Tanzanian Christians’ Perception of Muslims in the Context of the Nation’s Christian-Muslim Relations

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TANZANIAN CHRISTIANS’ PERCEPTION OF MUSLIMS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE NATION’S CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

written by

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and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Ministry in Global Ministries

has been read and approved by the undersigned member of the Faculty of Fuller Theological Seminary.

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March 2019
TANZANIAN CHRISTIANS’ PERCEPTION OF MUSLIMS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE NATION’S CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

By

Jonathan Joung Sun Lee

A DMin Final Project Presented to the Faculty of the School of Intercultural Studies FULLER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

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ABSTRACT

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Post-independent Tanzania has achieved its national peace and political stability unlike other countries in sub-Saharan Africa. The peaceful coexistence of Christians and Muslims in Tanzania has been noticeable in the midst of clashes between the West and Islamic world as well as destructive Christian-Muslim relations in many parts of the globe. The goal of this study is to examine the characteristics of Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania and to investigate if the good relationship with Muslims influences understanding and practice of the biblical teachings for Christians.

Peace and unity were the legacy of the nation’s founders. Integration of the nation was pursued as one of the primary tasks while ethnic and religious identities were yielded to the national identity. Meanwhile, radical Muslims emerged as a threat to national unity. Muslims lagged behind Christians in education and advancement in government positions, and these conditions became fertile ground for Muslim struggles against the government. Muslim struggles culminated in the late 1980s, and they manifested as violent attacks against Christians in the 1990s.

Tanzanian Christians are related to Muslims through various relationships in their daily lives. Christians and Muslims recognize one another as ndugu (comrades or brothers), and this ndugu relationship enables Christians to enter intimate relationships with Muslims such as friendships and even family bonds. Inter-religious marriages
between Christians and Muslims are popular among Tanzanian people. The intimate relationships are the foundation of Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania, and this research posits that they are the primary reason for stable and peaceful relations even during the years of violent conflicts since the 1990s. However, this amicable relationship with Muslims influenced the attitudes of Christians toward Muslim evangelism in a negative way. In these circumstances, more attention to strategical Muslim evangelism without damaging peace and unity between Christians and Muslims is required by the church.

Mentor: Caleb Chul-Soo Kim, PhD

300 words
DEDICATION

To my wife Tanok who has been my co-worker and lifelong partner in the journey of the missionary calling, and to my precious children Hansol, Esther and Irene
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During the last four years that I spent as a missionary in Tanzania, I was attracted to the way that Tanzanian Christians and Muslims mingled together in their daily lives. My curiosity developed into a desire to write my thesis with this topic. The first and greatest step was to find a supervisor for my study. It was a blessing for me that I was acquainted with Dr. Caleb C. Kim, an expert on Swahili Muslims in East Africa and Director of The Institute for the Study of African Realities (ISAR) at Africa International University (AIU) in Nairobi, Kenya. When Dr. Kim granted my proposal, the journey of writing this thesis began. When I visited the AIU campus, I felt at home especially because of Mrs. Manok Kim’s hospitality. Dr. and Mrs. Kim deserve all my gratitude and respect.

I am grateful to my colleagues and staff at Calvin Theological College (CTC)—Dr. and Mrs. Yong S. Han, Ms. Bo Yeon Lee, Ms. Soo Nam Choi, Rev. Chul Hong, and Mr. Charles Komba, who made my study possible with their encouragement and support. I have to mention my CTC students’ contribution to this thesis; they provided practical assistance on the subject of my study. I am also indebted to some pastors of Presbyterian Church in Tanzania (PCT) and CTC graduates who came to the college to teach and share their insights. Among them are Rev. James Mgenda, Rev. Peter Yongolo, Rev. Sylvester Ng’welemi, Mr. Daniel Heke, and Ms. Anna Sangau.

My sincerest thanks go to my brother Rev. and Mrs. Jung Won Lee, pastor of Ansan Hope Church in Korea and their church members. They provided my family a spiritual shelter as well as a good deal of material support during my stay in Korea to
write this thesis. I would like to extend my heartfelt thanks to my elder brothers and sisters who prayed for and offered love and care to their youngest brother.

I also would like to give my gratefulness to Rev. M. G. Kim and the members of Tauranga Korean Church in New Zealand, where I previously pastored for twelve years. They supported and prayed for my missionary calling and welcomed my wife and me with warm hearts when we visited New Zealand after four years of ministry in Tanzania. There are many more names that I did not mention here, who have been faithfully supporting my missionary ministry. I give you all my sincere love and gratitude.

Finally, I give my deep appreciation to Mrs. Christine Derungs of AIU who edited my writings. All remaining errors are, of course, my own.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT .......................................................................................................................... ii
DEDICATION ....................................................................................................................... iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ...................................................................................................... v
TABLE OF CONTENTS ......................................................................................................... vii
LIST OF TABLES .................................................................................................................. x
LIST OF FIGURES ............................................................................................................... xiii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .................................................................................................... xiv
INTRODUCTION .................................................................................................................. 1
  Background of this Study ................................................................................................. 3
  Purpose of this Study ....................................................................................................... 4
  Goals of this Study .......................................................................................................... 4
  Research Questions ......................................................................................................... 5
  Significance of this Study ............................................................................................... 5
  Limitations and Delimitations ......................................................................................... 7

CHAPTER 1. SIGNIFICANCE OF CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS IN THE
  HISTORY OF TANZANIA ...................................................................................................... 9
  Analysis of the Literature Materials .............................................................................. 10
  National Unity as a National Agenda ............................................................................. 11
  National Unity and Christian-Muslim Relations ......................................................... 12
  Muslims’ Assertions of Hegemony in the Society ......................................................... 13
  Muslims’ Struggle against Government ....................................................................... 16
  Beginning of Muslim Radicalism .................................................................................... 19
  Islamic Revivalism ........................................................................................................ 20
  Emergence of Muslim Bible Scholars ............................................................................ 23
  Age of Physical Violence Begins .................................................................................. 24
  More Muslim Attacks in Consequence ........................................................................ 26
  Business-Related Conflicts in Essence ......................................................................... 27
  Recent Trend of Muslim Attacks against Christians .................................................... 28
  Efforts of Government and Religious Groups for Inter-Religious Peace ..................... 29
  Conclusion ....................................................................................................................... 30
CHAPTER 2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY ........................................................................33
   Research Design ........................................................................................................34
   Questionnaire Survey ................................................................................................35
     Respondents by Congregation and Age Group ..................................................35
     Respondents by Gender .........................................................................................37
     Respondents by Age Group ..................................................................................38
     Clergy/Laity Division .............................................................................................38
   In-depth Interviews ...................................................................................................39
   Ethical Considerations ..............................................................................................40
   Limitations ................................................................................................................41

CHAPTER 3. TANZANIAN CHRISTIANS’ PERCEPTION OF MUSLIMS AS
UNDERSTOOD THROUGH QUANTITATIVE DATA COLLECTION AND
ANALYSIS ..................................................................................................................43
   Having Close Muslim Friends ................................................................................43
   Relationship with Muslim Neighbors ......................................................................45
   Muslim Family Background/Connection ................................................................48
   Approval of Inter-Religious Marriage .....................................................................50
   Assessment of Christian-Muslim Relations ..........................................................53
   Damage of Christian-Muslim Relations by Recent Conflicts ................................56
   Awareness of Mbagala Riots ....................................................................................58
   Awareness of Kinondoni Butchery Attacks ...............................................................60
   Sectors in which Christians Feel Threatened by Muslims ........................................61
   Recent Change of Christian-Muslim Relations ......................................................62
   Future of Christians and Muslims in Tanzania ........................................................63
   Assessment of Muslims ............................................................................................66
   Salvation of Muslims ...............................................................................................67
   Acquaintance with Muslim Converts to Christianity .................................................69
   Reason of Christians’ Conversion to Islam ...............................................................69
   Telling Muslims about Jesus ....................................................................................71
   Proselytizing Muslims and Damage to Christian-Muslim Relations ......................72
   Necessity of Evangelizing Muslims ........................................................................73

CHAPTER 4. TANZANIAN CHRISTIANS’ PERCEPTION OF MUSLIMS AS
UNDERSTOOD THROUGH QUALITATIVE DATA COLLECTION AND
ANALYSIS ..................................................................................................................75
   Good Relationship with Muslims ..........................................................................76
   Assessment of Christian-Muslim Relations ............................................................78
   Assessment of Muslim People ................................................................................80
   Muslim Family Background/Connection ................................................................82
   Inter-Religious Marriages and Religiously Mixed Families .....................................84
   Confrontational Sectors between Christians and Muslims .....................................92
   Salvation of Muslims ..............................................................................................93
   Motivations of Conversions between Christianity and Islam ..................................95
   Muslim Evangelism .................................................................................................96
   Strategies for Muslim Evangelism ..........................................................................100
CHAPTER 5. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION ................................................................. 104
  Characteristics of Christian-Muslim Relations in Tanzania ..................... 104
  Tanzanian Christians’ Perception of Muslims ........................................... 107
  Christian-Muslim Relations in a Family and its Complexity .................... 108
  More Issues in Inter-Religious Marriage .................................................. 112
  Conversion: Matter of Faith or Matter of Belonging ................................ 115
  Salvation of Muslims ............................................................................. 117
  Muslim Evangelism ................................................................................ 119

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS ................................................................. 120
  Tanzanian Christians’ Relationships with Muslims ................................. 120
  Religion-related Conflicts and the Aftermaths ........................................ 121
  Missiological Implications ..................................................................... 122
  Suggestions for Further Studies .............................................................. 124

APPENDIX A: QUESTIONNAIRE FORM (English Translation) ................... 126

APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRE FORM (in Swahili used for data collection) .... 128

REFERENCES CITED .................................................................................... 130

VITA ............................................................................................................. 136
LIST OF TABLES

<TABLE 1> RELIGIOUS BELIEFS IN TANZANIA ......................................................15
<TABLE 2> NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS BY GROUP AND AGE GROUP ..........36
<TABLE 3> GENDER RATIO OF RESPONDENT ......................................................37
<TABLE 4> GENDER RATIO OF RESPONDENTS EXCLUDING CTC STUDENTS .................................................................37
<TABLE 5> CLERGY/LAITY DIVISION .................................................................39
<TABLE 6> HAVING CLOSE MUSLIM FRIENDS ....................................................44
<TABLE 7> RELATIONSHIP WITH MUSLIM NEIGHBORS ..................................45
<TABLE 8> RELATION OF HAVING CLOSE MUSLIM FRIENDS AND RELATIONSHIP WITH MUSLIM NEIGHBORS ..................................................46
<TABLE 9> MUSLIM FAMILY BACKGROUND/CONNECTION ..............................48
<TABLE 10> RELATION OF HAVING MUSLIM FAMILY BACKGROUND/CONNECTION AND HAVING GOOD RELATIONSHIP WITH MUSLIM NEIGHBORS ...........................................49
<TABLE 11> RELATION OF HAVING MUSLIM FAMILY BACKGROUND AND HAVING CLOSE MUSLIM FRIENDS ..................................................50
<TABLE 12> APPROVAL OF INTER-RELIGIOUS MARRIAGE ....................................50
<TABLE 13> RELATION OF MUSLIM FAMILY BACKGROUND/CONNECTION AND APPROVAL OF INTER-RELIGIOUS MARRIAGE .................................................................51
<TABLE 14> APPROVAL OF INTER-RELIGIOUS MARRIAGE BY GENDER ..........................................................52
<TABLE 15> APPROVAL OF INTER-RELIGIOUS MARRIAGE AMONG CLERGY .................................................................53
<TABLE 16> ASSESSMENT OF CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS ..................54

<TABLE 17> RELATION OF HAVING MUSLIM FAMILY BACKGROUND/CONNECTION AND ASSESSMENT OF CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS .................................................................54

<TABLE 18> RELATION OF HAVING CLOSE MUSLIM FRIENDS AND ASSESSMENT OF CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS ............................55

<TABLE 19> RELATION OF RELATIONSHIP WITH MUSLIM NEIGHBORS AND ASSESSMENT OF CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS ........................................................................56

<TABLE 20> ASSESSMENT OF DAMAGE OF CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS BY RECENT CONFLICTS ..........................................................57

<TABLE 21> RELATION BETWEEN ASSESSMENT OF RELATIONS AND RELATION DAMAGE BY CONFLICTS ................................................58

<TABLE 22> AWARENESS OF MBAGALA RIOTS ..........................................................59

<TABLE 23> AWARENESS OF KINONDONI BUTCHERY ATTACKS ................................60

<TABLE 24> SECTORS IN WHICH CHRISTIANS FEEL THREATENED BY MUSLIMS .....................................................................................61

<TABLE 25> RECENT CHANGE OF CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS .............62

<TABLE 26> RELATION OF AWARENESS OF CONFLICT INCIDENTS AND ASSESSMENT OF THE RELATIONS CHANGE ..........................63

<TABLE 27> ANTICIPATION OF FUTURE OF CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS IN TANZANIA ..................................................................................64

<TABLE 28> ASSESSMENT OF RELATION CHANGE AND FUTURE ANTICIPATION ..........................................................65

<TABLE 29> RELATION OF THE CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS AND FUTURE ANTICIPATION ..........................................................65

<TABLE 30> PERCEPTION OF MUSLIMS ....................................................................66

<TABLE 31> SALVATION OF MUSLIMS ..................................................................67

<TABLE 32> RELATION OF INTER-RELIGIOUS MARRIAGE APPROVAL AND ACKNOWLEDGING SALVATION OF MUSLIMS ..................68
<TABLE 33> RELATION OF MUSLIM FAMILY BACKGROUND AND ACKNOWLEDGING SALVATIONS OF MUSLIMS ........................................68

<TABLE 34> HAVING CLOSE MUSLIM CONVERTS FROM ISLAM .......................69

<TABLE 35> MOTIVATION OF CONVERSION TO ISLAM AS PERCEIVED BY CHRISTIANS ........................................................................................................70

<TABLE 36> RELATIONS OF ACKNOWLEDGING SALVATION OF MUSLIMS AND ASSESSING MOTIVATION OF COVERTS TO ISLAM ........................................................................................................71

<TABLE 37> TELLING MUSLIMS ABOUT JESUS ........................................................................................................72

<TABLE 38> PROSELYTIZING MUSLIMS AND DAMAGE TO CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS ........................................................................................................73

<TABLE 39> NECESSITY OF EVANGELIZING MUSLIMS ............................................74
LIST OF FIGURES

<FIGURE 1> RESPONDENTS BY AGE GROUP .................................................................38

<FIGURE 2> GOOD RELATIONSHIP WITH MUSLIMS NEIGHBORS BY AGE GROUP .................................................................47

<FIGURE 3> AWARENESS OF MBAGALA RIOTS BY AGE GROUP ....................59

<FIGURE 4> AWARENESS OF KINONDONI BUTCHERY ATTACKS BY AGE GROUP ........................................................................61
## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACT</td>
<td>Anglican Church in Tanzania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AICT</td>
<td>Africa Inland Church Tanzania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASP</td>
<td>Afro-Shiraz Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATR</td>
<td>African Traditional Religions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAKWATA</td>
<td><em>Baraza Kiu la Waismamu Tanzania</em> (National Muslim Council of Tanzania)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BALUKTA</td>
<td><em>Baraza La Udenezaji Kurani Tanzania</em> (Tanzania Qur’an Promoting Council)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCM</td>
<td><em>Chama cha Mapinduzi</em> (Revolutionary Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCT</td>
<td>Christian Council of Tanzania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPCT</td>
<td>Council of Pentecostal Churches of Tanzania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTC</td>
<td>Calvin Theological College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAGT</td>
<td>Evangelical Assemblies of God Tanzania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAMWS</td>
<td>East African Muslims Welfare Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELCT</td>
<td>Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KCM</td>
<td>Korea Church Mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KKKT</td>
<td><em>Kanisa la Kijili la Kilutheri Tanzania</em> (Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCT</td>
<td>Presbyterian Church in Tanzania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAG</td>
<td>Pentecostal Assemblies of God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAG</td>
<td>Tanzania Assemblies of God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TANU</td>
<td>Tanganyika African National Union (Tanzania African National Union)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEC</td>
<td>Tanzania Episcopal Conference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRAU</td>
<td>Tanganyika Railways African Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warsha</td>
<td><em>Warsha ya Waandishi wa Kislam</em> (Muslim Writers’ Workshop)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

In Tanzania, an East African country that borders the Indian Ocean, Christians and Muslims have been coexisting in a peaceful environment. Because of German and British colonial rules in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Lutheran Church and Anglican Church enjoy the status of major denominations in Tanzania, along with the Roman Catholic Church as the largest denomination and recently thriving Pentecostal denominations. Meanwhile, Islam has existed in the eastern part of Africa, including today’s Tanzania, since around the seventh century, having been brought by Persian and Arab traders who approached from the Indian Ocean (Ndakula 2012, 3). Consequently, Muslims heavily populated the coastal regions, but they are now widely spread all over the country. In Dar es Salaam, the largest city in Tanzania on the shores of the Indian Ocean, one can sense an Islamic atmosphere in every corner of the streets, and encountering Muslims is inevitably a part of everyday life. One hears five loud prayer callings a day broadcast from neighboring mosques. If one goes to a marketplace, one will see Muslims and non-Muslims (probably Christians) all mixed together in busy trading activities without any indecision or wariness. There is no division in public interactions at all between the different religious peoples.

Most Muslims are easily noticeable or differentiated by their appearances. Muslim women wear the hijab or the niqab, although the hijab is more popular among

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1 Tanganyika was the major part of German East Africa (1885–1918) until it became a British mandate after the defeat of Germany in the First World War.
Tanzanian women. Some Muslim men wear a *kanzu*, which is a long white garment with long sleeves. Many men simply wear a *kofia*, a short and rounded skullcap, which is enough to show their identity as Muslim. There are many Muslim men who do not wear any outer Islamic mark such as a cap or robe. Especially men do not wear such Islamic garments in a formal workplace like a government office or company office. Nevertheless, a good portion of the people in the street are easily recognized as Muslims by their appearance.

When I walked on the village roads, Muslim teenage school girls wearing the hijab greeted me, “*Shikamoo!*” which is a greeting word to a senior person. Then I answered, “*Marahaba!*” which is the response to Shikamoo. Those girls probably knew that I was a Christian minister or missionary working at the theological college because the village where I lived was a small community and I was noticeable as a foreigner. Those Muslim girls did not recognize me as a different religious clergy but as a neighboring adult. A difference of religion among the people of Tanzania does not agitate their daily lives much.

One morning, one of my students in the theological college turned up wearing a kofia. For the college staff, wearing an Islamic cap was unacceptable behavior for a theological college student. When he was reproved by the Dean of Students, he made an excuse that it was a joke. Certainly, Christians do not usually wear the Islamic cap, so the behavior of the student was not ordinary. However, he did not recognize the Islamic cap as something under a taboo for Christians preventing him from having fun wearing it. This shows the degree to which Tanzanian people even Christians feel familiar with Islamic symbols.

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2 In public schools, students are allowed to wear the hijab but not the niqab (International Religious Freedom Report 2017—Tanzania:4).
Background of this Study

After the end of the Cold War, clashes between the Western world and the Islamic world have emerged as a new factor in the world order. Christianity and Islam have clashed to an alarming degree in many parts of the world. These two world religions are the most rivalrous and competitive religions in the current international situation. Moreover, the rivalry develops to physical violence and destruction against each other, a great threat to world peace as well as political stability in many countries.

Tanzania has been enjoying national peace unlike many other sub-Saharan African countries, since her independence from the British colonial rule in 1961. Due to the admirable leadership of the first president Julius Nyerere (1922–1999), who is revered as the Baba wa Taifa (Father of the Nation) by Tanzanian nationals, this country has achieved national unity.¹ Tanzania has experienced few tribal conflicts, although this country consists of more than 120 distinct ethnic groups and tribes (Buckley 1995).² Not only the relative absence of tribal conflicts, but Tanzania has also enjoyed peace between the major different religious groups which are Christians and Muslims. These peaceful Christian-Muslim relations are recognized as an exceptional phenomenon by the international community considering frequent and severe conflicts in other parts of the world where these two religious people groups are living together.

Since the 9/11 terrorist attack on the World Trade Center in New York City, the significance of the Christian-Muslim relations has attracted people’s attention. Despite many efforts to bring a cessation of conflicts between the two religious groups, the situation does not improve. Questions such as the following arise: What has enabled Tanzanian Christians and Muslims to live together in peace? How do Tanzanian Christians view their Muslims neighbors? How have those perceptions contributed to the

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¹ The Tanzanian national motto is “Uhuru na Umoja” which is translated as “Freedom and Unity.”

² The Tanzanian government’s official census statistics do not include tribal figures. It shows the government’s intention to weaken tribal identities among the people.
national peace? This project aims to answer these questions by demonstrating that Tanzanian Christians’ perceptions of Muslims can be explained by their Christian way of life.

**Purpose of this Study**

The purpose of this study is to examine the factors that enable Tanzanian Christians to live peacefully with Muslims and to see how the coexistence of Christians and Muslims influences the lives of Christians. Through this study, I want to examine the characteristics of peaceful Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania. These characteristics of Tanzanian Christian-Muslim relations will be observed in multiple family and community relationships. This study will also examine Tanzanian Christians’ perceptions of Muslims by investigating the degree to which they feel emotional/social/religious closeness to their Muslim neighbors. As Christians and Muslims live together in multiple relationships such as family bonds, business partners, employment relationships, neighborhood, friendships, old school ties and so on, I presume that they have such an amicable consideration of one another and live by mutual respect and agreements. In this perspective, I will also examine if there is any rivalry or competitive sentiments between Tanzanian Christians and Muslims as observed in many parts of the world.

**Goals of this Study**

The goals of this study are as follows: to perceive the characteristics and factors of peaceful Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania; to understand Tanzanian Christians’ perception of and attitudes toward Muslims; to recognize what kinds of relationships Tanzanian Christians have with Muslims in their actual lives; to make a suggestion for Tanzanian Christians to recognize their missional duties toward their Muslim neighbors.
Research Questions

To achieve the goals stated above, I set the research questions of this study as follows.

Main research question is, how do Tanzanian Christians view their Muslim neighbors in the context of Christian-Muslim relations?

Sub-questions are as follows:
In what relationships with Muslims do Tanzanian Christians live everyday life?
What are the factors that enable Tanzanian Christians to live in good relationships with Muslims?
How do Christian-Muslim relations affect the attitudes of Christians toward their Muslim neighbors?
How is Muslim evangelism\(^5\) related to Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania?

Significance of this Study

Recently, Christian-Muslim relations have become a subject of interest in times of global conflict between Christians and Muslims. As these two religious groups of people are confronting one another in antagonistic environments in many places in the world and consequently world peace and the national security of many countries are threatened, more studies on this subject are required to have an accurate understanding of this issue. With accurate knowledge and understanding of the subject, relevant responses are possible.

The importance of Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania cannot be overemphasized, because the nation’s stability and peace are greatly dependent on the relations between the two religions’ followers. The early national leaders’ dream was to build a conflict-free nation which was possible through peaceful Christian-Muslim

\(^5\) I use the term “Muslim evangelism” to refer to evangelization of Muslims by Christians.
relations. The founders’ efforts were fruitful, and the new nation of Tanzania enjoyed peace and unity until the 1990s when the longstanding national peace was threatened by violent conflicts between Christians and Muslims. However, through these violent conflicts, people of Tanzania, both Christians and Muslims, have learned that if they fight each other, they destroy their own security as well as national unity and peace.

