



Dilemmatic Context of the Muslim Shares in the Country's Political Leadership in Tanzania

¹Dr. Juma Shaban Chibololo, ²Dr. Salum Haji Hamisi

^{1,2}Muslim University of Morogoro

ABSTRACT

Despite the Tanganyika Muslims' struggle for independence, since 1961 their share and participation in the national political leadership have been minimal. This trend continues to this day. Several literature works have proved the existence of this trend that seems to persist without a concrete solution. This trend has resulted in many questions as to whether the gap is widening instead of narrowing. Although the government is aware of the matter and has spoken out publicly, the matter remains constant. Dilemmatic connections arise when a Muslim runs for the presidency. Muslims stand up for them and, despite campaigning, leaving Muslims behind after winning the nomination. At a time when our fellow Christians are vying for leadership over the ruling party, Muslims are choosing entirely for themselves with the ruling party. Unfortunately, fewer Muslim personalities are granted government posts after the elections. Despite the Tanzanian constitution that provides equal rights to all people in the country when it comes to leadership matters (Act No.15 of 1984 Art.6) but still a question arises whether the Muslims elected in leadership posts really under the standards of the concept of Islamic leadership khilafa which is responsive to equality and equity, unlike their counterparts. Non-Muslims' leadership tends to be religious partisan while Muslims remain bewildered. This paper examines this dilemmatic context of the matter and proposes a better way to deal with it. The secondary data has been used extensively regarding the political share of Muslims in various political offices in Tanzania. The results show an unequal representation of Muslims towards the political leadership in Tanzania. This context indicates that the Muslims in Tanzania are a minority in terms of political participation in the country

Keywords; Muslims, Political, Tanzania, Education, leadership, and participation

Introduction

Tanzania is among the countries made up of many tribal, ethnic and religious groups. It is made up of more than 120 tribes and the Sukuma population accounts for 16 per cent of the entire country. The population of Tanzania is 62,785,414 million as of mid-March 2022, and the annual population growth rate is 2.98 per cent, ranking 23rd in the world population and 13th in Africa. The TFR is 5.0 and the birth rate is 36.2 per 1000, births per day 6,077, deaths per day 1033, migration per day -110 and net change per day 4934. The population density is 62 per square km. Life expectancy is 62.6 years and 44.8 per cent under 15.52 per cent aged 15-64 and 3.1 per cent over 64 years. The median age of Tanzania is 17.7 and the GDP (IMF) is \$64.89 million. It contributes 0.81 per cent to the world population (World Population Projections 2019). Despite this, Tanzanians live harmoniously among the groups. Tanzania is one of the most peaceful developing countries where people respect, understand, live and work together despite their differences. Social groups in Tanzania include Muslims, who have a very long history. However, their number is unknown. Before the independence census, of 1957, Muslims were 31%,25% Christians (17% Roman Catholics and 8% Protestants), and 44% were believers in African Tradition (ATRs). However, the first census after the independence of 1967, indicated that Muslims were 30%,32% Christians and believers in ATRs(Bakari 2012). The reasons for the deportation were never publicly disclosed by the government. Despite this, it is now claimed that Christians make up 61.4% and Muslims 35.2%, inter-ethnic relations 1.8%, other0.2% and unattached 1.4% (World Population Prospects 2019 and US Department of State).CIA Factbook (2018) estimates the population of Tanzania in 2010 as 61.4% Christian, 35.2% Muslim, 1.8% folk religion, 0.2% other and 1.4% unaffiliated. Mark (2010; 807) claims that Christians make up more than half of the population and Muslims less than a third.

