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Ujamaa and religion: Influences today

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Abstract

“To build a nation in the true sense (...) is to build the character of its people-of ourselves, to build an attitude of mind which will enables us to live together with our fellow citizen (...), in mutual friendliness and cooperation”¹

Tanzania is a country consisting of more than 130 ethnicities and three major religions. It is surrounded by continuous conflict which could be seen as a suitable environment for identity-related violence to flourish, but instead it is a country that should be seen as a role model in dealing with ethnic religious identities through a self-created system, which includes a political vision and an ideology. The purpose of this thesis has been to explore and describe a country that has worked through politics for a society that has a place for religion, but not religion mixed with politics. The study is based on secondary empirical material and on field work done in the Babati district in Tanzania. The result is important for several reasons, in today's identity-focused world, since it illustrates the need to recognize people's multiple identities, to be able to integrate to create a foundation of tolerance and respect between religions.

Keywords: Identity, Violence, Tolerance, Tanzania, Babati

¹ J.K Nyerere 1996: 178

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1. Introduction

“A modern state should be secular”²

Opinions about the separation of church and state have increased during the last decades, more and more governments decide to not mix religion with politics, and religious groups are not allowed to express opinions about political issues that concern society. The arguments behind this process are often related to modern society which they consider to be based upon welfare, equality and human rights, not on religious beliefs. The state should provide an equal ground for everybody, indifferent as to religion, ethnicity or sex. This model is the ideal of a modern state, with the tacit implication that a state which mixes politics with religion is not properly modern.

In light of this dominating picture of religious groups, their relations with one another tend to be described as a conflict, a struggle for power, or a minority trying to get recognition from society. The sense of identity is reduced to just incorporate religion and nothing else, although identities are robustly plural.³ Looking at cultivated violence related to identity conflicts it just seems to increase, Rwanda is an example of how targeting of one group by another persisted with brutal force. Another conflict that concerns the issue of identity is the ongoing conflict between Israel and Palestine, which shows a fury of dichotomized identities. On the other side, it is reasonable for a state to identify itself with its religion, since the sense of identity can make a contribution to self-confidence and strengthen a person's relation to others. It may also feed the feeling of belonging and make a person do things for others, and see beyond her own needs. The source of identity may embrace a group of people and give them certain recognition, but this same thought of inclusion brings the perception of distance and divergence from other groups.

Are there only two sides to the coin? No, certainly not in matters of identity, since a person may identify her/himself with a variety of groups, and feel that s/he belongs to all of them. All individuals are involved in different identities; these identities may come from their

² Norberg, J *En modern stat ska vara sekulär*, Metro. 28 April 2011, Business Day, p. 08

³ Sen 2006: 5

background, their interests, their religion, and/or their habits. By reducing the conflict between two religious groups to a conflict over religious identity a simplified image is imposed over reality. To understand the significance of the focus of this study, it is necessary to put the focus in a larger context.

Tanzania has, since its independence, aspired to a nationalism that relies on Ujamaa- a vision of African socialism. Briefly, it is a concept far from the world of the colonial powers and capitalism. Welfare and respect are the two motives for this vision, and, by looking beyond ethnicities, differences and social classes, and instead declaring that all Africans are part of a unity sharing the same African tradition, the country could include different religions such as Christianity, Islam and the traditional religion on equal grounds.

1.1 Formulation of problem

The dominating picture of religious groups in the world is often one where there are a multitude of religions (or civilizations or cultures) and ignores the other identities people have. This reductionism can contribute to violence and distance between religious groups. Recognition of the diversity of affiliations, and a clear understanding of the freedom each person has to determine their own identity, may be two of the most valuable lessons to learn from identity related violence. Tanzania is a country that since its independence has striven for a society where all the religions, ethnicities and social classes are included through an African socialist politics - Ujamaa. By looking at the Ujamaa's ideological influence on the attitudes towards religion in Tanzania, I hope to find and describe links between modern attitudes towards religion and the vision of Ujamaa that Nyerere had and implemented through his politics.

1.2 Purpose and research questions

The purpose of this thesis is to describe a society that, through politics, has worked for a society that includes religions and ethnicities, without mixing them with politics. In order to describe this, it is necessary to understand Ujamaa's ideological impact on attitudes towards religion in Tanzania, by clarifying Ujamaa as a political system but also as a political vision and ideology.

To be more precise, these are the three research questions:

1. How has Ujamaa as an ideology influenced current attitudes towards religion in Tanzania and how is this manifested?
2. How can religion be a tool to interact with other people?

The third question is designed to complement the others, but also posed because it will give me the opportunity to question the extent of peaceful religious cooperation in Tanzania, and analyze if Ujamaa is its only source.

3. To what extent does peaceful religious cooperation exist in Tanzania? And is Ujamaa Its only source

1.3 Delimitations

The focus of this study lies on Ujamaa's ideological influence on attitudes towards religion in Tanzania; it inevitably requires the study of religions, a term which here refers to Islam, Christianity and traditional African religions. The plural term "African religions" is used to emphasize that these religions are not identical since there are about 130 different ethnic groups, nevertheless the differences will not be studied or outlined. Because of the caution that prevails in the matter of religion, it is hard to specify exact figures about the number of Christians, Muslims etc. However, it is possible to tell that the majority of Muslims are Sunni and the majority of Christians are Catholics. Consequently, the references to Muslims or Christians refer to these two groups⁴. Geographically the study is limited to the mainland, which before 1964 was known as Tanganyika. In 1964 Zanzibar entered into a union with Tanganyika. References to Zanzibar, however, have only been made in the background section of the thesis. The time period that will be analyzed begins when Tanganyika achieved independence and extends and to today's date, because this thesis is based on a field work done in Babati, Tanzania (Feb. 18- March 05). Due to the constraints of time I was obliged to rely on myself when selecting my empirical data. Had I been able to, I would have selected more data from the time when TANU⁵ were the leading party. I hope the data I have utilized will support my analysis as well as my theories.

⁴ Westerberg 1980:7

⁵ TANU- the Tanganyika African National Union

1.4 Delimitations of the interviews

Concerning the informants that provided me with data, the common denominator was religion; they were Muslims, Christians or believers in traditional African religion. Some were more highly positioned within their religion, like Imams, priests or traditional leaders. My focal group at the beginning of the study was women, but due to the fact that there are no female Imams, I interviewed some men as well. In total there were eight informants.

- A class of Muslim teenagers both female and male, ages between 14 and 17 years old.

Although it was a class with 24 students in total, there were only two teachers who answered the questions.

- Two male imams interviewed together, aged 27 and 26.
- Four female Muslims interviewed together, ages between 23-28.
- One female Christian priest aged 37
- One female Christian aged 39
- One male traditional leader, of unknown age.

2. Material and criticism of sources

The primary material comes from the informants I interviewed, in some cases they spoke English, and in others my interpreter had to translate for me. Because of the nature of translation, it is inevitable that some words and expressions do not get translated correctly, but at the same time it is of value to be able to see the person you are interviewing. The informants represent different backgrounds, ages, ethnic groups, genders and religions. As mentioned in the method section, it is impossible to make a generalization based on eight interviews, and nor is it my intention. The aim of each interview was to get information you cannot obtain just by reading a book, also of value was the opportunity to ask follow-up questions and the opportunity to interact with the informants in an undisturbed environment in order to get more honest answers. The secondary material comes from a narrow range of sources this is because the research on Ujamaa's impact on the Tanzanian society is not very studied. Although I have used two authors as main sources which implicate reflection from my side, since it is likely that authors have an interest to reinforce the positive sides and

downplay the negative aspects. Along with critical examination have I only used material straight from the sources and aimed to find material that confirms each other.

2.1 Previous research

As above-mentioned is the research within this problem-area not very studied, however, is the research on the relation between state and religion more extensive, as well as identity-related conflicts. Both these areas are two hot topics in science today. Unfortunately is the research not versatile in the sense that it attacks the subject from different angles so that research can develop new science and increases knowledge. Much of the research of the mentioned areas follows and presents similar results as S. Huntington theory. It is assumed more and more that the world consists of several civilizations/cultures, which in different ways aims for recognition. At the same time are anti-foundationalist theories of science increasing in their support in other research areas. The two researches which I used as primary sources were David Westerlund and Olof Lönneberg. D. Westerlund is a professor in science of religion and has a substantial background in the field of religion. I came in contact with him through my university where he is a professor. I presented my focus of this thesis and he gave me several recommendations of what he had written that could be of importance for me, among others his research about some aspects of society and religion in Tanzania (1961-1977) O. Lönneberg wrote his doctoral thesis about Julius Karambage Nyerere and his contribution to the nation-building in Tanzania, which also have been of great value for this thesis.

2.2 Operationalisations

Ujamaa -Ujamaa is both a political system and an ideology. It shows influence from socialism, pan-Africanism, and African ideology. Before Julius Nyerere gave Ujamaa a political meaning, the word referred to fellowship. After the publishing of the third text in 1961- *Ujamaa, the Basis of African Socialism* Nyerere gave the concept a meaning in the political sphere. The purpose of the Ujamaa is to transmit Nyerere's political vision for Tanganyika.

