

National consciousness and identity in Tanzania: Factors influencing its development and sustainability

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ABSTRACT

We intend to debunk the myth that religion is a key factor in the weakening of national consciousness and cohesion in Tanzania by investigating the evidence behind media coverage that portrayed the phenomenon as being caused by religious conflicts in the country. The conclusion of the survey is that Tanzania citizens, irrespective of religious affiliation, do not differ significantly in their preference for the promotion of national consciousness in the country. The calculated $X^2 = 0.8249$ was found to be less than the tabulated $X^2 = 5.02$ with $\alpha = 0.025$ and $df = 1$. Therefore, the null hypothesis on religion as a factor was accepted. These findings are contrary to media coverage portraying that national consciousness and national unity are being undermined by greater attachments to the two major religions, namely Islam and Christianity. Historically, national consciousness takes priority when outside forces threaten the nation or during internal challenges and misgivings, regarding faulted government performances and the threat to the stability of the country. When the government fails to deliver social services such as security and economic empowerment, protect citizen uniqueness and encourage sense of belonging not hinged on religion or ethnic grouping, it encourages revolt. The shirking in the national responsibilities and apparent partiality in turn, create avenue for and gear the people to rise against the regime. Such an all-embracing sense of nationalism is different from one that is based on sectarianism (the 19th century East and Central European version of nationalism), which some selfish and myopic politicians in Tanzania are eager to embrace using the religious cloak. In order to sustain and promote social, communal integration and national consolidation, it is necessary that a program is mounted for the youth and general public that will take the country from the usual national consciousness to what Franz Fanon calls 'political and social consciousness'.

Keywords: National consciousness, national identity, religious conflict, civic education, patriotism.

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INTRODUCTION

National consciousness, or what Franz Fanon (Fanon, 1961) used to describe as 'the all-embracing crystallization of the innermost hopes of the whole people', appears to be at a low ebb in Tanzania. The situation is the effect of a degenerating national cohesion as reflected in growing sectarianism. Conflicts between groups of citizens holding different religious beliefs, political opinions, and places of origin are prevalent. In addition, there is a feeling of general decadence of the moral fabric of society illustrated by corruption and lawlessness at all levels of society (URT, 1996). These shortcomings and excesses are published daily in the national newspapers to the extent that some citizens feel ashamed to identify themselves as Tanzanians. The

newspapers include *The Citizen*, *Nipashe*, *Fahamu*, *Mwananchi*, *Kiongozi Gazeti la Wananchi*, and *Mwana HALISI*.

For instance, *Nipashe* newspaper of April, 1 2013 reported a statement made by one minister in the President's Office in which he blasted those who instigated chaos based on religion, comparing them to people who attempt to cut a branch on which they sit. The minister was officiating at a fund raising event organized by the Seventh Day Adventist Church in Mwanza.

'Rt. Reverend Bishop, I implore you and the whole SDA Church to cooperate with all other religious

institutions in the country so that our country continues to enjoy peace. This is my biggest request and I would not like to make further clarification because we all love peace. Even the perpetrators, who create conditions for others to suffer, do not wish to become victims themselves' (Wassira, 2013).

As reported by a *Fahamu* correspondent (Chambo, 2013) grievances from Muslims center on alleged disdain for the Koran shown by Christians, oppression of Muslims by the government, denial of equal opportunities, and existence of a pro-Christian government.

As reported by another *Fahamu* correspondent (Mwenge, 2013), the religious conflicts are politically motivated; there is lack of moral integrity including a culture of impunity. In addition, lack of good governance that should be anchored on the rule of law is cited as the major cause for the weakening of national unity and solidarity among Tanzanians.

The previous imbalance, political and religious dimensions were reflected in the tension that existed during the conduct of the last national census. Before the national census in 2012, 'Muslim leaders had requested that the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) should include in the questionnaire an item on religious affiliation with a view to identify and establish accurate religious divide and strength of the populace'. The Minister rightly objected and rejected the request saying that it would undermine the unity, peace and tranquility of the country. The NBS director explained that items on ethnic affiliation and religion would not be included in the questionnaire because the government policies are not hosted on or premised around religious beliefs or tribal affinity. The Christian and Muslim religious leaders had earlier differed on the desirability to include religious identity in the questionnaire. This was during the pre-enumeration seminar. While the Muslim representatives demanded its inclusion, Christian representatives argued that it was not important or necessary in order that the government can provide social services equitably. They were concerned that its inclusion would be detrimental to peace in the country. This prompted threats from some Muslim quarters in Dar es Salaam (Shura ya Maimamu) to boycott the planned census event (Msuya, 2012).

