to religious leaders to refrain from taking sides with any political party. His argument is that religious leaders lead people who subscribe to different and sometimes opposing party policies. Public expression of the religious leader's political convictions may lead not only to dissension among the flock; but also to division in the society.

The fifth recommendation is that those who handle religious conflicts should always exercise wisdom. First, each one of us should fear God but whenever there is a religious problem or conflict, we are supposed to identify the cause not to rush to solving the conflict. Second, when problems arise people should not take the law in their hands. Our religious leaders should sit together to develop and come up with an amicable solution. Third, contribution of each religion in the society should be the most important thing instead of fighting for religion's popularity.

Fourth, the leaders of these two religions should always meet and consult together and develop strategies that can stop these conflicts. Fifth, the government should stand firm and not lean towards any of the two sides. Sixth, since they are all Tanzanians, Muslims have no option except to remove their differences in order to maintain the peace of the country. Tanzania is one, we are one people, we should avoid politicians and religious leaders who want to use us for their personal interests.

The sixth recommendation is that the government should not to allow religious debates in which Christians and Muslims insult each other to take place in the open air. It is better for preachers to conduct such debates in halls so that only those who are interested can participate instead of exposing the debates to passers-by who never had any intention to listen to them. Religious debates that entail one speakers tear down the faith of another religion have great potential for ending up in violence and vandalism. Below is a quotation from one news-reporter who attended a press conference in which the Dar es Salaam Regional Commission, Sadiki Meck Sadiki, proclaimed tha measures that the government had taken to stop Christian-Muslim conflicts. The meeting was also addressed by the Regional Police Commander, Special Zone, Sulemani Kova.

Last week, I attended a press conference convened by the Dar es Salaam Regional Commissioner, Saidi Meck Sadiki. He said, from now it is prohibited for anyone to conduct a public religious debate tending to insult another religion.

He said whoever would be found selling inciting CDs and DVDs will be treated like someone selling heroin or cocaine. He said it very well, loudspeakers in mosques and churches are for calling believers to prayer and are never to be used to insult other religions.

The Regional Police Commander, Special Zone, Suleiman Kova, on his part, said, they were going to search on the internet, following up on blogs, twitter, face book jamiiforums and youtube, to detect those who spread messages inciting religious bigotry. Even short messages (sms) from our cellular phones will be traced (*Jamhuri*, July 22, 2013).

The researcher recommends that what was done to stop the past 1990 - 2013 series of Christian-Muslim conflicts should be the policy of dealing such kind of conflicts.

The seventh recommendation is that the government should develop a comprehensive program for civic and political education to all stakeholders like it was during the

government of Mwalimu Nyerere. Even in Nyerere's time, people did not always understand the government's policies. When people fail to understand what the government is doing they become worried. For example, after Nyerere's government adopted Ujamaa in 1967, Christians were the last people to understand what the ideology meant. Nyerere and his assistants had to spend time meeting with religious leaders trying to explain to them the meaning of the Ujamaa ideology. Christians, particularly Roman Catholics were uncomfortable with Ujamaa because they thought the ideology resembled the Russian communism, which denied the existence of God and disregarded freedom of worship. For some time the Catholic leaders did not support the ideology until Nyerere had to convene an awareness seminar on the ideology in Tabora in 1970 (Nyerere, 1970).

This political and civic education program became one of Nyerere's strategies of his leadership style (Omari, 1995). The researcher recommends that the government ought to learn from the first Tanzanian President. Nyerere was a teacher (Mwalimu), he had the gift of teaching, and that gift, as the researcher thinks, is still needed.

The eighth recommendation is that government leaders, religious leaders, NGOs and all stakeholders who wish Tanzania to remain peaceful, should take the initiative of educating the public regarding the effects of liberalization. Through this awareness, people will know how to cope with this new economic and political ideology. For effective awareness creation the researcher concurs with Ghimire (2008) who proposed the development of the materials written in understandable language; in the case of Tanzania, Kiswahili language is the appropriate one since it is widely used across the country including rural areas. Printed materials such as, books, posters,

pamphlets and brochures should be made available and distributed to the community about the effects of liberalization policies on Interreligious relations. The education on liberalization and its effects should be part of the school curriculum, national service programs, and the general civic education campaigns. Just as the civic education program was during the Ujamaa na Kujitegemea (the socialism and self-reliance) era, there is a need for the government and other stake holders to educate Tanzanians how to live peacefully and cope with the new social life under the liberalization era.

The ninth recommendation is that government leaders keep vigilance over the primacy of law and order. This begins with the commitment to the observance of the Constitution. It is important to take note of the fact that law enforcement is very crucial in the maintenance of internal peace. In his book *Our Leadership and the Destiny of Tanzania*, the late Mwalimu J. K. Nyerere put emphasis on the need for leaders to respect the Constitution. He said, “It is of vital importance to the peace of this country, and to the possibilities of harmonious development, that all the provisions of the Union Constitution, as it stands at any one time, should be respected and honoured by all Authorities in both parts of the Union” (Nyerere, 1995:6). Furthermore, the late Mwalimu J. K. Nyerere, addressing a press conference in 1995 the speech of which was compiled into a booklet titled *Nyufa*, said, “Tanzania was developing cracks in its national foundation.” He said one of those cracks was concerned with the violation of the Constitution (Nyerere, 1995:12). Article 19 (1) of the 1977 Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania states that, “Every person has the right to the freedom of conscience, faith and choice in

matters of religion, including the freedom to change his religion or faith” while sub-article (3) states that, “The protection of rights referred to in this Article shall be in accordance with the provisions prescribed by the laws which are of importance to a democratic society for security and peace in the society, integrity for society and the national cohesion.”

One of the laws which provide for the protection of rights accrued from Article 19 (1) of the Constitution is the Penal Code Chapter 16 of the Laws, Section 125, which states that:

Any person who destroys, damages or defiles any place of worship or any object which is held sacred by any class of persons with the intention of insulting the religion of any class of persons or with the knowledge that any class of persons is likely to consider such destruction, damage or defilement as an insult to their religion is guilty of an offence.

Also, Section 129 of the Penal Code states:

Any person who, with the deliberate intention of wounding the religious feelings of any person, utters any word, or makes any sound in the hearing of that person or makes any gestures in the sight of that person or places any object in the sight of that person, is guilty of an offence and is liable to imprisonment for one year.