Religion- Veneration of the 'holy', a cultural expression which lacks a clear definition, but contains characteristics such as the belief in something almighty which exercises control over people's lives and destinies. There are difficulties in combining religious insight with scientific empiricism and seeking to identify the common elements shared by religions, while

simultaneously illuminating the unique in each religion. Each religion aims to give the answer to questions relating to life, death and moral issues.⁶

2.3 Outline of the study

The outline of the study begins with an Introduction of the problem area, followed by formulation of the problem, the research question, delimitations and finally delimitations of the interviews. The second section consists of criticism of the used sources and material and operationalizations. The next section is background and it describes identity-related violence, Babati (the area where the field work took place) and Nationalism and nation-building and finally the three religions involved. The background is followed by a presentation of the theoretical frameworks which are used, A.Sen “Identity and violence” and S. Huntington “The clash of civilization - and the remaking of world order”. Following section is a presentation of method, how informants were selected, and a discussion about the validity and reliability of the thesis. Empirical material follows and the analyzed material is presented, such as the content of the interviews made during the field work in Babati., Tanzania. The last part of the thesis is the analysis, where the three research questions are discussed, utilizing the theories as tools. This is followed by a final discussion where I discuss the problem area in a larger empirical context and give recommendations for further research. I give the results of the analysis by points in short summaries in the section entitled “Results”.

3. Background

3.1 Identity-related violence

In order to understand why it is necessary to describe Tanzania and its attitudes to religion is it required to describe identity-related violence, since this phenomenon is increasing in the world. It is difficult to describe every country that is experiencing this kind of violence. My intention; however is to highlight the significance of tension between religious/ethnic groups and government. Tension and conflicts among ethnic and religious groups is increasing around the world, the Middle East and Africa are two centers of this kind of conflict, where competition and rivalry for natural resources, power and recognition becomes the source of the conflicts. States are significant key actors, and they become both arena and actor within

⁶ National Encyclopaedia, Sweden (2011) *Definition of religion*.

the conflicts. Ethnic conflict tends to arise from complex combinations of ethnic strength, class inequality, and political opportunity, mobilization of resources, interdependence and international intervention.⁷ Research within this area shows many difficulties and the debate lacks a consensus as to why it is increasing. This increase is confirmed by the UN, and in 1990 a project called Ethnic Conflict and Development was undertaken by United Nations Research Institute on Social Development (UNRISD). The aim of the project was to find the nature and characteristics of conflict between ethnic groups. The result showed more than expected, and it revealed that whole societies, after an ethnic conflict, risked facing serious problems and sometimes difficult set-backs.⁸ Ethnic violence has sometimes led to civil-war, guerilla warfare and terrorism. After the conflict, the stage of repairing what is left and building a new platform to build the society on has also shown itself in great need of support. This is because many vital sectors of society have been destroyed, or did not even exist before, human rights have been violated and the constitution has been questioned. Some-countries facing this kind of problem are Burundi, Ethiopia, Lebanon and Rwanda. Sometimes, the conflict is not about recognition of an ethnic group, but religion instead is in focus. The means, however, is often the same-violence.

An example of ethnic-related violence is the conflict in Kenya, a country which consists in over 40 different ethnic groups.⁹ Since Kenya's independence the country has struggled with conflicts and tension between ethnic groups, conflicts that did not occur during Kenya's fight for independence but arose after achieving it when a small number of ethnic groups got a greater proportion of land while the rest did not get what they had been promised. Since Kenya's independence, a group of politicians has been running the country and taking decisions which have favored their own ethnic group; this has contributed to many conflicts arising today in connection with elections. The campaigns have been polarized, and ethnic divisions have affected the rhetoric and the politics of the parties.¹⁰ The unfair distribution of land and resources has upset many ethnic groups and led to revenge, anger and the use of violence as a tool to reach public and international attention. A result of this ethnicized conflict is an increased number of ethnic groups choosing to live together in ethnically homogeneous

⁷ William Jr, 1994:49

⁸ Stavenhagen 1996: ix

⁹ Landguiden, (2011) *Population and languages in Kenya*. Sweden

zones, whether in rural or urban areas, aiming to achieve greater recognition from society by acting in a larger group.¹¹

Many scientists argue that the definition of ethnicity has expanded and now includes a social dimension. This dimension is characterized by territorial conflicts, regional inequalities in access to resources and ethnic groups fighting for power and recognition.¹² This conclusion might be hard to prove at this stage of the study, but by referring to this claim I simply wish here to emphasize that the character of war has changed, and identity-related violence, such as religion and ethnicity, has become a more decisive factor in conflicts.

3.2 The area- Babati, Tanzania

Babati is located in the Manyara region, and it is one of Tanzania's 89 districts. The area covers about 6069 square kilometers and it is divided into four divisions: Bashnet, Mbugwe, Gorowa and Babati.¹³

When I first heard about Babati in Tanzania, it was described as an appealing town full of energy. This claim is certainly true, due to its location it is a rallying point for languages, cultures and ethnicities to meet and pass through. This dynamism depends on a road crossing, which links the towns Singida, Arusha and Dodoma. The centre of the energy is concentrated in the town square of Babati, and it is characterized of a constant flow of arrivals and departures of buses and taxis. Babati district is an area similar to other growing cities. There are continual changes economically and demographically; according to the latest census from 2002 the district's population was 303,013¹⁴ but since almost all population censuses are unreliable due to the fact they measure differently it is hard to cite an exact number. Other than the constant flow of people passing through the town in order to reach other areas, there are other "pull factors" driving rural people to Babati district. According to the "push-pull" theories commonly used by economists, pull factors include demand for labour, availability of land, good economic opportunities and political freedoms.¹⁵ This model proceeds from an

¹⁰ Landguiden (2011) *Modern history in Kenya*. Sweden

¹¹ Tarimo 2010: 299

¹² Ajulu 2002: 251-268.

¹³ National Encyclopaedia, Tanzania

¹⁴ United Republic of Tanzania, (2002) *Population and Housing Census*

¹⁵ Castles & Miller 2009: 23

individualistic approach and is based on rational comparison of the relative costs and benefits of remaining at home or moving.¹⁶

People are not market players with complete information about their options or their opportunities, or else they would not move as easily as the model suggests. It should also be mentioned that this model has been highly criticized for being unrealistic, since studies shows that migrants many times lack the power and information to make rational choices and are often compelled to leave.¹⁷

The reason for Babati District's high growth in population is a combination of immigration, people moving from dry areas and people leaving densely populated areas.

As mentioned earlier, Babati district is known for its variety of ethnicities due to its history of migration. There is also a great variety of languages, with all major African languages are represented in the district, such as Cuhistic, Nilotic, Bantu and Khoisa¹⁸

3.3 Nationalism and nation-building

The purpose of illuminating nationalism and nation-building is to create an understanding of what many African countries went through when they became independent, but is also mentioned in order to understand the meaning and function of Ujamaa in this process in Tanzania. There are many theories of nationalism and the idea of a sovereign state, all with different explanations of how a state is defined, of its origin and all disagreeing about whether it is a construction or something that relates to a homogeneous population who share language, ethnicity and culture. Different theories focus on different aspects of nationalism, although despite varying opinions there is a consensus about the origin of nationalism. Nationalism is a European phenomenon that was born in 1648 with the peace of Westphalia, which was formulated on the basis of the various changes that western European societies were undergoing. It was here that the concept of nation state and sovereignty was born¹⁹, concepts which became a precondition for the creation of nationalism. On the political level, Europe was divided into empires and regimented feudal kingdoms. From the 17th Century sovereign states emerged and became codified by the peace of Westphalia²⁰. Another decisive

¹⁶ Castles & Miller 2009: 23

¹⁷ Castles & Miller 2009: 23

¹⁸ Gellner 1994:15

¹⁹ Ibid:15

²⁰ Ibid:15

step for nation-states and their structure was the French revolution and the civic nationalism that dominated; the revolution resulted in citizens not being seen to be below the state, but instead representatives of the state itself through democracy and military service.

Regarding the establishment of African nationalism and the formation of nations, it was, in general terms, an indirect effect of European globalisation, more specifically the introduction of nationalism to Africa by the colonial powers in order to colonize. African nationalism was, first and foremost, a response to European colonialism. Thus it was not obvious for the African leaders that one should proceed with the territorial borders that had been drawn up by the colonial powers during the conference of Berlin 1884-1885²¹. The colonial powers also created political and administrative institutions within the different borders, it occurred in combination with of strengthening of ethnic organizations²². Apart from the administrative and economic changes, such as creating a monolithic economy²³, the colonial leaders never intended to contribute to a common history, language, tradition or culture for the different African countries. Africa and its countries contain several thousand languages and several ethnicities, all these with different views of the family, agriculture and livestock.²⁴ An awareness of social classes or class differences was lacking among the population in the African countries, which meant that this factor did not have much influence upon the creation of independent states in Africa. This was because political power was in the possession of foreign leaders, and the number of Africans who had some kind of higher education was very limited. For example, the farmers who targeted their commitment to their ethnic group, tribe and village community.²⁵

The author James S Coleman draws the conclusion that two conflicting tendencies existed caused by the independence; first an increased ethnic awareness among the population, and second the ensuing nationalism was formed was a based upon the borders that had been created by the colonial powers.²⁶

Many of the African national leaders who were chosen by the colonial powers came from educated backgrounds and had had the opportunity to participate in the western academic world during the colonial period; but many of them were marked by colonialism and

²¹ Ibid:16

²² Ibid:16

²³ This means that it was concentrated to just a few crops for exportation

²⁴ Lönnberg 1999: 25

²⁵ Ibid:25

²⁶ S. Coleman 1970: 154

determined to eliminate it gradually when they became more powerful. An example of the ideas that arose during this time of emancipation from colonialism were the ideas of Julius Nyerere who later became the first president of Tanzania, Nyerere organised ideas about nationalism, freedom, democracy and an African unity to a unified whole.²⁷

Nationalism is often associated with the modernization process, but there is no agreement as to which of them depends on the other, whether nationalism is a force to get modernization started, or whether modernization is the cause of nationalism. Within this discussion there are several opinions as to what pattern the process follows, but, in the case of studies of Africa and African nationalism during the 60's was modernization the dominating perspective and, which assumed that Africa would follow the same development as the industrialized countries.²⁸ Modernization at this time meant mechanization, bureaucratization, industrialization and economic growth, although it was not African nationalism that stood behind these ideas. In reality things did not happen as the modernization school thought and other influences came to be important for African countries such as pan-Africanism and African socialism.²⁹

1. Historical background to Islam, Christianity and African traditional religion

4.1 Islam

Since the focus of the study is on religion and contemporary attitudes towards it, it is of relevance to tell something about how religions arrived and established themselves in Tanzania. The first evidence of Islam presence in East Africa is dated AD³⁰ 830³¹, which were a foundation of a Muslim trading community on the coast of East Africa more exactly Shanga on Pate Island that belongs to the Lamu archipelago of the coast of Kenya.³² Since Islam was mainly spread through trading activities were products such as gold, silver, copper and coins

²⁷ Lönnberg 1999:3

²⁸ Ibid:30

²⁹ Ibid:31

³⁰ AD refers to the time after Jesus was born, based on the Christian Calendar

³¹ Promoting the theology of Islam (2007). *Islam for today*. There lacks an agreement on the exact date on when Shanga was occupied by Muslim traders. Most of the reviewed sources asserts AD 830, though I have found sources saying AD 750.