Prompted by growing religious/political tension as a result of murder of a Roman Catholic priest in Zanzibar, on 31st March 2013, President Jakaya Kikwete emphasized the need for calm and restraint as he made a televised speech to the public.

'The third point I want to emphasize is the relationship between Muslims and Christians in the country. In fact, I have raised this matter several times before, but I am forced to repeat it because the current situation demands that I do so. We have come to a point where if religious leaders and their followers do not change their behavior, we

are heading towards a disaster. Let us not tarnish our long cherished good reputation as a country where Christians and Muslims tolerate one another, coexist and cooperate as brothers and friends. If we don't do that, Tanzania will cease to be an island of peace and will be listed among conflict stricken countries suffering from internal strife' (Kikwete, 2013).

Purpose of the study and research questions

This article attempts to shed some light on the crisis by examining the theoretical underpinnings of the phenomenon 'national consciousness/identity', and analyzing the factors that might have contributed to the current situation. The study was guided by the following research questions:

1. Which factors contributed to the rise of national consciousness in Tanzania?
2. Which factors contributed to the weakening of national consciousness and identity in Tanzania?

To what extent is religion a contributory factor for the sustainability of national consciousness and identity?

METHODOLOGY

The study was anchored on data collected through a combination of methods including library research, documentary review, and questionnaires. The literature review provided useful and contrasting definitions of national consciousness ranging from the perspectives of western self-determination, eastern culture to Fanon's political and social ideology. The review of various documents exposed factors influencing the rise, sustenance and erosion of national consciousness in Tanzania. Citizens' sentiments were expressed through a random survey on the importance of promoting national consciousness. The cross-country survey involved various categories of citizens in six zones of Tanzania mainland, namely: southern, southern highlands, central, lake, north, and the lake'. It involved among other segments and callings: teachers, politicians, activists, religious adherents and the business community.

Respondents were asked the question: Which values should be emphasized for peaceful co-existence in a diverse Tanzanian society? They were required to indicate their preference of civic education value contents by checking one or several of the choice(s) provided in the list. The list included the following values: promoting national interest rather than individual interests, instilling self reliance and self confidence among citizens, empowering citizens to question and criticize, promoting basic national values, instilling among citizens obedience to government leaders, promoting patriotism among the citizens, encouraging citizens to fulfill their civic responsibilities, enabling citizens to know their basic rights and how to fight for them, promoting equality, promoting unity and peace in the country, promoting among citizens the spirit of tolerance.

The response frequencies were tabulated for each value and then re-categorized and collapsed into two groups: those promoting national values and those promoting other values. The values considered under 'National values' are: tolerance, respect for difference (politically, ideologically, by religion, gender), social justice, national unity, transparency and accountability, integrity and

patriotism. The rest of the items were considered under the 'Other values' category. A Chi square analysis was run to determine the split of opinion between Christian and Muslim respondents with regard to their preference for national and other values.

Conceptual model

Our conceptual model assumes that Tanzania's national consciousness and identity are being eroded by stronger citizens' attachments to religion, ethnic, and political affiliations' worsening popular dissatisfaction with government performance, worsening citizens' dissatisfaction with the nature of the union, and worsening economic disempowerment. Some of the causative factors include lack of accountability, ineffective law enforcement system, lack of transparency on union issues, as well as ineffective moral and civic education. This model implies a program that will take the country from the usual national consciousness to what Franz Fanon calls 'political and social consciousness.'

DEFINITIONS OF NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

In discussing the role of history in society, Yveline Fumat (1997:158) makes a distinction between 'le sentiment national' (the national feeling), and 'une conscience nationale' (a national consciousness), that is, an awareness of nationhood. This is what is also regarded as '*éducation civique*', that is, the creation of good, patriotic citizens. Fumat describes the former as basic and instinctive. He argues that the latter 'gives the pupil — from his history lessons — a better, more controlled, understanding of his own culture, and connects him to a broader, more objective view of surrounding countries and, ultimately, the whole world, thereby helping to bring about 'a European and even a global consciousness'.