Keeping peace is one of the crucial conditions for the survival of a people and even of a religious faith. Christianity has survived and developed under severe persecution throughout history, but not in all cases. The thriving Christianity in North Africa in the early church history era was uprooted and disappeared under Islamic influence. In some Middle Eastern countries such as Lebanon and Syria, the Christian population has significantly decreased since conflicts between Christians and Muslims intensified in the mid-twentieth century. In Nigeria and Sudan, massacres and abusive cruelty against Christians are being committed by Muslim militant extremists even these days.\(^6\) In these international situations, recognizing peaceful Christian-Muslim relations and encouraging Christians to foster peace is necessary work.

Meanwhile, to examine Christians’ perception of Muslims is a necessary task in assessing their lives as believers. From a pastoral perspective, Christians’ understanding of the Word and the world should be examined to see how their faith is mature. If their practical lives reflect a misunderstanding or wrong application of the Word, it must be identified for correction. In the context of peaceful relations between Christians and Muslims, it is necessary to examine whether the amicability to Muslims affects Christians’ understanding of the biblical teachings and weakens their duties for the mission. The ultimate goal of Christians is to reach even the ends of the earth and carry out the mission of communicating the gospel so that all people worship the true God in

\(^6\) One of the recent Boko Haram’s notorious activities was kidnapping 276 schoolgirls from their school dormitory in Chibok, Borno State in Nigeria on April 14, 2014 (BBC 2017).
Christ. Hence, without question, we Christians should share the gospel with Muslims as well. An appropriate understanding of Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania is a prerequisite for Muslim evangelism. We can establish a relevant strategy for Muslim evangelism in Tanzania along with a proper understanding of Christian-Muslim relations and Christians’ perceptions of Muslims.

**Limitations and Delimitations**

The participants in this study were limited to church members of the Presbyterian Church in Tanzania (PCT) among the residents of the Dar es Salaam and Pwani regions, where I resided as a missionary from 2014 to 2018. As Tanzania is a country with a vast land area of 947,303 square kilometers, a nationwide survey is beyond the capabilities of individual research. Nevertheless, the population of Dar es Salaam is about 10% of the national population and a large portion of the Dar es Salaam residents is composed of migrants from all other regions of Tanzania. Therefore, Dar es Salaam residents somehow represent the national population. This limitation issue will be discussed more under Research Methodology in chapter 2.

Tanzania is a united republic, composed of the Tanzanian mainland (formerly known as Tanganyika) and the Zanzibar archipelago (of which the larger ones are Unguja and Pemba). Zanzibar is a semi-autonomous region with a population of 1,303,569 according to the 2012 census (National Bureau of Statistics 2013, 2). The population composition is made up by almost entirely or 99% Muslims (CIA World Factbook; International Religious Freedom Report 2017—Tanzania:2). Therefore, conditions for discussing the Christian-Muslim relations in Zanzibar is radically different.

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7 Unguja is the largest island of the Zanzibar archipelago and accommodates the capital city Zanzibar City. Therefore, this island is usually referred to as Zanzibar or the Zanzibar island.

8 Zanzibar forms its separate government from the mainland Tanzania with its own president, legislature and the court system.
from that of mainland Tanzania. In other words, the Zanzibari situation does not fall within the scope of this research.
CHAPTER 1
SIGNIFICANCE OF CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS IN THE HISTORY OF TANZANIA

With the exception of some mono-religious societies, most countries include different religious groups of people, and many states have anchored religious freedom within their population’s constitutional rights. Nevertheless, when adherents of different religions coexist in a given society, tensions may arise, such as those we witness as a global phenomenon. Sometimes the conflicts are violent and destructive to the extent that they destroy humanity as well as civilization. Among religious conflicts worldwide, more confrontational incidents occur relating to the Islamic religion than between any other religious groups. A Pew Forum Research reports that, the Middle East and North Africa, where the major religion is Islam, have continuously had the highest levels of religious hostilities in the world (Kishi & Theodorou 2016).

In Tanzania’s half-century of independence, Christian-Muslim relations have played a significant role over politics and society. In Tanzania, Christians and Muslims have been coexisting for centuries, especially as both religions have shared an equal public status. Therefore, it is not an exaggeration to say that the social order depends on Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania. In this chapter, Christian-Muslim relations throughout the history of Tanzania from independence to present will be examined through the historical literature materials. I will investigate how Christian-Muslim relations are closely intertwined with political affairs. Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania were good until some cracks in the relations developed in the late 1980s. In the
literature, people express their concerns that the cracks are widening. The social order becomes endangered, especially in the light of the violent incidents during the 1990s to the 2010s.

**Analysis of the Literature Materials**

It must be mentioned that Tanzania has a strong national language, Swahili. I do not deal with this issue in this study, but people generally acknowledge that the Swahili language has played a significant role in achieving national unity in Tanzania since its independence. However, I have not accessed materials in the Swahili language much. Although Swahili is the national language at the grassroots, English is commonly used in the academic world. In the Tanzanian education system, pupils in primary schools are taught in Swahili, but English is the sole instructional language from secondary school onwards. Consequently, most academic literature is written in English.

The authors of the materials I used are mostly Tanzanian nationals. As Christian-Muslim relations take an important part in the history of Tanzania, the scholars I refer to in my study take a historical approach to this issue. The academic historians’ approaches are generally religiously neutral so that either party of Christians or Muslims may not be offended. They investigate the issue and suggest a solution as a mediator to the relations between the opposing parties.

Among the authors, I found Mohamed Said extremely useful to this study. Said acted as a representative of the radical Muslims as a member of the Muslim Writers’ Workshop. Born in 1952 in Dar es Salaam, he has been able to eye-witness and participate in the development of the radical Muslim movement. His grandfather Salum Abdallah Popo was the founder of the trade union movement and was among the pioneers to establish opposition to colonial rule. After independence, Salum Abdallah broke his

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9 This organization will be discussed more later in this chapter.
relationship with Nyerere and was detained by the government for his position that trade unions should be free. As chairman of the Tanganyika Railways African Union (TRAU), he opposed to the government’s policy to place trade unions under TANU (Said 2018).

Said is actively involved in writing and lecturing in Tanzania as well as overseas. Several of his books and articles have been published in London and Berlin. Among them, *The Life and Times of Abdulwahid Sykes (1924–1968): The Untold Story of the Muslim Struggle against British Colonialism in Tanganyika* (1989), which was published in London, is the work that puts Muslims at the center of nation building of Tanzania (Masebo 2014:24). Said’s writings are more informative to this study than other literature in terms of providing the raw voices of radical Muslims over the Christian-Muslim relations as well as the Muslim struggle against the government in the history of Tanzania.

**National Unity as a National Agenda**

Despite the multi-religious and multi-ethnic settings of the nation, Tanzania is generally perceived as a country spared from national disorder (Ching’ole 2015, 162). Rasmussen attributed these circumstances to the policies of *ujamaa*, the African-socialist ideology developed by the first president Julius Nyerere (Rasmussen 1993, cited in Ching’ole 2015, 162). Nyerere advocated unity of the nation throughout his lifetime (Tetti 2014, 504). His Arusha Declaration in 1967 became the cornerstone for the newly independent country. The core ideology of the Declaration was African socialism. Part One of the Declaration is the TANU Creed, and its preliminary statements elucidate the introduction of socialism as the ideology of the nation: “The policy of TANU is to build a socialist state. The principles of socialism are laid down in the TANU
Constitution” (Nyerere 1967, Translated into English by Ayanda Madyibi). TANU (Tanganyika African National Union) was formed in 1954 by Julius Nyerere for the independence movement and became the ruling political party after independence. It was called Tanzania African National Union from 1964 when Tanganyika and Zanzibar formed the United Republic of Tanzania. In 1977 TANU merged with the Afro-Shiraz Party (ASP) of Zanzibar to form Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM: Revolution Party). It is still the ruling party of Tanzania mainland and Zanzibar even after the adoption of a multi-party system in 1992.

**National Unity and Christian-Muslim Relations**

Ilana Kessler (2006, 50) argues that, in the Declaration, several ideologies were advocated to emphasize national unity, including concepts such as *ndugu* (comrade), *ujamaa* (family-hood), *mwananchi* (citizen), and in this rhetoric each member of society was encouraged to recognize his or her proper role in supporting the nation-family. National unity acquired the prioritized values and tasks over any other personal or collective interests of the people. Kessler (2006, 2) states, “a self-perpetuating set of norms, values, and institutions has fostered widespread acceptance of national identity and rejection of political violence as being un-Tanzanian.” Martin Tetti (2014, 505) points out that “the nation undertook several initiatives to ensure that religion and ethnicity could not jeopardize national unity.” As Philo Nguruwe (2011, 14) argues, the political unity and religious tolerance did not come by accident.

Regardless of the government’s efforts and its positive consequences, religious tensions between Christianity and Islam have, in reality, existed and increased throughout the nation’s history. Although Christians and Muslims are living together in peace at

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11 The literal meaning of *mwananchi* is a child of the land.
large in the community, it does not necessarily mean that these two religious groups are amicable to each other. In his article “Christian-Muslim Relations in Tanzania: A Threat to Future Stability and Peace?” Japhace Poncian (2015, 54) points out that despite the coexistence of the two major religions, Muslims and Christians have many times conflicted with each other. The fundamental difference between the two religions is likely to serve as a source of conflict between the followers of the religions even in their peaceful coexistence.

The title of Tetti’s article “What Went Wrong in Tanzania: How is Religious Tension Threatening National Unity and Cohesion?” expresses even more concerns on this matter. He emphasizes that national unity and cohesion of Tanzania is the legacy of the national founders who recognized the potential dangers of religious discord (Tetti 2014, 503). Andrew Ching’ole (2015, 163) points out that religious tensions between Christian and Muslim groups in Tanzania have reached to the extent of violent attacks on Christians by Muslims since the 1990s.

Muslins’ Assertions of Hegemony in the Society

Rivalry between Christians and Muslims has been expressed in the scramble for hegemony as the religious majority in the society. Many Tanzanians say that the Tanzanian population is well-divided in three portions; one-third is Christians, another one-third is Muslims and the remaining one-third goes to the followers of African Traditional Religions (ATR). This common concept was formed from the 1967 census which showed that in mainland Tanzania, 32% were Christians, 30% were Muslims, and 37% belonged to African Traditional Religions (Ndaluka 2012, 2; Poncian 2015, 54). Another source shows similar numerical values regarding the Muslim population.

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12 This title is rhetorically opposite to Kessler’s article in 2006 “What Went Right in Tanzania: How Nation Building and Political Culture Have Produced Forty-Four Years of Peace.”
According to Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS), the percentage of Muslims with respect to the total population changed from 30.68% in 1992 to 30.97% in 1996. In 1999 it grew to 32.60% and decreased to 30.12% in 2005 (Kettani 2010, 136).

Abdulaziz Lodhi and David Westerlund (1999, 97) point out that the question of the percentage of Muslims and Christians is a politically sensitive issue in Tanzania, therefore the statistics provided by Christian and Muslim organizations are biased and notoriously unreliable. Nevertheless, a recent tendency shows a rapid absorption of the ATR followers into the major religions. A report of the United States Department of State (International Religious Freedom Report 2017—Tanzania) indicates that approximately 61% of the population is Christian, 35% is Muslim, and 4% belongs to other religious groups, based on a 2010 Pew Forum survey.\(^{13}\) CIA World Factbook (2018) estimates the religious population of Tanzania in the year of 2010 as follows: Christian 61.4%, Muslim 35.2%, folk religion 1.8%, other 0.2%, and unaffiliated 1.4%. Operation World (The Definitive Prayer Guide to Every Nation) provides a similar data point of the religious population of Tanzania. It shows that Christians are more than half of the population while Muslims are less than one-third (Mandryk 2010, 807).

A recent survey from World Atlas (2017) reveals more detailed religious population data as shown in Table 1. The total percentage of Christian population is 58.3% including Roman Catholic and Protestant groups. The Muslim population is 35.1% combining Sunni, Shi’ite, and other Islamic groups. Therefore, it is confirmed that all the statistical data quoted above agree with one another.

\(^{13}\) Although the data show that followers of African Traditional Religions were absorbed into the major religions, ATR did not disappear among the people. According to another 2010 Pew Forum Report, more than half of the population seem to practice elements of the traditional religions in their daily lives (International Religious Freedom Report 2017—Tanzania).
<TABLE 1>

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS IN TANZANIA
(Worldatlas April 25, 2017)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Belief System</th>
<th>Share of Tanzanian Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Roman Catholic Christianity</td>
<td>31.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Protestant Christianity</td>
<td>27.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sunni Islam</td>
<td>14.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Shi’ite Islam</td>
<td>7.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Non-Denominational Islam</td>
<td>7.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ahmadiyya Islam</td>
<td>5.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Other Forms of Christianity</td>
<td>3.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Indigenous Spirituality Alone</td>
<td>1.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Sufi Islam</td>
<td>1.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Irreligious or Other Beliefs</td>
<td>1.70%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Muslims responded seriously to this break of balance of the Christian-Muslim population. They boycotted the 2012 census asking the government for removal of religious affiliation from the population census. Muslims insisted that the Muslim population was still the major portion in the country, but the government manipulated the data in favor of Christians (Said 1989). As Muslims outnumbered Christians at a ratio of three to two in the 1957 census (Issa 2012, cited in Poncian 2015, 55), the sudden growth of the Christian population in the 1967 census was difficult for Muslims to accept. Said (1989) insisted that “the 1967 census has not been able to show the reasons for the sudden decrease of Muslim population nor the growth of Paganism.”

Incidentally, the 1967 census was the last census showing religious distribution; and creating or releasing any official enumeration based on religious affiliations has been taboo in Tanzania since the Muslims’ boycott of the 2012 census. Lodhi (1994, 91)
suggests that Muslims’ claiming majority is the reason for the impairment of Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania. Said (2011, 6) states, “Africa South of the Sahara” shows that Muslims are a majority in Tanzania at 60%. This figure has remained constant in all its subsequent publications since 1991.” Muslims’ claim of being a majority in the population worked for advocacy that they are not treated fairly by the government. According to Lodhi (1994, 91), more than two-thirds of all the government and party positions are held by Christians, which is the major cause of the Muslims’ complaints.

_Muslims’ Struggle against Government_

During the period of 1960–1990, the relations between Christians and Muslims in Tanzania could be described as very good and harmonious (Lodhi 1994, 91; Nkoko 2017, 9). However, the peaceful Christian-Muslim relations did not remain the same from 1990 onwards (2017, 9). This upheaval did not arise suddenly, rather it was the consequence of the long struggle of radical Muslim groups. Radical Muslims have mainly targeted the government because, in their view, the government is being operated by Christian influence or in favor of Christians. Bakari and Ndumbao (2001, cited in Tetti 2014, 507) point out that the Islamic revival in Tanzania is essentially an activist political movement against the government.

Said (1989) argues that Islamic radicalism has a long history in the struggle against colonial rule and Christianity. Islam was well established by the time Christianity was introduced, especially along the coast regions (Ndakula 2012, 10). Said (1989) stresses that Christianity was resisted by Muslims from the beginning. Radical Muslims in Tanzania perceive Christianity and colonial rule in the same category, resulting in African people and Muslims combining together against Christianity and colonial rule. Said (1989) states, “in any uprising against the colonial state, Muslims took that

opportunity to missionaries and Christian establishments. Muslims perceived both missionaries and the colonial state as fellow collaborators and therefore enemies to Islam.”

Said (1989) clearly defines Christianity as an enemy of Islam. Moreover, he perceives that resistance against British colonialism was left to Muslims, and the struggle for independence and nationalist politics in Tanganyika assumed strong Muslim characteristics. Said’s position is that since Christianity was an ally of colonial rule, resistance against the colonial rule and the independence movement must have been mostly carried out by Muslims. This assertion is not a widely-held assumption because the founder of TANU and first president of the independent Tanganyika Nyerere himself and many of his cabinet members were Christians. Rabson Nkoko (2017, 8) argues that the independence movement of Tanganyika in the 1950s created a unity between Muslims and Christians, and Christians and Muslims were united to dismantle the British colonial rule. Nguruwe (2011, 13–14) states that a growing national identity minimized religious conflict. He argues that the rise of anti-colonial nationalism diverted the attention of people from religion to the national unity for attaining independence.

Radical Muslims insist that despite their roles in the independence movement, Muslims could not advance to government positions because of their shortage in education (Said 1989). Said (1989) asserts that “Christians were educated by colonial rule to serve them while Muslims were denied in benefits of education and naturally stood against the colonial rule.” In so doing, radical Muslims emphasize that the strong anti-government sentiment of Muslims existed from the beginning of the nation. The Muslim separatist sentiment was strong from the early stage of the new country. With a Christian president, radical Muslims comprehended TANU and the government as being dominated by Christians. It is true that more educated Christians had advantages in
getting important positions in government. Education has been an urgent issue for Muslims in perceiving inequality between Christians and Muslims in political leadership.

During the British colonial rule, the imbalance in education between Christians and Muslims was significant. According to Mbogoni (2004, cited in Mesaki 2011, 252), in 1923 there were 4,907 pupils in public schools as opposed to 115,000 in mission-funded schools. By 1935 the gap had widened further to 8,105 and 217,736 respectively. Unlike their Christian counterparts, it was difficult for Muslims to build and finance their own schools, and they were afraid that such inequity would continue in the post-independent nation. Therefore, in 1959 the All Muslim National Union of Tanganyika sought the delay of independence until Muslims were adequately educated (Mbogoni 2004, cited in Mesaki 2011, 253; Nguruwe 2011, 13). Muslims’ lagging in education was a major factor of their incompetency against Christians, and Muslims tried to change the situation by fighting the government. It resulted in their hostile relationship against the government.

Thomas Ndakula (2012, 9) offers an account that Muslims’ lagging behind Christians in education was attributed to their reluctance to adopt the change and failure to respond appropriately to the new environment. During the German colonial era, literate Muslims were employed as civil servants. However, under the British colonial rule, the requirement for civil service jobs changed from the simple literacy in the Swahili language to a secular/Western education. Muslims were reluctant to introduce secular education into their madras (Islamic schools), seeing that as adopting Western/Christian civilization. As a result, they lingered behind Christians in secular education.
Beginning of Muslim Radicalism

At the time of independence, Muslims’ representative body in Tanzania was the East African Muslims Welfare Society (EAMWS) which was formed before independence. EAMWS and TANU cooperated for gaining independence in the 1950s, but EAMWS initiated their own agenda for establishing a strong Muslim society in independent Tanganyika (Said 1989). If radical Muslims saw Christians as fellow collaborators with the colonial state before independence, it was not easy to expect them to cooperate with Christians in the post-independence government.

In 1962, the next year after independence, EAMWS elected a cabinet member Tewa Said Tewa as Chairman of Territorial Council of the EAMWS for the plan of building the first Islamic University in East Africa. Said (1989) states that, “This was the beginning of antagonism between Muslims and the Christian dominated central government, as these nationwide Muslim mobilization efforts for development were felt as a threat by the predominantly Christian government and the Christian establishment.” Later Tewa Said Tewa was removed from the cabinet and appointed Ambassador to China by Nyerere who wanted to separate him from the radical Muslim movement. Muslims continued to challenge Christian-led TANU and the government for advancement of Muslims’ initiatives. It was a power struggle between Christians and Muslims, but Nyerere perceived it as a challenge to national unity by religious separatists.

After Nyerere’s Arusha Declaration in 1967, some pro-government Muslims began to advocate socialism as an ideology compatible with the teachings of the Qur’an, and eventually they were able to organize a new nationwide Muslim organization Baraza Kuu la Waislamu Tanzania (BAKWATA: National Muslim Council of Tanzania) in

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15 Tanzania has the largest Muslim population in East Africa. According to Said, about two-thirds of East Africa’s Muslims reside in Tanzania (Said 1989). Lodhi (1994, 94) argues that Tanzania takes a central role in the context of Islam and Muslims in East Africa by providing education to many Muslim leaders and theologists in the neighboring countries.
1968. Nyerere’s government quickly recognized BAKWATA as the sole legitimate Muslim organization in Tanzania and declared EAMWS to be an unlawful society (*The Standard*, December 12, 1968, cited in Said 1989). Said (1989) expressed frustration and resentment of radical Muslims in such words: “To refer to a Muslim as a BAKWATA member is like calling a Christian a disciple of Judas Iscariot who sold Jesus for thirty pieces of silver.” Nyerere made a clear statement in his public address on the religious identity of TANU at Tanzania Episcopal Conference (TEC)\(^ {16} \) in 1970 that, “Our Party, the TANU, has no religion. It is just a political party and there are no arrangements or agreements with a particular religion.” However, this statement was interpreted by radical Muslims as meaning de-Islamization of the party. Said (1989) asserts that Muslims have to wake up to these realities and recapture their lost political power.

**Islamic Revivalism**

With the death of EAMWS, the radical Muslim movement lost its strength until the late 1970s when a Pakistani Islamic scholar, Dr. Muhammad Hussein Malik, spread radical Islam among young people. He first came to Tanzania as a mathematics teacher who had been invited by the government. When his contract with the government ended, he was employed by BAKWATA and taught Islamic studies at secondary schools in Dar es Salaam. Said (2000)\(^ {17} \) asserts that, “Among the young men who learned from Dr. Malik there were sentiments similar to the independence struggle but this time to adopt Islam as the ideology of genuine freedom.” The students of Dr. Malik formed their own

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\(^ {16} \) Tanzania Episcopal Conference is the assembly of all the Catholic bishops of the country, ordinary, auxiliary and emeritus.

\(^ {17} \) This article does not include the year of writing. An African bibliographic database *AfricaBib* (africabib.org) refers that this article’s year of writing as 2000, but it does not seem to be correct because it refers to another article of the same author which was written in 1989 as written in 2000 as well. I presume that this article was written in late 1993 because the latest references in the article are two 1993 newspapers of June and July respectively. Nevertheless, I will leave it as 2000 just to distinguish this article from other articles of the same author.
organization, *Warsha ya Waandishi wa Kiislam* (Muslim Writers’ Workshop)\(^{18}\) which came to be popularly known as *Warsha* (Said 2000). Warsha used to write books and pamphlets in Swahili based on Dr. Malik’s lectures. Their first book was a translation of Dr. Malik’s booklet *Islamiat* (Kilima 2015). Moreover, Warsha attempted to seize power in BAKWATA which they perceived as Nyerere’s puppet.

In 1981 they succeeded in replacing BAKWATA leadership with Sheikh Mohamed Ali and Warsha members occupied positions in BAKWATA (Said 2011, 14). Once they seized power in BAKWATA, Warsha performed radical Islamic reforms such as turning schools under BAKWATA into Islamic seminaries, registering an Islamic newspaper *Muislam*, and taking over a radio program (Said 2011, 15). Warsha began to raise their voice in criticizing the government. They insisted that the Ministry of Education was supported by Christians which resulted in discrimination of young Muslims from of higher learning institutions. However, the government recognized this accusation as threatening national unity (Said 2011, 18). In due course, Sheikh Mohamed Ali and Warsha were blamed for mixing religion with politics, and Sheikh Ali was expelled from BAKWATA with ban of Warsha in 1982 (Said 2011, 19; Mukandala 2006, 331). Dr. Malik was required to leave the country as a prohibited immigrant by the government (Said 2000). Nevertheless, Warsha never stopped fighting against the government and promoting radical Islam.

Under the strong leadership of Nyerere and his socialist drive for building the nation, Muslims had a hard time in struggling against the government. However, a situation favorable to the radical Muslims began to develop. From the late 1970s, Tanzania had faced several challenges in the economic sector. The international oil shocks demanded more Tanzania’s foreign exchange earnings, and despite immense

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\(^{18}\) The literal translation of the name is Islamic Writers’ Workshop, but it is usually known as Muslim Writers’ Workshop or Muslim Writers’ Organization in English.
investments in agriculture, the GDP share of this sector declined. Moreover, war against Idi Amin’s Uganda in 1978 drained the country’s resources and added strain on the country’s fragile economy (African Democracy Encyclopaedia Project, 2010).