³² Ibid

important selling goods.³³ The interaction between Islam and east Africa kept on going and the Muslim merchants kept looking for products and goods to sell. While they explored east Africa in order to find these goods they also intermarried with African women and independent (Islamic) states were gradually established along the coast. During the 17th century the Muslims were attacked by the Portuguese, and after about a hundred years of conflict several states could return to trade and new Arab immigrants came to settle in East Africa. In 1885, the Germans came to Zanzibar and conflicts arose, this time the Muslims were defeated and became allies of the Germans. Through this integration the Swahili language was adopted by the Germans who used it in teaching and administration. The colonial leaders also accepted Islam and, it was under their government that Islam experienced a rapid expansion to other areas in East Africa.³⁴ When the British took over what they called Tanganyika, Islamic expansion entered a period of stagnation because the British were more interested in maintaining traditional African societies and governments.

4.2 Christianity

Christianity is the last established religion in Tanzania and hence is the youngest one (Islam, African religions and Christianity). It was not until the 19th century that it began to expand in east-Africa. The historical background to this essay begins when the first missionaries from London came to East Africa in the 19th century, during this time several attempts were made to convert Africans to Christianity, but with almost no success. The first Catholic missionaries started to work in Zanzibar in 1868.³⁵ When the German rulers came, the missionaries had already been active for some decades, but they had not been successful because most of the African Christians were freed slaves who had lost contact with family and tribe. Unlike with the Muslims, the Africans were compelled to abandon their traditional beliefs and customs. This was seen as a step towards disrupting clan society, and it caused many conflicts between the missionaries and Africans.³⁶ German Protestants were among those who encouraged a vernacular language, but since the German leaders already used Swahili it resulted in conflicts. The missionaries protested by saying that the government favoured Islam.³⁷ After WWI, the German missions were weakened which gave the opportunity for Islam to expand.

³³ Promoting the theology of Islam (2007). *Islam for today*

³⁴ Lönnberg 1999:42

³⁵ Ibid:51

³⁶ Ibid:50

³⁷ Ibid:51

A recovery started under the rule of the British which helped Christianity to grow, at the same time as Islam started to decline.³⁸

4.3 Traditional-African religions

Not much is known from the pre-colonial history of East-Africa,³⁹ the coastline had a literary culture so there is some documentation, but most of it comes from colonial times. When the Germans came to East-Africa, they met a plurality of religions, since the Arabs were already established along the coast they met some Muslims as well as Christians living there, after decades of missionary work. One larger ethnic group who lived there before the Germans came was the Maji, they were also the most important group during the German rule because they did not readily agree with the Germans and resisted living under someone else's control. The resistance resulted in rebellion, which consisted in over twenty differing ethnic groups who fought against the Germans, Christian missionaries, Arabs and Asians⁴⁰. The leader of the Majis provided medicine for all; regardless of their ethnic origins he would use his supernatural powers. It was a belief in a Supreme Being, the spirit of ancestors, witchcraft, spirit possession, war medicines and the guidance of the medicine men.

When the British took over and initiated 'Indirect rule', the colonial grip became firmer, since the new control was indented to curb the development of mass nationalism⁴¹. By making traditional leaders local agents of government, each ethnic group was supposed to belong to one of these agents. The Germans wanted to support and strengthen the traditional cultures, and training for a rural life was, for example, considered to be important. One of the reasons for 'indirect rule' was that it would counteract the development of nationalism, which helped to consolidate Africa traditional religion.⁴² Each traditional society in Africa has developed its own, belief, customs and traditions, which influences the whole of religion and lifestyle within each society.

³⁸ Ibid: 53

³⁹ Ibid:34

⁴⁰ Westerlund 1980: 34

⁴¹ Ibid:35

⁴² Ibid:35

5. Theoretical framework

5.1 Amartya Sen- Identity and violence

The reason I have chosen Amartya Sen's "Identity and violence" as one of the theories is because I think that it may compile aspects that are essentially to understanding Ujamaa's influence on today's attitudes to religion in Tanzania.

"Most people are other people"⁴³

Oscar Wilde

This quotation summarizes pretty well what Sen's theory is about, by saying that our thoughts, opinions and values are someone else's, since we are so influenced by our surroundings that just describing a person after his/her color, religion, sex or origin is not enough. Nevertheless, it happens more often than before - particularly when conflicts are described they tend to be reduced to a conflict between identities.

History shows that the last decade civil war has replaced interstate war, and identity along with economic resources has become the two primary reasons to go into war.⁴⁴ This shift in the reasons for war and how the war is played out make this theory even more appropriate. In combination with the purpose of the thesis, to show how through politics it is possible to reach a society these both includes religions and ethnicities, without mixing these things with politics. This feat would seem to be unusual in world politics today.

"Identity and violence" takes an anti-foundationalist position since it emphasizes the social construction of a social phenomenon, violence cultivated by the sense of a unique, often belligerent, identity which makes extensive demands on people.⁴⁵ The theory does not argue for a 'real world 'out there' that is independent of our knowledge.⁴⁶ Rather it says that people are more or less socially constructed individuals. Thus it is impossible to claim that Muslims behave or act in a certain way, since all Muslims have more identities than just Muslim.

⁴³ Sen 2006:xv

⁴⁴ Gustavsson & Tallberg 2009:153

⁴⁵ Sen 2006: xvi

⁴⁶ Marsch &Stoker 2002: 18

The illusion of a unique identity

“Indeed, many of the conflicts and barbarities in the world are sustained through the illusion of a unique and choiceless identity. The art of constructing hatred takes the form of invoking the magical power of some allegedly predominant identity that drowns other affiliations⁴⁷”

In fact, this quotation is valid, since a major source of contemporary conflicts is the assumption that people can be (uniquely) categorized based on religion or ethnicity.⁴⁸ This view goes not just against the traditional view that all people are worth the same, but also the less discussed aspect saying that all people are different and should be respected for that. The sense of identity should not be undervalued; it can make a substantial contribution to one's self-confidence. When interacting with others it also helps to bond and enrich the feeling of fellowship. This understanding is essential to understanding the theory, but it has to be supplemented by a further recognition, that the same identity that embraces warmly can also exclude and close doors.⁴⁹ This is a reality in many identity-related conflicts nowadays, where identity suddenly kills, excludes and brings out new qualities to the new-found identity.

Is there any remedy to this identity cultivated violence? Yes, in fact there is. It is found in the recognition of competing affiliations, since people contain a broad selection of identities, which all play an important part in people's lives.⁵⁰ Along with *recognition* of the plurality of our identities and miscellaneous implications, is it crucial to see the meaning of *choice* in deciding the cogency and relevance of particular identities.⁵¹ A Swedish man can both be a father, son, friend, golfer, musician, feminist, and Christian, all at the same time without them conflicting with each other. None of these collectivities can be taken to be the person's only and unique identity or singular membership category⁵².

Within this theory it is essential to understand the liberty each human being has in determining their loyalties and priorities between the different groups to all of which we belong to.⁵³

⁴⁷ Sen 2006: xv

⁴⁸ Ibid:3

⁴⁹ Sen:2

⁵⁰ Ibid:3

⁵¹ Ibid:3

⁵² Ibid5

⁵³ Ibid:5

The opportunity to choose comes with inevitable limits, indeed; choices are always made within the limits of what are seen as possible.⁵⁴ In the case of identities it depends on individual characteristics and circumstances that determine the alternative possibilities open to us.⁵⁵ It is not about deciding which identity is the most valuable for us, rather which identity is the most valuable and important right now without saying that the other are less important. Why, then, is recognition and choice so important? By reducing a person's identity to only one quality, you also reduce his capacity as a human being, and impose an image that does not capture the whole person's different affiliations. The single-identity pictures not only include descriptive misinterpretation, but also the illusion that a singular identity which others must attribute to the person is obligatory⁵⁶.

Denial of choice

There are two explanations why this uncritical acceptance of conformist behavior exists; one is that such conformism tends to have conservative implications. In the debate about equality between the sexes and discrimination, the conservative arguments about gender roles are often just justifications of customs and practices. Unquestioning acceptance of a social identity, however, does not always include traditional implications; it can also include a radical reorientation in identity which could be presented as a piece of alleged discovery, without its being personally chosen⁵⁷. The last reason mentioned plays a significant role in identity-related violence, people are made to realize (discover) that they are no longer the same but different, with different values, rights and behavior.