While Fumat's identity definition as '*une conscience nationale*' goes beyond Okeke's (1998:201) characterization of the phenomenon as 'awareness of the ideal and goals of one's country, including a conscious effort to help achieve those goals', it masks the possibility of a particularistic postulation of national, continental or global consciousness. To avoid such partisan conjectures, Frantz Fanon defined national consciousness as 'the all-embracing crystallization of the innermost hopes of the whole people' (Fanon, 1961). Fanon was skeptical about the behavior of the national middle class (petty bourgeoisie) as leaders of the revolution against colonial hangover. He urged them to join in the struggle and put at the people's disposal the intellectual and technical capital that it snatched when going through the colonial universities. Franz Fanon wrote:

'A bourgeoisie that provides nationalism alone as food for the masses fails in its mission and gets caught up in a whole series of mishaps. But if nationalism is not made explicit, if it is not enriched and deepened by a very rapid transformation into a consciousness of social and political needs, in

other words into humanism, it leads up a blind alley. The bourgeois leaders of under-developed countries imprison national consciousness in sterile formalism. It is only when men and women are included on a vast scale in enlightened and fruitful work that form and body are given to that consciousness. Then the flag and the palace where sits the government cease to be the symbols of the nation. The nation deserts these brightly lit, empty shells and takes shelter in the country, where it is given life and dynamic power'.

Also,

'...If you really wish your country to avoid regression, or at best halts and uncertainties, a rapid step must be taken from national consciousness to political and social consciousness. The nation does not exist except in a programme which has been worked out by revolutionary leaders and taken up with full understanding and enthusiasm by the masses' (Fanon, 1961).

Ideas drawn from the three scholars enable us to discern three intertwining dimensions of national consciousness. One of the dimensions is psychological as reflected in Fumat's notion of 'le sentiment national'. The second, territorial dimension is implicit in all the three scholars' analyses; while Franz Fanon ably demonstrates the third, social and political dimension. In this article, we will adopt the second and third perspective of national consciousness. However, in so doing, we also recognize the practical difficulty of reconciling defense of the right of peoples (qua nation states) to self-determination with the fact that it is necessary to create a pan-African and even universal or global consciousness. Indeed, in this time and age the importance of a trans-national consciousness is paramount as Juma Mwapachu ably puts it:

'Climate change, exploitation of scarce energy resources, environmental stresses over land and water, and fast rising global population that catapults social disruptions due to low capacities to provide quality education and the resulting youth bulge that breeds social terrorism for lack of decent jobs, call forth a new outlook and sensitivity within and by global citizenship. We have to think beyond the borders of our national political entities if global humanity is to survive an environmental Armageddon'

...'Global citizenship flows, in my view, from what the African-American poet, Maya Angelou describes as humanity's oneness'; a oneness built on human dignity and respect; equality and share

responsibility for human security' (Mwapachu, 2013).

In this analysis, national consciousness as 'le sentiment national' is de-emphasized because of the inherent rejection of 'The Other'. Unfortunately, the teaching of history and civics in Tanzania's recent past has been so influenced by the desire to build national cohesion under an elite one party system that other voices (from opposition political parties and civil society organizations) were shut off as if they did not deserve to exist. This deliberate misrepresentation of history, such dis-information, only helped to maintain an irrational and dangerous group feeling, which Fumat (1997) abhors and warns against in the following words:

Text books and historical accounts must never follow the path of brute emotion. On the contrary, they should make a contribution towards transforming and transcending any such feelings by combining the knowledge one acquires of oneself to the knowledge one acquires of other people, a process which must involve rationality and objectivity, while eschewing the spontaneous and the immediate. Such is the task of the school — to introduce its pupils to 'La Raison' (Reason) and, while going about its business, to provide an honest 'education'. For, as everybody knows, 'un sentiment national' is already passed on sufficiently well by the family, just as territorial affection, ties of blood, old enmities, the duties of revenge are perpetuated, especially by its bonds. But the school must do differently. It must free the pupil from loyalties and devotions which are too special. In order to do this, it must, through contrast and comparison, bring these attachments out into the open. It must unmask them by placing them within a wider context. The school must disencumber itself from the 'local' without disowning or denying its existence. It must introduce its pupils to 'L'espace publique' (The public space) and support a more abstract solidarity of mankind (Fumat, 1997:165).