Unfortunately, the government has never been seen to condemn these false publications about the Muslim and Christian population at a time when no official data existed, as the religion question was removed from the census. This government act triggered Muslims' emotions leading them to boycott the 2012 census. For Muslims to actively participate in the census, they demanded the government to include religious items on the questionnaires to ascertain the exact Religious ratio in Tanzania, unfortunately, the government was adamant to adhere to the Muslim's demand. This raised a question as to why religion was removed from the census. If you want us to be counted and questions about religion and the government have been adamant not to include the aspect of religion in the census. But why were religious questions removed from the census? Many possible arguments were put forward. The popular argument put forward by the first President Mwalim J.K Nyerere on multiple occasions was that Tanzania is a secular state and religious dates are useless and less important to Tanzanians. And the religious data could sow hatred among Tanzanians. But how does religious data threaten the Nation Unit? while Christians and Muslims live harmoniously. Some Muslims rented Christian houses and vice versa. And critical reasoning is required to understand the argument being made. Others, especially Muslims, see the elimination of religious issues and the claim for a secular state as a gateway to

the oppression, segregation and exclusion of Muslims in Tanzania. And Muslims can't complain because the constitution doesn't care about religious groups. And every religious complaint is given less weight and less treatment. This forces politicians to appoint people from one faith, region or zone, and that is out of the question. And some Muslims see emission as a way to justify the majority of Christians in administrative posts to fewer Muslims and less represented, reflecting their numbers. In addition, Muslims believe that if they publicly know that they are the majority, their complaint that they are underrepresented might make sense

Lodhi and Westerlund (1999,97) warn that the issue of the number of Muslims and Christians is politically sensitive and that the statistics provided by both organizations are biased, notorious and unreliable, and they claim to derive religious affiliation from the census to win. Muslims believe they are the majority in Tanzania. Muslims claimed that the government had manipulated data in favour of Christians (Said 1989). The 1957 census showed that Muslims outnumbered Christians by three to two (Issa 2012). The sudden growth in the Christian population in the 1967 census was difficult to justify and difficult for Muslims to accept. Another argument put forward by Muslims was the reasons for the sudden decline in the Muslim population and the increase in pagans (said 1989). Saite (2011.6) claims that in sub-Saharan Africa 14 shows that in Tanzania Muslims form the majority at 60%. These numbers have remained constant in all subsequent NS publications since 1991. The debate and claim infuriate Muslims because they have been less represented in political leadership since independence. According to Lodhi (1994,91), more than all government and party posts are occupied by Christians, technical posts even fewer.

Whether Muslims are the majority or the minority, their reasons for fighting for independence in Tanganyika are undeniable. Muslims believed that their political and social disadvantages could be eliminated after independence. They assume that the new independent leadership could recognize them, respect them, honour them, value them and listen to their demands. After independence, their involvement in political leadership is minimal. Many questions can arise: what were the roots of Muslims being less represented politically? What was the situation of Muslims before, during and after colonialism? What role did Muslims play in the struggle for independence? How are Muslims portrayed in political leadership positions today? This essay attempts to answer these questions

Objectives

This research aims to examine the context in which Muslims in Tanzania are portrayed in the political leadership in Tanzania. It also examines trends in Muslim participation in political leadership since independence. It discusses the complexities that Muslims face in their involvement in politics today.

Muslim participation in political leadership before colonialism

Evidence of Muslim presence and dominance is abundant along the coast of present-day Tanzania. The presence of a mosque on Shanga Pate Island and the presence of the oldest mosque buildings at Kimkazi in southern Zanzibar, dating to 1007 AD, support the claim (Hamis, 2019). According to Said (2000), Islam was dominant in the Indian Ocean area in the 14th century. During the visit of Ibn Battuta in 1332, he felt at home in Islam. It has been claimed that Islam spread through trade and was mainly found in urban and rural areas. Muslim rule was shocked by the Portuguese invasion in the 16th century, while Islamic dominance and coastal dwellers had strong ties to families in the Arab world (Hamis, 2019). The arrival of the Portuguese destabilized the coastal areas and several battles took place. And in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, the coastal Muslims drove out the Portuguese with the help of the Omani Arabs (Said, 2000). Muslims were an influential community in Tanganyika and the inland spread of Islam intensified during Omani dominance. The inner part of Tanganyika was exposed to Islam in areas like Tabora, Ujiji and Kigoma. Many local rulers converted to Islam and cooperated with coastal Muslims. Muslim participation in political leadership was high and respected despite the lack of accurate data.