Furthermore, The Societies Act 2002, Chapter 337 of the Laws of Tanzania, confers power to the President, the Minister for Home Affairs, and the Registrar of Societies, in various ways, to declare any society unlawful. The President - may, through his absolute discretion, declare any society unlawful. A society may be declared unlawful if the President thinks that the society is being used for any purpose prejudicial to or incompatible with the maintenance of peace, order or good governance. Where an order is made in respect of a registered society such an order operates immediately to cancel the registration of the society (Mtaki, 2002).

Media laws as well confer powers to responsible Ministers to control media institutions that endanger national security or work against the interests of the public. For example, the Broadcasting Services Act 2002 Chapter 306 of the Laws of Tanzania Section 25 (2) states:

If the Minister is of opinion that the broadcasting of any matter or matter of any class or character, would be contrary to the national security or public interest he may, by notice in writing delivered at the principal office of the licence holder, prohibit the license holder from broadcasting such matter or matter of such class or character and the license holder shall comply with any notice so delivered.

This law covers broadcasting through radio and television. This means that if the Minister responsible for broadcasting discovers that a radio or television station utilizes the media facility in a manner that endangers public safety or fuels religious hatred, he may use this section to order the owner of the respective station to stop immediately thus maintain harmony and peace in the society.

Furthermore, The Newspaper Act 2002 Chapter 229 of the Laws of Tanzania Section 25 (1) confers power to the Minister responsible for News and Information to prohibit publication of a Newspaper deemed to instigate breach of peace. “Where the Minister is of the opinion that it is in the public interest or in the interest of peace and good order so to do, he may, by order in the Gazette, direct that the newspaper named in the order shall cease publication as from the date (hereinafter referred to as ‘the effective date’) specified in the order.”

With the adoption of the liberalization policies, the government must be even more vigilant in its work of preserving internal peace and order for continued peace and

tranquillity in the country. This is because, if the government slackens in this duty, there is a big possibility for some people to take advantage of the slackness and incite religious hatred. In addition, slackness of the government may open the door for some people to take the law in their hands.

The tenth recommendation is that religious leaders should be agents of internal of peace instead of contributing to its demise (Appleby, 2011; Himes, 2011; and Micahel, 2011). As it became obvious in this study, religious leaders contributed to religious hatred through preaching insults against the government and other religions as well struggling to influence the political processes. They should stop doing so. If a religious leader wants to practice politics, he or she should leave aside his or her religious role, become fully engaged in politics, and use the procedures and laws laid down for accessing power in the country.

The advice given by the respondents is that religious leaders should be agents of peace by teaching their followers to respect other religions, by teaching them to be tolerant to the dissenting faiths, and even cooperating with other religions in common projects. Religious leaders should also engage in interreligious dialogue as a way of promoting peace by having regular interreligious forums whereby discussions on issues of common interests can take place such as about how to fight AIDS, undertake development projects, etc.

The eleventh recommendation is that Tanzanians should work hard. Time for relaxing is gone. Tanzanians should explore available resources and opportunities in order to build personal economy instead of keeping on lamenting. People should

understand that we are living in a competitive economic environment. Private ownership is the watchword. Nobody cares for the poor. Everybody is fighting for his or her survival. The Ujamaa (socialist) era is gone. It is good therefore for everybody to know the dynamics of the present political ideology so that nobody cheats him or her about its pinch and learn to live and cope with it. Otherwise, people will lure him or her into doing the wrong things and end up sustaining injury, in custody or suffer death.

The twelfth Recommendation is that each religious institution should consider developing a department or program for dealing with Christian-Muslim relation. The department or program will be responsible for helping believers who belong to that institution relate well with other religions. The department can help the believers know the difference between their beliefs and the beliefs of other religions and teach them to respect other beliefs while maintaining theirs. The department or program should focus on the relation between Christians and Muslims. The program or department can have a name such as “Catholic-Muslim Relation Department,” or “Lutheran-Muslim Relation Program,” or “Muslim-Christian Relation Department,” etc. The major aim should be to create good relations between Christians and Muslims through understanding and good neighbourhood.

5.5 Recommendation for Further Research

5.5.1 Christian-Muslim Platform

The researcher recommends this idea for further investigation. Currently, there is what is known as “Kamati ya Amani ya Mkoa wa Dar es Salaam.” The researcher visited the chairperson of the committee, Sheikh Alhad Mussa Salum, however the

Sheikh did not have much to say about the activities of the committee apart from saying that the committee was there. They do not have anything they can share or anything that shows it is a strong platform. The researcher feels there is room for improvement in the area of interfaith dialogue in Tanzania. So the researcher recommends this idea for someone who may want to develop it into a thesis or dissertation.

5.5.2 Meetings between the Government, Muslims and Christians

The idea is that there should be regular meetings among the government, Muslims and Christians. That is, currently, there is no cooperation between religious leaders and government leaders. The lack of this cooperation caused the 1990 - 2013 Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania. This recommendation sounds good but the researcher did not receive enough information to make a conclusive remark. This aspect also is an area the researcher recommends for further research.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: The Questionnaire Form (in Kiswahili) used to Collect Data

CHUO KIKUU HURIA CHA TANZANIA (OUT)

DODOSO LINALOTATHMINI HALI YA MAHUSIANO KATI WAISLAMU NA WAKRISTO NCHINI TANZANIA KATIKA KIPINDI CHA 1990 - 2013

JINA LA MTAFTITI: RABSON NTAMBALA NKOKO, PhD (Candidate):
Mob. No. 0764 151 304, 0658 151 304. Email: ntambalankoko@yahoo.com

Kusudi la dodoso hili ni kutathmini hali ya mahusiano kati ya Wakristo na Waislamu nchini Tanzania katika kipindi cha 1990 - 2013 na kujua ni kwa kiwango gani mambo yaliyotajwa hapa chini yanaweza kuwa yamechangia katika kusababisha viashiria vya kutoweka kwa uvumilivu kati ya baadhi ya Wakristo na baadhi ya Waislamu nchini Tanzania katika kipindi cha 1990 - 2013. Habari yo yote unayoitoa katika dodoso hili itatumika kwa ajili ya masuala ya kielimu siyo vinginevyo. Tafadhali jibu maswali yote kwa kadiri inavyowezekana. Siyo lazima kuandika jina lako.