Religious variations and cultural identity

Apart from not recognizing people's broad identities and just focusing on religious/ethnic classifications we miss the broad diversity that exists in each religion. Islam, for example, is interpreted; lived and recognized in several ways in the world. Nevertheless, people tend to talk about Muslim customs, Muslim values and even what a "true Muslim" is. According to A. Sen the intellectual force of western policy intended to define- or redefine- Islam, when talking about Islam.⁵⁸ By insisting that Islam is a peaceful religion, and that Muslims are tolerant individuals, West imposes in political terms what a true Muslim is. At the same time

⁵⁴ Ibid:5

⁵⁵ Ibid:5

⁵⁶ Ibid:8

⁵⁷ Ibid: 10

⁵⁸ Ibid:12

all Muslims are assumed to act representatives for the so-called Islamic world, even though all Muslims do not agree with all Mullahs or other Muslims in the world. The world consists of more than a federation of religions.⁵⁹ Regardless of people's faith, they have many different pursuits, and not all of their priorities and values need to be placed within their singular identity of being Islamic.⁶⁰

West and anti west

As discussed earlier, there are several difficulties involved in seeing the world as a multiplicity of religions (identities), especially considering the West. "Western civilization" refers to a developed world, where democracy and human rights are followed. The problem is not that these values are fundamental in many of the western countries; the problem is rather more alarming than that. This way of looking at the world assumes two things: one is that the West is more tolerant than other parts of the world and the other is that many of the western "ideas" and values come from the west.⁶¹ To understand identity-related conflict it is necessary to understand the origins of ideas and knowledge of constructs such as democracy, science and history, and portray as, well, other countries as contributors to these. There is a chain of intellectual ideas within science, politics and mathematics that link the world, from west to east.⁶² It could be said that by reducing people to their religion or ethnicity you also reduce the history but above all, you reduce the commonalities and the differences among people in the world.

5.2 S. Huntington "The Clash of Civilizations- And the remaking of world order"

Unlike "Identity and violence", does the "Clash of Civilizations" take a clear foundationalist ontological position, by emphasizing fundamental differences between civilizations, that are features of their very existence.⁶³ These differences continue over time and are essential differences which provide the foundations upon which social life is built.

The central theme in S. Huntington's theory is that culture and identities have become 'civilizational' identities regulating the patterns of cohesion, disintegration and conflict in the

⁵⁹ Ibid:12

⁶⁰ Ibid 14

⁶¹ Ibid:55

⁶² Ibid: 56

⁶³ Marsch &Stoker 2002: 18

post-cold war world⁶⁴. To support his claim Huntington indicates a number of identified changes in global politics, such as the character of war, shifts of power in world politics, but, above all, Huntington argues for a post-cold war world which now contains seven or eight civilizations.⁶⁵ In this new world the most dangerous conflicts will not arise between social classes nor between people with different ideologies, but rather between people with divergent cultural identities.^{66 67}. Looking at the period after the cold war, it is certainly true that conflict because of issues related to identity has increased, but what Huntington means is that this change is here to stay and that identity related conflicts will increase.⁶⁸ Culture has become both a divisive and a unifying force; people separated by an ideology may come together through culture.⁶⁹

The nature of civilizations

“Human history is the history of civilizations”⁷⁰

Throughout history civilizations have provided the broadest identifications for people, partly because they contain common objective elements such as blood, language, religion, but also because civilization is the broadest cultural entity.⁷¹ By this, Huntington means that, despite people living in the same country but different cities, or in different countries within the same civilization, they have more in common with each other because they share cultural features. Through the identification with a specific civilization people are automatically distinguished from other civilizations. Civilizations that have existed have to a large extent been closely identified with religions. Thus, people who share ethnicity and language, but not religion, may come in conflict with each other, some examples of this are the conflicts in Yugoslavia and Lebanon. Four of the major religions are also foundations on which civilizations rest⁷². Apart from people sharing these common objective elements, is civilizations also defined by the subjective self-identification of people.

⁶⁴Ibid: 29

⁶⁵ Huntington 2002:29

⁶⁶ Ibid :28

⁶⁷Ibid :28

⁶⁸ Ibid:38

⁶⁹ Ibid:38

⁷⁰ Ibid: 40

⁷¹ Ibid: 40-41

⁷² Ibid:47

This means that although people have several identities as Swedish, Scandinavian, European, a Westerner - the civilization to which they belong is the one which they most identify and for which they feel most strongly.⁷³

Another feature Huntington takes up as characteristic of civilizations is the fact that they lack clear boundaries, beginnings and endings. They are not static entities and since people redefine their identities this results in civilizations changing over time.⁷⁴ The unique essence which allows them to survive is their long historical continuity.⁷⁵ Empires rise and fall and so do governments, but a civilization survives and evolves along with its people. So civilizations are not political entities but cultural, thus they do not help to maintain order, establish laws or collect taxes, the political structure of civilizations varies through time.⁷⁶ There is no general agreement on the number of civilizations that have existed or the number of contemporary civilizations.

The major contemporary civilizations identified by Huntington are:

Sinic (Religion Confucianism) - which refers to the Chinese civilization(s), dating back to 1500 B.C. describes the common culture of China and its communities in southeast Asia and elsewhere outside of China, and the related cultures of Vietnam and Korea.⁷⁷

Japanese- Japan is a separate civilization from China, and is an offspring of Chinese civilization which emerged during the period between A.D 100 and 400.⁷⁸

Hindu (Religion Hinduism) also referred to as Indian, Indic or Hindu. It has existed since at least 1500 BC in the Subcontinent. Even though India has a large Muslim community as well as smaller minorities, Hinduism is the core of Indian civilization.⁷⁹

Islamic (Religion Islam) Islam originates in the Arabian peninsula in the seventh century AD and it rapidly spread across North Africa and the Iberian peninsula, and also eastward to

⁷³ Ibid: 43

⁷⁴ Ibid:43

⁷⁵ Ibid:43

⁷⁶ Ibid 44

⁷⁷ Ibid:45

⁷⁸ Ibid:45

⁷⁹ Ibid:45

central Asia, which resulted in many distinct cultures existing within Islam such as, Arab, Turkic, Persian and Malay.⁸⁰

Orthodox- This civilization is distinguished because of its distinct religion, two hundred years of Tatar rule bureaucratic despotism and limited involvement in western experiences as the Renaissance, Reformation, and Enlightenment.⁸¹

Western (Christianity)- Contains three major components, North America, Europe and Latin America but also New Zealand and Australia. Its birth is dated to about A.D. 700 or 800.

Latin America- it is difficult to categorize Latin America because of its history, it could be considered either a subcivilization within western civilization or as a separate civilization close to the western.⁸²

African (possibly)-because of Africa's turbulent history and also religious influences is it hard to talk about a 'African civilization'.

*Separation for spiritual and Temporal authority*⁸³

In correlation with the purpose of this thesis I consider it to be necessary to illuminate significant parts in S. Huntington's theory "The Clash of Civilizations - And the remaking of world order" one of those parts is his claim about the 'Separation of spiritual and Temporal authority'. Huntington says that the separation of state and church (secularism) only existed in Western civilization, which has also contributed to the development of freedom in the West. This has been a predominating dualism in western civilization and nothing like it has been identified in any other civilization.⁸⁴

*Cultural commonality facilitates cooperation and cohesion among people and cultural differences promotes cultural cleavages and conflicts*⁸⁵

As mentioned before people rally to those with similar ancestry, religion, language and institutions and automatically distance themselves from those with different ones. According to Huntington, there are six identifiable factors that support this statement.

⁸⁰ Ibid:45

⁸¹ Ibid:45-46

⁸² Ibid:45

⁸³ Ibid:70

⁸⁴ Ibid:70

⁸⁵ Ibid:126

1. The fact that people have multiple identities originating from their background makes cultural identification increase dramatically in importance in our contemporary world. Narrower identities do not necessarily clash, since a person may identify himself with several collectives such as, entrepreneur, vegetarian, feminist or soldier. But in a world where cultural identity is becoming more significant conflicts between cultures are more common.⁸⁶ Hence conflicts between civilizations are becoming more central to global politics.
2. The importance of culture has increased because of socioeconomic modernization at an individual level. Both alienation and dislocation create a need for other meaningful identities, and on a societal level it is non-western countries with strengthened capabilities which stimulate the indigenous identities and culture.⁸⁷
3. The civilized “us” and the uncivilized “them” is an historical constant.⁸⁸ This is because identity at any level can only be defined through an “other”. People from different countries but from the same civilization have more in common than people from different civilizations. Much of this behavior comes from people being afraid of other cultures which results in lack in trust, not being able to communicate with them in the same language, and lack of familiarity.⁸⁹ Because of improved communications and transportation between different civilizations a deeper consciousness of the differences has grown and an increased mentality of “us” and “them”.⁹⁰
4. According to Huntington cultural questions involve a yes or no, zero sum-choice. This means that traditional conflicts over territory, resources and people have the possibility of a solution by negotiating, compromise etc. But conflicts involving cultural issues concern emotional feelings which make them harder to solve.⁹¹

⁸⁶ Ibid:128

⁸⁷ Ibid: 129

⁸⁸ Ibid:129

⁸⁹ Ibid:129

⁹⁰ Ibid:129

⁹¹ Ibid:129

5. For a person's self-definition and self-confidence it is human to hate. People need enemies in their lives. Naturally, the enemies are usually people who are different and have the capacity to harm.⁹²
6. Again, the mentality of "us" and "them", where "them" in the contemporary world refers to those who are different. The end of the Cold War has not ended conflicts, but rather altered the character of them. It has given rise to new sources of conflict and in the broadest level these sources are the differences between civilizations.⁹³

6. Methods

The structure of this thesis is inspired by an upside down triangle, this in order to maintain a good structure, but also in order to find and use valuable data. By keeping to this structure, my aim will always be to frame the answers I got from the informants within the theoretical context and the empirical background

6.2 Qualitative research

The choice of method is based on the study's nature and purpose; hence it seemed natural to choose a qualitative approach. There are several advantages with qualitative research; though will I only adumbrate those which have been important for this thesis. One of the main advantages is the fact that qualitative research lets the researcher identify the correlation between approach (attitude) and action, which is quite hard in a survey e.g. Thus is it possible to get a deeper understanding of a social phenomenon since these are studied in their natural environment.⁹⁴ It should also be emphasized that the division between qualitative and quantitative research is not as clear as many researcher want to contend, instead of focusing on the differences the focus should lie on deciding the purpose with the research and choosing method according to that.