By the early 1980s, Tanzania was heading towards an economic crisis (African Democracy Encyclopaedia Project, 2010). Nyerere had resisted pressures from overseas donors and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to launch the economic reforms against the socialist policy, but finally, in 1985, he admitted that ujamaa had failed (African Democracy Encyclopaedia Project, 2010). He stepped down from the presidency and was succeeded by Ali Hassan Mwinyi then president of Zanzibar. From 1985 onwards, when Nyerere stepped down and ujamaa policy was abandoned, Islamic revival movements gained momentum (Ndakula, Nyanto & Wijsen 2014, 64).

Ching’ole (2015, 163) argues that the growth of hostility between Christian and Muslim groups is due to the change of the political system from a socialist political system to a competitive market economy. Said (2011, 21) asserts that the 1980s was a period of intense agitation of Muslims against the government, and Muslims increasingly turned more militant and defiant. Along with the abandonment of a socialist political system, the government’s control of the society weakened, which gave radical Muslims more room to be provocative, especially under the Muslim president. It opened the way to violent incidents between Christians and Muslims in the 1990s.

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19 Idi Amin invaded Tanzania first but lost the war and fled into exile to Libya, and later settled in Saudi Arabia. For this war, Tanzania was criticized by international society for invading a neighboring country but was welcomed by Ugandan people for removing the notorious dictator.

20 The second president Mwinyi was Muslim, and since then the presidency of Tanzania has been unofficially alternated between a Christian and a Muslim up to the present president John Magufuli who was elected in 2015. President’s office term is five years and can be re-elected once. All the presidents after Nyerere were successfully re-elected and stayed in the office for ten years. The present president Magufuli is in his first term expecting the next election for re-election in 2020.
Emergence of Muslim Bible Scholars

Another main factor of the Christian-Muslim conflicts is attributed to doctrinal propagations of Christian and Muslim preachers including attacks on the beliefs of the opposing religions. Those attacks were received as a serious challenge by the opposing parties and consequently resulted in public debates and eventually violent clashes. In the 1980s, tensions increased by the growth of a more antagonistic style of evangelical campaigns by Christians, especially Pentecostal churches, that were often called Crusades (Nguruwe 2011, 20). In the confrontation with the evangelical campaigns of churches, Muslims adopted an evangelical style of preaching in the mihadhara (public preaching) meetings (Loimeier 2016, 13).

A notable phenomenon in the Christian-Muslim religious competition of this period was the emergence of Muslim Bible scholars. Said (2011, 45) asserts, “Nothing has damaged the confidence of the Church in Tanzania more than the wave of Muslim preachers who went around the country in towns and villages preaching Islam using the Bible.” This new strategy was introduced by a South African Indian Sheikh Ahmed Deedat. In 1981, Sheikh Deedat was invited to Dar es Salaam to give lectures on Islam in the Bible. With his knowledge of the Bible and the Qur’an, he attacked Christian beliefs in the trinity, the crucifixion and eternal sin, and convinced many Christians (Said 2011, 46). Since then, his methods became rampant in mihadhara (Nguruwe 2011, 20).

This strategy of Muslim Bible scholars damaged Christian-Muslim relations significantly. Nguruwe (2011, 76) points out that to use the Bible to invalidate definitive aspects of the Christian faith is contempt, slanderous and blasphemous against the Christian faith. This phenomenon carried negative consequences for interfaith relations. Some Christian groups responded to this challenge with the campaign Biblia ni Jibu (The Bible is the answer), in which contempt for the Islamic faith was displayed (Nguruwe
2011, 76). Nevertheless, Muslim Bible scholars’ attacks were considerably threatening to Christians.

Tetti (2014, 506) states that in the late 1980s Tanzania was invaded by Muslim fundamentalism propagated by young preachers trained outside the country. They preached publicly against the Bible and Christian beliefs. Said (2011, 53) stresses the Muslim Bible scholars’ accomplishment quoting reports of a weekly newspaper (Mizani, December 1990–January 1991): “In Sumbawanga a predominant Catholic area at one time 2,000 Christians converted to Islam. In Kagera Yusuf Makaka, a pastor from the Lutheran Church who reverted to Islam, was able to convert 3,000 Christians in rural Lake region and built a mosque.” Churches were troubled and asked the government to interfere. Finally, in 1992, when the situation was explosive, the government prohibited public preaching (Loimeier 2016, 348). As a response to this government’s action, Sheikh Kassim bin Juma called upon Muslims to defy and ignore any order from the government which is repugnant to Islam (Said 2011, 55).

**Age of Physical Violence Begins**

Early in the 1990s, an antagonistic atmosphere against the Christian-dominating government and Christianity from the Islamic extremist movement was rife. In 1987, the *Baraza La Uendelezaji Kurani Tanzania* (BALUKTA) was formed to promote recitation of the Qur’an. Meanwhile, the sudden change of Sheikh Kassim bin Juma bin Khamis, a former patron of Nyerere, became the center of public attention. Said (2011,)

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21 Whenever the government is not favorable to them, radical Muslims blame the government as Christian-dominating government, even with the Muslim president.

22 BALUKTA’s full Swahili names are varied by authors. In their co-authored article “Things are Getting Out of Control: An Analysis of Muslim Revivalism Discourses in Tanzania,” Thomas Ndaluka, Salvatory Nyanto and Frans Wijsen use “*Baraza la Uendelezaji Kurani Tanzania*” (p.65) as well as “*Baraza la Usomaji Kurani Tanzania*” (p.67) for BALUKTA. *Uendelezaji* is translated as development, while *usomaji* means reading. Therefore, BALUKTA is translated in English as Tanzania Qur’an Promoting Council or Tanzania Qur’an Reading Council as well.
31) appraises it as “a change from a pawn of Nyerere to a champion of Muslim rights.” In his Friday *khutbahs* (sermons), Sheikh Kassim mentioned that Nyerere was an enemy of Islam, speaking publicly with loudspeakers at his Mtoro Mosque. Muslims in thousands crowded into the mosque to listen to Sheikh Kassim’s Friday khutbahs (Said 2011, 36–37). On top of that, in 1993, BALUKTA started a Holy War (jihad) against the consumption of pork (Wijsen and Mfumbusa 2004, 17).

On Good Friday in 1993, a group of militant Islamists attacked and destroyed several pork butcheries at Kinondoni in Dar es Salaam, claiming to clean the city of un-Islamic activities (Wijsen and Mfumbusa 2004, 18; Amnesty International Report 1994—Tanzania). It was the first ever physical attack by Muslims on Christian property in mainland Tanzania since independence (Said 2011, 38). The authorities accused BALUKTA for being behind the attacks (Mbogoni 2004, 155, cited in Magotti 2014, 167), and soon afterwards BALUKTA was banned by the government (Amnesty International Report 1994—Tanzania). Frans Wijsen and Bernadin Mfumbusa (2004, 18) delineate the atmosphere of the day:

> The general reaction was one of outrage and fear. A sense of hitherto unknown vulnerability became almost palpable in the streets of Dar es Salaam. Until then, violence was something that happened elsewhere: in far away Soweto, Bujumbura or Luanda, something they heard about in the news. When it finally happened in Dar es Salaam, the aura of peace that had beguiled the country for so long was shattered.

This incident marked the beginning of a history of violent conflicts in Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania. Tanzanian people who had learned national unity as their primary national agenda had to confront this dreadful reality. The Kinondoni attacks were not a one-time incident, but they opened the way to violence to opposing religions that lasted for more than two decades in Tanzanian history.
More Muslim Attacks in Consequence

There was another shocking incident shaking the country with the fear that an Islamic extreme fundamentalists’ terrorism attack took place in Tanzanian territory. The bombing of the U.S. embassy in Dar es Salaam in 1998\(^2\) resulted in many casualties including eleven deaths. However, the attack was not plotted by Tanzanian Muslims but contrived by Somali al Qaeda operators, based in Nairobi (Ching’ole 2015, 164).

The Mwembechai riots,\(^4\) in which four Muslims were shot dead by para-military police forces, took place in the context of rising religious tension in 1998 (Loimeier 2016, 348). Simeon Mesaki (2011, 254) comments that, “the Mwembechai incident was the culmination of events which pitted Muslims against Christians, Muslims against other Muslims and Muslims against the state.” The incident began in February 1998 with a Catholic priest’s accusation of Muslims insulting Jesus Christ in the Mwembechai mosque in Dar es Salaam during a mihadhara sermon (Loimeier 2016, 348). When the police arrested Sheik Magezi, the mosque’s loudspeakers were used to call for extreme action for his release. When more people joined the fracas, it turned into a riot (Mesaki 2011, 254). Wijsen and Mfumbusa (2004, 19–20) state that rioters burned vehicles and destroyed private property in the burst of sectarian violence.

Once the door opened to violence, more violent attacks against Christians by Muslims followed one after another. In February 2000, Muslims and Christians clashed over the use of a graveyard located at Manzese in Dar es Salaam. Angry Muslims destroyed crosses on Christian graves in the graveyard (Nkoko 2017, 10–11). In February 2006, a church at Kigamboni in the Temeke district of Dar es Salaam was burned to the ground. A week later, BAKWATA issued a statement denouncing the church’s attack, which was being attributed to certain sections of the Muslim community (International Religious Freedom Report 2006—Tanzania).

\(^2\) This attack took place simultaneous to the bombing of the U.S. embassy in Nairobi, Kenya.
\(^4\) Radical Muslims refer to this incident as Mwembechai killings (Njozi 2000).
In the early 2010s, more intense and frequent Christian-Muslim clashes took place. In September 2011, some Muslims burned down three church buildings of the Tanzania Assemblies of God (TAG) in Mwanza (Nkoko 2017, 12). In October 2012, Muslim rioters burned five churches and destroyed vehicles in Mbagala, Dar es Salaam. This incident happened because it was reported that a Christian boy had urinated on the Qur’an (Mwankemwa 2012, cited in Nkoko 2017, 12). In May 2013, there was a bomb explosion outside St Joseph’s Roman Catholic Church in Arusha, in which two people were killed and more than sixty people were injured (Ching’ole 2015, 164). In March 2013, the residence of Archbishop Valentino Mokiwa, the Bishop of Dar es Salaam and Primate of the Anglican Church of Tanzania, was attacked by unknown assailants having machetes. Midnight Watcher’s Blogspot (2013) reported: “There was no proof who led the attack, but people purporting to be Muslim Fundamentalists had threatened the Archbishop and his name was included on a list of ‘most wanted’ alongside the Archbishops of the Roman Catholic Church and Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania.” In June 2013, a large group of people broke into the home of Evangelical Assemblies of God Tanzania (EAGT) Pastor, Robert Ngai, in Geita Town. They attacked Ngai with machetes resulting in his serious injury (International Religious Freedom Report 2013—Tanzania).

**Business-Related Conflicts in Essence**

Another notable incident took place in February 2013. A pastor of the TAG church at Buseresere in the Geita region was beheaded during religious-linked conflicts. The police announced that conflicts were excessively abundant in the area where Muslim leaders had demanded immediate closure of Christian butcheries (Midnight Watcher’s Blogspot 2013). Since the Kinondoni Butchery Attacks in 1993, conflicts between Christians and Muslims on animal slaughtering business had spread over the country.
Kinondoni Butchery Attacks were carried out by religious motivation, but the following conflicts on the animal slaughtering issue look rather financially-motivated. Traditionally the meat industry had been recognized as a Muslim monopoly business in Tanzania. However, Christians began to enter the business claiming their right to sell meat for Christians. They argued that meat from Muslim butcheries were not proper for Christians’ consumption because the meat had been treated by the Islamic religious rituals (Nkoko 2017, 132). Ching’ole (2015, 165) raises a question whether this conflict is about Muslims’ fears of erroneously eating non-halal meat or their rejection of Christians being business competitors using religion as a shield. He judges that the beheading of the pastor in Buseresere was linked to perceived threats to the long-standing tradition of Muslims’ monopoly over the meat industry.

**Recent Trend of Muslim Attacks against Christians**

In recent days, Muslims’ arsonist attacks on church buildings take place sporadically. In January 2015, arsonists set a church building on fire in Mashewa in the Tanga region (International Religion Freedom Report 2015—Tanzania). From February to May 2016, arsonists burned down a Roman Catholic church, a TAG church, and a Pentecostal Assemblies of God (PAG) church in the Kagera region. The secretary of the Bukoba Pastors Fellowship insisted that arsonists burned more than a dozen of churches in the Kagera region between 2013 and 2015 (International Religion Freedom Report 2016—Tanzania). Arsonist attacks are less risky means of attack against Christians because they are not direct attacks on human life. Also, they result in the destruction of church buildings, which looks a symbolic, triumphal action of Muslims against Christians in their jihad.
Efforts of Government and Religious Groups for Inter-Religious Peace

National unity has been one of the priorities of the nation since independence, and the Tanzanian government has interfered actively in the Christian-Muslim relation issues. Politicians’ symbolic gestures of attending religious celebrations to urge the people for national peace and religious tolerance have been annual activities. In April 2017, President John Magufuli attended Easter services at the Africa Inland Church Tanzania (AICT) at Magomeni and St. Peter’s Catholic Church in Dar es Salaam (The Citizen 2017). In remarks he urged the people to demonstrate peace, unity, hard work, and harmony in the country. In September 2017, speaking to Muslims celebrating Eid al-Adha, Prime Minster Kassim Majaliwa called on religious leaders to preach the importance of maintaining peace (International Religious Freedom Report 2017—Tanzania).

Responding to the government’s call for religious peace and tolerance, religious organizations have been making efforts to promote tolerance and harmony between Christians and Muslims. Taking some examples, the Communications Director of Anglican Church in Tanzania (ACT) said that ACT should invest more resources into maintaining good Christian-Muslim relations (Zulu 2014). The Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT) organized a one-day conference on July 20, 2016. In the conference, national leaders of Christians and Muslims met to discuss how to maintain peaceful coexistence and promote religious tolerance. Among the participants of the meeting were the Minister of Internal Affairs, BAKWATA, CCT, Council of Pentecostal Churches of Tanzania (CPCT), Tanzania Episcopal Conference (TEC) and the Media (CCT website 2017).

A Catholic mission organization, White Fathers, reported that their office of Justice & Peace and Interreligious Dialogue had held a two-day conference on inter-religious dialogue and peacebuilding in Tanzania in February 2018, and Muslim leaders
in Dar es Salaam had attended the conference (Ng’andwe 2018). The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT)\textsuperscript{25} initiated an interfaith dialogue, which resulted in the formation of the Christian-Muslim Commission for Peace Development and Conflict Resolution. The commission’s objectives are to build mutual trust between the different religious groups and to ensure peaceful relationships and a harmonious coexistence (Ching’ole 2015, 166).

\textit{Conclusion}

It is hard to expect to see peace and tolerance between Christians and Muslims around the world because both religions are characterized by aggressive missional passion. Therefore, the peaceful Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania before the 1990s is an exceptional phenomenon. Although there had been a certain degree of tension between Christians and Muslims under the surface, in the early period of Tanzanian history, it did not lead to open conflicts and the Christian-Muslim relations remained harmonious (Liviga 2006, cited in Nkoko 2017, 8–9).

As Hamza Njozi (2004, 38) noticed that, during the 1960–1990 period, although Muslims were underrepresented in education and employment, they never considered Christians as their enemies to fight against. Desire for independence and national unity worked as a strong motivation that minimized religious differences between Christians and Muslims. They considered national capital peace and unity prior to their private privileges. National identity took priority to religious identity. Therefore, peaceful Christian-Muslim relations were achieved on the sacrifice and conciliation of religious selfishness and self-centeredness.

\textsuperscript{25} Lutheran Church is more recognized with its Swahili name KKKT in Tanzania, which stands for \textit{Kanisa la Kiinjili la Kilutheri Tanzania} (the literal translation of Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania).
When a value system breaks down, the order which was established on the value system collapses. There had been groups of people who constantly sought for their privileges over the public good, and their actions left scars on the national order. Nevertheless, the strength that sustained national unity and peace between different religions was people’s conviction on the national agenda. However, when the ujamaa policy turned out to be a failure and was abandoned in the 1980s, people lost spirit to give priority to public good. Consequently, tension between Christians and Muslims for their own rights and privileges detonated into uncontrolled conflicts. Tetti (2014, 507) criticizes Muslim radicalism as a political movement based on an Islamic-centric interpretation of history that Muslims have been discriminated against by a Christian-dominated state.

Certainly, there are many other factors affecting the conflicts such as economy, politics and personal or collective interests. Nevertheless, the primary factor of the conflict incidents are the acting agents, Christian and Muslim people themselves. Above all, therefore, enlightening people must be the most fundamental solution to the conflict. Ngururwe (2011, 77) emphasizes that one cannot ignore the contribution of religious education for the coexistence of the two religions. It is true that once religious conviction captures a human mind, it can work as a stronger power than any other ideology to drive people into actions. In other words, people behave according to what they believe. Therefore, if religions had planted a conviction of peace and harmony, compatible to major values of the two religions, peaceful Christian-Muslim relations would have continued. Although Nguruwe (2011, 77–78) states that the tensions do not necessarily mean the failure of the religious education to produce the desired results, those religions, especially some Muslim groups, cannot be free from responsibility for the recent violent conflicts.
Nguruwe (2011, 92–93) suggests that despite core differences in their religions, Christians and Muslims need to understand, honor and respect each other. In that respect, efforts for inter-religious dialogue to build confidence and friendship between Christians and Muslims are necessary. The role of government as a mediator as well as watchdog is required. Also, the government’s fair execution of its policies should be manifested, because as Poncian (2015, 62) points out, the confrontations are generally motivated not by religion but by the political manipulations of religious diversity for their followers’ socio-economic and political profits.
CHAPTER 2
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research focuses on a segment of Tanzanian society in the Dar es Salaam and Pwani regions to find out their perceptions, beliefs, and desires by examining their self-evaluation on some specific issues in a given social environment. This present research was inspired by my curiosity on the way that Tanzanian Christians and Muslims mingle as ndugu\textsuperscript{26} in their day-to-day lives. So, I became interested in investigating Christians’ perception of Muslims in the context of their friendly relations.

Research work begins with collecting data. Then, the following process is to analyze and interpret the collected data. Edgar Elliston (2011, 55) points out that two fundamental issues of research methods are data collection and data analysis. Loshini Naidoo (2012, 1) writes, “Ethnographic research is a qualitative methodology that is appropriate for the study of the beliefs, social interactions, and behaviors of small societies . . . and the interpretation of the data collected.” Leah Shagrir (2017, 9) also points out that an ethnographic approach combines data analysis and the researcher’s interpretation.

As I was interested in the way that Tanzanian Christians mingle with their Muslim neighbors, the object of the research was to understand the Christians’ perception of Muslims in their given socio-religious environment which made them mingle with the

\textsuperscript{26} This Swahili word is commonly translated into English as comrade, which is rather associated with communism in the Western World. As Tanzania attempted to adopt the socialist ideals by the mid-1980s, ndugu was considered as carrying the socialist ideals. However, in the day-to-day lives of Tanzanian people, ndugu does not have any connotation of socialism in a political sense. Ndugu is used to refer to someone who is in a close relationship, such as a friend, a family member, or a relative.
Muslims in their ordinary lives. For data collection, I adopted both quantitative and qualitative methods in this research. Once data were collected, analysis work followed. Scattered ideas and fragments of conceptions are sorted and developed into a theory. This analysis is an emic approach to find out how the local people perceive their problems and issues in their social setting. The goal of the emic approach in cultural anthropology is to understand the cultural meanings from the insider’s perspective (Kim 2018, 7). This emic analysis of collected data is presented in chapters 3 and 4.

Based on the emic analysis, I carried out an interpretation procedure. Interpretation work is an etic approach, which offers an outsider’s view of the behaviors and perceptions of the researched people. This etic interpretation, provided in chapter 5, rejects ethnocentric bias in which a researcher takes a judging position of the researched cultural entities with his/her own cultural perspective as a standard. Caleb Kim (2018, 8) points out that the analytical process with an etic perspective must be supported by an academically established theory or framework.

**Research Design**

Elliston (2011, 67) divides research methods into three categories: descriptive, experimental, and evaluative research. He notes that descriptive research and evaluative research are used widely in missiological research. Descriptive research is to develop a theory, whereas experimental research is to test a theory in a given circumstance, and evaluative research is to provide information for decision making (Elliston 2011, 68–77). This study of Tanzanian Christians’ perception of Muslims fits into the category of descriptive research, and the primary data to be collected for this research is the attitudes and opinions of Tanzanian Christians concerning their neighboring Muslims.

A quantitative method involves the collection of numerical data, in which questionnaire surveys are typically used for data collection. When a large number of
participants are necessary to be involved, questionnaire surveys are appropriate (Flick 2011, 111). A qualitative method, on the other hand, involves the collection of descriptive data, for which in-depth interviews are appropriate for data collection. Elliston (2011, 74) states that qualitative research deals with issues such as worldviews, values, attitudes, and spirituality. This research is about Tanzanian Christians’ attitudes and thoughts, which requires qualitative research. For the data collection, I conducted a questionnaire survey as well as in-depth interviews, and in so doing, the research combined the strengths of quantitative and qualitative methods.

**Questionnaire Survey**

In conducting a questionnaire survey, distributing and collecting questionnaire forms is a challenging part. I was assisted in this task by the students of Calvin Theological College (CTC), a small Bible college in Dar es Salaam where I was working. The student body of the college comprised twenty people at the time of conducting the survey. The first people to whom I distributed the questionnaire forms were my own students. The students were cooperative not only in answering the questionnaire but also in distributing the questionnaire forms. As all the students were working for, or belonged to, local congregations, they took the questionnaire forms to their churches over the weekend. All the distributed questionnaire forms returned only in two weekends. The questionnaire was translated into the Swahili language by a competent bilingual CTC graduate to be distributed to the respondents.

**Respondents by Congregation and Age Group**

In sorting and analyzing the collected data, I used the computer software IBM SPSS Statistics. I found this software useful in dealing with a large volume of data in
sorting, analyzing, and relating different variables in a cross table. All the tables that I presented in this thesis were created by the software. For creating graphic charts, Microsoft Excel was used.

**<TABLE 2>**

**NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS BY GROUP AND AGE GROUP**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Congregation</th>
<th>Under 20</th>
<th>20s</th>
<th>30s</th>
<th>40s</th>
<th>Over 50</th>
<th>Unanswered</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Calvin Theological College</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kibamba Presbyterian Church</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madale Presbyterian Church</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buyuni Presbyterian Church</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kijaka Presbyterian Church</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwasonga Presbyterian Church</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mizimbini Presbyterian Church</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Efatha Presbyterian Church</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kibada Presbyterian Church</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puna Presbyterian Church</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chalinze Presbyterian Church</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victory Word of God Pentecostal Church</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gershom Christian Centre Kibamba</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbagala Individuals</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>61</strong></td>
<td><strong>85</strong></td>
<td><strong>72</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td><strong>271</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 is a summary of the respondents by congregation and age group. Twelve congregations with the CTC student body and four individuals were involved in the

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27 A cross table is a two-way table consisting of columns and rows. It is also known as a pivot table or a multi-dimensional table. I used cross tables to examine a relation between variables.
questionnaire survey. The total number of respondents was 271, and the number of respondents in each congregation varies from ten to forty.

**Respondents by Gender**

Among the respondents, male respondents were 52.4% and female respondents were 47.6%. However, the students of CTC were mostly males (eighteen out of twenty). Therefore, excepting the CTC students, the male/female ratio was close to even as 49.4% to 50.6%. Table 3 and Table 4 show this statistical data.