The Root of Muslim's Lower Participation in political leadership

The lower participation of Muslims in political leadership had its roots in colonialism when Muslims were marginalized at the expense of Christianity because Christianity was the state religion. The Germans did not initially discriminate against Muslims, since they offered Muslims education and employment in the military and public offices. The German was hired by Swahili servants to escort the German's Island. The majority of the servants were Muslims from the coast. The hired subordinate administrators, Akida, and Muslim soldiers were important in allowing Islam to spread inland earlier than in Kenya and Uganda (Hamisi 2019). Despite this minor role in political leadership, they were a very important part of German rule. Muslims were involved in political leadership. The hired Swahili people were used to teach German schools along the coastal areas. Although the Muslims cooperated with the Germans, other large groups opposed the relationship. The group of poor strata of the rural population was opposed to the German administration. The Sufi, Qadiriyya and Shadhiliyya were activists and opponents of German rule in Tanganyika, and all were Muslims. The Sufi played a significant role in the Majimaji War (1905-07) against the Germans. The African ideas of Kinjikitile, the leader of the rebellion, were influenced to an extent that they intertwined with Sufi ideas. Although knowledge of the spread of Sufis in German East Africa is limited, the fact remains that Sufi influence was an important factor in the spread of Islam (Said, 2000).

The Church informed the German ruler that Muslims were dangerous and an obstacle to colonialism, and the Germans began to discriminate against Muslims (Westerlund 1980:51). According to Oliver (1965), the government proposed a strategy to marginalize Muslims in three areas: first, to impose sanctions for preaching their religion to increase their numbers because they were difficult to govern and they hated Christians harassment through

government (Johnstons,1900). Second, to marginalize them in education. To achieve this, the colonial government adopted a policy called the Africa Education Policy, which gave the Church the right to provide education, and government responsibility was eased by running the cost of Church-owned schools. This could facilitate the baptism of Muslims and missionary schools were important tools for Christianizing Muslims (Njozi, 2000, Westerlund,1980). And the third strategy was to exclude Muslims from government work, and the claim was that employing Muslims in government could spread Islam (Westerlund, 1980). The marginalization of Muslims made them aggressive towards colonialism. And this is one of the reasons why Muslims led the fight for Tanganyika's independence. Muslims assumed that independent Tanganyika would consciously take the initiative to close the gap between Christianity and Muslims in education and employment. The Muslims lost everything they held dear to ensure Tanganyika became independent. The late father of the nation and first president of independent Tanganyika publicly admitted that Christianity was reluctant to join the freedom struggle as it believed Christianity was a state religion, but then he favoured Christians in education and employment

Tricks and treachery used to hinder Muslims from political advancement

Before independence, the colonial government in Tanganyika was under provincial and district administrations, with the governor residing in Dar es Salaam, since the final decision-makers of administrative leaders were Muslims. This was because Muslims had a well-structured and organized system of life established by Muslim Arabs along the coast of East Africa from Mogadishu-Somali to Sofala in Mozambique. They had their knowledge-seeking system using the Arabic alphabet to communicate. This made them more civilized than the rest of the indigenous people and as a result, the formation of political parties in Tanganyika towards independence was also initiated and led by them (Muslims) who had the urge to liberate Tanganyika from the colonial yoke. The early TAA party, whose leadership lay under the old German-educated elites Mwalimu Thomas Plant (President) and Clement Mohamed Mtamila (Secretary), was inactive and therefore needed young blood to take charge. Fortunately, Abdulwahid Sykes and Hamza Mwapachu staged a coup against the elected leadership and took responsibility (Mohamed Said, 1998).

Due to the succession of political events towards independence, the colonial government felt the heat was growing to relinquish the direct rule of the native peoples and therefore began to devise ways and methods to indirectly deny the chance to the Africans. To implement their strategy, the colonizers devised the Tanga Strategy in 1958. The strategy was to hold Legislative Council elections on a racial basis. Seats were to be contested under a tripartite electoral system, with seats being allocated to Europeans, Asians and Africans. The eligibility requirements were very harsh for Africans, especially Muslims who had been fighting for independence since German rule. The conditions; one had to have an annual income of four hundred pounds sterling, be employed and finally have the standard two-year level of secular education. This Tanga strategy was adopted by Nyerere as it favoured Christians and excluded Muslims from electoral politics. As a result, Christians were eligible to vote and had seats in the Legislative Council (Muhammed Said, 1998). Another ruse and betrayal used to prevent Muslims from political advancement was the marginalization of Muslims. This was because African Muslims were able to unite and collaborate with Asian Muslims under the same umbrella, the East Africa Muslim Welfare Society (EAMWS), through the leadership of His Highness Aga Khan. This posed a threat to the Christians because they felt they were a great challenge as Asian wealth would be available under African Muslims, which in turn will help them advance in social institutions such as education and health sectors. To counter this, special programs to marginalize pre-independence Muslims and leaders were developed. Therefore, some leaders like Sheikh Sulaiman Takadir were expelled from the TANU party while others like Mwaikela were imprisoned (Dr. John c. Sivalon, 199