1. Jinsia: (weka ✓)

Mwanamke	
Mwanamume	

2. Dini (weka ✓)

Mwislamu	
Mkristo	

3. Umri: miaka

4. Kiwango cha juu cha juu cha elimu ulicho nacho sasa weka ✓):

Chini ya darasa la saba	
Darasa la saba	
Kidato cha Nne (Form IV)	
Kidato cha Sita (Form Six)	
Cheti	
Diploma/Stashahada	
Digrii/Shahada ya kwanza	
Masters(Uzamili)	
PhD (Uzamivu)	

5. Utaifa

6. Taaluma

7. Ajira (weka ✓)

Nimeajiriwa na serikali/sekta ya umma	
Nimeajiriwa katika sekta binafsi	
Nimejiari, mfano: biashara, kilimo, ufundi, n.k.	
Sina kazi yo yote	

8. Kwa muda gani umekuwa Mkristo/Mwislamu? (weka ✓)

Chini ya miaka 5	
Kuanzia miaka 5 hadi 10	
Zaidi ya miaka 10	

9. Tathmini ya mahusiano kati ya Wakristo na Waislamu kwa kipindi 1990 - 2013.

SWALI	MAJIBU	
Unatathmini uhusiano kati ya Waislamu na Wakristo nchini Tanzania katika kipindi cha 1990 - 2013?	1. Mzuri	
	2. Wa wasi wasi	
	3. Mbaya	
	4. Sijui	

10. Tathmini ya mambo yanayofikiriwa kuwa visababishi vya viashiria vya kutoweka kwa uvumilivu miongoni mwa baadhi ya Wakristo na baadhi ya Waislamu na kusababisha mwonekano wa migogoro kati ya baadhi ya Wakristo na baadhi ya Waislamu 2000-2013.

VISABABISHI	WEKA ALAMA (✓)			
	SAN A	KIDOGO	HAPAN A	SIJUI/SINA HAKIKA
Umasikini/Matatizo ya kiuchumi				
Tofauti ya kielimu kati ya Wakristo na Waislamu				
Tofauti za kijira kati Waislamu na Wakristo				
Kutokuwepo kwa taasisi ya serikali iliyo na ubingwa wa kushughulikia migogoro ya kidini				
Viongozi wa kisiasa wanaotafuta maslahi yao binafsi				
Viongozi wa kidini wanaotafuta maslahi yao binafsi				
Kutokuwepo kwa itikadi inayowaunganisha Watanzania				

11. Ni nini tathmini yako ya mahusiano kati ya Waislamu na Wakristo

(a) Katika kipindi cha miaka ya 1960-1990

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

(b) Katika kipindi cha miaka ya 1990 - 2013

.....
.....
.....
.....

12. Ni mambo gani yaliathiri mahusiano kati ya makundi hayo mawili katika vipindi hivyo viwili:

(a) 1960s-1990.

- i.
-
- ii.
-
- iii.
-
- iv.
-
- v.
-

(b) 1990s-2013.

- i.
-
- ii.
-
- iii.
-
- iv.
-
- v.
-
- vi.
-
- vii.
-

13. Ni nini tathmini yako ya jinsi serikali inavyoshughulikia migogoro ya kidini?

Weka alama (√) mahali panapofaa:

- Inatosha
- Haitoshi
- Sijui

Ikiwa haitoshi, kuna udhaifu gani?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Mapendekezo yako ni nini ili kuboresha?

.....
.....
.....
.....

14. Masuala yafuatayo yametajwa na baadhi ya watu kuwa ndiyo visababishi vya migogoro kati ya baadhi ya Wakristo na baadhi ya Waislamu hapa Tanzania. Je wewe una maoni gani kuhusiana na mambo haya kama visababishi vya migogoro kati ya baadhi ya wafuasi wa makundi hayo mawili ya kidini hapa Tanzania?

(a) Umasikini/Matatizo ya kiuchumi

.....
.....
.....
.....

(b) Tofauti ya kielimu kati ya Wakristo na Waislamu

.....
.....
.....
.....

(c) Tofauti za kiajira kati Waislamu na Wakristo

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

(d) Kutokuwepo kwa taasisi ya serikali iliyo na ubingwa wa kushughulikia migogoro ya kidini

.....
.....
.....
.....

(e) Viongozi wa kisiasa wanaotafuta maslahi yao binafsi

.....
.....
.....
.....

(f) Viongozi wa kidini wanaotafuta maslahi yao binafsi

.....
.....
.....
.....

(g) Kutokuwepo kwa itikadi inayowaunganisha Watanzania

.....
.....
.....
.....

15. Mbali na mambo yaliyotajwa katika kipengele kilichotangulia, wewe binafsi unafikiri ni mambo gani yamesababisha kuwepo kwa migogoro kati ya baadhi ya Waislamu na Wakristo hasa katika kipindi cha miaka ya 1990 - 2013?

.....
.....
.....
.....

16. Unafikiri ni mambo gani inapasa yafanywe ili kudumisha mahusiano mema kati ya Waislamu na Wakristo nchini Tanzania?

.....
.....
.....
.....

17. Ni mashauri gani mengine unaweza kutoa kuhusiana na mahusiano kati ya Waislamu na Wakristo nchini Tanzania?

.....
.....
.....
.....

NB. Unaweza kuandika mahali popote penye nafasi katika fomu hii au kutumia karatasi za nyongeza.

Asante kwa muda na mchango wako.

*****END*****

Appendix 2: The Questionnaire Form in English

THE OPEN UNIVERSITY OF TANZANIA

THE QUESTIONNAIRE FORM USED TO COLLECT DATA RELATED TO THE ASSESSMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATION IN TANZANIA DURING THE PERIOD 1990 - 2013

**RESEARCHER'S NAME: RABSON NTAMBALA NKOKO, PhD (Candidate):
Mob. No. 0764 151 304, 0658 151 304. Email: ntambalankoko@yahoo.com**

The purpose of this questionnaire is to assess the Christian-Muslim relation in Tanzania during the period 1990 - 2013 and to determine to what extent the factors mentioned here below contributed to the manifestation of the indicators of religious intolerance between some Christians and Muslims in Tanzania during the period 1990 - 2013. Any information you will provide in this questionnaire will not be used for any other purpose except for academic purposes only. Please answer all questions to the best of your knowledge. It is not necessary for you write your name.