It should be noted that national consciousness is about a shared sense of national identity. However, there is a narrow difference between national consciousness/national identity and national values. Normally, national values are en-cultured while national identity is a display of the nation. With these broad distinctions, it is now proper to examine that phenomenon in its historical context.

NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS: HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS

In Africa, national consciousness has internal and external origins. According to Nyerere (2000:4-20), the

seeds of that consciousness was the sentiment of oneness that was created among slaves from Africa vis-a-vis their European slave masters and oppressors. That sense of oneness evolved from the stage of passive suffering to a second stage of defiance and struggle for self-determination (African nationalism). The second stage is a recent phenomenon and does not seem to have originated from the continent. The literature (Macartney, 1934; Buchanan, 1991; Taylor, 1961), suggests that the roots of national identity consciousness can be traced from two main sources. One source is the self-determination movement of the 18th and 19th centuries in Western Europe and the United States of America. Another major source was Eastern and Central European nationalism of the 19th century. The western strand was more political in its orientation and drew heavily from ideas of popular sovereignty, individual freedom and representative government of the Enlightenment period. The major torchbearers of the time included John Locke (Locke, 1970), Jean Jacques Rousseau (Rousseau, 1974), Montesquieu and Thomas Jefferson. According to the political philosophers, self-determination was universal, and boundaries of the state were not of necessity, confined to one ethnic grouping; it could as well encompass various ethnic groups. In other words, self-determination did not consider ethnic boundaries.

The East and Central Europe had a more ethnic and cultural outlook. It was influenced largely by German writers such as Johann Gottfried von Herder's, Giuseppe Mazzini (Macartney, 1934; Buchanan, 1991; Taylor, 1961), ideas which stressed importance of ethnic, cultural and linguistic factors in determining identity; the Volk idea (= community bound together by blood). Johann Gottlieb Fichte, for example, argued that a nation should be defined by ethnic and linguistic criteria and each should govern itself in a separate nation state. In contrast to the western version, self-determination in east and central Europe was exclusive and particularistic in nature; attaching more importance to the group rather than the individual. Theoretically, in a nation state, the boundaries of the state and nation would coincide. However, in reality this seldom happens, thus often resulting to ethnic tensions between the majority and the minority. Such tensions lead to national unification wars as well as programs of assimilation or Russification (Taylor, 1961) as in Italy, Germany and Hungary.

In East Africa, as in other parts of Africa, the colonial powers, applied divide and conquer strategy. They deliberately created colonies that divided the territories belonging to pre-existing social/cultural groups. Thus, the Maasai in what became German East Africa were separated from their brothers in Kenya that were colonized by the British through the Anglo German Agreements of 1886 and 1890. Similarly, the Makonde of Tanganyika were separated from their kith and kin in Portuguese Mozambique. At the same time, various

social groups lost their ethnic autonomy although they were later united as one force against the domination and exploitation of a colonial power. It is through the struggle for freedom and dignity that the colonized peoples developed national consciousness. Thus, in the context of countries formerly under colonial rule, the idea of a nation or nationalism is a product of history.

National consciousness in African countries has, from historical perspective, taken different forms at different times. During the decolonization period, national movements played down ethnic differences to strengthen unity against the external enemy, the colonial power. At that point, their idea of self-determination was more western oriented. This was the route taken by the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). The road to political independence was relatively quicker and smoother, thanks to the charismatic leadership of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere. Countries that emphasized ethnic nationalism seem to have been influenced more by East and Central European version of nationalism. Such countries took longer time to gain strength struggle for and obtain political independence. Zimbabwe, which gained political independence in 1980, is a good example.