Muslim participation in political leadership after independence and the current situation

Tanganyika became independent in 1961, due to the situation during colonialism, many government posts were occupied by Christians from mission schools. The role of the missionary schools is of great importance as the free Tanganyika could have trained personnel to govern their country, (Njozi 2000). It is with deep sadness that their dreams have not been realized to this day, despite the heated struggle for Tanganyika's independence. The first president of Tanzania favoured fellow Christians at the expense of Muslims. According to the famous writer Jan Peter Van Bergen in his book *Development and Religion in Tanzania*, the secret words of the meeting, which the President shared during an August 3 meeting with his Bishop Robert Rweyemamu and the Pope's representative in Tanzania, Mr Giovanni Cerran, had expressed in the State House in 1970 that I was not an expert on religion, but I do what I can and I will never take action against my church. I want to do the church in Tanzania a special favour and I have created a department for civic education in TANU and Ministry who is Lutheran and leads the department not because she is a good politician but because of her strong belief in Christianity (Bergen, 1981:335) According to Sivalon (1990:161), quoted by Njozi (2000), many public offices, those of MPs, were held by Catholics and in the 1970 elections 75% were Christians and of the 75% 70 were Catholics and the account was found in the archives of the White Fathers in Rome. And Njozi (2000.2) points out that Catholic Christians boast of being many in Parliament in 1970, as they made up 70% (56 out of 80) of 74.1% of all Christians. And the total number of deputies was 108, 23 (23.1%) were Muslims, 5 (5%) were traditionalists and 80 Christians

The posts of ministers and deputy ministers, regional and district commissioners and other administrative posts were used extensively to demonstrate the lower participation of Muslims in political leadership. Only political offices are considered for the analysis; these posts require lower academic qualifications and therefore lower occupancy by a group cannot be justified.

Table 1.1 The average number of Muslims and Christians in the government in 1993

Posts	Total	Christians	%	Muslims	%	Ratio
Ministers	24	16	66.7	8	33.3	1:2
Deputy Ministers	11	7	63.6	4	36.4	1:1.7
Regional Commissioners	20	15	75.0	5	25.0	1:3
District commissioners	121	113	93.4	8	6.6	1:14
Grand Total and Ratio	176	151		25		1:6

Source: Jumbe (1995:136)

Table 1.1 shows the number and ratio of Muslims and Christians with political titles 32 years after independence. In the general context of political office, the ratio is 1 Muslim to 6 Christians. And in developing countries, politicians are decision-makers. Since independence, the appointment of Muslims to various government posts has decreased and two arguments are mainly used to justify this; One is that no criteria other than qualification apply to appointments, and second, Muslims are less educated (Njozi, 2000). In practice, academic qualifications are less important for some political offices, e.g. B. Offices of District Governor, District Governor, Minister and Deputy Minister. These are all political titles and academic qualifications are less important, which is why we had state commissioners who didn't have a school certificate or who even forged a certificate. If many Muslims were to be found in this type of work the argument might make sense, otherwise it is just a buck and a gate for injustice. This raises many complex questions; After 32 years of independence, no targeted measure to close the educational gap between Muslims and Christians in Tanzania! Is this a deliberate move or accidental? and does our constitution allow it?. To be clear, in 1969 the government nationalized religious schools to create equal access to education in Tanzania. This has been theorized everywhere as a way of providing equal access for Christian and Muslim children, but the motive has been to serve Catholic schools, which are entirely dependent on government subsidies. And they were close to closing down these schools and the government nationalizing them (Njozi, 2000). The forces behind the exercise should have the intention of serving the church schools, and not an affirmative action to give children of both denominations equal access to education. Minority groups are privileged to receive special education programs such as building boarding schools for nomadic societies. Where is the affirmative action for Muslims in Tanzania, whether they are a minority or majority but underrepresented? The Fourth President of Tanzania, Honourable Jakaya Kikwete, developed the policy of one school in each ward (in Swahili shule za kata), this opens the door for equal access to education in Tanzania. Despite many challenges; Lack of teachers, teaching facilities, infrastructure, laboratories and lack of houses for teachers at least significant changes will be seen in Tanzania sooner or later.