1. Gender: (Put \surd)

Female	
Male	

2. Religion (Put \surd)

Muslim	
Christian	

3. Age:Years old.

4. Highest Academic qualification achieved up to this moment (put \surd):

Below standard seven	
Standard Seven	
Certificate	
Diploma	
First degree or its equivalent	
Masters	
PhD	

5. Nationality:

6. Profession:

7. Employment (put \surd)

Employed by government/public sector	
Employed by private sector	
Self-employed, e.g. business, farming, etc.	
Jobless	

8. For how long have you been a Christian/Muslim? (put \surd)

Less than 5 years	
Between 5 to 10 years	
More than 10 years	

9. Test for Relational Status between Christians and Muslims in Tanzania during the period 1990 - 2013.

QUESTION	RESPONSE	PUT A TICK (\surd) WHERE APPROPRIATE
What is your assessment of the relation between Christians and Muslims in Tanzania during the period 1990-20013?	5. Good	
	6. Doubtful	
	7. Poor	
	8. I don't know	

10. Test for possible factors behind the indicators of the intolerance between some Christians and some Muslims resulting in some appearance of conflicts between the two religious groups in Tanzania during the period 1990 - 2013.

Question: What assessment do you give to the following factors as the causes of the indicators of intolerance between some Christians and Muslims in Tanzania during the period 1990-213?	PUT A TICK (\surd) WHERE APPROPRIATE			
	VERY MUCH	LITTLE	NOT APPLICABLE	NO RESPONSE/I DON'T KNOW
Poverty/Economic hardship				
Inequality in education between Christians and				

Muslims				
Inequality in employment between Christians and Muslims				
Lack of specialized state institutions for handling religious conflicts				
Political leaders with personal interests				
Religious leaders with personal interests				
Absence of an ideology unifying all Tanzanians				

11. What is your personal assessment of the relationship between Christians and Muslims:

(a) During the period 1960s-1990

.....

(b) During the period 1990s-2013

.....

12. What factors influenced the relationship between the two groups in those two periods

(a) 1960s-1990.

- i.
- ii.
- iii.
- iv.
- v.

(b) 1990s-2013.

- i.
- ii.
- iii.
- iv.
- v.
- vi.
- vii.

13. What is your personal assessment on the government’s handling of religious conflicts? Put (√) where appropriate:

- Adequate
- Not adequate
- I don’t know

If not adequate, what are the weaknesses?

.....

.....

.....

.....

What do you recommend for improvement?

.....

.....

.....

.....

14. The following factors have been mentioned by some people as being the causes of the indicators of religious intolerance between some Christians and some Muslims in Tanzania. What are your personal opinions on these factors as causes of conflicts between some Christians and some Muslims in Tanzania?

(a) Poverty/Economic hardships

.....

.....

.....

.....

(b) Inequality in education between Christians and Muslims

.....

.....

.....
.....

(c) Inequality in employment between Christians and Muslims

.....
.....
.....
.....

(d) Lack of specialized state institutions for handling religious conflicts

.....
.....
.....

(e) Political leaders with personal interests

.....
...
.....
.....

(f) Religious leaders with personal interests

].....
.....
.....

(g) Absence of an ideology unifying all Tanzanians

.....
.....
.....

15. In addition to what has been mentioned in (14) above what do you personally think were the causes of the indicators of the conflicts between some Christians and Muslims in Tanzania during the period 1990 - 2013?

.....
.....
.....

16. What do you think should be done in order to maintain a peaceful coexistence between Christians and Muslims in Tanzania?

.....
.....
.....

17. What additional comments would you give regarding Christian-Muslim relation in Tanzania?

.....
.....
.....
.....

NB. You can use any available space on the questionnaire form or use additional papers for more comments.

Thank you for your time and contribution

*****END*****
**

Appendix 3: In-depth Interview Guide in Kiswahili

MWONGOZO WA KUPATIA MAONI BINAFSI/KUENDESHA MIJADALA KATIKA VIKUNDI KUHUSU MIGOGORO YA WAKRISTO NA WAISLAMU NCHINI TANZANIA KWA KATI YA 1990 NA 2013.

Maelezo ya wahusika:

Jinsia:	Mwanamke	
	Mwanamume	
Dini	Mwislamu	
	Mkristo	
	Taja ikiwa una dini nyingine	

Jina.....Umri:

Kiwango cha juu cha elimu yako hadi sasa: Weka (✓) mahali panapostahili.

Chini ya darasa la saba	
Darasa la saba	
Cheti	
Diploma/Stashahada	
Digrii/Shahada ya kwanza	
Masters(Uzamili)	
PhD (Uzamivu)	

Utaifa

Taaluma

Ni kwa muda gani umekuwa Mkristo/Muislamu Weka alama (✓) mahali panapofaa:

Chini ya miaka 5	
------------------	--

Kuanzia miaka 5 hadi 10	
Zaida ya miaka 10	

1. Ni nini tathmini yako ya mahusiano kati ya Waislamu na Wakristo
 - (a) Katika kipindi cha miaka ya 1960-1990
 - (b) Katika kipindi cha miaka ya 1990 - 2013
2. Ni mambo gani yaliathiri mahusiano kati ya makundi hayo mawili katika vipindi hivyo viwili:
 - (a) 1960s-1990.
 - (b) 1990s-2013.
3. Masuala yafuatayo yametajwa na baadhi ya watu kuwa ndiyo visababishi vya migogoro kati ya baadhi ya Wakristo na baadhi ya Waislamu hapa Tanzania. Je wewe una maoni gani kuhusiana na mambo haya kama visababishi vya migogoro kati ya baadhi ya wafuasi wa makundi hayo mawili ya kidini hapa Tanzania?
 - (a) Umasikini/Matatizo ya kiuchumi
 - (b) Tofauti ya kielimu kati ya Wakristo na Waislamu
 - (c) Tofauti za kiajira kati Waislamu na Wakristo
 - (d) Kutokuwepo kwa taasisi ya serikali iliyo na ubingwa wa kushughulikia migogoro ya kidini
 - (e) Viongozi wa kisiasa wanaotafuta maslahi yao binafsi
 - (f) Viongozi wa kidini wanaotafuta maslahi yao binafsi
 - (g) Kutokuwepo kwa itikadi inayowaunganisha Watanzania
4. Mbali na mambo yaliyotajwa katika kipengele kilichotangulia, wewe binafsi unafikiri ni mambo gani yamesababisha kuwepo kwa migogoro kati ya baadhi ya Waislamu na Wakristo hasa katika kipindi cha miaka ya 1990 - 2013?
5. Unafikiri ni mambo gani inapasa yafanywe ili kudumisha mahusiano mema kati ya Waislamu na Wakristo nchini Tanzania?
6. Ni mashauri gani mengine unaweza kutoa kuhusiana na mahusiano kati ya Waislamu na Wakristo nchini Tanzania?