**<TABLE 3>**

**GENDER RATIO OF RESPONDENT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>52.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>47.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**<TABLE 4>**

**GENDER RATIO OF RESPONDENTS EXCLUDING CTC STUDENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>49.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>50.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Respondents by Age Group

Among the 271 respondents, nine people did not identify their age group. Among the 262 respondents, the largest age group was the 20s with 85 (32.4%), followed by the 30s with 72 (27.5%), then the under 20 group with 61 (23.3%), the 40s with 30 (11.5%), and the over 50 group with 14 (5.3%). For the age group of under 20, I asked questionnaire form distributors not to include young children. Therefore, this age group consists of young people in their late teens. The number of elderly people drops significantly. I suppose it is because younger people were lively and apt to respond to this kind of activity, or those congregations comprised rather younger generations. Figure 1 is the summary of age group distribution of the respondents.

![Bar chart showing respondents by age group](image)

<FIGURE 1>

RESPONDENTS BY AGE GROUP

Clergy/Laity Division

I made the division of clergy and laity in order to examine the possible difference in their perceptions. I included Bible college students in the clergy category, so most of
the respondents answering to be clergy are CTC students (twenty out of twenty-five). Although the questionnaire forms were distributed to thirteen groups including twelve congregations, as Table 5 shows, the number of clergy people does not increase much over the number of CTC students, many of whom work for those congregations.

<TABLE 5>

CLERGY/LAITY DIVISION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clergy</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laity</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>90.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In-depth Interviews

At the beginning of interviews, I explained to the informants the purpose of the interview. Interviews were conducted in an empty lecture room or office or at an outdoor bench of the college in a comfortable environment. Interviews were carried out for a time period between half an hour and an hour. All the interviews were recorded with the consent of the informants, then transcribed.

I interviewed ten people. Among them were three pastors, one female preacher, two Bible college students, a female primary school teacher, and three laymen. The three pastors were all PCT ministers. Among them was the moderator of PCT, and another pastor was selected because he was pastoring a church in a city which is considered as one of the strongest Islamic cities in Tanzania. The other pastor had a study experience overseas, so I selected him with the expectation of having a different perspective from the others. The female preacher was not married, and she belonged to PCT but had not been
ordained as pastor. One of the two Bible college students whom I interviewed was an incumbent high school teacher, so he was selected for his multi-career background from which I expected more diverse contact experience with Muslims. The other one was selected because he showed a heightened concern about Muslim evangelism. The primary school teacher was also a local church pastor’s wife. Three laymen were ordinary Christians with sincere faith. One was a deacon at a local Presbyterian church, another one was attending an Anglican church, and the other one was Roman Catholic.

**Ethical Considerations**

Distribution of the questionnaire forms was done through my college students, except for the case where those students themselves were the respondents. Consequently, I was neither able to contact the majority of the respondents directly nor have an opportunity to explain the purpose of the questionnaire survey. Therefore, I wrote down the purpose of the questionnaire survey on the form as clearly as I could and clarified that the information which they would provide would be used solely for academic purposes. To my own student respondents, I explained about my study and asked them for their participation by responding to the questionnaire. To my informants, I explained that I was conducting a study on the Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania and the interview would be recorded for use in the study.

All documentation created on the basis of the collected information has been kept in a safe place and will be destroyed at the completion of the study and publication of its findings. John Creswell (2014, 98–99) advises that researchers need to anticipate the possibility of harmful, intimate information being disclosed during the data collection process. He states, “The ethical code for researchers is to protect the privacy of the participants and to convey this protection to all individuals involved in a study.” I have
kept anonymity for some sensitive issues, and pseudonyms have been used where necessary for the privacy of those who were mentioned in the interviews.

**Limitations**

In the questionnaire survey, I set the researched group as adult Christians of PCT churches in the regions of Dar es Salaam and Pwani. For practical reasons, it was not possible for me to collect data from people in every part of Tanzania. Therefore, I concentrated on the people in the area where I was living. Dar es Salaam is Tanzania’s largest city with a population of 10% of the total population of Tanzanian mainland.\(^{28}\) Pwani is a region surrounding Dar es Salaam. Although Dar es Salaam lost its status as the nation’s capital, it is still the center of politics, economy, and education of the country. Therefore, the city attracts inhabitants from all regions of Tanzania. According to the census statistical data, the Dar es Salaam population exploded from 2,487,288 in 2002 to 4,364,541 in 2012 (National Bureau of Statistics 2013, 2). The average annual rate of the population increase from 2002 to 2012 in overall Tanzania was 2.8%, whereas the rate in Dar es Salaam was 5.6%. It is not an exaggeration to say that Dar es Salaam residents are representative of people from all other regions of Tanzania, as a good portion of the Dar es Salaam population is made up of migrants from other parts of Tanzania as shown in the statistical data.

It was interesting that all my informants were migrants who had come from other regions to Dar es Salaam or Pwani. In fact, most of the original inhabitants of the coastal regions are Muslims. It is difficult to find Christians among coastal tribes,\(^ {29}\) which is the

\(^{28}\) The population of Dar es Salaam in the 2012 census was 4,364,541 out of the total 43,625,354 in mainland Tanzania.

\(^{29}\) The largest indigenous ethnic group in the Dar es Salaam and Pwani regions is the Zaramo tribe with an estimated population of 657,000. The Zaramo people are unified in the Islamic faith and in the use of the Swahili language. (Appiah & Gates 2010). In the nineteenth century, the early missionary activity in East Africa was primarily taking care of freed slaves. During this period, the locals on the coast, including
reason that all my informants were migrants from other regions. Nevertheless, having respondents in the Dar es Salaam and Pwani regions was an advantage in my research as those Christians who would most likely be affected by the previous violent incidents, and most likely to have heard of them in a big city environment.

Another limitation in the questionnaire survey was that respondents were mostly PCT church members. As I was working with the PCT denomination, it was natural for me to focus on the Christians of PCT churches. However, among the collected data, there were a couple of non-PCT congregations, and a few individuals out of PCT churches. I found that there were no meaningful differences between the answers of PCT church groups and non-PCT church groups.

the Zaramo tribe, did not convert to Christianity because they perceived Christianity as a religion for slaves (Ndakula 2006, 12).
CHAPTER 3

TANZANIAN CHRISTIANS’ PERCEPTION OF MUSLIMS AS UNDERSTOOD THROUGH QUANTITATIVE DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

In order to gain access to Tanzanian Christians’ general view on Muslims in a relatively short period of time, a questionnaire survey proved effective. The questionnaire consisted of twenty-one questions in total. The first three questions concern the respondents’ personal information such as gender, age, and religious status as clergy or laity. Questions 4 to 6 address the respondents’ personal relationships with Muslims. Question 7 asks their opinion of inter-religious marriages between Christians and Muslims. Questions 8 to 14 seek to access their assessment of Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania through asking about their awareness of past violent incidents and future anticipation of the relations. Questions 15 and 16 examine their views on Muslims on personal and spiritual levels. Questions 17 and 18 ask about conversions in either direction between Christianity and Islam. And finally, questions 19 to 21 deal with their evangelical duty as Christians to their Muslim neighbors. As questions 1 to 3 have been considered in chapter 2, questions 4 and onwards are analyzed in this chapter.

Having Close Muslim Friends

Question 4: Do you have close Muslim friends?

Table 6 presents how Christian people view their personal relationships with Muslims. Among the 270 answering respondents, 90 people (33.3%) answered that they had many close Muslim friends. Additionally, 135 people (50.0%) answered that they
had a few close Muslim friends. In total, therefore, 83.3% of Christians have close Muslim friends. Only 45 people (16.7%) answered that they did not have any close Muslim friends. I did not identify specific numbers for “many friends” and “a few friends” in the question. Rather I left this matter to the respondents’ own feeling and choice, so that they can make a decision whether they have many or a few close Muslim friends. The concept of “close” was also used in a subjective way. Whether a friend is a close one or not is dependent on the respondents’ subjective stance. Their own feeling and decision are more important than establishing exact numbers of friends.

<TABLE 6>

HAVING CLOSE MUSLIM FRIENDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Many</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A few</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even for those who answered that they did not have close Muslim friends, it does not mean that they have no connection to or relationship with Muslims in their life since the question asks if they have “close” Muslim friends. Although they do not have close Muslim friends, they may have many casual Muslim friends and acquaintances or be involved in many interactions and activities together with Muslim neighbors in their personal or business area of life. The next question investigates this issue.
Relationship with Muslim Neighbors

Question 5: How are your relationships with your neighboring Muslims?

While making Muslim friends is a choice of each individual, living alongside Muslim neighbors is not a practical option in Tanzania. As there are many Muslims throughout Tanzania, it is inconceivable that Christians wouldn’t have quotidian connections with them. Therefore, the manner in which Christians relate with their Muslim neighbors should be another measurement of Christian-Muslim relations.

<TABLE 7>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>72.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So-so</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoiding</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>268</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 7 shows, 72.0% of the respondents answered that their relationship with Muslim neighbors is good, 19.4% answered that it is so-so, and only 8.6% answered that they avoid relationships with Muslim neighbors as much as possible. Therefore, it is manifested that most Christians (91.4%) are living in positive relationships with their Muslim neighbors.

In an examination of the answers to this question, it makes sense to compare the results with the answers to the previous question (having close Muslim friends). The hypothesis is that the percentage of people who have close Muslim friends parallels the percentage of people who have good relationships with Muslim neighbors. Table 8 shows the analysis result of crosschecking the answers.
### Table 8

**Relation of Having Close Muslim Friends and Relationship with Muslim Neighbors**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Having Close Muslim Friends</th>
<th>Relationship with Muslim Neighbors</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>So-so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Many</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>85.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A few</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>66.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>62.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>72.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among those who have many close Muslim friends, 85.4% have good relationships with neighboring Muslims. Among those who have a few close Muslim friends, 66.9% have good relationships with neighboring Muslims. It is noticeable that the percentage of having good relationships with Muslim neighbors among those have no close Muslim friend does not drop much, which is 62.2%, and not far below those who have a few close Muslim friends. The answers show that, whether they have close Muslim friends or not, most of the respondents live in good relationships with their Muslim neighbors. However, having no close Muslim friends invariably affects the relationship with Muslim neighbors negatively. The percentage of avoiding relationships with Muslim neighbors increases from 2.2% in “many Muslim friends” group to 15.6% in the “no Muslim friends” group.

Of the respondents, 72.0% answered that they have good relationships with their Muslim neighbors. I wanted to examine if there is any variation of this relationship by
age group. The percentage of those who have good relationships with Muslim neighbors among the age group under 20 was 73.3%, while the percentage among the age group 20s dropped to 69.0%. Among the age group 30s, the percentage of having good relationships with Muslim neighbors was 72.2%, and the percentage among the age group 40s rose up to 83.3%. Then, the percentage among the age group over 50 dropped to 64.3%, as Figure 2 shows.

Among the age groups, the 40s group shows the highest percentage of all, while the lowest percentage falls on the over 50 group. Apart from the highest and lowest groups, the rest of the age groups are not far from the average 72.0%. With this data, the amicability to Muslims does not vary much among the younger generations of under 40, until it rises up to the highest point among the age group 40s. It is hard to explain the rapid drop from the age group 40s to the age group over 50.

<FIGURE 2>

GOOD RELATIONSHIP WITH MUSLIMS NEIGHBORS BY AGE GROUP

47
**Muslim Family Background/Connection**

*Question 6: Do you have a Muslim family background or connection?*

The mixture of Christians and Muslims in a family is a common phenomenon in Tanzania. Table 9 strikingly shows that 45.2% of the respondents identified themselves as having a Muslim family background/connection. I used the meaning of having a Muslim family background as having Muslims in their family lineage, like their parents or grandparents. By contrast, a Muslim family connection has a slightly different meaning. A marriage creates a connection between two different families. Then, the members of each family come to have a connection with the other family. As an example, if a Christian’s sibling or close relative marries a Muslim, then that person comes to have a Muslim family connection. Nearly half of the respondents have a Muslim family background/connection. Having Muslim relatives is quite different from having Muslim friends. Families and relatives are connected with blood. It must have affected their attitudes or thoughts toward Muslims more strongly.

<TABLE 9>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>45.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>54.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I wanted to examine if Christians with a Muslim family background/connection have more good relationships with Muslims than those who do not have a family background/connection. Table 10 is the statistical data of this issue. Respondents who have a Muslim family background/connection show higher amicability to Muslim
neighbors than those who do not have a Muslim family background/connection as 79.8% to 65.5%.

<TABLE 10>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Muslim Family Background/connection</th>
<th>Relationship with Muslim Neighbors</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>So-so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>79.8%</td>
<td>15.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>65.5%</td>
<td>23.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>71.9%</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparing the data of having a Muslim family background/connection and that of having close Muslim friends also yields interesting results. As Table 11 shows, the percentage of having close Muslim friends among the people who have a Muslim family background/connection is significantly higher than those who do not have a Muslim family background/connection. Among those who have a Muslim family background/connection, 44.6% have many close Muslim friends and 52.9% have a few close Muslim friends. Therefore, among those who have a Muslim family background/connection, up to 97.5% have close Muslim friends. By contrast, the percentage of having close Muslim friends among those who do not have a Muslim family background/connection drops to 71.6%.
<TABLE 11>

RELATION OF HAVING MUSLIM FAMILY BACKGROUND AND HAVING CLOSE MUSLIM FRIENDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Muslim Family Background/Connection</th>
<th>Close Muslim Friends</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Many</td>
<td>A few</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>54</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44.6%</td>
<td>52.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23.6%</td>
<td>48.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>89</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33.1%</td>
<td>50.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Approval of Inter-Religious Marriage

*Question 7: Do you approve of Christian-Muslim marriage?*

<TABLE 12>

APPROVAL OF INTER-RELIGIOUS MARRIAGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>25.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>74.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The inter-religious marriage between Christians and Muslims is a common reality in Tanzania. As I examined before, 45.2% of Christians have a Muslim family background/connection. However, the majority of Christians exhibit a negative attitude toward the inter-religious marriage. Table 12 shows that only 25.4% of respondents
approved of inter-religious marriage, while 74.6% opposed to it. Considering the data that nearly half of the Christians have a Muslim family background/connection, this negative opinion on inter-religious marriage is surprising.

<TABLE 13>

RELATION OF MUSLIM FAMILY BACKGROUND/CONNECTION AND APPROVAL OF INTER-RELIGIOUS MARRIAGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Muslim Family Background/connection</th>
<th>Inter-Religious Marriage</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Count 36</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 29.8%</td>
<td>70.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Count 31</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 21.2%</td>
<td>78.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Count 67</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 25.1%</td>
<td>74.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is worth examining whether those who have a Muslim family background have a more positive attitude to inter-religious marriages or not. Table 13 confirms that Muslim family background/connection people have a more positive attitude toward inter-religious marriage, with 8.6% higher than non-Muslim background/connection people. However, it is still as low as 29.8%. Seventy point two percent of this category oppose inter-religious marriage. Although they tended to have a friendlier attitude to Muslims from their Muslim family background/connection, they are supposed to acknowledge the negative side of religiously mixed families from their own experiences.

It is necessary to examine the approval rate of inter-religious marriage between male Christians and female Christians. Table 14 shows that more female Christians
(79.1%) than male Christians (70.5%) had a negative attitude toward inter-religious marriage. The reality is that more women than men in inter-religious marriage change their religion in Tanzania as I will discuss in the next chapters, and this difference between male and female respondents reflects the reality.

<TABLE 14>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inter-Religious Marriage</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Count</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>29.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Count</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>20.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>25.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Clergy people are responsible to teach and lead the congregation to the upright way according to the Word of God. To execute the duty, they are required to have a sound knowledge and discernment. If inter-religious marriages are practiced among Christians, it is the responsibility of the clergy to instruct them with a sound lesson. Table 15 shows that 12% in the clergy group approve of inter-religious marriage.
<TABLE 15>

APPROVAL OF INTER-RELIGIOUS MARRIAGE AMONG CLERGY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Inter-Religious Marriage</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clergy</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laity</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>26.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>25.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Assessment of Christian-Muslim Relations

*Question 8: What is your assessment of the general relations between Christians and Muslims in Tanzania?*

This question seeks to ascertain how Tanzanian Christians appraise current Christian-Muslim relations in *their* society. Table 16 shows that more than half of the respondents (53.4%) answered that the relations are good, while only 19.5% answered that they are bad. Twenty-seven point one percent answered that the relations are so-so. I inserted the ambiguous value of “so-so” in assessing the Christian-Muslim relations because this kind of opinion cannot be divided into black and white parts. Rather there must be a grey zone between the two opposites. When we think of Christian-Muslim relations, it is not sensible to expect a loving relationship between these two religious groups. Our concern is an excess of hostility and violence which are to be avoided. Therefore, the grey zone which is expressed as “so-so” means that it is neither a loving relationship nor a confrontational or hostile one. Then it does not refer to the hostile
relationship that we worry about. When we allow the “so-so” answers to count as positive, then about four out of five (80.5%) Christians have a positive assessment of Christian-Muslim relations in their society, while less than one-fifth (19.5%) of them have a negative opinion on Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania.

<TABLE 16>

ASSESSMENT OF CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>53.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So-so</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>27.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<TABLE 17>

RELATION OF HAVING MUSLIM FAMILY BACKGROUND/CONNECTION AND ASSESSMENT OF CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Assessment of Christian-Muslim Relations</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>So-so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Count</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>60.3%</td>
<td>28.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>47.9%</td>
<td>26.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>53.6%</td>
<td>27.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The configuration between having a Muslim family background/connection and assessment of Christian-Muslim relations agree with other data trends. As Table 17 presents, a higher percentage of those who have a Muslim family background/connection indicated that Christian-Muslim relations are good than those who do not have a Muslim family background/connection, as 60.3% against 47.9%. If it is extended to the positive opinion category including “so-so” answers, the numbers increase to 88.4% against 74.5%.

**<TABLE 18>**

**RELATION OF HAVING CLOSE MUSLIM FRIENDS AND ASSESSMENT OF CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Having Close Muslim Friends</th>
<th>Assessment of Christian-Muslim Relations</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>So-so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Many Count</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>71.9%</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A few Count</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>46.3%</td>
<td>34.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None Count</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>38.1%</td>
<td>26.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>53.6%</td>
<td>26.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Having close Muslim friends and good relationships with Muslim neighbors are influential variables to positive opinion on the Christian-Muslim relations. Table 18 and Table 19 suggest that these assumptions are true. Among those who have many close Muslim friends, 87.6% indicated Christian-Muslim relations as being positive, while
among those who do not have any close Muslim friends, 64.3% indicated Christian-Muslim relations as positive. If it is narrowed down to the category of good relations, the difference becomes larger, as 71.9% to 38.1%. Among those who have good relationships with Muslim neighbors, 85.1% showed a positive opinion on the Christian-Muslim relations, and the percentage of positive opinions among those who avoid Muslim neighbors drops down to 52.1%.

<TABLE 19>

RELATION OF RELATIONSHIP WITH MUSLIM NEIGHBORS AND ASSESSMENT OF CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship with Muslim Neighbors</th>
<th>Assessment of Christian-Muslim Relations</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>So-so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>64.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So-so</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>21.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoiding</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>53.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Damage of Christian-Muslim Relations by Recent Conflicts

Question 9: For the last couple of decades there have been some Christian-Muslim conflict incidents in Tanzania. How much have those incidents damaged the Christian-Muslim relations?
The relatively peaceful Christian-Muslim relations began deteriorating in the 1990s, which is a rather recent change. This question examines whether Tanzanian Christians are aware of this relation dynamic and if they relate it with recent conflicts. As Table 20 shows, 31.4% indicated that recent conflicts damaged the Christian-Muslim relations severely, and 49.6% answered that recent conflicts damaged the relations considerably, but it is restorable. Eighteen point nine percent answered that the relations were not particularly damaged. Therefore, 81.0% acknowledged damage of the relations by recent conflicts. However, 68.5% did not take this damage seriously.

**<TABLE 20>**

| ASSESSMENT OF DAMAGE OF CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS BY RECENT CONFLICTS |
|---|---|---|
| Count | Percent |
| Severely | 83 | 31.4% |
| Considerably but Restorable | 131 | 49.6% |
| Not Particularly | 50 | 18.9% |
| Total | 264 | 100.0% |

A crosscheck of the data concerning Christian-Muslim relations and assessment of damage of the relations by recent conflicts is also relevant. Table 21 presents the junction of these two data sets. Among those who assessed that Christian-Muslim relations were good, 27.9% indicated a negative assessment of the damage. Those who assessed that Christian-Muslim relations were bad showed higher negative assessment of the damage at 46.0%.
Awareness of Mbagala Riots

Question 10: Do you know or remember the Mbagala riots?

The Mbagala riots in 2012 are one of the most recent serious conflicts between Christians and Muslims (Ponican, 2015:57–58). Therefore, I supposed that most respondents would be aware of the incident. Contrary to my supposition, however, as Table 22 shows, only a little more than half of the respondents (53.0%) answered that they were aware of the incidents. As most groups of the respondents are in Dar es Salaam, the same city where the Mbagala riots took place, the low percentage of those who are aware of the incidents looks surprising.
Although the incident took place only six years prior to the date of the survey, it is probable that young respondents of the questionnaire do not know about it. Examination of the answers by age group will help to understand this matter. As I presumed, Figure 3 shows that awareness rate among the under 20 group is quite low at 34.5%, and it rises along with age group to the peak of 70.0% in 40s. However, the rate drastically drops in the over 50 group up to 35.7%. The number is as low as in the age group under 20, which is hard to explain.
**Awareness of Kinondoni Butchery Attacks**

**Question 11: Do you know about the Kinondoni butchery attack incidents?**

The Kinondoni Butchery Attacks was the first serious conflict incident between Christians and Muslims in Tanzanian mainland, which took place 25 years before the survey was conducted. Therefore, the awareness rate of this incident may be lower than the Mbagala riots. Table 23 shows that only 28.3% of the respondents were aware of this incident. Along with the awareness rate of Mbagala riots, many Tanzanian Christians do not remember or are not aware of violent conflict incidents between Christians and Muslims. It suggests that they do not take those conflict incidents seriously. Therefore, they consider that Christian-Muslim relations are positive regardless of some violent conflicts between the two religious groups.

**<TABLE 23>**

**AWARENESS OF KINONDONI BUTCHERY ATTACKS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>28.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>71.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4 presents awareness of Kinondoni Butchery Attacks by age group. The trend of awareness of the incident rises from younger generation to older generation, except for the age group 20 which is higher than the age group 30.
AWARENESS OF KINONDONI BUTCHERY ATTACKS BY AGE GROUP

Sectors in which Christians Feel Threatened by Muslims

Question 12: If Muslims are threatening Christians, in what sector is it more serious?

<TABLE 24>

SECTORS IN WHICH CHRISTIANS FEEL THREATENED BY MUSLIMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>66.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-political power</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>18.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A two-thirds majority (66.4%) of Tanzanian Christians consider Muslims as a threat to their religion. Table 24 presents how Tanzanian Christians see Muslims as their competing counterpart. Only 9.5% answered that Muslims are not a threat to any area at all, while 18.3% indicated their socio-political power is threatened, and 5.7% indicated that their business sector is threatened by Muslims.

**Recent Change of Christian-Muslim Relations**

**Question 13: How are the Christian-Muslim relations changing these days?**

This question examines whether Tanzanian Christians feel any change of Christian-Muslim relations these days. Table 25 presents the summary of the answers to this question. Thirty-seven point seven percent answered that the relations are getting worse, while 25.4% answered that the relations are getting better. Thirty-six point nine percent answered that there is no change. Therefore, 62.3% have a positive assessment of the change in relations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Worse</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>37.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>25.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No changes</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>36.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the Christian-Muslim relations are changing recently, the major factor of the change must be the violent conflicts between them. Therefore, awareness of the conflict
incidents must have affected their assessment of the relations change. Table 26 presents that those who are aware of the Mbagala riots expressed more negative opinions on the recent change of Christian-Muslim relations. Among those who are aware of the Mbagala incident, 41.3% answered that the relations were getting worse, while among those who are not aware of the incident, 31.9% answered the relations were getting worse. Therefore, more people among those who are not aware of the conflict incidents look generous in assessing the recent change in Christian-Muslim relations.