The danger of the 19th century Eastern and Central European version of nationalism was replicated in the escapade of the easterners of Nigeria attempting to secede as Biafra from the Nigeria federation in 1967. The uprising led to an avoidable, bloody, 30-month civil war, which claimed the lives of hundreds of thousands of Nigerians. Similarly, the genocide of Kimbali in Rwanda in 1994 was the climax of the imbalance and unfair sectional rule apparently embedded in ethnic domination of the Tutsi by the Hutu rulers.

FACTORS FOR THE RISE OF NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN TANZANIA

As hinted earlier, the roots of explicit national consciousness in Tanganyika (later Tanzania) lay in colonial political domination, oppression and economic exploitation of the Africans by the German (1886 to 1919) and British governments (1919 to 1961). This is the stage when Africans 'began to speak out, when they began to express not only what they had in common, that is the experience of suffering, but also their aspiration for the future' (Nyerere, 2000:5). Political analysts such as Cranford Pratt (1976) and David Martin (1988) have advanced different perspectives to account for the sense of oneness experienced after the attainment of political independence. The reasons include the existence of able and charismatic leadership (Pratt, 1976), and effective use of aggregative mechanisms as well as a common language, Kiswahili, which was understood by the majority (Martin, 1988).

Pratt's argument stresses on the qualities of the then

President Julius Nyerere, namely that he had a clear perception of how Tanzania should develop and how politics should be managed during the transition to socialism, a development goal which Nyerere came to view as being in his country's best interest to pursue (Pratt, 1976:2-5). He further notes that the kind of socialism advanced by Nyerere was unique in that it would be built step by step through participation by peasants and workers, not through revolution, military occupation by socialist forces or through electoral victory of a socialist party. The following quote summarizes Pratt's perception of Nyerere's leadership:

Nyerere is such a socialist. He is now seeking to begin to realize now a society based on ethics of love. He is seeking to achieve meaningful participation by peasants and workers now. He is trying to promote economic development, while yet controlling the intrusion of acquisitive individualism and checking the emergence of class differentiation. He has thus shown a profound recognition of the importance of the way of life which Tanzanians are being encouraged to follow now as they strive to build a democratic and socialist party (Pratt, 1976:8).

The fact that Nyerere's socialist strategy was supported by a majority of Tanzanians at that time is attributed by Denis Martin to Nyerere's personal qualities, namely his ability to transmute values and ideals shared by a large number of Tanzania's culture in a unified thought understood, acknowledged and accepted by a majority (Martin, 1988:10). For Denis Martin, that transmutation was facilitated by aggregative mechanisms of the state and party, use of political idioms, and use of political vocabulary as well as use of procedures of symbolic affirmation of the rulers' legitimacy and authority.

Indeed, there were deliberate efforts made by the leadership to inculcate national consciousness. Such strategies included the use of a populist ideology of socialism and self reliance under a one party government. The strategy did serve to galvanize the masses towards a more equitable and just society. Other strategies included political and civic education where the masses and the army were educated on their role in the revolution. The transformation of the King's African Rifles into Tanzania People's Defense Forces, the establishment of compulsory national service for the youth and government officials and the creation of a paramilitary wing (mgambo), were all meant to establish a strong bond between the leadership, those in the army and the masses of the people.

Cresantia Frances Koya Vaka'uta (2004:5) argues that formal education system remains the most effective means of developing a sense of nationhood, a national identity and a national consciousness as it is the meeting ground for children and adults from all walks of life and all

communities. This is what exactly happened in Tanzania. The process began with the abolition of a discriminatory education system based on race, the expansion of access by region and gender, through to nationalization of private schools and the creation of the symbolic Ministry of National Education and Culture.

National consciousness emerges and develops when an outside force rises against the state or at a period of popular dissatisfaction with the performances of an existing government which threatens the sovereignty of a country. There is no doubt that national consciousness among Tanzanians rose to the highest level because of the threat posed by the invasion of Idi Amin's forces in October 1978. The sense of oneness with the 'other' energized everybody in Tanzania to rise and rally his or her support for the liberation of the motherland.

According to Issa Shivji (Shivji, 2007), the period between 1961 and 1981 was a period of nationalism; which was followed by a period of neo-liberalism (1987 to 2007). Between these two periods, there was a time of crisis. While nationalism reached its peak during the ten years of the Arusha Declaration (1967 to 1976) with Mwalimu Nyerere at the helm, the peak period of neo-liberalism was during Benjamin Mkapa's ten years of presidency (1995 to 2004).