Asante kwa muda na mchango wako.

Appendix 4: In-depth Interview Guide in English

A GUIDE FOR IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS (PERSONAL INTERVIEWS AND FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS (FGDs)) ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM CONFLICTS IN TANZANIA BETWEEN 1990 AND 2013

Particulars of Participants:

Jinsia:	Female	
	Male	
Dini	Muslim	
	Christian	
	Mention any other	

Name.....Age Years

Maximum education achievmen: Put (√) where appropriate.

Below standard seven	
Standard seven	
Certificate	
Diploma	
First Degree	
Masters	
PhD	

Nationality

Profession

For how long have you been a Christian/Muslim? Put (√) where appropriate:

Below 5 years	
---------------	--

5 - 10 years	
More than 10 years	

1. What is your personal assessment of the Christian-Muslim relation
 - (a) Between 1960 and 1990
 - (b) Between 1990 and 2013
2. What were the factors that influenced the relation between the two religious groups during those two periods of time:
 - (a) 1960s-1990.
 - (b) 1990s-2013.
3. The following factors have been proposed by some people as some factors that caused the Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania between 1990 and 2013. What are your personal opinions on these factors as the causes of the Christian-Muslim conflicts during that period in Tanzani?
 - (a) Poverty/Economic hardship
 - (b) The Educational imbalance between Christians and Muslims
 - (c) The Employment imbalance between Christians and Muslims
 - (d) Lack of a government institution with specialized expertise in handling religious conflicts
 - (e) Political leaders with personal interests
 - (f) Religious leaders with personal interests
 - (g) Absence of a unifying ideology
4. In addition to the factors mentioned in the preceding part, what do you personally think were the causes of the Christian-Muslim conflicts in Tanzania between 1990 and 2013?
5. What do you think should be done to maintain good relation between Christians and Muslims in Tanzania?
6. What additional comments would you like to give in relation to Christian-Muslim relation in Tanzania?

Thank you for your time and contribution.

Appendix 5: Statement of the Tanzania Christian Forum (TCF) on the Proposed Constitution

TAMKO LA JUKWAA LA WAKRISTO TANZANIA KUHUSU KATIBA INAYOPENDEKEZWA, MAHAKAMA YA KADHI NA HALI YA

USALAMA NA AMANI YA NCHI.

<http://cct-tz.org/tamko-la-jukwaa-la-wakristo-tanzania-kuhusu-katiba-inayopendekezwa-mahakama-ya-kadhi-na-hali-ya-usalama-na-amani-ya-nchi/> Accessed March 24, 2015

Sisi Maaskofu wa Jukwaa la Wakristo Tanzania linaloundwa na Taasisi za Baraza la Maaskofu Katoliki Tanzania (TEC), Jumuiya ya Kikristo Tanzania (CCT) na Baraza la Mekanisa ya Kipentekoste Tanzania (CPCT) tuliokutana leo tarehe 10.03.2015, tumepata nafasi ya kujadili kwa kina kuhusu hali ya usalama wa nchi ilivyo sasa na mustakabali wake, Katiba inayopendekezwa na uanzishaji wa Mahakama ya Kadhi.

Baada ya kutafakari yote hayo, Jukwaa limefikia maazimio yafuatayo:

1. Kuhusu uanzishaji wa Mahakama ya Kadhi: Suala la uanzishwaji wa Mahakama ya Kadhi nchini kama tulivyotoa maoni yetu kwa Kamati ya Bunge ya Katiba na Sheria (Januari 16, 2015); barua yetu kwa Waziri Mkuu na matamko mbalimbali yaliyokwisha kutolewa kuhusu jambo hili: Mahakama ya Kadhi inakiuka misingi ya Taifa hili kuwa na Serikali isiyokuwa na dini wala mfumo wa sheria unaobagua raia wake kwa misingi ya dini. Pia mjadala unaoendelea unavunja Katiba ya Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania ya 1977 Ibara ya 19. Kwa kuendelea kujadili suala hili katika Ilani za Vyama vya Siasa, Majukwaa ya Kisiasa na Bungeni, limeligawa Taifa letu, Serikali, Bunge, Mahakama na wananchi. Mahakama ya Kadhi imekuwa likiendelea kutumiwa na wanasiasa kama mtaji wao wa kujipatia madaraka kwa gharama za kuleta chuki za kidini. Kwa dhamiri safi, Jukwaa linatamka wazi kuwa mjadala unaoendelea kati ya Serikali na vikundi vya kidini kuhusu uanzishwaji wa Mahakama ya Kadhi kikatiba na kisheria ufungwe na badala yake ziachiwe taasisi husika za kidini kuamua juu ya masuala hayo bila kuihusisha serikali wala waumini wa dini nyingine.
2. **Kuhusu Katiba inayopendekezwa: Katiba Inayopendekezwa imeleta mgawanyiko mkubwa katika Taifa kwani imepatikana kwa njia zisizo za kiadilifu; na mchakato wake umeendeshwa kwa hila na ubabe. Aidha, Katiba Inayopendekezwa haijajibu bado matakwa na malalamiko ya wananchi kwenye masuala mbalimbali (Muundo wa serikali, miiko na maadili ya viongozi wa umma, haki za binadamu, madaraka ya Rais, uwiano wa mihimili ya dola n.k). Ikumbukwe Katiba Inayopendekezwa ilipitishwa kwenye Bunge Maalum la Katiba kwa ahadi ya Serikali kuipa dini ya Kiislami Mahakama ya Kadhi. Inashangaza kuwa hata Serikali inatoa rushwa ili kufikia malengo yake!!! Kwa hali kama hii, Kanisa haliwezi kuunga mkono kupitishwa kwa Katiba Inayopendekezwa**Hivyo basi, Jukwaa linawataka waumini wake wote wajitokeze kwa wingi kujiandikisha katika Daftari la Kudumu la Wapiga Kura, waisome Katiba Inayopendekezwa na kushiriki kikamilifu vipindi vya elimu juu ya Katiba Inayopendekezwa na kisha wajitokeze kwa wingi kupiga kura ya HAPANA kwa Katiba Inayopendekezwa kwa sababu zilizotajwa hapo juu.
3. Hali ya usalama wa nchi ulivyo sasa: Jukwaa linasikitishwa na viashiria pevu vya ugaidi vilivyoanza kujitokeza nchini kwa takribani miaka mitano iliyopita. Kumekuwa na vitendo

vinavyoashiria kuchiptuka kwa ugaidi kama vile uvamizi wa vituo vya polisi, kuporwa silaha na mauaji ya polisi, mafunzo ya kareti katika nyumba za Ibada, mafunzo ya itikadi kali za kidini kwa watoto (Kilimanjaro), tukio la Amboni Tanga, mauaji ya viongozi wa dini (Buselesele, Zanzibar, Arusha), uchomaji wa nyumba za Ibada na kumwagiwa tindikali kwa viongozi wa dini.