<TABLE 26>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Awareness of Mbagala Riots</th>
<th>Assessment of the Relations Change</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Worse</td>
<td>Better</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Count</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>41.3%</td>
<td>18.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Count</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>31.9%</td>
<td>34.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>37.0%</td>
<td>25.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Future of Christians and Muslims in Tanzania**

*Question 14: Do you think Tanzanian Christians and Muslims can live in peace together in the future?*

This question examines the consequence of the issue presented by the previous question. If respondents feel that Christian-Muslim relations are getting worse and worse, their anticipation of the future will be pessimistic. Table 27 shows that 60.2% of the
respondents answered that Christians and Muslims will live in peace in the future. Thirty-nine point eight percent of the respondents expressed their pessimistic view on the future, which is close to the percentage of people (37.7%) who feel the relations are getting worse these days.

<TABLE 27>

ANTICIPATION OF FUTURE OF CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS IN TANZANIA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>60.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>39.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Therefore, it is useful to crosscheck data of assessment of recent Christian-Muslim relations change and data of future anticipation. Table 28 summarizes the correlation of these two sets of data. Those who indicated that the relations are getting better showed higher optimistic anticipation of 78.5%. People who indicated no changes also showed high percentage of optimism of 64.2%. Only among the people who assessed that the relations are getting worse, less than half (43.8%) of the group showed pessimistic anticipation of the future.
### TABLE 28
**ASSESSMENT OF RELATION CHANGE AND FUTURE ANTICIPATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assessment of Recent Change of Christian-Muslim Relations</th>
<th>Future Anticipation</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worse</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>43.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>51</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>78.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No changes</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>61</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>64.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>128</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>61.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 29
**RELATION OF THE CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS AND FUTURE ANTICIPATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assessment of Christian-Muslim Relations</th>
<th>Future Anticipation</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>96</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>70.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So-so</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>57.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>37.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>158</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>60.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is interesting that those who assessed Christian-Muslim relations as good showed more optimistic attitude to the future anticipation. As Table 29 shows, among those who assessed the relations as good, 70.1% showed optimistic anticipation of future relations and 29.9% showed a pessimistic view. Among those who assessed the relations as bad, optimistic anticipation was lower than pessimistic anticipation as 37.7% to 62.7%. Among the group assessing the relations as so-so, their anticipation was divided into an optimistic 57.7% and a pessimistic 42.3%.

Assessment of Muslims

*Question 15: Are Muslims good people?*

This simple question is a provisional examination of Christians’ amicable perceptions of Muslims; it was designed as a transit question to spiritual matters. Table 30 shows that 66.9% of the respondents indicated Muslims as good people. This high amicability of Christians to Muslims is considered as a part of the foundation of hitherto peaceful Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania. If that is the case, my question will then turn to how this amicability affects Christians’ attitudes in spiritual matters related to Muslims.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>66.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Good</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>33.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Salvation of Muslims**

*Question 16: Will sincere Muslims be saved by their religion and go to heaven?*

This question is to investigate how Christians were thinking of Muslims’ salvation through Islamic faith if they are good people. To this question, as Table 31 shows, surprisingly 29.8% of the respondents answered that sincere Muslims will be saved by their religion and go to heaven. This is attributed to amicability towards, and a good relationship with, Muslims.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>29.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>70.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is worth examining which category of people are more likely to acknowledge the salvation of Muslims. In any category, people having friendlier relationships indicated higher percentage in acknowledging salvation of Muslims. Among the categories, however, the people group who approved inter-religious marriage showed a prominent variation in the percentage of acknowledging the salvation of Muslims. Table 32 presents that more than half (51.5%) of those who approved of inter-religious marriages acknowledged salvation of Muslims. This is a considerably higher rate compared to 22.8% among those who did not approve of inter-religious marriage.
A Muslim family background/connection is likely a strong factor leading to acknowledging salvation of Muslims, but in actuality, this is not the case. As Table 33
shows, 38.7% of those who have a Muslim family background/connection answered that they acknowledged salvation of Muslims. It is still higher than the average 29.8%, but it is not as high as 51.5% among those who approve of inter-religious marriage. Nevertheless, the Muslim family background/connection group shows a higher acknowledging attitude toward salvation of Muslims than the non-Muslim family background/connection group as 38.7% to 22.8%.

**Acquaintance with Muslim Converts to Christianity**

*Question 17: Do you have any close person who became Christian from Muslim?*

Shifts from Christianity to Islam or Islam to Christianity is a social phenomenon in Tanzania. The question confirms this phenomenon but is also designed as a stepping stone question to move to the issue of evangelizing Muslims. As Table 34 shows, 62.5% of the respondents answered that they have a close person who converted from Islam. It means Tanzanian Christians have observed occasions of Muslims’ conversion to Christianity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HAVING CLOSE MUSLIM CONVERTS FROM ISLAM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Reason of Christians’ Conversion to Islam**

*Question 18: Why do you think some Christian people convert to Islam?*
Not only Muslims move to Christianity, but also Christians move to Islam. This research did not examine the motivation of Muslim converts to Christianity. If there are converts from Christianity to Islam, however, their motivations of changing religion must be identified by the church. Table 35 presents the perception of Christians of motivation of converts to Islam. To clarify, these are not the answers of converts themselves, but Christians’ assumptions of the converts’ motivation. About half (53.2%) of the respondents consider those converts to Islam as those who are not serious about spiritual matters and move around for their taste. Thirty-eight point four percent answered that those converts were deceived even in their sincere quest for truth. However, 8.4% recognized that the converts changed their religion because Islam is a religion of truth. It means these 8.4% believe that Islam is a true religion.

<TABLE 35>

MOTIVATION OF CONVERSION TO ISLAM AS PERCEIVED BY CHRISTIANS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deceived</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>38.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moving around</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>53.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>True religion</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 36 crosschecks how those who acknowledged the salvation of Muslims considered converts to Islam. Even among those who acknowledged salvation of Muslims, only 11.5% agreed that those converts went to Islam because Islam is a religion of truth. Fifty percent answered that those converts were moving around by whim, and 38.5% regarded them to be deceived. It is hard to explain why those who had
acknowledged salvation of Muslims denied Islam as a religion of truth here. Nevertheless, Christians, regardless of their closeness to Muslims or credit to Islam, showed a high negative attitude toward converts to Islam.

<TABLE 36>

RELATIONS OF ACKNOWLEDGING SALVATION OF MUSLIMS AND ASSESSING MOTIVATION OF CONVERTS TO ISLAM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acknowledging Salvation of Muslims</th>
<th>Motivation of Christian Converts to Islam</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deceived</td>
<td>Moving around</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38.5%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>70</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38.5%</td>
<td>54.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38.5%</td>
<td>53.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Telling Muslims about Jesus

Question 19: Have you ever tried to tell Muslim people about Jesus?

At this point, I moved to a direct question of whether they had tried to talk to their Muslim friends or neighbors about Jesus. As Table 37 shows, 86.0% of the respondents answered that they had tried to tell Muslims about Jesus. It is not possible to detect the extent of their efforts to evangelize their Muslim friends or neighbors by the single answer that they had tried to tell them about Jesus. Nevertheless, the rate of Christians with the intention of, or interest in, evangelizing Muslims looks considerably high.
<TABLE 37>

TELLING MUSLIMS ABOUT JESUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>86.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Proselytizing Muslims and Damage to Christian-Muslim Relations*

*Question 20: If Christians try to convert Muslims, how will it affect Christian-Muslim relations?*

Living together in peace with Muslims is one of the most essential values in Tanzania considering the population distribution of Christians and Muslims. At the same time, Christians are entrusted with the Great Commission of Jesus to make disciples of all nations. The most significant opportunity for Tanzanian Christians to achieve the Great Commission might be in the effort to convert neighboring Muslims. However, proselytizing Muslims can be countered by large-scale resistance, which in turn means damage to Christian-Muslim relations. Keeping peace and coexistence with Muslims is essential for their communal survival. Therefore, Tanzanian Christians are caught in the dilemma between these two essential tasks of keeping peace with Muslims and evangelizing them.

A further inquiry arises, whether proselytizing Muslims damages Christian-Muslim relations. Surprisingly, as Table 38 presents, only about one-fourth (26.0%) of

---

30 I used “to proselytize” and “to evangelize” in different connotation that to evangelize is a religious term of Christianity describing an effort to bring a Muslim to Christianity while to proselytize is a social term describing an activity to change a person’s religious affiliation. In the Swahili questionnaire, to proselytize was translated as *kuwabadili Waislamu* (to change Muslims) and to evangelize was translated as *kuhubiri Injili Waislamu* (to preach the gospel to Muslims) respectively.
the respondents answered that it will damage Christian-Muslim relations, while about three-fourths (74.0%) answered that choosing a religion is a matter of each person’s freedom, so proselytizing Muslim friends or neighbors would not affect the Christian-Muslim relations. Whether proselytizing Muslims practically damages Christian-Muslim relations or not is another matter. The fact that most Christians think it will not damage Christian-Muslim relations is linked to their effort and practice of evangelizing their Muslim friends and neighbors.

**<TABLE 38>**

**PROSELYTIZING MUSLIMS AND DAMAGE TO CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Damaging</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>26.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not affecting</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>74.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Necessity of Evangelizing Muslims**

*Question 21: What do you think about evangelizing Muslim people?*

If 86.0% of Christians have experience of telling Muslims about Jesus, and three quarters of them agree that proselytizing Muslims does not damage the Christian-Muslim relations which are an indispensable condition for their national peace, it is not difficult to confirm their conviction on evangelizing Muslims. As Table 39 presents, 23.4% of respondents answered that evangelizing Muslims is an essential task and can be done publicly and aggressively. The large majority (70.1%) answered that evangelization of Muslims is necessary but should be done in a careful way so as not to provoke Muslim people’s anger and hatred toward Christians. Only 6.5% answered that evangelizing
Muslims is none of Christians’ business and let Muslims be Muslims. Therefore, 93.5% of Tanzanian Christians recognized that evangelizing Muslims is a necessary task of Christian churches.

<TABLE 39>

NECESSITY OF EVANGELIZING MUSLIMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Essential and aggressively</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>23.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Necessary but carefully</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>70.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not necessary</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 4
TANZANIAN CHRISTIANS’ PERCEPTION OF MUSLIMS AS UNDERSTOOD THROUGH QUALITATIVE DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Contrary to the questionnaire survey, in-depth interviews allowed me to explore the informants’ perceptions more by personal interactions. Sometimes the informants brought out unexpected stories, and sometimes I had to stick to a certain topic with more questions to pull out their thoughts when their answers were unclear. This is one advantage of a loosely structured interview that allows freedom for both the interviewer and the interviewee to explore additional points and change direction if necessary (Hague, Hague & Morgan 2004, 61).

I interviewed ten people: three pastors, a female preacher, two Bible college students, a female teacher and pastor’s wife, and three laymen. Interviews were conducted in English except for the three laymen, who spoke only Swahili. Interviews in Swahili were then translated into English for use in this chapter. Conversations with the informants were recorded, transcribed and sorted by topics. Based on the sorted accounts by topics, I analyzed them with an emic approach. The informants will be referred to by the codes that I conferred on each of them. The three pastors will be referred to as P1, P2 and P3, and the Bible college students will be referred to as B1 and B2. The three laymen will be referred to as L1, L2 and L3, and the two female informants will be referred to as W1 and W2.

There are a couple of accounts of ordinary people, which are not in-depth interviews but informal conversations. They were not purposely organized with planned
topics for this study but took place accidentally, and consequently they were not recorded or transcribed. However, I brought these accounts to this study because I believe they contain some important features of Tanzanian people’s perception of religion and practical issues regarding religiously mixed families. Religiously mixed family situations create complex dynamics and relationships among the family members, and sometimes the family members struggle with those matters.

**Good Relationship with Muslims**

Having a good relationship with Muslims was common to most of the informants. L1 said that he had as many Muslim friends as Christian friends. He explained the reason for having many Muslim friends was that, “Where we live, we are surrounded by houses of Muslims. So many neighbors [are Muslims].” B1 said, “I have close Muslim friends and I don’t have any uncomfortable feeling at all with those Muslim friends.”

Unlike the coastal areas where Muslims are predominant, in some inland areas Muslims make up a significantly smaller section of the population. Even those Christians who came from areas with fewer Muslims did not experience any difficulties in relating with Muslims when they moved to places where Muslims constitute a majority. For example, B2 was originally from Mwanza, where Muslims constitute a minority. For senior secondary school he went to Bukoba in the Kagera region, then finally came to Dar es Salaam for his tertiary education. He told me how he met and related with Muslim friends: “I didn’t have any Muslim friends from primary school to [junior] secondary school in Mwanza. When I went to Bukoba for senior secondary school, there I met Muslim friends. Some of them are still my friends and I am still communicating with them. They are so close to me.” In Dar es Salaam, he said, he had made more Muslim friends. Although he himself did not have any Muslim friends in Mwanza, his family had a close relationship with some Muslim families. He said, “There were two [Muslim]
families that were close to my family. We used to share with them, having conversations on many matters.”

P3 was originally from Njombe where the Muslim population was about 10% by his own estimate. He said, “I had some Muslim friends at school, but we did not have Muslim neighbors because most of my neighbors were Christians . . . There was only one mosque in Njombe town.” Now he is living in Chalinze in the Pwani region where the religious population setting is quite different from that of Njombe. He expressed his initial astonishment when he first arrived in the region: “Almost all my neighbors were Muslims!” He said that he was keeping good relationships with Muslims in Chalinze: “Some of them are my neighbors and they used to come for water to my house as we have tap water. Others we met at community activities, like schools, meetings, government activities, cleaning and other communal activities.”

L2 came from a small village in the Dodoma region where there was only one Muslim family. He said, “We related with them because, so to speak, they were just like certain brothers.” Now he is living in Dar es Salaam, where circumstances are very different from his home village. He said, “There are many Muslims. [My] Muslim friends are really many, [but] not as many as my Christian friends.”

Whether Muslims are many or few around them, informants did not feel much difference in relating with Muslims. It is interesting that the only Muslim family in L2’s home village was perceived as one of certain brothers by neighboring Christians. Although Tanzania is constituted by twenty-seven regions with a diverse population ratio of Christians and Muslims, Christian-Muslim relations are present as a national entity. No uncomfortable feelings are detected between Christians and Muslims in their casual lives regardless of religious population composition of the regions from the informants’

---

31 kama ndugu fulani (just like certain brothers)
testimonies. Having a good relationship with Muslims for Christians is inevitably rooted in their day-to-day lives.

**Assessment of Christian-Muslim Relations**

Most of the informants acknowledged the peaceful relations between Christians and Muslims. Although Tanzania underwent some religiously related violent incidents in the relatively recent past, in the lives of ordinary people, they are not likely to be involved in any confrontation between Christians and Muslims unless they are dealing with a religious matter. As will be discussed more in this chapter, most of the ordinary people are reluctant to touch a religious issue against the people of the opposing religions who are their friends, neighbors, and families. From their own experiences in their daily lives, therefore, their assessments of Christian-Muslim relations were mostly positive.

B1 said, “In Tanzania Muslims and Christians live as neighbors, they are friends. I don’t see any big conflicts between Muslims and Christians.” L1 said, “Christians and Muslims live together in peace. They have no conflicts.” P2 said, “You know, in African culture, we are somehow mixed Christians and Muslims together. Wherever I go, like school, we were playing together, working together. We are living mixed with Muslims.”

To my question concerning the reason for the good relations between Christians and Muslims, P2 answered, “It is, I think, how our country was from the beginning. Our late president Nyerere tried to unite us. Through this union we [have] lived as one family regardless of religious or tribal differences.” P3 said, “In Njombe, Christians and Muslims were living in peace.”

However, P1 insisted that the peace between Christians and Muslims is not real peace. He said, “Yes, generally we live together in peace, but I think it is not real peace.” The reason he gave for his conclusion was that,
Muslims complain about Christians. So, it is not real peace. [They complain that] government leaders give Christians a favor. Also, they are complaining about the census. Muslims say that the government announces always the number of Christians is bigger than the number of Muslims. In some areas where many Muslims live, they are more negative against Christians. They call Christians kafiri. They dislike living with kafiri.

Among the informants, only P1 gave a negative assessment of the Christian-Muslim relations. He also assessed the future of the Christian-Muslim relations negatively. He said,

The previous conflicts created enmity [against Christians] among the people who sided it. Some of them became enemy [of Christianity], and the incidents remain in their heart continually. I think it [Christian-Muslim relations] will be worse [in the future], because they are serious, they train their children and teach them. I think they plant something in their heart. Therefore, one day the conflicts will be worse.

The only factor that can cause conflicts between Christians and Muslims is religion. Apart from religion, Christians do not feel any inconvenience from Muslims. They can live together with Muslims with recognition of them as their friends, neighbors, business partners, and even families. As long as a religious issue is not involved, the relationship with Muslims will be good and Christians will consider Muslims as good people. Once the religion is involved, however, the story is different. People do not appreciate the peace between Christians and Muslims as real peace. Those who see the religious difference as an obstacle neither develop a good relationship with Muslims nor assess the Christian-Muslim relations positively. This pattern is repeated at the assessment of Muslim people. When Christians see Muslims through a lens of religion, Muslims are viewed rather negatively.

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32 Kafiri is the Swahili variation of the Arabic word kafir, which is an Islamic derogatory term referring to a non-believer.
Assessment of Muslim People

Most of the informants assessed Muslims as good people initially. B2 commended his Muslim neighbors’ hospitality which he had experienced during his time in Mwanza. He said, “After Ramadan on the Eid el Fitr, they called us to join their celebration. They were good people. I didn’t see any Muslims who were harsh.” L1 also mentioned the hospitality of Muslims, “Muslims are people of hospitality. They will arrange feasts on Eid holidays. When they prepare food, they distribute the food to neighbors. Every time of Islamic holidays.” P2 commented on Muslims’ hospitality several times. He said, “The [Muslim] people of the coast regions are very polite and hospitable.”

However, when they talked about Muslims regarding religious issues, the informants’ voice tones changed. B1 said, “Muslim people, some of them are good people in the society . . . but there are some who are not good. They want to show that they are better than Christians, and they insist that all the people should live according to the Islamic law.” B1 was talking about Muslim fundamentalists who insist on the introduction of sharia to the Tanzanian legislation system, but he said that there were only a few of them. B2 commented, “It depends on issues. When you try to share religious matters, they become harsh. But when you discuss other things with them, they are so polite.” P1’s comment was interesting. He said, “Outwardly they look good, but if you see in their heart there is something bad against Christians. So, we don’t know if they are really good or bad.” L1 pointed out Muslims’ religion as the problem. He said, “They [Muslims] are not very good. Their big problem is that they do not believe Jesus as God. People themselves are good, problem is their religion.”

There was another noticeable view that Christians are morally superior to Muslims. B2 said, “It doesn’t matter how they consider us because we Christians are so humble comparing to Muslims. Muslims are so harsh. I don’t know why they are so
harsh. Muslim means peace,\textsuperscript{33} so I don’t understand. But we Christians are so humble.” At a scene of an evangelistic activity, it is natural and understandable that Muslims are rejecting in a harsh attitude while Christians are appealing in a polite manner. This contrast of the harsh attitude of Muslims and the polite manner of Christians is erroneously suggested as a comparison of the ethics of Christians and Muslims.

However, Christians’ moral superiority was insisted on by L3 as well. He said, “They [Muslims] are good people, but I see that their behaviors are not very good. If you see Muslims who come out of [a] prayer [meeting], their behaviors at home are not good like us Christians. When we come home from church, all our behaviors I can see [the same], but they [Muslims] behave differently.” L2 agreed with L3, saying, “[They are] not as good as Christians.” P2 commended Muslims’ politeness and hospitality several times, but he insisted on Christians’ moral superiority to Muslims when he talked about Christians through a religious perspective in the conversation on Muslim evangelism. He said, “We Christians are different from Muslims. We show love, so Muslims admit our politeness.”

Assessment of Muslims by the informants was inconsistent. The initial positive assessment of Muslims by informants changed to a negative one when they talked about Muslims relating to religious matters. Among the negative assessments, the least negative one was that Muslim people themselves are good, but their religion is the problem. It shows that Christians’ negative assessment of Muslims is essentially based on their negative impression of Islam, which denies the divinity of and salvation through Jesus. Some informants understood Muslims’ harsh responses toward Christians’ evangelistic activities as a trait of Muslim people, which provided a reason for negative assessment of

\textsuperscript{33} This is a common misunderstanding. There is closeness in Swahili forms of \textit{Islamu} (Islam), \textit{Waislamu} (Muslim) and \textit{salama} (peace). Nonetheless, the meaning of Muslim is submitter (to God). The words Islam and Muslim are derived from the Arabic root \textit{Salam} which means peace, purity, submission, and obedience. In the religious sense, however, Islam means submission to the will of God (Allah) and obedience to His law (Ropani & Jafri 2001). Therefore, apart from the common misunderstanding, Islam does not carry a connotation as a religion of peace.
them as well as Christians’ ethical superiority. Some informants’ boldness in asserting Christians’ ethical superiority to Muslims was noticeable. I challenged this ethical superiority in the interview with L2, but he did not easily yield to my objection.

**Muslim Family Background/Connection**

My first encounter with a religiously mixed family in Tanzania gave me a culture shock and led me to have an interest in this topic. They were two brothers; one was Christian and the other was Muslim. I met a young Muslim man named Ali for a business matter. Later Ali sent me his elder brother who was working together with him for the business. When I found that the name of Ali’s brother was Moses, which is a Christian name, I was confused. Moses explained to me, “We have the same mother but different fathers.” Later I found that it was not an odd or exceptional case but rather a common feature of Tanzanian society. Four out of the ten informants had Muslim family background/connections. In the questionnaire survey, 48.5% of the respondents answered that they had Muslim family background/connections.

B1 had a Muslim family background. On his mother’s side, his grandfather was Muslim, and his grandmother was Christian. They lived together without getting married. As his grandfather was a long-distance transport driver to Zambia, he did not spend much time at home. Eventually, his grandfather did not come home for a while, and his grandmother moved to another town with her children and began a new life with another man who was Christian. In those circumstances, his grandmother was able to keep her Christian faith and raise her three children as Christians. B1’s great-aunt was also married to a Muslim man, but unlike her sister, she converted to Islam and her three children were all raised as Muslims. B1 had another Muslim family connection. On his father’s side, his aunt was married to a Muslim man. However, she did not convert to Islam. B1 said, “She is not Muslim. I don’t know what happened . . . Her children are divided into two groups,
Muslims and Christians. At this time, only one is Muslim and four other children are Christians. They converted to Christianity. All of them were Muslims before.”

B1 said that his relationship with his Muslim relatives was good and normal. He said, “We visit each other’s home, we welcome each other and chat as just families and relatives.” He insisted that he did not feel any barrier unless they dealt with a religious matter. He said, “For instance, when we want to pray for the family, there is some barrier. They may want to pray to Allah, but I am not willing to pray to Allah.” Nevertheless, the Muslim relatives had not wanted to make trouble. He said, “In those meetings, my sisters and I used to lead the meeting and prayer. Thanks to God, those Muslim relatives agree with us praying together.” He said that his Muslim family background helped him to feel comfortable with Muslims. W2 had a Muslim half-brother. She said, “We have the same mother but different fathers. His father was Muslim, but our mother was Roman Catholic. The other brothers are Christians because after their Muslim father died, they lived with their mother. Only the eldest brother is Muslim because he was raised by his Muslim uncles.”