Table 1.2 The average number of Muslims and Christians in the government in 2015

Posts	Total	Christians	%	Muslims	%	Ratio
Ministers/Deputy Ministers	30	20	66.7	10	33.3	1:2
Regional /District Commissioners	166	125	75.3	41	24.7	1:3
Permanent Secretary and Deputy	50	40	80.0	10	20.0	1:4
Regional and District Administrative officers	163	139	85.3	24	14.7	1:6
Grand Total and Ratio	409	324		85		1:3

Source; Researchers' findings

Table 1.2 shows the number of Christians and Muslims in some selected government posts and on average the ratio is 1 Muslim to 3 Christians. This ratio is 54 years after the independence of Tanganyika. This ratio reflects the political title, what is the ratio for the posts that require higher academic qualifications? Immediately after independence, the justification was that Muslims were less educated, what justification today? It is very interesting that at a time when there was no full-fledged university in Tanganyika, Muslims were in the process of establishing their university and the process was indirectly politically abolished when the Muslims involved were transferred from the country and the plan ended. And many cases of educational marginalization were reported after independence. The 1992 Church-Government Memorandum of Understanding, in which the government agreed to give future teachers a special seat to teach in mission schools in-state colleges. And the government gives subsidies to church institutions such as hospitals (Njozi,2000). This type of strategy indirectly leads to marginalized Muslims in Tanzania. The Muslims were not discouraged but established many secondary and elementary schools across the country with their funds. According to Jumbe (1995:133), the ratio of Muslims to Christians at the University of Dar es Salaam was 1.4 from 1971 to 1988, suggesting that despite efforts to narrow the gap, the gap continued to widen. And Jumbe (1995, 133) claims that there is evidence of outcome interference in student results at secondary school as the gap continues to exist

Conclusions

Considering the engagement of Muslims before, during and after independence and the current situation. The government must take conscious measures to close the educational gap between Muslims and Christians to avoid future tensions between these social groups. The government must be willing to listen to the grievances of every social group in Tanzania, as our constitution allows. The response Muslims receive from fellow Christians rather than the government should be avoided. Special efforts must be made for the Muslim community to improve its weakness by opening as many schools, universities, colleges and vocational training centres as possible. The government should disclose the number of Muslims and Christians in each social group and not allow each social group to compile its data.

Several literature recordings and findings whether audio or written have proved that the discrepancies have been existing before and after independence especially when it comes to official representations in government institutions. Good examples can be traced back to Tanzania's first president Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere's speech when he declared several times that Muslims were lagging behind both in Education and political representation in the country promising to fix this crisis.

Compliance with ethical standards

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deep appreciation to all those who helped us to write this article. And special thanks to my co-author Dr Salum Haji Hamisi for tirelessly editing and writing this article. I wish you all the best in your future academic work.

Disclosure of conflict of interest

Due to the perception behind a conflict of interest and in the interest of full transparency, I reconfirm that Dr Salum Haji Hamisi for is my co-author and collaborator on