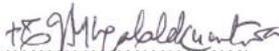
4. Mauaji ya watu wenye ulemavu wa ngozi (maalbino): Jukwaa linasikitishwa na mwendelezo wa mauaji ya watu wenye ulemavu wa ngozi (maalbino) na ukatili unaosababisha ulemavu wa kudumu wa maalbino katika nchi yetu. Hali hii inatishia utulivu, amani na umoja wa kitaifa tuliokuwa nao kama taifa la mfano barani Afrika. Jukwaa linawaasa wananchi kuacha tabia hii ya kuua albino. Jukwaa linaamini kuwa kukosekana kwa uwajibikaji wa viongozi wa serikali na kuongezeka kwa wigo wa kipato kati ya walionacho na wasionacho kunachangia ongezeko la vitendo hivyo viovu. Jukwaa linajiuliza: mbona tembo na ng'ombe wakiuawa operesheni maalum zinafanyika na viongozi wanawajibika, kwa nini maalbino wakiuawa viongozi hawawajibiki?

Kutokana na hayo yote, Jukwaa linatilia shaka dhamira thabiti ya uongozi wa Chama Tawala na Serikali yake katika kuvitokomeza vitendo vya kigaidi, mauaji ya albino na uvunjifu wa amani unaoendelea hasa kutokana mikakati hafifu na udhaifu mkubwa uliojitokeza wakati wa kuyashughulikia masuala hayo. Kwa kuwa Chama Tawala na Serikali wameshindwa kusimamia misingi iliyolea taifa kama serikali isiyo ya kidini na taifa lenye amani; umoja na utulivu; Jukwaa linawaelekeza waumini wote na wenye mapenzi mema wakati wa Uchaguzi Mkuu ujao kufanya maamuzi yanayolitanguliza Taifa badala ya kutanguliza mazoea, mapokeo, itikadi na ushabiki wa chama fulani cha Siasa.

YATOSHA KWA SIKU MAOVU YAKE: MATHAYO 6:34

Imetolewa na:


ASK. DR. A. G. MALASUSA
CCT


ASK. T. NGALELEKUMTWA
TEC


ASK. D. AWET
CPCT

Appendix 6: Statement of BAKWATA on the Conflict between Muslims and BAKWATA

Tamko la Bakwata kuhusu mgogoro wa Waislamu na Bakwata

<http://www.bayanablogspot.com.blogspot.com/2012/09/tamko-la-bakwata-kuhusu-mgogoro-wa.html> Accessed March 25, 2015.

TAMKO LA BAKWATA JUU YA HABARI ZINAZOTOLEWA NA VYOMBO VYA HABARI KWA TASWIRA YA "MGOGORO BAINA YA WAISLAMU NA BAKWATA"

Hivi karibuni nilitoa indhari juu ya njama na hila za kutaka kuvamia ofisi za Bakwata Makao Makuu kwa madai ya kutaka kuung'oa uongozi, zinazoasisiwa na kuratibiwa na kikundi kinachojiita JUMUIYA NA TAASISI ZA KIISLAMU kinachoongozwa na Bw. Ponda Issa Ponda.

Hii si mara ya kwanza kwa kikundi hiki kutishia kuvamia Makao makuu ya BAKWATA kwa nia ya kuundoa madarakani kwa nguvu uongozi halali uliopo. Mara ya kwanza ilikuwa mwaka 1992 wakati wa uongozi wa aliekuwa Mufti wa Tanzania marehemu Sheikh Hemed bin Jumaa bin Hemed kwa madai kama haya haya kwamba uongozi umeshindwa kuwaongoza Waislamu na kuwaletea maendeleo.

Ni kwa kufuatia ghasia hizo ndipo Serikali ilipoamua kuingilia kati na kuidhinisha kuandikishwa hilo linaloitwa BARAZA KUU LA JUMUIA NA TAASISI ZA KIISLAMU ili liweze kufanya maendeleo makubwa zaidi inayodai kuwa BAKWATA imeshindwa kuwaletea Waislamu. Ni jambo la kustaajibisha hadi sasa ni miaka 20 tangu Baraza hilo lilipoandikishwa na hakuna jambo lolote la kuwaendeleza Waislamu walilolifanya, wameshindwa hata kujenga ofisi ambayo Baraza hilo litaendeshea shughuli zake.

Hatujawahi kushuhudia toka kwa Baraza Kuu la Jumuiya na Taasisi na Tawi lake linalojiita Jumuiya na Taasisi jambo lolote la maendeleo ya Kiislamu zaidi ya ghasia za maandamano, kupora Misikiti na kudandia matukio na kuwachangisha Waislamu fedha mwishoni mwa maandamano kwa kuwatapeli Waislamu fedha zao ambazo huishia mifukoni mwa Ponda na wenzake.

Habari mbalimbali zinazoendelea kuripotiwa katika kadhia hii zinajaribu kujenga taswira inayoonyesha kwamba mgogoro uliopo ni baina ya "WAISLAMU NA BAKWATA". Taswira hii si sahihi ni potofu.

Napenda kuchukua fursa hii kuufahamisha umma wa kiislamu ukweli na hali halisi ya kadhia hii kama ifuatavyo:

1. Kikundi hiki kinachojitambulisha kwa jina la JUMUIYA NA TAASISI ZA KIISLAMU si kikundi kinachowakilisha Waislamu wote wa nchi hii bali ni KIGENGE CHA WATU WACHACHE wenye kufuata madhehebu ya MAWAHABI

ambao kwa mujibu wa ITIKADI yao wanaamini kwamba Muislamu yeyote asiefuata ITIKADI yao basi huyo sio MUISLAMU na hafai kuwa kiongozi kwa ngazi yoyote ile.