A Muslim family background is a given circumstance for an individual. By contrast, a Muslim family connection is acquired by marriage connection, either of one’s own or that of a family member. L1 did not have a Muslim family background, nor did his wife come from a religiously mixed family. However, he came to have a Muslim family connection when his wife’s sisters were married to Muslim men. P3 had no Muslim family background, but he acquired a Muslim family connection when he married his wife who was from a religiously mixed family. He said, “My brothers-in-law are Muslims, because my wife has a Muslim family background. My mother-in-law was Christian, and my father-in-law was Muslim. My mother-in-law maintained her faith, never wanted to become Muslim, but her sons became Muslims.” P3 remarked on the uncomfortableness with his Muslim brothers-in-law,
It’s bad because sometimes we are not on the same page. For instance, sometimes my Muslim brothers-in-law just come [to my place] without any notice when they are passing by, and when they see I am eating pork, they may say, “Just go on eating, no problem, enjoy it.” But they are not comfortable. So, I unintentionally offend them. Vice versa, at their Islamic activities or rituals, I am uncomfortable. But we are tolerant to each other to maintain a good relationship.

It is noticeable that Christians with Muslim family background/connection are relating well with their Muslim extended families. It is unavoidable to come to a religious matter when families from different religions meet together for a family reunion. Even at occasional meetings, they may encounter some religiously sensitive issues because many parts of their daily life are related to religious practices such as dietary customs or daily prayers. Nevertheless, it is apparent that Christian families as well as Muslim families do their best not to offend their families of the opposing religions and avoid any conflict with them. They show mutual respect and accept each other with tolerance. This is the way that Tanzanian Christians keep a good relationship with their Muslim extended families, and this learning of mutual respect and tolerance contributes to the peaceful Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania.

**Inter-Religious Marriages and Religiously Mixed Families**

Some of the informants shared their observations or experiences about inter-religious marriages and religiously mixed families. All the informants objected to inter-religious marriage. Considering the popular practice of inter-religious marriage, the objection rate to it is significantly high. In the questionnaire survey, 74.6% of the respondents answered that they did not approve of inter-religious marriages. A substantial matter in inter-religious marriages is whether the husband or wife keeps his/her original religion or changes his/her faith for the sake of the other spouse. A further issue of religiously mixed family is which religion the children should be raised in.
Generally, wives join the religion of their husbands because husbands are acknowledged as the head of the family in the society. L1 said, “Wives change their religion to accept their husbands’ religion in inter-religious marriages . . . Two of my sisters-in-law were married to Muslim men and converted to Islam.” L1 and I were both acquainted with a young Muslim man whose sister was married to a Christian man. L1 reminded me that the sister had to become a Christian. He said, “She has changed [her religion] because her husband was Christian, who told her, ‘If you want to get married to me and live with me, you must become a Christian. If you want to stay as Muslim, it is not possible.’ So, she agreed to become Christian.” B1 said, “When a Christian woman is married to a Muslim man, she has to change her religion.”

W1, however, offered a practical cause of changing religion. She said, “It depends on who the love initiator is. The one who loves more will be ready to change his/her religion. In some cases, it is determined by one whose spiritual strength is bigger.” W2 asserted that more Christians changed their religion than Muslims in inter-religious marriages. She said, “In an inter-religious marriage, one of the couple should change [his/her religion] in accordance with the other spouse. Christians, especially women, change their religion. This is happening in Tanzania. Muslims are strong in [the opinion of] inter-religious marriages.”

Some of the informants insisted that Muslims use inter-religious marriages for converting Christians to Islam. L1 said,

If a [Christian] man lives with a Muslim woman but cannot marry her because he does not have money to pay the bride price, he may buy [some] incense of aloe wood with a little money [for a ceremony], then he calls a sheikh and the family testify [in front of the sheik] that they have converted him to Islam. With this [procedure], he can take the bride [virtually] for free.

P2 explained how Muslims convert Christians in certain area,
When Christian men come to Bagamoyo, they have more chances to meet Muslim girls because the Muslim population is large there. They are invited by Muslims, even given a field and told, “You may stay here with us. Take our daughter as your wife.” In that way, they mingle together. As the Christian population is not as large as the Muslim population in Bagamoyo, when they get help from Muslims and [see] their hospitality, they can easily cross from Christianity to Islam. The [Muslim] people of the coastal regions are very polite and hospitable, so the newcomers are absorbed into the Muslim community.

Considering that inter-religious marriages are a common phenomenon, it is apparent that the issue of clinging to one’s original religion after marriage is a matter of debate between husband and wife. People are responding to this problem with a solution. L1 talked about civil marriage which does not bind either husband or wife with religious obligations. He said that, in the civil marriages, Christians made marriage vows with their hands on the Bible, while Muslims made the vows with their hands on the Qur’an. However, he showed a negative opinion of the civil marriages. He said, “After the wedding ceremony when they come home, the husband continues to be Christian and the wife continues to be Muslim. Therefore, civil marriage is not good.” P1 remarked on inter-religious marriages, “Some of them agree to continue being Christians [or Muslims], and some of them stop going to mosque or church, some of them are conflicting.”

L1 provided more examples to tell how inter-religious marriages were common. In his church, a daughter of the minister was married to a Muslim man which caused discord in the congregation. The daughter of the minister and her husband got married in a civil ceremony, by which it was presumed that they agreed not to interfere in each other’s religion considering the minister’s situation. L1 said, however, that the minister’s daughter comes to church only occasionally. L1 told another scandalous story. He said, “The second daughter of the same minister has been pregnant through a Muslim man. They have not married yet. The minister keeps silence on this matter.” According to L1’s
assertion, women are vulnerable to conversion to Islam. When a young woman meets a Muslim man and wants to live with him, she easily converts to Islam.

Some of the informants recognize that Muslims’ attitudes to inter-religious marriage are different from that of Christians. B2 said, “[For instance,] you met an attractive Muslim girl to whom you want to marry, but by Islamic ethics it is not allowed [for her] to be married to a Christian. This is another factor causing Christians to convert to Islam.” L1 talked about the Muslim family sentiments when their daughter was married to a Christian and converted to Christianity. He said, “They expect their daughter or sister will come back to Islam one day . . . While the husband and the wife live together, it does not happen; but when the couple separate, or the husband dies, the wife goes back to her original family religion.” L1 recounted an interesting Muslim custom,

If a Muslim woman meets a Christian man and lives with him without getting married, when she dies, even after she has borne children, her original Muslim family cannot take her body to bury because she has been [defiled through] living with a Christian man. Only after the husband marries [the wife in] the dead body and converts to Islam, the family takes the body to bury. Otherwise, the body will be left in the hands of Christians.

Some of the male informants took it for granted that women change their religion in inter-religious marriages. It could be a traditional way or what they generally observed in their community and among their family. However, one of the female informants’ observation was more realistic in the modern society that the love initiators are ready to change their religion, or one whose religious attachment is stronger requires the other partner to change his/her religion. Nonetheless, the reality of inter-religious marriages varies according to their willingness of changing their religion. Unless one is willing to
change the religion for the sake of the other spouse, a religiously mixed family situation begins.\textsuperscript{34}

P3 said that the Roman Catholic Church is not as strict in that they allow their members to marry Muslims. I asked him if PCT had any official or unofficial regulation about inter-religious marriage. He said, “We don’t have any official prohibition, but many of us think that it is not good. We will decide it later.” I asked him how he would teach his congregation when someone would want to get married to a Muslim. He answered, “First I will instruct them not to get married to a Muslim, but if they persist, I will tell them never to convert to Islam.”

Some informants asserted that more Christians convert than Muslims in inter-religious marriages. They acknowledge that Muslims are strict by not allowing their members to convert to Christianity at inter-religious marriages, while churches allow their members to marry Muslims and Christian women can easily convert when they are married to Muslim men. In some situations, Muslims use inter-religious marriages as an opportunity to convert Christians to Islam. Muslims are more strategical in dealing with inter-religious marriage, whereas Christians do not respond properly to this challenge. According to an assertion that one whose religious attachment is stronger requires the other partner to change his/her religion, it looks that Christians’ religious attachment is less strong than Muslims’ in general.

Concerning the children in religiously mixed families, B1 said, “In Tanzania, children usually belong to the religion of their father. If father is Muslim, most children become Muslims.” L1 said, “The children’s religion depends on the authority (\textit{nguvu})\textsuperscript{35} of the father. When they are grown up, however, they can choose their own religion.” He

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\textsuperscript{34} By religiously mixed family I mean a family in which husband and wife are attached to different religions. If a spouse changed his/her religion for the other spouse’s sake, this family is out of the category of the religiously mixed family.\textsuperscript{35} \textit{Nguvu} is literally translated as power or strength.
\end{flushleft}
provided an example of a religiously mixed family that demonstrates his assertion. One of his neighboring families was religiously mixed, with a Muslim husband and a Christian wife. They had two children, a daughter and a son. The daughter’s name was Neema, which showed her Christian identity, meaning grace. The son’s name was Jafari, which was a Muslim name. After this couple separated, Neema changed her religion for the sake of her father and became Muslim. Meanwhile, Jafari refused to be called by his Muslim name and wanted to be called as Edward. He made a decision to become Christian following his mother’s religion.

L2 also provided a case of a religiously mixed family. He said, “My boss at work is Muslim but his wife is Christian. They got married in a civil ceremony, and he allowed his wife to be Christian and now their children go to church as well.” I asked him if he thought that his boss was a real Muslim. He answered, “I have never seen my boss go to mosque or pray, but he is still Muslim because he was born in a Muslim family and keeps his Muslim name.” B2 asserted that children in religiously mixed families can choose their own religion, but he emphasized the negative effects on the children in those families. He said,

In the [religiously] mixed families, each one can choose to be Christian or Muslim . . . but in those families, they cannot practice their religion freely. For instance, when Christian family members pray or read the Bible, Muslim family members are not happy about it, and it may cause conflict . . . If a Christian child wants to go to church, Muslim parent may send him to farm or to business. Muslim parent may not support for Christian children’s education, which will be a great discouragement in keeping their faith . . . I don’t agree to interfaith marriages. It is supposed to marry according to your faith.

B1 objected to inter-religious marriages especially because of negative effects on children. He said, “When my mother was young, her Muslim aunt tried to teach her how to pray to Allah. My mother was so disturbed. Also, my cousins, when they go to their father’s side of the family, they feel very uncomfortable.” W1 objected to inter-religious
marriages saying, “It may lead to misunderstanding between the couple if one of them wants to fulfill his/her religious practices. Also, it has a bad effect spiritually, it hinders spiritual growth.” W2 said, “I don’t approve of inter-religious marriage, because it divides the family. Secondly, it deprives the religious identity of the children.” All the informants were deeply aware of abuses of inter-religious marriages and religiously mixed families. The worst part of religiously mixed families, which informants felt most seriously, was the negative impact on the children of those families. When the parents are strongly attached to different religions, children are commanded to join the religion of each one of the parents. Children’s attachment to a particular parent’s religion can result in persecution from the other parent.

Regarding the religious attachment of the children in religiously mixed families, observations vary. In a patriarchal society, children are supposed to follow their father’s religion. It was not identified if the mother of Moses and Ali was Christian or Muslim, but with a Christian husband her son became Christian and with a Muslim husband her other son became Muslim. Along with the increase in women’s rights, however, mothers may exercise more rights in some families. A religiously mixed family situation itself implies the absence of the patriarchal characteristic in the family. Therefore, it is more correct to say that children’s religion in religiously mixed families depends on the authority of the father. However, this analysis lacks a spiritual aspect. W1’s observation that one whose spiritual strength is bigger in an inter-religious marriage may require the other partner to change religion can be applied to the matter of children’s religion as well. In the stories from the interviews, many mothers struggled to raise their children in Christianity against the will of their Muslim husbands.

Some informants also recognized the hindrance of spiritual growth as a negative influence in religiously mixed families. Religious practices are restricted or even prohibited by family members of the opposing religions. It can result in the recession of
spiritual life as the case of the minister’s daughter in L1’s church shows. She came to church only occasionally after she had been married to her Muslim husband. Whether the husband’s pressure on the wife was present or not, it was true that her spiritual life was negatively influenced by the inter-religious marriage. Especially for immature children, this kind of family setting can bring more hindrance to their spiritual growth.

Here is an episode that shows how children of religiously mixed families can be hindered in their spiritual growth. One afternoon when I was in the office of the college, some of my students brought me a girl in her late teens who was believed to be demon possessed. They wanted me to expel the demon out of her by prayer. Rather than trying to expel the demon by prayer, however, I asked her to tell me her story. She was from a religiously mixed family in a village. Her Muslim father and Christian mother tried to pull her to their religions respectively. Sometimes she went to the mosque with her father and sometimes she went to church with her mother. Then she left home to come to the city for a living as many villagers did. She was free from the demands of her parents and did not go to either the mosque or church. In fact, she did not know where to go, to the mosque or to church. One day she began to hear a voice inside her and was driven by the voice to go to the seaside or anywhere as the voice instructed her. She told me that the voice had made her do some unusual actions. I told her to join a church and pray for God to help her, then God would protect her from the attacks from demons.

It is noticeable that when the informants talked about extended Muslim families from their family background/connections, mutual respect and tolerance for avoiding offense and conflict were valued. However, concerning the religiously mixed family situations, conflicts between the different religious family members and negative impacts on Christian spouses and children were more discussed.
Confrontational Sectors between Christians and Muslims

In the questionnaire survey, about two-thirds of the respondents answered that the sector in which they felt the most threatened by Muslims is religion. Most of the informants also mentioned the religiously confrontational characteristics of Christian-Muslim relations. While talking about religiously mixed family, B2 mentioned how Muslim parents can persecute their Christian children. He said, “Muslim parent may not support for Christian children’s education, which will be a great discouragement in keeping their faith.” He presumed the reason why Muslims are so aggressive against Christians on religious matters, saying, “Their doctrine insists them to be harsh to defend their religion.” P2 expressed his concern about the assimilation of Christians into Muslim society. He said, “The newcomers are absorbed into the Muslim community. They soon forget where they came from, how they lived before. They find themselves saying, ‘OK, I can live here with these people.’” L1 said, “Unless they are involved in the religious matters, Christians and Muslims relate very well.”

P3 pointed out the business sector where Christians and Muslims are in conflict. He said, “In Tanzania, Muslims slaughter animals, but a Christian pastor told Christians not to go to Muslim butchers but come to Christian butchers, because we pray in Christian way. So, Muslims came out to fight Christians. It was a big problem.” He was talking about the Buseresere incident in which a Christian minister was beheaded.36

I examined the historical background of the Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania in chapter 1 and found that the relations were essentially a political power struggle in the society. The radical Muslims in Tanzania have not brought the issue of the introduction of sharia law as the governing principle of the society as their agenda. Nonetheless, their struggle has been for grasping a hegemony in the society and to occupy the superior status over Christians, complaining that they had been denied in

36 See the section “Business-Related Conflicts in Essence” in chapter 1 on page 27.
many sectors such as education and government positions by the Christian-led ruling group. At the grassroots, however, this political power struggle is not acknowledged much.

Ordinary Christian people usually feel the religious division as the major confrontational factor between Christians and Muslims, which is tangible and visible in their everyday lives. There is no political division between Christians and Muslims among ordinary people. Competitions in the business sector do not take place particularly between Christians and Muslims. There are no discriminations in business sectors against followers of opposing religions. Many Christians are working for Muslim employers, and Muslims are not denied by Christian businesses. The only business area which is unsettled between Christians and Muslims is the animal slaughter business which has been a factor of the violent conflict between the two religious groups in the recent past. However, ordinary people do not recognize this business argument as a bothersome issue unless one is involved in that business.

**Salvation of Muslims**

Most of the informants emphasized that Muslims cannot be saved through their religion. B1 said, “Only in the name of Jesus we are saved.” L1 said, “They cannot be saved . . . We see that the way to be saved is only one, through Jesus Christ. That’s it.” L3 said, “In my faith, the religion of Islam is not a true faith to worship the heavenly God.” Only one of the informants was not sure of this matter. It was L2 who said,

In accordance with Qur’an or [their] faith, they can be saved . . . This is what I personally believe, one who worships God in spirit and in truth will be saved . . . Muslims will be saved but in truth . . . If Allah is the same God whom we worship, Muslims are saved . . . but I don’t know whether

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37 When I first came to the college to take my office of principal, I was surprised to see that one of the employees of the college was a Muslim.
Allah is the same as our God [or not]. If [Allah is] not the same God whom we worship, they [Muslims] cannot see the eternal life.

P3 told me about the atmosphere of the town where he lives concerning the issue of salvation of Muslims,

In Chalinze, Roman Catholic church members somehow think like that [Muslims are saved through Islam], or Seventh Day Adventists church . . . but other churches such as Pentecostals or mainline churches don’t think so. We don’t agree with them. Unless you receive Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior, there is no way to go to heaven. But there are some people even among Muslims who say, “We have only one God, so we have the common ground, then why are we fighting?”

Christianity and Islam both strongly assert the exclusive salvation only through their respective beliefs. According to the claim of Christianity, Muslims are not saved, and Islam affirms that Christians are unbelievers. However, some Christians are reluctant to acknowledge that their neighboring Muslims are not saved especially when they see that Muslims are so confident in their salvation through Islam. So, those Christians suspend their conclusion on the salvation of Muslims at best or acknowledge the claim of Muslims that they are saved through their religion at worst. The questionnaire survey revealed that 29.8% of the respondents acknowledged the salvation of Muslims through Islam. Although P3 said that Pentecostals or mainline Protestant churches do not agree to the salvation of Muslims, the 29.8% of the questionnaire respondents who acknowledged the salvation of Muslims were from mostly Presbyterian churches with a couple of Pentecostal congregations. Also, L2 who was not sure of this matter was an Anglican church member. At any rate, if 29.8% of Christians from more strict denominations have a positive attitude toward Muslims’ salvation, the rate of Christians who acknowledge Muslims’ salvation in less strict denomination churches may rise anyhow.
Motivations of Conversions between Christianity and Islam

More conversions between Christianity and Islam take place by inter-religious marriages than by other causes. It is likely that generally wives convert to the religion of their husbands, but there is another voice. B2 said, “You met an attractive Muslim girl to whom you want to marry, but by Islamic ethics it is not allowed [for her] to be married to a Christian. This is another factor causing Christians to convert to Islam.” P2 said, “When they get help from Muslims and [see] their hospitality, they can easily cross from Christianity to Islam.” In a previous section, I mentioned L1’s observation about how a poor man can marry a Muslim woman without paying the bride price. These observations show that Christian men convert to Islam to marry Muslim women in some circumstances.

In examining what Christians think about shifts between the different religions, especially from Christianity to Islam, L1 said, “They change their religion to become Muslims because they don’t know the Word of God well.” P2 commented, “If they are serious about faith, they should stand firm on their faith regardless of environment. Real faith means that you can die for your faith.” I asked him what the ratio of real Christians to those who can change their religion for certain benefits would be in his congregation. He answered, “I don’t have a specific data, but I presume 50:50.”

There is a consensus among the informants that a Christian with sincere faith cannot convert to Islam. Having the Christian faith is more than belonging to a group for safety and benefit. It is a matter of obtaining spiritual life or eternal life which is valued more than this earthly life. The informants conceived eternal life as to be saved or to go to heaven. In the practical realm, however, many Christians convert to Islam to get married to a Muslim or for certain profits. Therefore, they viewed converts to Islam as those who did not understand the truth of Christianity.
Muslim Evangelism

Muslim evangelism is not an easy task in the environment of Tanzania, especially in the coastal regions\textsuperscript{38} where Islamic influence is greater than in other regions. Keeping good relationships with Muslims is likely one reason for the difficulty of Muslim evangelism. P1 said, “If we try to bring Muslims to church, it makes the relationship worse. They complain more and more.” B1 said, “We are afraid of preaching the gospel to them because we want to keep the good relationship. Most Christians feel like that. They don’t want to damage the good relationship with their Muslim friends or relatives.” As a Bible college student, however, he said, “We Christians have to be strong in preaching the gospel to Muslims. Sometimes I feel that it is better to damage the relationship with my Muslim friends for preaching the gospel to them.”

Another reason for the difficulty of Muslim evangelism is their strong resistance and rejection. P1 said, “We try to evangelize them, but they always reject us. So, it is very difficult. If you go to them and talk about Jesus, they become angry . . . It is better to try to evangelize them even at their rejection.” B1 also said, “We must stand firm on the truth regardless of consequences. Even if they don’t receive it, we must impart the faith to them.” B2 expressed his sentiment of inner conflict in Muslim evangelism. He said, “Due to their attitude being harsh, some experience caused me not to share the Word of God . . . Inside me I want to share the gospel, but not in practice.” He shared his experiences of evangelistic activities. He said, “I tried to talk with them in the street to present the Word of God. Another way is door-to-door evangelism visiting families, saying them I want to share the Word of God.” However, his efforts were not rewarded.

They were so harsh. When they saw you have a Bible, they would say, “We don’t like to see you. We are Muslim family. Go away.” They didn’t allow us even to talk because they saw we had a Bible . . . In some area where there are many Muslims, when they see you preach the Word of

\textsuperscript{38} The coastal regions of Tanzania are referred to as the Tanga region in the north, then southwards the Dar es Salaam region, the Pwani region, the Lindi region, and the Mtwara region in the south.
God, they can start mocking you, others can throw stones to you. If you use some instruments like microphones and speakers to preach the Word of God, they can destroy them.

However, his conclusion was the same as that of the other informants. He said, “We Christians are supposed to consider the Great Commission to preach the Word of God without fearing them.”

Muslims’ strong rejection and resistance to evangelistic activities operate as a cause of discouraging the Muslim evangelism. P3 admitted the lack of Muslim evangelism and pointed out the causes. He said, “The second factor is sensitivity. This is to keep peace with Muslims. When we preach the gospel to Muslims, they don’t accept us, or they reject us. I agree that it is hard to tell a close Muslim friend about Jesus. They think they can offend him or her. And sometimes it happens.”

L1 acknowledged the difficulty of Muslim evangelism, but he talked about the necessity of the evangelism. He said, “If you talk to Muslims who aren’t your friends, they will be angry very much. But evangelizing Muslims is necessary. Although they will be angry, some of them may not be angry and listen. Someone may be angry but later he can consider it.” He admitted the lack of evangelistic efforts. He said, “Christians in Tanzania do not exercise the duty of preaching the gospel to all nations much.” L2 said, “I must preach the gospel to Muslims because Jesus told us to be fishers of men. I don’t know whether their [Islamic] faith is of truth or not. Therefore, I should preach the gospel so that they come to the faith of truth that I have. When I talk to Muslims [about Jesus], some people understand me, some people are angry.” His evaluation of Muslim evangelism efforts was different from other informants. He said, “We do a lot of evangelism work. There are evangelistic activities here and there. At certain places such as Mbezi station, somebody does an open-air preaching. From those occurrences, Muslims or anybody can be touched and convert.”
L2 admitted that evangelizing efforts would damage relations between Christians and Muslims, but also, he insisted that it would not completely destroy the relations. He said,

For instance, if I talk to a man about Jesus whenever I see him, his closeness to me will decrease. So, we will just keep a friendly relationship, but the intimacy that we had before must be decreasing. In the circumstances of the community we will meet at funerals and other situations. Problems take place, but we still keep relating with each other.

He asserted more strongly later,

I cannot be afraid because I have been sent to preach the good news to all nations. Truly as Paul did, when I preach the gospel, if they refuse to hear, what shall I do? I would shake the dust off my clothes and leave, because they have refused the gospel of salvation. Therefore, I have no debt. When I talk to a Muslim to convert, if he agrees, that’s fine. He agrees in spirit and in truth. If he doesn’t listen, he will go forward [to judgment]. Therefore, we have every reason to tell [the gospel to Muslims].