Qualitative method is often used in an inductive way. This means that a hypothesis is developed on the basis of empirical studies. The purpose is to draw conclusions and find linkages from the observations.⁹⁵

⁹² Ibid:130

⁹³ Ibid:130

⁹⁴ Ryen 2004: 15

⁹⁵ Ibid 2004:25

This aim has received criticism saying that it is impossible to verify universal generalizations based on empirical observations.⁹⁶ This criticism is valuable for this thesis, therefore, I have chosen not to verify either one of the theories. Instead I will try to falsify the theories by looking after observations (empirical data) that might test them, by either falsifying or proving them.

6.3 Naturalism

I have chosen a certain 'method language' for my interviews because this has helped with collecting data, sorting data and finally analyzing it. In brief, the core of Naturalism is the belief that social reality is real, real in the sense that the researcher's purpose is to be able to get so close the informant that he/she will tell the researcher about his/her reality.⁹⁷ By adapting to the environment where the interview takes place the researcher hopes to get access to the informant's reality. In accordance with Naturalism I have followed some conditions, such as a structured (but not firm) laying-up of the interview questions. Due to this have I used semi-structured interviews, hoping to let the informants explore and discuss what they have found important and relevant for the answer. Because of the unusual situation, I was unable to interview all informants in their native-language. This forced me to rely on my interpreter but above all on my interview questions. Many advices in how to interview tells you that you should make the informant feel comfortable, this advice was even more important in my case because of the focus 'Attitudes towards religion in Tanzania'. I had to be able to ask questions balancing somewhere between sensitive and insulting on the one hand, and honesty and experiences on the other. Two important factors for achieving 'good data' have been patience and confidence⁹⁸. Confidence and the effect of an interview are associated with one another in the interview situation. One example is that when I interviewed Muslims in a Muslim area, I attempted to dress appropriately in order to gain their confidence more.

⁹⁶ Ibid:26

⁹⁷ Ibid:32

⁹⁸ Ibid:49,63

6.4 Selecting informants

I did not have the power all the way to choose exactly whom I wanted to interview. My power ended when I informed my interpreter whom I wanted to interview. I could, however, choose which district, religion and position within each religion the informant should have. My selection of informants was based on the aim of getting a broad selection of informants of all different ages, sexes and from different religions. I had, therefore, a number of selected 'key informants' who I hoped would provide me with essential data. At the same time, I chose to accompany a colleague on his interviews in order to get information from their point of view. These informants were seen as 'negative cases,'⁹⁹ though no less important. When I analyzed the answers I tried not to see the answers as complete explanations, but rather as reports of the informant's subjective experiences.¹⁰⁰ This is because there is a risk when analyzing data, you might see the answers as complete information, without putting it in a wider context.

To be able to analyze qualitative data you have to sort it in descriptive categories which represent locations, people, activities or other relevant themes while it is still 'raw data'.¹⁰¹ I did so in order to get a structure and identify a pattern in the informant's answer, which is the second step in processing data. Some of the categories I set up were "Muslim area," "economic resources," "education," "male and female," "elder or younger person."

The third and final step is the process of interpretation. This, in this essay, will happen within the theoretical framework. Here will I try to answer my research questions by falsifying (verifying) the theories, with the hope of illuminating new aspects and questions within this area.

6.5 Validity and reliability

There must be some degree of quality in the research. This debate is rather controversial in the case of qualitative research. Constructivist researchers say that it is impossible to measure the answers of informants and put them in the light of 'reality' since there is no reality out there.¹⁰² The internal validity is about the credibility of the thesis, in this thesis I prefer to talk

⁹⁹ Ibid:80

¹⁰⁰ Ibid:133

¹⁰¹ Ibid:107

¹⁰² Ibid:137

about the degree of precision.¹⁰³ Reliability also refers to the measurement of that which you are supposed to measure (conceptual validity), which is achieved through good operationalization, which is done in section two in the thesis. It is also assumed that high reliability includes the opportunity of reproduction of the research with the same result. This, however, is impossible in my opinion, since significant data comes from living people with subjective experiences. Although I have attempted to reach internal reliability by letting co-workers read my data and discuss it, but also through triangulation during my field-works in Babati.¹⁰⁴

I have no intentions at all to generalize my thesis to other locations or researchers, this because of two factors: one is that the focus of my thesis is quite 'new' and undiscussed, which makes this research new and incomparable. Secondly, I must admit I find it hard to generalize this thesis because of the limited time and informants employed. I have, however, tried to keep a good structure, planning and consciousness when analyzing the material, all in hopes of achieving high quality.

7. Empirical data

7.1 African socialism

Julius K Nyerere considered himself to have grown up in a "tribal socialism", which made him consider that he did not need to be converted to socialism. Democracy and socialism were both deep-rooted in the African tradition, and Nyerere's aim became to restore life to African socialism. During the 50s and 60s this idea was quite strong among African nationalist leaders, and socialism became a guide for the nationalist leaders to create something apart and different from what the European leaders had done. Socialism planted a seed of an idea about opportunities to change society, and it became a valuable means for the nation-builders. Conversely, socialism did not all mean the same for all African nationalists, and different branches of socialism emerged. The one that became influential in Tanganyika was 'African pragmatic socialism', which rejected Marxism, class struggles, and the dictatorship of the proletariat.¹⁰⁵ Instead it aspired to for an African society that included the African social

¹⁰³ Ibid:137

¹⁰⁴ Ibid:106

¹⁰⁵ Ibid:192

structure, religions and democracy. The African pragmatic socialism would take Africa's situation regarding geography, history, culture and psychology into consideration.¹⁰⁶ The entire vision was based on the idea that African society was homogeneous; this made it logical to see the institutions, party, people and other social entities as an expression of this homogeneous society.¹⁰⁷ There was at the same time an awareness that divisiveness could occur between different ethnicities, whereby a one-party system was seen as the solution.¹⁰⁸ Although there was no agreement on how to run the party, what was agreed was that the country had to educate people and maintain a struggle against corruption, overpaid salaries and exploitation of public means.¹⁰⁹ The way of achieving this was through the people's dedication to work, widely based on the Marxist idea:

*"From each according to his ability, to each according to his need."*¹¹⁰

An influential school within African socialism is Pan-Africanism, which inspired nationalist leaders to consider the creation of greater nations in terms of territorial land. Pan-Africanism had great influence on nationalist leaders during this time, and, according to its conception, all Africans shared, more or less, the same origin, a spiritual alliance originated from the race. Within this concept, there were also thoughts about modernizing Africa in order to solve Africa's problems and achieve a better future. The basic idea was that the colonial oppression and underdevelopment would be overcome through Pan-Africanism,¹¹¹ Julius Nyerere was a supporter of Pan-Africanism and argued that Africans did not stand out from other people, but rather that their common history was the reason for Africa's unity, and that the civilizing values from African history were democracy and socialism.¹¹²

7.2 TANU

It is first necessary to describe Julius K Nyerere who came to be the leader of TANU. As mentioned before Nyerere was one of those who had had the opportunity to study at university and even travel abroad to study in England. Through contacts with different centres

¹⁰⁶ Ibid:196

¹⁰⁷ Ibid:196

¹⁰⁸ Ibid:197

¹⁰⁹ Ibid: 198

¹¹⁰ Ibid:196

¹¹¹ Westerlund 1980:27

¹¹² Ibid:28

of knowledge such as universities and contact with other intellectuals Nyerere gained inspiration from other traditions apart from the African, such as Socialism and Pan-Africanism. His academic merits made him not just educated but also qualified to represent an organisation, since he could connect with Europeans at the same time as he had a clear vision for Tanganyika's future. During Nyerere's time in England Nyerere came in contact with the Fabian Society,¹¹³ this was his first contact with Socialism, and this came to be one of the greatest influences on Nyerere's politics. Apart from the inspiration Nyerere got from the Fabian Society, they also helped and supported Nyerere when he decided to strive for independence.

TANU- the Tanganyika African National Union was a nationalist movement founded in 1954. It was not the first national association but the first modern project which explicitly formulated an idea about nation formation in Tanganyika.¹¹⁴ The word National in TANU confirms the idea of a modern policy which wanted to cover the entire population, not just the African elite who had their positions and salaries because through the British system of 'Indirect rule'. In comparison with other organisations during this time, which often was restricted and targeted to a region, religion, ethnic group or a professional group was TANU the first organisation to cover former boundaries. The organisation had only one condition for its members, they needed to be Africans to join, this requirement was based on Julius Nyerere's idea that people lacked self-confidence and this organisation was a way for them to join a movement based on their origin, which would be impossible by a multiracial TANU.¹¹⁵ The primary aim of TANU was to achieve uhuru – independence; this factor was also the most important unifying factor within TANU which became much stronger than any of its predecessors. Much of TANU's discontent was directed against the colonial leaders but also against the African chiefs, who through the British system of 'indirect rule' were salaried agents in different colonial departments.