References

1. Muhamad Said Muslim Nationalists in Tanganyika: The life and Times of Abdulwahid Sykes (1924-1968): The untold story of the Muslim Struggle against British colonialism in Tanganyika Pp.358. Published online by Cambridge University Press: 25 April 2001.
2. United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2019). World Population Prospects 2019, Online Edition. Rev. 1.
3. "Islamic Movement and Christian Hegemony: The Rise of Muslim Militancy in Tanzania 1970–2000." 2011. Accessed October 31, 2018. <https://www.jamiiforums.com/attachments/islamic-movement-in-tanzania-1970-2000-1-pdf.69875>.
4. Bergen, Jan P. (1981) Development and Religion in Tanzania, Sociological Soundings on Christian. Participation in Rural Transformation.
5. Bryceson, D. Fahy, Chiteji, Frank Matthew, Mascarenhas, Adolfo C. and Ingham, Kenneth (2021, March 19). Tanzania. Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Tanzania>
6. Cameron J. and Dodd A. (1970) Society, Schools and Progress in Tanzania, London, 71
7. Fr. Robert Rweyamamu, "Report of conversion with President Nyerere", August 3, 1970. Tabora Archdiocese Archives
8. Issa, M. (2012). Census and Politics in Tanzania: Facts and Figures xa.yimg.com/kq/groups/.../CENSUS+AND+POLITICS+IN+TZ.pdf
9. Johnston, Sir H (1990) Johnston to Sub-Commissioners in Busoga. December 3. Entebbe Archives, Busoga correspondences onward A 11/1
10. Jumbe, A. (1994). The partnership: Tanganyika-Zanzibar union: 30 turbulent years. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: Amana Publishers.
11. Lodhi, Abdulaziz, and David Westerlund. (1999) "Chapter 4 Tanzania." In Islam Outside the Arab World, edited by David Westerlund and Ingvar Svanberg, 97–110. Richmond: Curzon Press, 1999.
12. Lodhi, Abdulaziz. "Muslims in Eastern Africa Their Past and Present." Nordic Journal of African Studies 3(1) (1994), Uppsala University, Sweden. Accessed October 1, 2018. <http://www.njas.helsinki.fi/pdf-files/vol3num1/lodhi.pdf>.
13. Mandryk, Jason. Operation World: The Definitive Prayer Guide to Every Nation. Colorado Springs: GMI, 2010.
14. Njozi, Hamza M. (2000) Mwembechai killings and the political future of Tanzania, Globalink Communications 12-2159 Elmira Dr., Ottawa, ON, Canada K2C 1H3
15. Oliver, R. (1965) The Missionary Factor in East Africa. London: Longmans. Green & Co. Ltd.
16. Said Mohamed. "Islam and Politics in Tanzania." Muslim Writer's Organization, 1989. Accessed March 23, 2022. http://www.islamtanzania.org/nyaraka/islam_and_politics_in_tz.html.

-
17. Said, M. (1998a). Islam and Politics in Tanzania Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: Muslim Writers' Organization. Available at www.jamiiforums.com/habari-an-Hoja-mchanganyiko/4049-Islam-and-politics-in-Tanzania
 18. Said Mohamed. (1998b) The Life and Times of Abdulwahid Sykes (1924-1968): The Untold Story of the Muslim Struggle against British Colonialism in Tanganyika London: Minerva Press.
 19. Said Mohamed. (1998c) The Life and Times of Abdulwahid Sykes (1924-1968): The Untold Story of the Muslim Struggle against British Colonialism in Tanganyika London: Minerva Press.
 20. Sivalon, J.C (1990) Roman Catholics and the Defining of Socialism 1953-1985: An analysis of the Social Ministry of the Roman Catholic Church in Tanzania, A PhD Dissertation, The University of St. Michael's Colleges
 21. John C. Sivalon, "Kanisa Katoliki a siasa ya Tanzania bara 1953 Hadi 1985" Ndanda, Tanzania: Benedictine Publications 1992.
 22. United States Department of State. "International Religious Freedom Report 2017— Tanzania." Accessed March 23, 2022. <https://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/2006/71328.html>.
 23. Westerlund, D. (1980) Ujamaa na Dini: A Study of Some Aspects of Society and Religion, 1961-1977 Stockholm, Sweden: Stockholm Studies in Comparative Religion
 24. World Atlas. "Religious Beliefs in Tanzania." 2017. Accessed March 23, 2022. <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/religious-beliefs-in-tanzania.html>
 25. Bakari, M.A (2012) Religion, Secularism, and Political Discourse in Tanzania: Competing Perspectives by Religious Organizations ,in Interdisciplinary Journal of Research on Religion, Volume 8, ISSN 1556-3723