The subsequent step after Muslim evangelism, that of an individual’s conversion, is another challenge to overcome. A Muslim’s conversion is not simply a personal matter but connected with the family or even with the whole community. P2 worried about the way that the Muslim communities would treat Muslim converts to Christianity. He said, “We are trying to do the task of evangelizing Muslims, but not much because there can be mishaps and conflicts, separation [of the convert] from the community and so on.” He perceived the potential influence of the Muslim community over individual Muslims. He said, “When we do evangelism, to visit them to talk about Jesus, they say, ‘Yes, we believe Jesus. We like you Christians. You are good people.’ But the problem is how to bring them to church. They are afraid that if they come to church, they will be separated from their community.”

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39 He said, “tutakawa ndugu tu” (we will just keep a friendly relationship). Even at the decrease of intimacy, their ndugu relationship will not be broken.
B1 said, “Sometimes they agree [to the gospel], but they fear to change their religion. Because most Muslims are living surrounded by [their] Muslim families, it is very difficult to change their religion.” B2 shared a similar experience. He said,

In some areas, they can hear you, others may convert. For example, when I went to some families, they said, “We want to convert. We believe that Christianity is true religion. But we fear our family, we fear that our parents will not allow us to have this faith.” Others said, “I believe that Jesus Christ is the only true way, but I fear my father, I fear my mother, I fear my husband.” They wanted to convert but they were afraid of their families.

Every informant agreed that evangelizing Muslims is the primary task of Christians. However, the fulfillment of the task was beyond their practice. Christian-Muslim relations are one of the most sensitive issues in Tanzania. As it was pointed out in the previous section, the peace between Christians and Muslims is a superficial peace with hidden risk factors. The peace that the nation has prided itself on for so long is not secure and can be shattered by any careless actions. Tanzanian people, both Christians and Muslims, are aware of this reality. This unstable characteristic of the national peace is the biggest hindrance to Muslim evangelism in Tanzania. Most informants counted it as the first excuse for not doing the primary task of witnessing about Jesus to Muslims.

Sometimes their worries are realized and experienced in their contacts with Muslims for evangelistic activities. As the responses of Muslims are so negative and harsh, their evangelistic zeal is discouraged and lost. However, not all responses of Muslims are negative. Some Muslims, probably female or juvenile members of certain Muslim families, show their desire to join Christianity. However, they know their inability to convert to Christianity. Muslims are so tightly attached to their religion through the family bond and community control that dependent family members are unable to choose a different religion from that of the family and community.

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40 The Mbagala riots in 2012 were incited by a Christian boy’s careless action of urinating on the Qur’an.
Some informants showed their passion to spread the gospel to Muslims at the expense of their relationship with their Muslim friends, but the feasibility looks very low. L2 asserted that they were doing Muslim evangelism recurrently, but it looks rather like an exaggeration. Open-air preaching is not popular because both Christians and Muslims experienced how it badly damaged the Christian-Muslim relations in the 1980s. It is also prohibited by the government. I never saw any open-air preaching at the place where he insisted it had been held. The most noticeable outdoor preaching activity is to send out the Sunday service sermons from churches through loudspeakers just like *adhan* (prayer callings) from the mosque loudspeakers. However, this activity is considered as noise pollution by the public and is supposed to be the object of the government’s prohibition (*The Citizen* 2014). Nevertheless, it does not fall into an act of Muslim evangelism.

**Strategies for Muslim Evangelism**

The informants recognized keeping a good relationship with Muslims as the major hindrance to Muslim evangelism, however, they considered the good relationship with Muslims as necessary and important in establishing a strategy for Muslim evangelism. B1 said, “We are doing Muslim evangelism not in a serious way. We don’t say like this, ‘If you keep the faith in Allah, you would be destroyed.’ Rather we preach indirect way.” P2 said, “We should be good friends of them so that we can have opportunities to tell them the truth.” He acknowledged that it is important not to offend them in the evangelistic activities. He said, “We should avoid a big debate. Sometimes they come to make debate insisting that Jesus is not God and Islam is the real religion to heaven. So, we need wisdom in talking with them so as not to damage the relationship.” B2 also said, “When we preach the Word of God, we are supposed to do in a humble way with a good manner not by mocking any kind of belief.” P2 showed his worries for losing the peace between Christians and Muslims and the consequences. He said, “To make
them our enemy is dangerous. As it happens in other places, they could do anything like burning churches and killing Christians.” P2’s worries are not just a concern but what they actually experienced in the last couple of decades in Tanzanian history.

P1 suggested providing social services as a means of creating rapport with Muslims and a medium to preach the gospel. He said, “Another way to make relationship with them is [to provide social services] such as hospital or dispensary in the community. Then they may think us as friends and they accept us. They may say, ‘They helped us a lot. They built schools for our children. So it’s OK [to accept them].’” I asked him if Muslim children would convert to Christianity when they came to Christian schools. He answered, “I don’t think they convert. When they come to the school and we teach them, they seem to agree. When they leave the school, they go back to their religion, but maybe the seed is planted in their hearts. One day they may come to the Lord.” P3 shared his experience of converting a Muslim student at a Christian school.

When I was in the Presbyterian Seminary in Morogoro, I invited two Muslim students to [my church in] Chalinze. As I was chaplain of the school, I taught the students Bible knowledge. At the end of Form 4, one of the Muslim students converted, and his father was so angry. He came to my home and said, “I will never send my children to a Christian school [again].” He said that his son did not want to go to the mosque any more. In the Presbyterian Seminary, all students have to take Bible class, [but the] percentage of conversion among Muslim students in Christian schools is still very low.

B2 suggested the use of media for Muslim evangelism to avoid direct contact which can cause disputes. He said, “Another way to evangelize Muslims is through media. Media transfer information without personal contact. When they turn on TV or

41 The term seminary is used for secondary schools in Tanzania. The Presbyterian Seminary in Morogoro is a secondary school which has been founded and run by a missionary of the Korea Church Mission (KCM), a Presbyterian mission organization. Some Christian schools have names that are affiliated with their denominations.

42 Form 4 is equivalent to Year 10. In the Tanzanian education system, Forms 1 to 4 constitute junior secondary school and Forms 5 and 6 constitute senior secondary school.
radio, they can hear the Word of God. If we fail in direct evangelism, we can use mass media, magazines, or newspapers. Anyone who reads can get help to see the truth.” He also pointed out an important factor in evangelism, which is frequency. He said, “If you go to them frequently to preach the Word of God, you can reach a point that they can convert to Christianity.”

B2 insisted that good deeds of Christians are necessary to attract Muslims to Christianity. He said, “If Muslims see that we Christians live a good life according to the holy Bible as true Christians, it could be a factor to cause their conversion apart from direct preaching of the Word of God.” B2 also recognized the necessity of post-conversion care for a Muslim who converted in a hostile environment. He said, “A negative consequence [of Muslims’ conversion] is that they can be accused by their families. When this happens, we are supposed to care for them.”

P3 pointed out that study and preparation with a strategy for Muslim evangelism was a necessary assignment. He said, “Specifically [talking about] Muslim mission, we don’t have it . . . One [of the reasons] is that we don’t have a strategy . . . I think we also need some teachers or experts in Islam. We don’t have many pastors who can teach people how to evangelize Muslims. Churches need to have a special mission for Muslims with strategy.” He also suggested approaching Muslim children as another way of Muslim evangelism. He said, “Starting point could be children. We have some Muslim children who come to the church. Sometimes their parents are not happy [though]. We invite the children to play football, netball, and give them tuition. In that way we introduce the gospel to them.”

As informants were all aware of some negative outcomes of debate-style evangelism, they suggested the use of inoffensive language and modest attitudes in personal encounters with Muslims. However, Muslims’ resistance and rejection are likely anyhow. To avoid those risky personal contacts, they recommended the use of media.
They suggested building rapport with Muslims through providing social services as an effective way to approach rigid Muslims. They recognized post-conversion care for Muslim converts as an important ministry in Muslim evangelism. However, these ministries such as building a mass-media mission, providing social services, or post-conversion care cannot be done by individuals but are supposed to be carried out on a systematic organization scale. Therefore, their suggestion is that Muslim evangelism should not be left to the personal activities of individuals only. It is necessary to gather the capacity of the various churches and individuals to establish a strategy and to carry out the mission work at the denomination level.

They also pointed out the lack of strategy for the Muslim evangelism. There was a reflective awareness that they had not done Muslim evangelism much in the excuse that it was too difficult. They proposed the necessity of studying and learning for Muslim evangelism. It is true that although they are living with Muslims together, they do not have the necessary knowledge of Muslims and Islam which is required for Muslim evangelism. Above all, it is encouraging that all the informants showed their desire for Muslim evangelism and awareness of the Great Commission of Jesus.
CHAPTER 5
FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In the 1990s, after the end of the Cold War, Samuel Huntington (1993, 22) argued that the fundamental source of conflict in the world would not be ideological or economic but cultural. He suggested several reasons for the clash of civilizations, among them that civilizations are differentiated from each other by history, language, culture, tradition, and most importantly, religion (1993, 25). He further states,

The processes of economic modernization and social change throughout the world are separating people from longstanding local identities. They also weaken the nation state as a source of identity. In much of the world religion has moved in to fill this gap, often in the form of movements that are labeled “fundamentalist.” Such movements are found in Western Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism and Hinduism, as well as in Islam. (1993, 26)

Characteristics of Christian-Muslim Relations in Tanzania

In a given society, when the Muslim population is larger than or similar to the Christian population, it is likely to develop hostile Christian-Muslim relations, as we witness as a global phenomenon. Post-independence Tanzania, with similarly divided populations of Christians and Muslims along with followers of African Traditional Religions, falls into this category in which conflicts between Christians and Muslims would be most likely to occur. However, Tanzania was an exception to this pattern of conflicts between Christians and Muslims. Kessler (2006, 2) writes, “The social, political,
and economic policies adopted by the post-independence government have created a political culture that is largely responsible for Tanzania’s peace in the four decades since independence.” Nevertheless, when Tanzania gave up ujamaa policy, which was the core of the nation-building ideology and moved to a liberalization of the nation’s economy, it weakened the nation-state as a source of identity. As Huntington fittingly observed, religion moved in to fill the gap. Religion played a crucial role in fissuring the longstanding national peace of Tanzania from the 1990s onwards.

Unlike other neighboring countries, Tanzania is less likely to suffer tribal conflicts, because the tribal constitution, in general, does not greatly divide people to the extent of creating clashes between them. Tanzania has over 120 ethnic groups, all of relatively small size. There are twenty-three different ethnic groups that constitute more than 1% of the population (Kessler 2006, 4). Therefore, religion is the only factor that divides people on a large scale, which is a potential threat to the peace and unity of the nation. As the people of Tanzania have witnessed the violent clashes between Christians and Muslims in their recent history, they are aware of the importance of keeping peace among them. It is evident that people are highly cautious in dealing with sensitive issues that may cause conflicts between Christians and Muslims.

On the other hand, people’s daily lives are led without much awareness of conflicts between Christians and Muslims, because they have lived in that way for their lifetime. It is proved by people’s assessment of the Christian-Muslim relations. In the questionnaire survey, 80.5% of the respondents answered that the relations are positive. A nationwide survey conducted in 2000 by Research and Education for Democracy in Tanzania (REDET) found that 78% of Tanzanians believed that Christian-Muslim relations were positive (Heilman & Kaiser 2002, 692, cited in Kessler 2006, 7). Positive assessment of the Christian-Muslim relations comes from an awareness of the societal condition of their daily lives. Consequently, this positive assessment fosters mutual
respect and tolerance towards opposing religious people. Kessler (2006, 24) asserts that
Durkheim’s fundamental argument (that people who believe in the goodness of their
society are unlikely to wage violence against it) remains applicable to Tanzanian society.

There is a remarkable fact detected in the conflict phase between Christians and
Muslims. During the period of violent attacks of Muslims against Christians, Christians
did not respond with violent actions to Muslims. As we examined Christian-Muslim
relations in the history of Tanzania, dozens of Muslim attacks against church buildings
and prominent Christian clergy figures were reported between 2006 and 2016, but no
Christian attacks against mosques or Islamic personnel were reported during the same
period. While large-scale riots of Muslims took place several times, Christians did not
practice any mass violent movement. Violence brings forth more violence. If Christians
had responded with violence to Muslims’ violence, Tanzania would have entered an
irreversible era of violence. Therefore, Tanzanian Christians’ patience and efforts for
rebuilding the national peace should be appreciated.

The introduction of violence into Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania stopped
after two decades. The role of the government was crucial in removing violence from the
society, but the non-violent response of Christians was an essential factor in stopping
violence in Christian-Muslim relations. When Christians did not respond to Muslim
violence, Muslim violence lost its ground to practice. Once the storm of violence ceased,
Tanzania entered the path of healing. Since 2016, no major violent Muslim attacks
against Christians have been reported nationwide. At large, Christian-Muslim relations
have not been damaged beyond recovery by the violent conflicts. Rather people of
Tanzania have learned a valuable lesson that they are required to protect peaceful
Christian-Muslim relations for their own security and national peace.

In summary, Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania have been the key to national
peace. This peace was produced by the government’s efforts to create a common
narrative of the nation through the nation building strategies (Kessler 2006, 43) and a proper response of the people. As a result, the longstanding peace has been rooted in the daily lives of the people. However, people have learned that they can be divested of peace by conflicts between the religious groups, which makes them cautious towards opposing religions.

_Tanzanian Christians’ Perception of Muslims_

An evaluation or perception of particular people is created on the basis of knowledge of or relationship with the people, and the created perception shapes the relationship with them in turn. Tanzanian Christians perceive Muslims as their ndugu. A good example of this perception is found in the account of L2, a lay Christian who came from a remote village in the Dodoma region. There had been only one Muslim family in his village, and he had related to the Muslim family. I asked him why he had related to them, and he answered, “[They were] just as any certain brothers (ndugu).” This short answer provides an insight to understand Tanzanian Christians’ perception of Muslims. Whether Muslims are many or few among them, Christians recognize them as their ndugu. Being recognized as ndugu requires certain qualifications. Foreigners, outsiders or newcomers are not recognized as ndugu. Tanzanian people are fond of addressing a foreign stranger at the first encounter as rafiki (friend), but they do not address the foreigner as ndugu. Ndugu is one who is an insider or at least one on the same side. You need to have something in common to share at a deep level or a strong attachment to have an ndugu relationship with someone. The most common usage of ndugu refers to one’s siblings. Therefore, an ndugu relationship is an extension of brotherhood. It requires intimacy and confidence like a brother.

Certainly, Christians do not recognize Muslims as their ndugu in a collective sense, but through their personal and practical relationships. In the community, Muslims
are qualified to be ndugu of Christians as their family members, relatives, friends, schoolmates, co-workers, and so on. In creating ndugu relationships, being Muslim is not an obstacle. Muslims and Christians recognize each other as appropriate people for being ndugu. They are mixed and mingled without any specific obstacles. The primary factor that enables Tanzanian Christians to enter the ndugu relationships with Muslims is peaceful Christian-Muslim relations. In the good Christian-Muslim relations environment, which has been developed throughout their history, Tanzanian Christians have acknowledged that Muslims are not enemies but friends and neighbors. There is no reason to refuse or be afraid of Muslims. Christians have recognized Muslims as ordinary people just as themselves. These ndugu relationships of family bond, friendship, business partner, and so on serve as the foundation for good Christian-Muslim relations. In this way, good Christian-Muslim relations and ndugu relationships with Muslims interact for mutual advancement.

In the next section, I will discuss how Tanzanian Christians are related with their neighboring Muslims in their practical lives. Tanzanian Christians are in various personal relationships with Muslims, and among them family bond is the most significant relationship because it is a permanent one. Moreover, family bond is stronger than any other relationships. As a result, family bond exercises more control over and requires more attachment to family members. Therefore, when Christians enter family bond relationships with Muslims, complicated consequences are expected.

**Christian-Muslim Relations in a Family and its Complexity**

The family bond is a powerful dynamic that creates virtues such as love, sympathy, care and sacrifice among the members. On the other hand, when opposing religious faiths meet, discomfort, tension, and conflict are likely to take place between the adherents of the religions. These two contradictory forces, family bond and faith divide,
are included together in inter-religious marriage. The question concerning which force is stronger between family bond and faith divide does not make sense, because it depends on the degree of each individual’s allegiance to his/her religious faith. The family bond is a universal aspect of human beings, while commitment and allegiance to one’s religious faith vary from person to person. Issues in inter-religious marriage and religiously mixed families are perceivable through the clash of dynamics of family bond and faith divide.

It is arguable whether inter-religious couples would inevitably have a major problem in their lives or not. *The Guardian*, a British newspaper, introduces a story of an interfaith couple, a Muslim husband and a Christian wife. Although it is in a different environment from that of Tanzania, it shows that inter-religious marriage is a universal phenomenon in the world, and people are responding in various ways to resolve this risk-containing family matter.

There are studies that show that interfaith couples are better at communicating with one another than same-faith couples. In particular, they are better at communicating effectively and coming to an agreement about important issues. Perhaps this is because interfaith couples recognise from the start that they will have to negotiate their religious differences, and so they quickly learn how to carry this skill into other aspects of the relationship . . . But does interfaith marriage mean a weakening of each person’s respective faith? In our case, it has been the opposite. We are strengthened, inspired, and stimulated by each other’s practices and commitments. Despite our different religions, we share a common understanding of God, and what belief means in our day-to-day lives. (Aslan & Jackley, November 18, 2017)

The newspaper suggests this couple as an example that an interfaith couple can live just as any couple who come from different cultural or ethnic backgrounds. I agree that there are many people who can accept the differences of religious faiths and live together with tolerance and understanding. Fishman (2010, 47) also suggests that the interfaith couple may develop skills in negotiating and decision-making, which results in a greater level of marital satisfaction. However, a good example for interfaith couples does not portray a common story of the real situations of many interfaith couples.
I believe that to live with different religious people in mutual respect and acceptance is possible with a pluralistic ideology that recognizes any religion as a way of truth and eventually leading to salvation of the human being. Both Christianity and Islam are essentially unyielding mono-theistic religions. There is no room for pluralism in the doctrines of these religions. Nevertheless, faith is each individual’s conviction. There are a lot of people who are in favor of pluralistic ideas while they continue to be faithful to their own religions. Pluralism provides the best milieu to embrace family bond and faith divide without conflict. Interestingly, however, followers of Hinduism, which is a religion well-known for its passion for pluralistic ideology, are involved in many incidents of conflicts against followers of other religions. Therefore, pluralism works only when an individual is convinced by the ideology that recognizes other religions regardless of the person’s religion.

If one rejects the pluralistic idea, however, the story is totally different. If another faith is enforced, every resistance is expected. Differences in their religion work negatively in their marital lives. Consequently, the divorce rate is higher for interfaith marriage (Call & Heaton, 1997; Waite & Lehrer, 2003, cited in Fishman 2010, 24). Ndakula (2012, 114) conveys an elderly Tanzanian woman’s words, “We parents find it difficult to accept these interfaith marriages because of divorces.” There are many stories of those who believed that faith cannot be yielded to anything else. This is the faith that the Christian Bible talks about (Heb 11:36–38). A religious faith demands its followers’ highest fidelity over anything else. Huntington (1993, 27) points out, “A person can be half-French and half-Arab and simultaneously even a citizen of two countries. It is more difficult to be half-Catholic and half-Muslim.”

Persecution of a particular religion means a strong rejection of pluralistic ideology, and enduring persecution indicates their sturdy fidelity to their faiths. It is a universal phenomenon to endure persecution in order to maintain religious faiths where
plural religions exist together in a confrontational relationship. In several cases that I mentioned in chapter 4 from the in-depth interviews, religious faith was not yielded to appease a family bond. For instance, B1’s grandmother kept her Christian faith and chose to leave her children’s father, seeking a religiously liberated environment. B1’s aunt and P3’s mother-in-law also clung to their faith against their Muslim husbands and tried to bring their children to their faith. In those families, there must have been rivalry and competition between the two religious groups, because children were divided in two groups and there were shifts from one group to the other. However, B1’s great-aunt chose to leave her previous faith for cohesion with her husband. In her case, religious faith was less important than her new family bond. There is a possibility that she truly converted to Islam because she showed her allegiance to her new religion. She tried to teach her niece (B1’s mother) the Islamic religious practices. Her valuation of family bond made her accept the religion of her husband and created her allegiance to the new religion.

In this way, Tanzanian Christians are related with Muslims in family bond, sometimes in conflict by choosing their faith over the family bond, sometimes in harmony by choosing the family bond over their faith. Nevertheless, Christians’ family bonds with Muslims contribute to the Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania regardless of their choice of faith or family bond, as was confirmed by many witnesses from the interview accounts that Muslim family background/connection helped them in relating with Muslims in other parts of their lives. Also, it was proved by the numerical data from the questionnaire survey that a higher percentage among the respondents with Muslim family background/connection answered with a positive assessment of Christian-Muslim relations. As Tetti (2014, 91) points out, at the family level, it is possible to live together and respect each other.
**More Issues in Inter-Religious Marriage**

There was a consensus among some male informants that wives usually change their religion to that of husbands in inter-religious marriages. This consensus is a characteristic of a patriarchal society in which the head of a family has authority to decide the family matters including the religion of the family members. However, a female informant objected to this traditional view. She insisted that a love initiator is ready to change his/her religion. Also, she argued that one whose spiritual strength is bigger would determine the religion of the couple. These two assertions of hers are two sides of the same coin. It is the matter of family bond and faith. Her first assertion that one who loves more is ready to change his/her religion is the same as saying that love or family bond is more important than faith for the love initiator. Her second assertion that one whose spiritual strength is bigger would determine the religion of the couple means that faith is more important or stronger than family bond to the person. It is true that wives generally do not have as much authority as their husbands in Tanzanian society. Therefore, wives are supposed to change their religion to join that of their husbands. In this disadvantageous environment, however, many Christian women, as we examined in the instances before, kept their religion and tried to raise their children in Christian faith at least, although they could not convert their Muslim husbands to Christianity.

Ndakula (2012, 113) argues that inter-religious marriage is regulated by religious as well as societal (family) values in Tanzania. He provides testimonies of several women,

“My sister was married to a Muslim, but she did not change her religion.” Others in the group also said they could not change their religion to marry a Muslim. One participant insisted, “Myself, I cannot change my religion” to marry a Muslim. But others differed . . . one of them said, “A person can change her or his religion because of problems . . . and good reasons.” And one participant said explicitly, “I can agree to change my religion” to marry a Muslim. She was supported by another participant in the group, who said, “It is possible to change one’s religion and marry if the couple
are in love.” A woman who already had a child by a Muslim could also change her religion . . . for the sake of the child. (Ndakula 2012, 113–14)

Tanzania is not a strictly patriarchal society anymore. As we examined, wives and children in religiously mixed families are able to make a decision for themselves in choosing their religion in some circumstances. Civil marriage provides a solution for those who want to have family bond as well as allegiance to their religious faiths in which husband and wife can keep their respective religions without being interrupted by the other spouse. Children’s religion is subject to the power balance between husband and wife. As in any free societies, however, children would be able to exercise their rights to decide their own religion when they are grown up.

Although inter-religious marriages are common among Tanzanian Christians, the issue can create troubles for some of those who are related to the marriages. When I heard of L1’s account of his church minister, I could imagine how the minister was in trouble. His first daughter had already been married to a Muslim man. Moreover, his second daughter had been pregnant by a Muslim man. The daughters brought disgrace to their father because a minister’s family is supposed not to sacrifice faith for anything else to show an example to the congregation. L1 transferred the minister’s excuse that each person carries his/her own transgression, so parents cannot carry the children’s transgression. Obviously, it is the biblical teaching that the children’s teeth should not be set on edge when the fathers have eaten sour grapes (Jer 31:29; Ez 18:2). Nevertheless, the minister may have difficulty in leading the congregation, especially in the matter of inter-religious marriage.