Ujamaa as an ideology was gradually developed to become a system as well. The author, David Westerlund point out several factors which facilitated the development of TANU:

¹¹³ A socialist society, which emphasized public owning of agriculture in order to find a balance between work and capital.

Westerlund 1980: 94

¹¹⁴ Ibid:112

¹¹⁵ Ibid: 112

- The large number of ethnic groups of which none was predominating
- Swahili – the lingua franca which was understood by many people, at least in the urban areas
- The struggle against colonial rule (the most important unifying factor)¹¹⁶

All these factors could be seen as a response to the conditions that the world community (UN) had set up, where they required that to achieve independence the nationalist movement had to have a broad support from the population. This forced TANU to look out for discrimination and to criticise the traditional African community.

7.3 Ujamaa as a vision and political system

After 1961, when independence was achieved, the task of renewing Tanzanian society began, and Ujamaa – the ideology of TANU would now be the guideline for it.¹¹⁷ Ujamaa was for a long time a vague ideology, and often had contradictory ideas; but the central thought was always that it would stand for the traditional egalitarian way of life which had been violated because of colonialism.¹¹⁸ The influences of Ujamaa were both internal and external. There was a basic contradiction within Ujamaa, because at the same time as the traditional African culture was to be revived, Ujamaa was supposed to serve nation-building.¹¹⁹ However, Ujamaa was defined like an African ideology, inspired by socialist ideology, though not the Marxist kind of socialism. According to Nyerere, the leader of TANU the Africans already knew the concepts of socialism and democracy, these two elements already existed in the African society, and Nyerere argued that socialism “was an attitude of mind” rather than a political ideology.¹²⁰ Some criticism pointed out that not all but probably none of the traditional African societies was egalitarian.

According to D. Westerlund African cultural aspects of Ujamaa had to be incorporated in a selective process.¹²¹ He points out several aspects which suggest this firstly, Ujamaa had to work in a nation in order to build it, therefore, tribalism was banned. Second, Ujamaa’s aim was modernization, and third, the TANU leaders were either Muslims or Christians and not

¹¹⁶ Westerlund 1980:25

¹¹⁷ Ibid:25

¹¹⁸ Ibid:26

¹¹⁹ Ibid: 26

¹²⁰ Ibid: 26

¹²¹ Ibid: 30

adherents of traditional African religion¹²². Nyerere argued that the basic principle of Ujamaa was the idea of an extended family which also was the basic idea of African Socialism, along with living in mutual respect, sharing of joint production and a universal obligation to work could Ujamaa be a reality according to Nyerere.¹²³

7.3 Ujamaa and its perception of religion

It is necessary to understand that during Nyerere's time Tanzania was extremely pluralistic, and it is said that each of the three religions possessed about one third of the populace.¹²⁴

The Muslims were divided into several groups, they were more or less all Sunnis, there was also a small group of Asians representing another branch of Islam (Shia Muslims). Altogether, the Arab and Asian Muslims numbered less than one hundred thousand, but because of their strong economic position in society they were a significant group.¹²⁵ The Christians were also divided in several groups, but by far the most important was the Catholic Church, with about two third of the Christians. In short, it was a cobweb of religions which TANU had to face, this forced the party to handle the situation with caution, and today it is said that TANU was a secular party and the state and government were in theory and reality religiously neutral or uncommitted¹²⁶. But at the same time as religious organisations and religious believers were not supposed to mix their belief with politics, they were compelled to play their part in the nation-building and socialist development. By this, I mean that they were supposed to support the socialist development but not with religious means, they were supposed to work within the framework of Ujamaa. The religious organisations were required to work in accordance with Ujamaa. Already at the beginning of TANU's career they were aware of the risk that religion could become a decisive factor for them. According to Nyerere, a political candidate should not act on the basis on his religious beliefs since this could undermine TANU's development.¹²⁷ There were also some economic interests behind TANU's actions, which should be mentioned.

¹²² Ibid:30

¹²³ Ibid:30

¹²⁴ Ibid:35

¹²⁵ D, *Freedom of religion under Socialist Rule in Tanzania, 1961-197*, Journal of church and state, 24 (1) 1982, p. 90

¹²⁶ Westerlund 1980:58

¹²⁷ Ibid:58

The Christian churches had significant resources because of their links to other churches in the west, which TANU used by urging them not to oppose but to cooperate with Muslim-dominated TANU.¹²⁸ Consequently it was easier to cooperate with the Christians, since much of their aid went to the party. Swahili played an important role in Nyerere's politics and its success. Since no ethnic groups dominated in Tanganyikan society and there was one language that was more commonly used, at least among the men, Nyerere took advantage of this fact. When the party travelled around promoting Tanganyika, Swahili was the language which Nyerere used to transmit his political ideas and vision. Although Swahili originated from the Arab merchants from the coast (1600th), Nyerere did not see any problem with using it; the language became a means to revitalize the African confidence which had been violated during the colonial time.¹²⁹

What role did the churches and mosques play in the development of Ujamaa society? Nyerere argued that these two religious institutions should be included in the building of socialism and that he was fine with having religious leaders in politics, since they could provide positive assistance. It should, though, be mentioned that there were some incidents of different religious or ethical norms of ethnic groups clashing with the modern laws set up by TANU.¹³⁰ Apart from these crucial decisions there were also some other constitutional factors from an earlier time that influenced, inter alia, the first constitution of independent Tanganyika. The 1965 Interim Constitution did not explicitly mention freedom of religion, but it mentioned some other freedoms, "freedom of conscience" etc, though these were not judicial but had more of a moral force. This first constitution of Tanganyika wanted to keep religious issues to a minimum and not raise this type of matter before the public, since religion was as sensitive a topic in 1965 as in 1961, which Nyerere was well aware of.¹³¹

Summation of important historical occurrences:

1919- The British took over what they called Tanganyika

1954- TANU was formed

1961- Tanganyika achieved independence

¹²⁸ D, *Freedom of religion under Socialist Rule in Tanzania, 1961-197*, Journal of church and state, 24 (1) 1982, p. 90

¹²⁹ Lönneborg 1999:126

¹³⁰ D, *Freedom of religion under Socialist Rule in Tanzania, 1961-197*, Journal of church and state, 24 (1) 1982, p. 94

¹³¹ D, *Freedom of religion under Socialist Rule in Tanzania, 1961-197*, Journal of church and state, 24 (1) 1982, p. 91

1964- Zanzibar enter into union with Tanganyika and formed Tanzania

1965- Since this year was TANU the only political party

1964- Revolution in Zanzibar

7.4 Content of interviews

In this section I shall describe a few of the interviews I conducted. The reason I have selected these six is because they are the most diverse in their answers, and were the interviews that stood out in the sense that they contributed new aspects.

As mentioned in the Method section, the primary data was collected in the form of “semistructured” interviews, and most of these were in depth interviews. All the interviews followed the theme of religion, with the opportunity for the informants to develop and explore other issues they found it necessary to discuss. Since I was the stranger in this particular subject, I was the one to follow their direction. I had, however, a number of principal questions to ask in case it should become necessary.

Since my focus of the study is the ideological influence of Ujamaa on current attitudes to religion I needed to ask questions about their attitudes towards other religions, which resulted in question such as, “What do you think of other religions?” Or “Do you have Christian/Muslim friends or family?” Depending on the answers I got, I would go further with follow-up questions. When the informants were asked what they thought of other religions, 7 of 8 answered that they did not have any problems at all with other religions. In fact, almost all answered that “You do not have the right to tell anyone or force your religion upon anyone,” and that according to their own religion “it is crucial to respect and tolerate others, in order to maintain the liberty of worshipping”

Muslims students

The first ones I interviewed were a group of Muslim students, though it was mainly talking to the two teachers (two Imams) that I got some interesting information. The interview took place in a Muslim secondary school during daytime. Apart from saying that it is important to tolerate other religions, they also said that they socialized with Christians during their free time. “It is permissible to socialise with those of other religions, but not when doing religious practices.” When I asked why, the answer was that “they belong to different religions” and “you are taught at an early age to separate religion from pleasure.” When I asked what they

thought was the reason for conflicts between religious groups in the world, they referred to “westernization”.

Two Imams

The second interview I did was with two Imams, who taught the Koran in a Muslim school. This interview took place at the same school as the previous interview.

During this interview I heard for the first time in my field work that Muslims and Christians would cooperate with each other when they had a problem to solve. A problem could be a person in the neighbourhood who needed economic support, a person who was sick and needed to go to hospital, but also if a mutual friend was getting married and the two religions were attending. However they pointed out that cooperation did not mean that they performed religious activities together. When I asked why they did not pray together, they answered that it was not correct to do so according to their religion. They also said that “both Christians and Muslims share the same God, so there is no reason to force your religion upon anyone.” When I asked about the role and significance of traditional African religion, they answered that “it did not have much significance, everybody is entitled to worship whoever they please, but Christians and Muslims work together to educate those who believe in traditional religion.” The two Imams were also the first ones to mention Nyerere's politics as a historical factor for the relationship between Christians and Muslims: “Nyerere introduced socialism, and it was decided that religions had to cooperate, by tolerating and respecting each other.”