2. Kikundi hiki ambacho kimejivika vazi la kuendesha wanachokiita Harakati za Kiislamu ni kikundi cha watu wachache ambao hawataki kufuata UTARATIBU uwe wa kidini wala kutii mamlaka ya dola na wanataka matakwa yao yawe ndio utaratibu na wanalazimisha watu wote wayafuate.

3. Vurugu, chokochoko na ghasia za uvamizi hazikuanzia BAKWATA, wamekuwa wakifanya hivyo sehemu mbalimbali Mikoani kwa kuvamia na kuteka Miskiti na kuwaondoa viongozi waliochaguliwa kihalali kwa nguvu na udhalilishaji mkubwa sana na hatimae kupora na kuhodhi rasilimali za Misikiti hiyo.

4. Wamekuwa wakiendesha mafunzo ya KARATE kwenye Misikiti hiyo waliyoiteka na kuikalia kimabavu kwa vijana wao ili waweze kuendeleza dhulma yao ya uporaji wa Misikiti na vituo vingine vya Kiislamu.

5. Nikiwa kiongozi Mkuu wa Waislamu katika nchi hii nawataka Waislamu wa Tanzania kutambua ya kwamba vitendo vya vurugu na ghasia na vya uvunjaji wa sheria vinavyofanywa na Ponda na kikundi chake kamwe havina uhusiano wowote na dini ya Kiislamu. Ni vitendo vinavyokiuka maadili ya Uislamu na kuupa sura mbaya Uislamu miongoni mwa jamii na mataifa. Kwa sababu hiyo nawaonya na kuwatahadharisha Waislamu wa madhehebu zote kujitenga mbali na matendo ya uvunjaji sheria wa kikundi hiki cha watu wachache.

6. Kwa mujibu wa Katiba ya nchi yetu kila kundi la kidini lina haki ya kuendesha kwa Uhuru shughuli zake za kidini. Na tunashuhudia katika nchi yetu madhehebu yote ya kidini yakiendesha shughuli zao bila kuingilia madhehebu nyingine mfano Shia Ithaashiria, Bohora, Ibadh, Hannafii na mengineyo. Madhehebu yote hayo yamekuwa yakiendesha shughuli zao bila kuingiliana na wenzao isipokuwa kikundi hiki cha watu wachache ambao madhehebu yao ni WAHABI na wakati mwingine wanajiita ANSAR SUNNA.

7. Nawatahadharisha Waislamu wote nchini kwamba Ponda Issa Ponda si mwanachuoni, si Sheikh, hakusoma elimu ya msingi ya kidunia wala ya kidini, hata Qur'an hajui kusoma. Anajaribu kuwatumia Waislamu kwa manufaa yake binafsi.

8. Mwisho tunavipongeza vyombo vya dola na Serikali kwa ujumla kwa namna walivyoshughulikia ghasia za kikundi hiki kwa busara, hekima, na subira kubwa waliyotumia pale Wizara ya Mambo ya ndani. Nakitahadharisha kikundi hiki kinachojishughulisha na harakati za vurugu na ghasia wasiutumie vibaya uvumilivu wa hali ya juu ulioonyeshwa na vyombo vya dola wakati wa maandamano ya kuvamia Wizara ya Mambo ya Ndani tarehe 07/09/2012. Kitendo kile kilikuwa ni kuvunja sheria za nchi na UISLAMU unatutaka Waislamu kuheshimu mamlaka iliyoko madarakani.

9. Natoa wito kwa vyombo vya dola kwamba viangalie utaratibu wa kuwashughulikia watu wanaoleta vurugu kwa kujifanya viongozi wa taasisi hewa na kutumia taasisi hizo hewa kutoa matamko ya kutishia kuwaondoa viongozi halali wa taasisi zinazosajiliwa na kuendesha shughuli zake kwa mujibu wa sheria za nchi.

10. Naviomba vyombo vya dola vielewe kwamba si kila linalofanywa kwa kisingizio cha dini kwamba jambo hilo ni la dini. Kwa msini huo tunaomba vyombo vya dola visisite kuchukua hatua dhidi ya mtu, kikundi kinachotaribu kutumia anuani ya Uislamu katika kutenda matendo ya uvunjaji wa sheria na hivyo kuhatarisha hali ya amani na utulivu iliyopo hapa nchini. Uislamu ni AMANI. Hata jina lenyewe linatafsirika kuwa ni amani.

11. Nazikumbusha taasisi zote za Kiislamu nchini kila moja kuheshimu na kutekeleza madhumuni ya kuanzishwa kwa taasisi husika kwa mujibu wa malengo yaliyoainishwa katika Katiba zao. Hakuna taasisi yoyote iliyosajiliwa nchini iliyo na haki ya kuondoa, kuweka au kubadilisha uongozi wa Taasisi nyingine.

12. Baraza Kuu la Waislamu wa Tanzania halitosimama kutetea kundi lolote litakalojinasibisha na Uislamu katika vitendo vyovyote vile vinavyokiuka misingi ya dini, sheria za nchi, kusababisha vurugu na kuvunja amani katika nchi.

Wabillah Tawfiq,

Sheikh Issa bin Shaaban Simba, MUFTI NA SHEIKH MKUU WA TANZANIA

Appendix 7: Research Clearance Letter from the Open University of Tanzania

THE OPEN UNIVERSITY OF TANZANIA
DIRECTORATE OF RESEARCH, PUBLICATIONS, AND POSTGRADUATE STUDIES

P.O. Box 23409
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.
<http://www.out.ac.tz>



Tel: 255-22-2666752/2668445 ext.2101
Fax: 255-22-2668759.
E-mail: drps@out.ac.tz

REF: HD/A/497/T.13

Date: 06/09/2013

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: RESEARCH CLEARANCE: RABSON NTAMBALA NKOKO

The Open University of Tanzania was established by an act of Parliament no. 17 of 1992. The act became operational on the 1st March 1993 by public notes No. 55 in the official Gazette. Act number 7 of 1992 has now been replaced by the Open University of Tanzania charter which is in line the university act of 2005. The charter became operational on 1st January 2007. One of the mission objectives of the university is to generate and apply knowledge through research. For this reason the staffs and students undertake research activities from time to time.

To facilitate the research function, the vice chancellor of the Open University of Tanzania was empowered to issue research clearance to both staffs and students of the university on behalf of the government of Tanzania and the Tanzania Commission of Science and Technology.