The nationalist agenda was solidarity of the oppressed and the creation of national consciousness which transcends parochial divisions of religion, ethnicity, race and color. In contrast, neo-liberalism represented the return of aggressive imperialism in the form of globalization. In Shivji's own words, the latter 'demobilized the masses while arming the elites, in the process breaking solidarities and dividing people'. This point naturally leads us to a discussion of factors contributing to the weakening of national consciousness. The following section focuses on the factors.

FACTORS FOR THE WEAKENING OF NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN TANZANIA

A review of current politics suggests that there are at least four factors with high potential to threaten national unity and national consciousness, namely economic disempowerment, popular dissatisfaction with government performance, use of religious and ethnic diversity for ideological and political goals, and dissatisfaction with the set up of the union between Tanzania mainland and Zanzibar. We shall now deal with each of the factors. Economic disempowerment began with the abandonment of the Arusha Declaration on Ujamaa and self reliance and its replacement with the Zanzibar Resolution on economic liberalism in 1991. Through that resolution public ownership of the major means of production was replaced by privatization and investment policies with an explicit bias in favor of foreign investors. Unemployment increased through retrenchment

in the parastatal sector of the economy. The national vision of a self reliant economy was replaced by economic dependence and its attendant value system including preference for foreign produced goods and individual gain at the expense of public (national) interest.

Popular dissatisfaction with government performance has resulted from high cost of living arising from economic disempowerment, poor social service delivery, and poor human rights record which, in turn, stems from an effective law enforcement system.

The use of religious and ethnic diversity for ideological and political goals poses yet another threat to national unity. A comprehensive study on *Justice, Rights and Worship, Religion and Politics in Tanzania* conducted by REDET (Mukandala et al., 2006) has revealed that the phenomenon is manifested as a conflict between religious groups and the State but it is actually rooted in resource disparity by region and social groups, inequitable allocation of benefits, poverty (due to low productivity and inadequate support to the productive sector), weak or undemocratic institutions (poor governance), myopic and selfish leaders, and absence of an integrative ideology (Mushi and Mukandala et al., 2006:533-539). In addition, there is a feeling of general decadence of the moral fabric of society illustrated by corruption and lawlessness at all levels of society (URT, 1996).

Also, there is a view among some citizens that the country lacks a strong leadership. A newspaper correspondent, Paschally Mayega (*MwanaHalisi*, May, 2012), attributes the desperate condition existing in the Tanzanian body politic to a weak leadership as well as lack of impunity. He is particularly concerned about the gross embezzlement of public funds perpetrated by people holding positions of power and authority, citing a report by the Controller and Auditor General.

Some opinion makers view the existing set up of the union with Zanzibar as being responsible for the weakening of national identity consciousness. A correspondent of *Mwana HALISI*, Joster Ngulumbi (2012) lamented government's prohibition of any discussion on the union between Tanzania mainland and Zanzibar. He observed on the one hand the existence of citizens from both Zanzibar and on the mainland who wish that the union were dissolved and on the other hand the ruling party's position that the union is CCM's policy. While the ruling party sees the union as the nation's jewel which should not be tempered with, the major opposition political parties, Civic United Front (CUF) and Chama cha Demokrasia and Maendeleo (CHADEMA) prefer to have a new constitution that would allow a federation.

To that effect there is a suggestion that opinion polls should be conducted both in Zanzibar and on the mainland in order to establish the will of the people regarding the necessity of the union. According to Kicheere (2012), the polls would be instrumental in ending the current impasse and avoid imposing the union

Table 1. Observed frequencies by religion of respondents.

Statement/religion	Christian	Muslim	Total
CE Content should focus on promoting national consciousness	435	245	680
CE Content should focus on promoting other values	865	532	1397
Total	1300	777	2077

Table 2. Expected frequencies by religion of respondents.

Statement/religion	Christian	Muslim	Total
CE Content should focus on promoting national consciousness	425.6	254.4	680
CE Content should focus on promoting other values	874.4	522.6	1397
Total	1300	777	2077

on the people against their will.

$$= 0.8249S$$

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Does religious identity affect national consciousness/identity?