Female Christian

The third interviewed was held with a female Christian, and took place at her home in Babati. Her daughter was present during the whole interview. This woman supported the claim that Muslims and Christians cooperate when it is needed, for example to solve a problem, or during a wedding or funeral. The female Christian did also refer to Nyerere's politics as a historical factor for the current situation of religious groups in Tanzania. She elaborated that “Nyerere banned tribalism and regionalism and advocated socialism as a way to tolerate other religions and ethnicities.” The priest did also say that she thought that “the presidents after Nyerere had not obtained this policy, in the same way as Nyerere”, which she found a bit frightening for the future of Tanzania. Apart from doing following traditions within the religion, did she also reveal that the religion had greater meaning in her life; it helped her

collaborate with other women from other religions. It was a tool for organizing women and resolves a problem together. She did also mention that it happened that both Christians and Muslims prayed together, which the Muslim students and the two Imams had strongly been against.

Female priest

The interview took place at the priest home which belonged to a private Christian community.

The female priest also mentioned Nyerere and his politics; she said that it was the “most important historical and social factor in the co-existence between religious groups”. It is forbidden to promote religion in an election campaign or other political context; this contributes to cooperation across religious and ethnical borders. She also referred to politics where Muslims, Christians and traditional leaders take political decisions collaboratively. In comparison to anterior interviews was she the first to mention that changes had occurred, and nowadays there were many more alignments between religious groups, which have resulted in an increased segregation in neighbourhoods. The female priest was also the first to reveal irritation against “an increased ‘islamization’.” When I asked what she meant with ‘islamization’, she answered that she had “noticed a greater attempt by Muslim communities to recruit youths”, which she found alarming. She continued by saying that “more parents put their children in Muslim schools, in order to learn about the Koran from an early age. This is not as yet a problem, but it may become one in the future.” The priest also said that she was “not against Muslims or Islam”, but that she found some of them alarming, because a religious group who wants to be “superior” is dangerous for other religions.

When I asked her about what she thought religion could mean for women, she answered that within Christianity “religion means a lot, it is a way to cooperate with other women, whether Christians or Muslim”. When I asked her if she thought it was the same for Muslim women, she answers that “she hoped so”, but she knew that “Muslim women did not have a lot to say in their marriages”. She took polygamy as an example, according to her polygamy was “a hindrance preventing Muslim women from being independent.” When I asked the priest about traditional religion, she said that “it is not possible to worship objects” and that there are a lot of “backsliders, people who stand with one foot in traditional religion and the other in Christianity/Islam” without really being true to any of them.” She concluded the interview by

saying that “at the end we all live under the same God, so we are worth the same and need to respect each other for that.”

Four Muslim women

These four women answered the same as the priest, the two Imams and the Christian woman, when I asked about tolerance between religious groups in Tanzania. It was because “people are all the same at the end, and worship the same God” One of the women continued the answer by saying that, “it results in cooperation on all types of issues, such as social matters, marriages and funerals. But not in religious activities.” When I asked why they chose to collaborate with other religions they answered, it was because they “respected each other and every person had their own right to decide who to worship.” They elaborated by saying that they had “many Christian friends, whom they are in the habit of socializing with.” These women also mentioned Nyerere as a historical factor, since Nyerere introduced socialism, where everybody is equal, but also by not letting religious issues integrate with politics.”

When I asked them about the meaning and role of religion in their lives they answered that “Islam is a peaceful religion which brings them peace and joy”. I wanted to know their opinions about conflicts related to religion in the world and what they thought was the reason for them. All agreed with that it was because “western influences, and non-Muslims who butted into other people's business” But interpretation also played a significant role in this issue, since some “Muslims tend to interpret Islam according to their own interests.”

Traditional leader

I met the traditional leader at his home in Babati, he was an elderly man but with the spirit of a young teenager. During the interview he was very lively and answered with a lot of enthusiasm. I started the interview by asking him about the role of traditional religion, he was very clear with his answer “traditional religion is the only one which connects all three religions in Tanzania (Islam, Christianity, Traditional religion) by not targeting one specific group but he was there to help all believers” the leader continued by saying that “Both Muslims and Christians come to him in order to get help, he can help and resolve problems regardless of their primary religion.” The leader also said that he did not have anything against other religions “but that they need to realize that their way of praying does not help other people.” When I asked about any historical reason he thought explained the tolerance between religions in Tanzania he answered “Nyerere had great influence in this issue, since he

insisted on respect and harmony between religions. The current president, however, knows nothing about traditional religion, and he is not as interested as Nyerere in maintaining Tolerance between religions.”

8. Analysis

This section will be divided into three parts based on the three research questions, the theoretical framework for each question will be Amartya Sen's “Identity and Violence” and Samuel Huntington’s “The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order”. I have not had the intention of verifying or falsifying the theories, instead I hope they may help me to answer the questions.

1. How has Ujamaa as an ideology influenced attitudes towards religion in Tanzania today and how is this manifested?

To begin with, Ujamaa has been influenced by various ideologies and schools; among the most important from the point of view of this thesis are African socialism, which in turn has influences from the Fabian Society, Pan-Africanism and pragmatic African socialism. All three ideologies have strong visions on socialism based on how to build a society. Important concepts which Ujamaa borrowed from these schools were socialism, democracy and tolerance, which also came to be recurrent concepts in the answers of the informants. All of the informants had the same opinion about attitudes towards other religions, “tolerance is important because everybody is entitled to worship whoever they want” because “at the end, people worship the same God” This statement links back to Nyerere’s idea of socialism, where the vision ‘African society is homogeneous’ was promoted and mediated to the people in different ways. Unlike A. Sen’s idea of The illusion of a unique identity Ujamaa treated Tanganyika's people after the same premises - they were Africans and all alike, regardless of the faith of each.

Instead Ujamaa correlates more with S. Huntington’s idea of civilizations, since Nyerere emphasized the commonality among the people - they were Africans who had been oppressed by the colonial powers, without putting religions or ethnicities against each other. Huntington argues that cultural commonality facilitates cooperation and cohesion among people, which in this case is true, apart from the circumstance that Tanzania, now and then, consists of several

religions, Nyerere found another commonality- the African heritage and the vision of socialism.

Huntington mentions the importance of meaningful identities when alienation and dislocation occurs,¹³² which in the case appears to be true. Because of the traumatic heritage and cultural oppression the country experienced it automatically created a feeling of alienation and dislocation which Nyerere replaced with the vision of Ujamaa. During the time Ujamaa was promoted, education and people's dedication to work were two important factors which were said to be necessary to reach a socialist society. These two factors do not target a specific group, ethnicity or religion, which made it easier to conform to it and understand it.

Sen points out an important aspect which, so I conclude, played a significant role in this situation- West and anti-West.¹³³ Nyerere did not just borrow concepts from different knowledge centers around the world, he made them his own by saying that essential features like democracy and socialism already existed in African culture. In combination with the use of the already familiar word Ujamaa Nyerere could create and incorporate something new and at the same time familiar. All of the informants mentioned Nyerere as an important historical factor behind attitudes towards religion, although none of them explicitly mentioned Ujamaa, words connected to Ujamaa occurred, apart from socialism and tolerance some also said that "tribalism and regionalism are forbidden"

Since the time Nyerere became president it has been forbidden to mix politics with religion. Nyerere decided this in order not to create a divide between religions and ethnicities which could negatively affect his politics. This idea is still important; ethnicity and religion are two sensitive issues, nearly something private which people do not like to reveal just to provoke dissent, which leads to Sen's aspect of Denial of choice. Both then and now, religion and ethnicity are things which each person decides for himself, without the state forcing people to discover their identity, Ujamaa was at that time the common denominator instead, and the concept and vision of Ujamaa still dominates in identification today.

This same aspect gives a different or complementary answer in the light of Huntington's theory. Huntington says that it is human to hate, and people need enemies in their lives, which in this case would refer to the west as the enemies. Nyerere's reanalysis of the concept of

¹³² See p. 18

¹³³ See p. 15

socialism and Ujamaa, figured as the antithesis of western civilization, created an “us” and “them” mentality. This mentality still flourishes, which could be seen in some of the answers I got when I asked “Why this tolerance between religions did not work in other countries?”

All informants pointed out western domination and western interests as a source in the countries where conflicts between religions or ethnicities occurred. The problem with Huntington’s explanation is that it fails to explain why people do not find people from different religions or ethnicities as enemies. It could be said that it is because they share a culture, but, again, the theory is unable to explain the toleration between the religions in Tanzania. Although, a simplified explanation according to Huntington would be that the enemies of the population of Tanzania is “west” and African countries that belong to other cultures and that in different (political, social, economical) ways are different from them which blocks identification.

2. How can religion be a tool to integrate with other religions?

The same dedication to socialism and a sense of belonging that people felt at Nyerere’s time is still important, which brings me to the other factor which unifies the different religions, the need to cooperate and work together. Tanzania is a country struggling with many problems such as, among others, poverty, corruption and deadly diseases, but one issue that has not, as yet, become problematic is identity-related conflicts.

Three out of four of the selected interviews I described in the section “Content of interviews”, said they cooperated with people from other religions. None of them saw it as a problem “socializing” as long as they did not practice religious activities together, which, in a world where identity-related conflicts are common, is a rather unusual attitude. One of the explanations to this behavior is Sen’s concept about remedy for cultivated violence.¹³⁴ It says that where there is recognition of the plurality of identities, it will facilitate cooperation between identities because there is more identification that brings them together than differences that separate them. This is exemplified in the answers I got, one informant said “we cooperate when someone needs economic support” and “when someone has a problem” but also if a friend from another religion is getting married both religions attended.