The purpose of this letter is to introduce to you **Rabson Ntambala Nkoko**, a PhD student at the Open University of Tanzania with Reg. No. HD/A/497/T.13. By this letter the student has been granted clearance to conduct research in the country. The title of his research is "Determining Christian-Muslim Relations in Tanzania during the period 1990-2013." The research will be conducted in Dar es Salaam from 07/09/2013 to 30/04/2014.

In case you need any further information, please contact the Deputy Vice Chancellor (Academics), The Open University of Tanzania, P.O. Box 23409, Dar es Salaam, Tel: 022-2668820.

We thank you in advance for your cooperation and facilitation of this research activity.

Yours sincerely,

Prof S. Mbogo

For: VICE CHANCELLOR

THE OPEN UNIVERSITY OF TANZANIA

Appendix 8: Introduction Letter from IRCPT to Leaders of Religious Organizations



Plot No 109C, Msasani Area, Kinondoni Municipality, PO Box 5324, Dar es Salaam TANZANIA
Tel: +255 22 2780364 Fax: +255 22 2780365 Email: wrcptz@yaha.com;admin@wrcptz.org

Our Ref. IRCPT/GC/13

Date: 8th Oct.2013

KWA MHUSIKA

Salaam,

Yah: KUMTAMBULISHA KWAKO Mch. ROBSON NTAMBALA NKOKO

IRCPT ni taasisi inayo shuhurika na ujenzi wa amani kwa njia ya kuzileta taasisi za dini mbalimbali katika foramu ya mazungumzo(dialogue), ili kuimarisha mahusiano na uimarishaji wa amani nchini. Ni chombo kinacho simamiwa na bodi ambayo wajumbe wake ni Makatibu Wakuu wa Taasisi za dini Tanzania.

Kwa nafasi hiyo Chuo Kikuu Huria cha Tanzania kimetutumia barua kumtambulisha mtajwa hapo juu kuwa ni mwanafunzi aliye ruhuswa kufanya utafiti unaohusu hali ya Mahusiano kati ya watu wa dini ya Kiislamu na Kikristo, ikiwa ni sehemu ya kukamilisha shahada yake ya *doctorate*.

Utafiti wake utasaidia kutoa kujua hali ilivyo na kushauri njia bora na endelevu za kuimarisha mahusiano ya kihistoria kati ya dini kwa uimarishaji wa amani na utulivu Tanzania.

IRCPT inakuomba umpokee na kumpa ushirikiano wako.

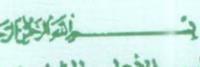
Pamoja na barua hii anaviambatishi vya nyaraka toka Chuo chake.

Asante

Rev Canon Thomas Godda

The Executive Director

**Appendix 9: Introduction Letter from BAKWATA to the Principal of
Kinondoni Muslim College/Secondary School**


 المجلس الأعلى للمسلمون الإسلاميه بتزانيا

THE NATIONAL MUSLIM
COUNCIL OF TANZANIA
BAKWATA
BARAZA KUU LA
WAISLAM TANZANIA



Our Ref: MK/GEN/05/013/31 Date: 02/12/2013

MKUU WA SHULE/CHUO
KINONDONI MUSLIM,
DAR ES SALAAM.

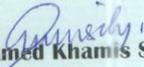
Assalaam Alaykum,

YAH: KUMTAMBULISHA KWAKO MCHUNGAJI ROBSON NTAMBALA NKOKO

Mchungaji Robson Ntambala Nkoko ni mwanafunzi wa Chuo Kikuu Huria cha Tanzania ambae anafanya utafiti juu ya "MAHUSIANO KATI YA WAISLAMU NA WAKRISTO" nchini Tanzania.

Kwa barua hii namtambulisha kwako na nakuomba umpe msaada unaowezekana katika jambo hilo.

Wabillah Tawfiq.


Mohamed Khamis Said
 Kny: **KATIBU MKUU**



P.O. Box 21422, Tel: 2667008, 2667830/Fax: 2668060, DAR ES SALAAM - TANZANIA
 E-mail: bakwata@bol.co.tz

**Appendix 10: Introduction Letter from BAKWATA National Headquarter to
BAKWATA Regional Secretary**

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
المجلس الأعلى للشئون الإسلامية بـتنزانيا

THE NATIONAL MUSLIM COUNCIL OF TANZANIA BAKWATA BARAZA KUU LA WAISLAM TANZANIA



Our Ref: MK/GEN/05/013/30 Date: 02/12/2013

KATIBU WA MKOA,
BAKWATA,
DAR ES SALAAM.

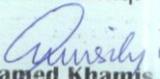
Assalaam Alaykum,

YAH: KUMTAMBULISHA KWAKO MCHUNGAJI ROBSON NTAMBALA NKOKO

Mchungaji Robson Ntambala Nkoko ni mwanafunzi wa Chuo Kikuu Huria cha Tanzania ambae anafanya utafiti juu ya "MAHUSIANO KATI YA WAISLAMU NA WAKRISTO" nchini Tanzania.

Kwa barua hii namtambulisha kwako na nakuomba umpe msaada unaowezekana katika jambo hilo.

Wabillah Tawfiq.


Mohamed Khamis Said
Kny: **KATIBU MKUU**



P.O. Box 21422, Tel: 2667008, 2667830/Fax: 2668060, DAR ES SALAAM - TANZANIA
E-mail: bakwata@bol.co.tz

**Appendix 11: Introduction Letter from BAKWATA National Headquarter to
the Principal of Al-Haramain Islamic Centre-Dar es Salaam**


 المجلس الأعلى للشؤون الإسلامية بـتنزانيا
 THE NATIONAL MUSLIM COUNCIL OF TANZANIA BAKWATA BARAZA KUU LA WAISLAM TANZANIA

Our Ref: MK/GEN/05/013/32 Date: 02/12/2013

MKUU WA CHUO,
AL-HARAMAIN ISLAMIC CENTRE,
DAR ES SALAAM.

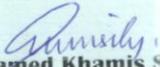
Assalaam Alaykum,

YAH: KUMTAMBULISHA KWAKO MCHUNGAJI ROBSON NTAMBALA NKOKO

Mchungaji Robson Ntambala Nkoko ni mwanafunzi wa Chuo Kikuu Huria cha Tanzania ambae anafanya utafiti juu ya "MAHUSIANO KATI YA WAISLAMU NA WAKRISTO" nchini Tanzania.

Kwa barua hii namtambulisha kwako na nakuomba umpe msaada unaowezekana katika jambo hilo.

Wabillah Tawfiq.


Mohamed Khamis Said
 Kny: **KATIBU MKUU**



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