The above analysis raises questions about Tanzania citizens' attitudes towards their nationality particularly at a time when national cohesion seems to be threatened by sectarianism based on religious affiliation. So, a survey was conducted aimed at gauging the importance that a cross section of citizen's attach to issues of national consciousness. The purpose was to find out if there was any significant difference between Christian and Moslem respondents in national value preference.

Preferred content definitions of civic education by religion

Tables 1 and 2 present an analysis of data for testing the following null hypothesis:

H₀: There is no significant difference between Christian and Muslim respondents in national value preferences.

Chi square statistic
$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(f_o - f_e)^2}{f_e}$$

Where f_o = observed frequencies; f_e = expected frequencies

Expected frequency for each cell
$$f_e = \frac{\sum r \sum c}{n}$$

Where n = overall sample size

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(f_o - f_e)^2}{f_e} = [(435.0 - 425.6)^2/425.6] + [(865 - 874.4)^2/874.4] + [(245 - 254.4)^2/254.4] + [(532 - 522.6)^2/522.6] = 0.2076 + 0.1010 + 0.3473 + 0.1690$$

Since the calculated $\chi^2 = 0.8249S$ is less than the tabular value of $\chi^2 = 5.02$ with $\alpha = 0.025$ and $df = 1$, we accept the null hypothesis.

These findings are consistent with findings of a similar research on the perception of Christians and Moslems about the relationship between the State and religion in Tanzania (Bakari and Ndumbaro, 2006:334-359). Out of 839 people who responded to the question on relations between Muslim and Christian organizations, 82.3% said relations were either good (71.2%) or moderate (11.1%); and only 1.3% thought relations were bad. Also, nearly 90% of the respondents were not even aware of the religious conflicts which had occurred previously. This implies that the conflicts were between religious elites and that the rest of the Tanzania society was not part of it.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In writing this article, an assumption was made that Tanzania's national consciousness and identity are being weakened by stronger citizens' 'attachments to religion, ethnic, and political affiliations, worsening popular dissatisfaction with government performance; worsening citizens dissatisfaction with the nature of the union, and worsening economic disempowerment. There was also assumption that citizen's preference for national values is porous and exposed to influence by their age, gender and religious affiliations. Fanon's definition of national consciousness as 'the all-embracing crystallization of the innermost hopes of the whole people' (which rhymes well with, but goes beyond the 19th century western European idea of self-determination), was adopted.

The critical analysis of the survey conclusively shows that Tanzania citizens, irrespective of their religious affiliation, do not differ significantly in their preference for the promotion of national consciousness. The findings

are contrary to media coverage and conclusions portraying that national consciousness and national unity are undermined by greater attachments to the two major religions, namely Islam and Christianity. The study establishes the fact that national consciousness rises and is solidified when a country is threatened by an outside force, or when there is popular dissatisfaction with performance of the existing government. The irony of this kind of 'nationalism' is that when the government fails in its responsibilities to deliver services such as social security and economic oversight indiscriminately but with bias, that citizen identity and sense of belonging become threatened, there arises the drive to revolt. This in turn leads to the creation of sentimental group/s branding, stimulating and rousing solidarity of a sort that turns the people against the regime. Such an all-embracing sense of nationalism is different from the one that is based on sectarianism (borrowed from the 19th century East and Central European version of nationalism), which some selfish and myopic politicians in Tanzania are eager to embrace using the religious cloak.

In order to sustain and promote social integration and national consolidation, the following recommendations are put forward:

- (i) The government should work more seriously to implement pro-poor economic and social policies and ensure that the national cake is equitably distributed;
- (ii) It is necessary that a broad based civic education programme is mounted for the youth and general public that will take the country from the usual national consciousness to what Franz Fanon calls 'political and social consciousness'.
- (iii) Participation in the civic education programme should include both government and non-government leaders including religious leaders;
- (iv) Religion should be introduced as new subject in the secondary school curriculum and teacher colleges so as to encourage young people to learn and understand other people's beliefs as a basis for peaceful coexistence;
- (v) Leaders of political parties should refrain from using religious conflicts for political gain.

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