¹³⁴ See p. 13

The only aspect the informants emphasized was that, “as long as the socializing did not interfere with practical activities, there was never any problem with socializing with other religions. “

The informants saw further than the religious identification, and found other commonalities which united people. Along with being able to choose the relevance of one’s religion, the informants could decide how important the religion was in relation to others, without risking being charged with being unfaithful to their religion. The opportunity to determine the loyalty between the different identities to which the informants belonged facilitates cooperation among religions, and people expand in their broadness of identities and made themselves more diverse.

Cultural commonality facilitates cooperation, according to Huntington; this might be true here but only with some modifications. The population of Tanzania may share culture, but not religion or ethnicity. How can people rely on each other when they do not share religion, ethnicity or, in some cases, even languages? Huntington says that narrower identities do not necessarily clash, which could be the explanation for the cooperation between religions. The problem is how to know the importance of a person’s religious identity, since people interpret and express their religions in their lives differently. It makes more sense to answer the question according to Sen’s concept about recognition and choice and thus distinguish people as entities consisting of several identities, where one is their religious faith and another citizen, neighbor, friend, co-worker.

3. To what extent does peaceful religious cooperation exist in Tanzania? And is Ujamaa its only source?

This question is designed to complement the others, but also posed because it will give me the opportunity to question the extent of peaceful religious cooperation in Tanzania, and analyze if Ujamaa is its only source.

During Nyerere’s time and efforts with TANU, there are three identifiable social factors which facilitated the success of the party.

- The large number of ethnic groups of which none was predominating
- Swahili – the lingua franca which was understood of many people at least in the urban areas
- The struggle against colonial rule

The last one was the most important unifying factor, and it still is the major unifying factor, but the struggle is not against colonial rule now, it has been replaced by social problems people have to deal with in their daily lives. More precisely, TANU did not let religious opinions interfere with politics, and people or organisations who did not understand this were prosecuted and convicted. Tribalism was also banned, all in order to keep sensitive issues away from politics. Looking at this from the perspective of Sen's theory the illusion of a unique identity, it illuminates what people did and why. People were more or less forced to have a public identity where opinions about religion and ethnicity did not count, they were supposed instead to be unified by African socialism and Ujamaa, which they in fact were. People's private identity was more diverse and came to include religious faith, and since people were not allowed to criticise other religions publicly, it influenced people's private opinions. Much of this explanation is applicable to why people tolerate and cooperate with each other today.

Religious freedom, therefore, is not directly linked to Ujamaa, it is more caused by what it forced people to do, and the values and norms they could publicly express, the permissible public identity. The private identity or identities, which were what I could experience during my interviews, revealed tolerance and recognition to one's own identity and the identities of others. None of the informants referred to Ujamaa, but all mentioned different catchphrases which had been used frequently during Nyerere's time, which further strengthen the indirect link between Ujamaa and people's attitudes.

Huntington's idea that alienation and dislocation create a need for other meaningful identities highlights the need of people to have a network to rely on; these networks are constituted by several persons, who in different ways have meaningful identities, regardless of their religion.

The extent of freedom people have in Tanzania is limited by the Ujamaa influence itself. Since people are not allowed to mix any religious opinions in politics, there is a lack of control over religious organisations, even though pressure from inside and outside the country increases. Religious movements inside increase, since many of them get donations from

foreign organisations, all in the hope of spreading their word, which makes the locals adapt to their requirements. Outside the country, identity-related conflict is a major source to many conflicts, which inevitably becomes increasingly obvious.

Of all the interviews there was only one informant who criticised the other religion. The informant accused the other religion of having become “extreme, in the sense that they attempt to educate children in religious schools” and “They do not let their women have the freedom to be independent.” This statement is most easily explained by Sen’s concept of Religious identity and cultural variations: people, and foremost people in the west, tend to talk about religion as a homogeneous group, although religions are lived and interpreted in several ways. Because of an increased awareness (among religious organisations) of identity in relations between religions are the unsympathetic attitudes more common and is spreading further down on grass-root level.

9. Final discussion

This section is dedicated to personal thoughts and to putting the focus of the thesis in a wider context, and to give recommendations for further research.

The focus of this thesis is important for several reasons. As I mentioned in the introduction, contemporary politics shows that secularism is becoming more important, not with the intention of supporting people’s faith, but because states are afraid of identity-related violence. Within politics only one side of this issue seems to be discussed, the risk of identity-related violence arising because people’s religious (ethnic) identity is more important today. This same opinion is followed by the categorization of religious groups: Muslim, Christians, Orthodox, each religion representing its sympathizers in the world, as Huntington says, the world just seems to consist in different civilizations. Looking at the debate in a wider context Huntington’s statement is coherent. The problem is that this statement, which represents a belief which is shared by more influential politicians around the world, becomes a self-fulfilling prediction overriding important aspects which show the opposite, for example the situation of Tanzania where religious groups live together in tolerance and mutual acceptance. At the beginning of my research when I searched for material about religious freedom in Tanzania, I noticed that there was not much written about it, which is a shame since it is an extraordinary case, which has accomplished something that many countries do not think is possible. It is a fact that identity-related conflicts are increasing, but it does not imply that the

solution is to categorize people by one single identity. Should it not be easier to let people find common denominators apart from their faith?

Religious leaders are supposed to act as spokesmen for entire religions, although these consist of millions of people and religious conflicts seem to only involve a “yes or no” choice. More political decisions should instead go the opposite way, and recognize people's multiple identities, letting people choose by themselves which are the most relevant.

On the other hand I confirmed the importance of recognizing people’s identity/identities; in a world where identities are becoming more important it is necessary to demonstrate a case which took another direction, by letting people have their religious and ethnic identity as long as they conform to the laws of society. It could be argued that Tanzania is no different from other multicultural societies, but it is in fact different. Apart from the circumstance that it consists of 130 ethnic groups and three different religions, it succeeds in integrating them and creating a society where these groups live in toleration.

This leads me to recommendations for further research; I think this thesis is valuable as research within this problem area; this thesis is not complete and lacks aspects to give a complete picture of religious freedom in Tanzania. But the purpose it has, to describe a country that through politics has worked for a society that includes religions and politics without including religion in politics, is currently relevant. Apart from looking at Tanzania as a case which has succeed better than other countries in this issue, it is necessary to find out if it would be possible to export parts of Ujamaa as a political system to other countries, in particularly countries which are still struggling with nation-building, such as many countries in Africa. This focus is also significant in countries where identity-related issues are becoming more common, such as countries in Europe where identity-related issues are becoming more important for politics. There is no doubt that the need for research within this problematic of identity is increasing. Many researchers blame globalization, others blame the increased level of civil war which forces people to move to other countries in hope of a better life. However, all research shows the same thing: people's identity/identities are more significant than ever.

There are numerous themes in this thesis that in different ways are topical also for developed “modern” countries, some of them have been discussed, but more research needs to be done.

10. Conclusions

In this section I shall present the results by points and give a brief summary of the results of each research question.

The first research question was about Ujamaa's influence as an ideology on today's attitudes towards religions, and how this was manifested.

- Ujamaa's influence on today's attitudes towards religion is best explained by S. Huntington concept of civilizations. When Nyerere gave Ujamaa a political meaning his target was every Tanzanian (African) citizen and he took no consideration to religion or ethnicity. Ujamaa was directed to a homogeneous group who was united by the colonial heritage, or, as Huntington would have said, shared a feeling of dislocation and alienation which Nyerere turned around to something they had in common. It is necessary to illuminate this foundation of Ujamaa in order to understand Tanzanian attitudes towards religion today.

Sen's theory stresses two important factors in identity-based thinking which incorporate attitudes towards other identities such as religion, recognition of the several identities of oneself and others and the opportunity to choose their relevance. Both these factors became evident from the answers I got during my interviews. Another result that became clear was the allegation that the west was a source of identity-related conflict. This statement is differently explained by Sen and Huntington, Sen explaining it better. As mentioned the term Ujamaa already existed when Nyerere came to use it in political contexts. He gave it a unique content, inspired by different ideological schools but with a familiar shell. Ujamaa is still present, though not through its formal definition, but through its legacy that we can find in different values and norms that people have. Huntington's theory is unable to explain why the attitude towards the west is not directed against other religions and ethnicities too.

The second research question asks how religion can be used as a tool to integrate with other religions.

- Sen's theory "Identity and violence" was the theory which best explained religion as a tool to reach other religions. As mentioned in the previous question recognition and choice are two crucial factors governing tolerance between identities. All of the informants were determined about the support of other people; they had found commonalities which brought them together instead of separating them. According to Sen's theory this is because they had recognized both in others and in themselves different identities, but also the ability to choose between them and this prevents people from being brought to account for their faith. Religious identities are not put against each other because this is not necessary. Other common identities are more important in relations to others instead of religious ones.

The third research question is seen as a complementary one, and inquires as to what extent does peaceful religious cooperation exist in Tanzania exists, and if Ujamaa is the only source to it.

- During Nyerere's time people were more or less forced to conform and follow Ujamaa, people were allowed to worship whomsoever they wished, as long as they followed Ujamaa. People who were Muslims, Christians or traditional believers had to express their religion and worship in private. Ujamaa strongly advocated people's equal value, something which came to influence people's attitudes towards others, including their religious beliefs. However, Ujamaa was never expressly referred to by the informants, but the catchphrases and the values and normative values that it consisted in, such as tolerance and socialism, were clearly expressed. Religious freedom in Tanzania is therefore divided into two, the public and the private one. In the public Ujamaa's influence is still a strong factor leading to toleration towards other religions, and in the private sphere it is the same, but due to pressure from foreign religious organizations and an increased awareness of identity-related issues the single identity based mentality is dispersing through the people. It is not possible to link negative attitudes towards religions to influences from western organizations, but there is a clear risk that external pressure might nourish hostile attitudes.

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