While I was analyzing the numerical data from the questionnaire survey, I found an interesting feature from the answers of L1’s church members. They showed a more negative attitude toward inter-religious marriage. Whereas the inter-religious marriage approval rate of the respondents was 25.4%, the rate dropped to 16.7% among L1’s church members. This is a reflection of disagreement of the church members to the
minister’s family affairs. In another sector, however, the result was rather different from my expectation. Surprisingly, 43.3% of the church members answered that Muslims will be saved by their religion, which is considerably higher compared to 29.8% of the average rate. Although the church members could not approve of the inter-religious relations of the minister’s family, they showed a more generous attitude to the salvation of Muslims. This result agrees to the trend that the more they are involved in connections with Muslims, the more they show generous attitude to the salvation of Muslims.

Ndakula (2012, 114) provides testimony of an old lady who asserted that, “In the past, there were [church] regulations; if you allowed your child to become a Muslim, you were excommunicated by the church.” P3 told me that his denomination, the Presbyterian Church in Tanzania, does not have a regulation on inter-religious marriage. One of the features of the modern church is the disappearance of discipline. The old church regulations that imposed excommunication on parents who allowed their child to become a Muslim (by inter-religious marriage) do not exist any longer in Tanzania. Inter-religious marriages are a common practice among Christians that cannot be controlled by church regulations. Inter-religious marriage is a matter which is essentially related to faith, and many Christians do not take it seriously because it takes place as a part of ordinary life around and among them. More than 70% of the questionnaire survey respondents answered that they did not approve of inter-religious marriage, but still, Tanzanian Christians continue to marry Muslims. It shows the attitude of Tanzanian Christians that marrying a Muslim is not the best option, but it is not too bad because Muslims also can be saved in Islamic faith. This issue will be explored more in the following section.
Conversion: Matter of Faith or Matter of Belonging

The good relationship between Christians and Muslims in Tanzania makes it possible for them to interact with each other in their personal lives as well as societal activities without any barriers. Due to this closeness, shifts from one group to another frequently take place. Fundamentally, moving from one religion to another is a matter of faith, but sometimes people consider it as simply a matter of belonging to a group in the Tanzanian environment, which means that belonging to either side is acceptable. Sometimes, in the Western societies, Islam is depicted in the media as a religion of terrorism and a pre-modern societal system. The barrier between Christianity and Islam is great. Islam is also well-known for its strictness to conversion of its members to other religions. Therefore, conversion from Islam to Christianity or the other direction is believed as a life-changing decision to the Western mind. Contrary to this impression, however, Tanzanian Islam is a well-Africanized religion and very familiar to the ordinary people. Kim (2004, 54) argues that Swahili Islam has been built and developed on the African mind.

Kessler (2006, 43) argues that, “Muslims in Tanzania practice different types of Islam, in some cases mingled with local beliefs and in other cases highly orthodox.” In this environment, some Muslims are able to leave their religion and join Christianity, and inter-religious marriages are popular among the people. Children from a religiously mixed family may have more opportunity to change their religious affiliation. In these circumstances, people do not take a transition from one religion to another seriously. P2’s remark reflects this aspect. He said, “When they get help from Muslims and [see] their hospitality, they can easily cross from Christianity to Islam.”

Many Tanzanians, therefore, consider changing religion as not a matter of believing in a particular God, but a matter of belonging to one religion or another one. In other words, it is inconsequential which God one believes in, rather it is fine to believe in
From the questionnaire survey, 53.2% of the respondents answered that those who converted to Islam were not serious about spiritual matters but moved around for their taste. Belonging to either side does not make a big difference as was proven by the high percentage of Christians who believed that there is salvation in Islam. In the questionnaire survey, 29.8% answered that Muslims can be saved. Those 29.8% are those who can change their religion when a situation requires them to do so.

Only not to belong to either side is a problem. Obviously, there are followers of African Traditional Religions as well as secular people, who do not belong to either Christian or Islamic faith. However, followers of African Traditional Religions among urban populations have been greatly absorbed into the major religions, and even many secular people keep their nominal religious identity either in Christianity or Islam as in the case of L2’s boss. Therefore, choosing another religion apart from Christianity and Islam is not popular among the ordinary people, as if there are only the two options available. Africans have been called “incurably religious” (Parrinder 1969, 235, cited in Platvoet and Rinsum 2003, 1). They cannot exist out of religion, but which religion they belong to does not matter to many of them.

From the account of the unnamed girl who was believed to be demon-possessed in chapter 4, my interpretation is that she was suffering from a “non-belonging” syndrome. Between the demands of her Muslim father and her Christian mother, she could not decide which side to belong to between Christianity and Islam. When she came to the city and was free from the demands of the parents, she suddenly found out that she did not belong to either side. She was left in a spiritual vacuum in which she was vulnerable to the attacks of demons in the African mind. Neither Allah nor Jesus would protect her because she did not have an attachment to any one of them. She is an example of not belonging to either religion which was depicted in the spiritual aspect of life.
Religion provides an identification just as a school or a company provides an identification to those who attend the school or work for the company. Being a Christian or a Muslim is the same as having an identification of belonging to those religions. When a society is divided into two groups, belonging to neither group is a critical deficiency for survival. In Tanzanian society, which is divided by Christians and Muslims, belonging to a religious group means primarily that one is affiliated with a section of society rather than having a particular religious faith. Non-members of either group would not enjoy support or protection from the groups. Therefore, although one does not have faith in a particular religion, it is strongly required for him/her to belong to a religious group to survive in the society. L2’s boss, who keeps his Muslim identity although he never participates in the religious practices, is a good example.

**Salvation of Muslims**

The Christian Bible explicitly says that only through Jesus can a human being be saved. Peter, filled with the Holy Spirit, spoke to the Sanhedrin, the religious ruling body of Jews, “Salvation is found in no one else, for there is no other name under heaven given to men by which we must be saved” (Acts 4:12). Jesus himself also said, “I am the way and the truth and the life. No one comes to the Father except through me” (Jn 14:6). When L1 said, “They [Muslims] cannot be saved . . . We see that the way to be saved is only one, through Jesus Christ. That’s it,” he expressed his Christian faith based on the biblical truth. In the questionnaire survey, however, 29.8% showed their acknowledgment of Muslims’ salvation through Islamic faith. Accordingly, we need to ask a question as to what made them believe differently from the biblical teaching. I will investigate the possibility whether their perception of Muslims who are their friends and family affected their belief of Muslims’ salvation. In many cases, even religious faith is influenced by one’s personal relationship with friends or especially family.
The biblical teaching is salvation only through Jesus. As Muslims do not recognize Jesus as their Savior, it is not possible for Muslims to be saved. However, the Muslims are Tanzanian Christians’ friends, relatives, and family. Now they fall into the contradictory relation. If they do not have Muslim friends or family, they can accept the fact without any difficulties that Muslims cannot be saved. However, if they accept the fact that Muslims cannot be saved, they would experience uncomfortableness with their Muslim friends and family. When a required belief and their real-life situation clash, people have to choose one at the expense of the other. People who have more relationships with Muslims would try to negotiate in acknowledging Muslims’ salvation.

To check if acknowledging Muslims’ salvation is affected by their relationship with Muslims, I want to prove a hypothesis that the more relations with Muslims they have, the more generous they are in acknowledging Muslims’ salvation from the questionnaire survey data. The variables are having close Muslim friends, having a good relationship with Muslim neighbors, having Muslim family background/connection, and approval of inter-religious marriage. Among those who have many close Muslim friends, 40.9% answered that Muslims can be saved. Among those who have a good relationship with Muslim neighbors, 33.9% acknowledged Muslims’ salvation. Among those who have Muslim family background/connection, 38.7% believed Muslims’ salvation. Among those who approved of inter-religious marriage, 51.5% answered that Muslims are saved through their faith in Islam. If variables are combined, the trend manifests more clearly. Among those who have many close Muslim friends and Muslim family background/connection, 44.2% answered that their Muslim friends or relatives can be saved through Islamic faith. Interestingly, among those who have all these four variables, 75% acknowledged Muslims’ salvation. Therefore, the hypothesis that the more relations with Muslims they have, the more generous they are in acknowledging Muslims’ salvation is proven true.
Most of the Tanzanian Christians in the study population were aware of their missional duty to preach the gospel to their Muslim neighbors. However, official or systematic evangelistic activities of churches are practically absent. This is a result of learning from the public debates in the 1980s and their destructive consequences which damaged Christian-Muslim relations. Public and organized evangelistic activities are likely to be a target of Muslims’ attacks. Large-scale Muslim evangelism can lead to massive resistance and eventually to serious conflicts between the religions, which is what the government and churches most want to avoid. Therefore, although churches may feel that they lack Muslim evangelism efforts, they are strategically responding to the societal environment.

Lily Takona (1996, 55–56) argues that several strategies particularly for the African church in Muslim evangelism are necessary. There are many different Muslim evangelism models in practice in various Muslim societies. For Tanzanian churches, in the context of Christian-Muslim relations, personal contacts for Muslim evangelism are likely to be the best strategy. Christians are already in various intimate relationships with Muslims. They do not need to build rapport to approach Muslims with the gospel. The basic condition has already been well-built up in the societal environment as well as in their personal relationships. Nkoko (2017, 137) argues, “There are many factors that lead people to embrace this or that religion. Doctrinal conviction is one of them, but friendship and fellowship are more important than doctrinal conviction.” This topic will be discussed more in the missiological implications section in the concluding chapter.
CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

In Tanzania, Christians and Muslims are mixed as family, friends, neighbors, co-workers, and live together in these relationships. Therefore, Christians and Muslims cannot be separated from each other in their practical lives. They are closely connected in these relationships and bonds, and they constitute community and family together. These close bonds between Christians and Muslims in the grassroots form the foundation of Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania.

Tanzanian Christians’ Relationships with Muslims

Most Tanzanian Christians live in good relationships with Muslims. A great majority of the researched people answered that they had many or a few close Muslim friends as well as good relationships with their Muslim neighbors. Even those who did not have close Muslim friends were relating to Muslim neighbors in good relationships. Living in good relationships with Muslims is a reality of Tanzanian Christians’ daily lives. Another factor that contributes to Christian-Muslim relations is family bond between Christians and Muslims. About half of the researched people had Muslim family background/connections. It means that many Christians have Muslim relatives in their extended family. Typically, Christians’ Muslim family connections are created by inter-religious marriages. Therefore, there are many religiously mixed families in Tanzania. These intimate relationships of Christians with Muslims in their private sectors are extended to relations with Muslims in the public sectors of their lives. Christians and Muslims are mixed at schools, workplaces, and businesses. Many Muslim students attend
Christian schools. There is no discrimination between Christians and Muslims in the public domain. As Christians live in many relationships with Muslims, their positive impression of Muslims as a whole is established on their actual relationships with individual Muslims. The questionnaire survey proves that the more Christians have relationships with Muslims, the more their amicability towards Muslims increases.

In these societal environments, Christians’ assessment of Muslims is considerably positive. Tanzanian Christians recognize Muslims as their ndugu which is interpreted as comrades or brothers. This ndugu relationship between Christians and Muslims characterizes Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania. Therefore, Christians’ assessment of Christian-Muslim relations is substantially positive. Among the researched people, four out of five recognized Christian-Muslim relations as positive. This statistic is significantly high considering that Tanzania has experienced violent conflict incidents between Christians and Muslims in the relatively recent past. For about two decades from the 1990s to the 2010s, Tanzanian society experienced sporadic violence relating to religious matters. It is undeniable that those violent conflicts have damaged Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania. However, a large majority of the researched people considered that Christian-Muslim relations had not been particularly damaged, or although they are damaged, the relations were restorable.

**Religion-related Conflicts and the Aftermaths**

Seeds of conflict between Christians and Muslims in Tanzania were more likely political struggles of Muslims. The main issues of Muslims’ antagonism against the government were the imbalance of education between Christians and Muslims and Christians’ strong influence in the government. Muslim struggles against the government culminated when the government lost some control over the society with the abandonment of the ujamaa policy in the mid-1980s. Muslim struggles eventually
developed to the form of violent attacks against Christians beginning in the 1990s. Tanzanian society was in a great shock at the violence which had never been witnessed in their history since independence in 1961. Once it began, however, violent incidents continued one after another. Tanzanian peace and national unity which had been the pride of the nation were at stake.

Eventually, however, the violence stopped, and people are quickly forgetting the previous violent conflicts. Christians and Muslims keep mingling as if they have not experienced violent conflicts in the recent past. The Mbagala riots in 2012, one of the largest Muslim riots in Tanzanian history since independence, took place only six years previous to the time when this study was conducted. However, the incident was quickly forgotten by adult Christians and did not enter the awareness of the majority of young Christians. In so doing, Tanzanian Christians have chosen to live with their Muslim neighbors in peace.

**Missiological Implications**

Meanwhile, there is a concern that Tanzanian Christians’ amicable relationships with their neighboring Muslims possibly weaken their recognition and sense of calling for the Great Commission as the primary task of Christians. In amicable relationships with Muslims, many Tanzanian Christians believe that Muslims can be saved through Islamic faith. This pluralistic belief allows Tanzanian Christians to practice inter-religious marriages and even to convert to Islam in particular circumstances. The pluralistic ideology is contradictory to the biblical belief, so it must be removed from the church for the solid Christian life based on the sound Christian doctrine.

Family bond between Christians and Muslims contributed much to peaceful Christian-Muslim relations, but it considerably weakens the Christian calling for winning souls to Jesus Christ. Moreover, Christians are afraid of damaging their relationship with
Muslims by trying to preach Jesus to them. Peace-oriented Christians choose to keep silent rather than to make trouble with Muslims by evangelistic efforts. This is a dilemma that many Tanzanian Christians acknowledge. Therefore, a proper response of the church is required to address this dilemma.

Nevertheless, in a sense, the current Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania provide a favorable condition for Muslim evangelism. One of the biggest obstacles to Muslim evangelism is Muslims’ strong rejection to the gospel. As Muslims show themselves to be resistant to the Christian gospel, Christians find it difficult to approach Muslims and have an opportunity to present the gospel. However, in the relationships between Christians and Muslims in their ordinary lives, there is no such obstacle. Christians have every chance to approach Muslims in amicable relationships at any time and at any place. Therefore, the environment of Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania is a huge opportunity and challenge for the church to win the souls of Muslims to the Lord.

A task for Tanzanian Christians, then, is to present the gospel to their Muslim friends and relatives with carefulness so as not to damage the rapport and trust. Certainly, these personal evangelistic activities should not be left in the hands of individual Christians only. Churches are called to educate and train their members to be competent evangelistic agents for the fulfillment of the Great Commission of Jesus Christ. This personal evangelism model must be adopted as a strategy of church evangelism with full support and training from the churches. This type of evangelism which is sporadically practiced by voluntary individual Christians and churches needs to be organized along with properly trained congregations. However, it is also necessary to be careful not to give the appearance that churches are systematically or extensively engaged in Muslim evangelism.

While individual Christians are involved in direct evangelistic activities, churches are supposed to launch indirect evangelistic activities such as social community services,
local community development, providing shelters for expelled Muslim converts, and impersonal transmission of the gospel. Muslim evangelism does not expect rapid fruitful results. Direct evangelism encounters resistance and rejection, and indirect evangelism looks fruitless compared to the massive input of efforts and resources. The percentage of conversion of Muslims students in Christian schools is very low. Providing health service to Muslims does not return with their conversion. Therefore, we need to regard providing community services as a practice of humanity in light of the general grace of God. Still, we expect and hope that God will touch their hearts and bring them to the truth. Although it looks slow and low cost-effective, we believe that one conversion is the most cost-effective ever as Jesus said, “I tell you that in the same way there will be more rejoicing in heaven over one sinner who repents than over ninety-nine righteous persons who do not need to repent” (Lk 15:7).

**Suggestions for Further Studies**

Any human relations are relative and require counterparts. In Christian-Muslim relations, Christian people and Muslim people are involved as counterparts. There can be no unilateral relationship from Christians to Muslims or vice versa. Although Christians perceive Muslims as their amicable counterparts, if Muslims do not see Christians in the same way, good relationships cannot be created. As this study has investigated Tanzanian Christians’ perception of Muslims, the counterpart of the Christians-Muslim relations should be examined for a complete understanding of Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania.

The antagonistic attitudes of Muslims against the government and their violent attacks against Christians existed and attracted much attention of the public in the history of Tanzania. Therefore, it is easy to make a premature judgment that Muslims are generally antagonistic against Christians. If this is the case, the peaceful Christian-
Muslim relations that are experienced in the day-to-day lives of ordinary people are not explainable. Despite the antagonistic attitude against Christianity among some Muslims, Tanzanian Christians and Muslims live in peaceful and amicable relationships in their everyday lives. Then, it is worthy to examine Tanzanian Muslims’ perception of their neighboring Christians in the grassroots, because Muslims’ attitudes and activities in the political arena and those of the grassroots lives can be significantly different from one another. Therefore, further studies on Tanzanian Muslims’ perception of Christians in the context of Christian-Muslim relations based on their daily lives is suggested to be carried out.
APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE FORM
(ENGLISH TRANSLATION)

Researcher’s name: Jonathan Lee, D.Min.(Candidate)
Phone No. 0682 912 521 email: eyoungsun@gmail.com

The purpose of this questionnaire is to acquire information on Christians’ perception of their neighboring Muslims in the context of Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania. Any information that you will provide in this questionnaire will be used solely for academic purposes. Please answer all questions to the best of your knowledge. Select only one answer for each question. It is not necessary for you to write your name.

1. Gender: male (     ) female (     )
2. Age group: under 20 (    ) 20–29 (    ) 30–39 (    ) 40–49 (    ) over 50 (    )
3. Are you a clergyperson (including trainee)?
   Yes (    ) No (    )
4. Do you have close Muslim friends?
   Many (    ) A few (    ) None (    )
5. How are your relationships with your neighboring Muslims?
   Good (    ) So-so (    ) To avoid associating as much as possible (    )
6. Do you have a Muslim family background or connection?
   Yes (    ) No (    )
7. Do you approve of Christian-Muslim marriage?
   Yes (    ) No (    )
8. What is your assessment of the general relations between Christians and Muslims in Tanzania?
   Good (    ) So-so (    ) Bad (    )
9. For the last couple of decades there have been some Christian-Muslim conflict incidents in Tanzania. How much have those incidents damaged the Christian-Muslim relations?
   Severely (    ) Considerably but restorable (    ) Not particularly (    )
10. Do you know or remember the Mbagala riots?
11. Do you know about the Kinondoni butchery attack incidents?
   Yes ( ) No ( )

12. If Muslims are threatening Christians, in what sector is it more serious?
   Religious practice ( ) Socio-political power ( )
   Economic area ( ) Not really ( )

13. How are the Christian-Muslim relations changing these days?
   Getting worse ( ) Getting better ( ) No recognizable changes ( )

14. Do you think Tanzanian Christians and Muslims can live in peace together in the future?
   Yes ( ) No ( )

15. Are Muslims good people?
   Yes, there are many good Muslims ( )
   No, most of Muslims are bad people ( )

16. Will sincere Muslims be saved by their religion and go to heaven?
   Yes ( ) No ( )

17. Do you have any close person who became Christian from Muslim?
   Yes ( ) No ( )

18. Why do you think some Christian people convert to Islam?
   Because they believe Islam is the true religion but actually they are deceived. ( )
   Because they are not serious about spiritual matters and move around for their taste. ( )
   Because there must be some truth in Islam. ( )

19. Have you ever tried to tell Muslim people about Jesus?
   Yes ( ) No ( )

20. If Christians try to convert Muslims, how will it affect Christian-Muslim relations?
   It will seriously damage the Christian-Muslim relations and the security of our society. ( )
   Choosing a religion is each person’s freedom. It will not affect the Christian-Muslim relations. ( )

21. What do you think about evangelizing Muslim people?
   It is an essential task of the Christian church. It can be done publicly and aggressively. ( )
   It is necessary, but we need to be careful not to evoke Muslim people’s anger and hatred toward Christians. ( )
   It is not necessary. Let Muslims be Muslims. It is none of Christians’ business. ( )

Thank you very much for your answering this questionnaire. God may bless you!
APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE FORM
(IN SWAHILI USED FOR DATA COLLECTION)

FOMU YA MASWALI

Jina la Mtafiti: Jonathan Lee, D.Min. (Mtahiniwa)
Namba ya simu: 0682 912 521 Barua pepe: ejoungsun@gmail.com


1. Jinsia: Me (    ) Ke (    )
2. Umri: chini ya 20 (    ) 20–29 (    ) 30–39 (    ) 40–49 (    ) Zaidi ya 50 (    )
3. Je, wewe ni Mchungaji au Mwinjilisti?
   Ndiyo (    ) Hapana (    )
4. Una marafiki wa karibu Waislamu?
   Wengi (    ) Wachache (    ) Hakuna (    )
5. Uhusiano wako ukoje na majirani zako Waislamu?
   Mzuri (    ) Hivyo hivyo (    )
   Kujizuia kuhusiana nao kadri inavyowezekana (    )
6. Je, una aina ya familia yenye misingi ya Kiislamu au kuhusiana?
   Ndiyo (    ) Hapana (    )
7. Je, unahalalisha ndoa ya Wakristo-Waislamu?
   Ndiyo (    ) Hapana (    )
8. Nini tathmini yako kuhusu uhusiano wa kiujumla wa Wakristo na Waislamu katika Tanzania?
   Mzuri (    ) Hivyo hivyo (    ) Mbaya (    )
Sana ( ) Kiasi lakini unaweza kurejeshwa ( ) Si wazi ( )
10. Je, unajua au unakumbuka ghasia za Mbagala?
    Ndiyo ( ) Hapana ( )
11. Je, unajua tukio la shambulio la machinjio ya Kinondoni?
    Ndiyo ( ) Hapana ( )
12. Kama Waislamu wanaonekana kama tishio kwa Wakristo, ni kubwa katika sehemu gani?
    Kidini ( ) Nguvu ya kijamii na kisiasa ( ) Biashara ( ) Hakuna ( )
13. Kwa namna gani uhusiano wa Wakristo-Waislamu unabadilika siku hizi?
    Unakuwa mbaya zaidi ( ) Unakuwa mzuri zaidi ( )
    Hakuna mabadiliko yaliyotambuliwa ( )
14. Je, unafikiri Wakristo na Waislamu wa Tanzania wanaweza kuishi kwa amani wakati ujao?
    Ndiyo ( ) Hapana ( )
15. Je, Waislamu ni watu wazuri?
    Ndiyo, kuna Waislamu wengi wazuri ( )
    Hapana, Waislamu wengi ni watu wabaya ( )
16. Je, Waislamu waaminifu wataokolewa na dini yao na kwenda mbinguni?
    Ndiyo ( ) Hapana ( )
17. Je, una mtu wa karibu ambaye amekuwa Mkristo kutoka Uislamu?
    Ndiyo ( ) Hapana ( )
18. Unafikirije, kwa nini baadhi ya Wakristo hubadilika kuwa Waislamu?
    Wanaamini kuwa Uislamu ni dini ya kweli lakini ukweli wamedanganyika. ( )
    Hawako makini na mambo ya kiroho na huzunguka huko na huko kujaribu. ( )
    Uislamu pia ni dini ya kweli. ( )
19. Je, umejaribu kuwaambia Waislamu kuhusu Yesu?
    Ndiyo ( ) Hapana ( )
20. Kama Wakristo wanajaribu kuwabadili Waislamu, kwa namna gani itaathiri uhusiano wa Wakristo-Waislamu?
    Itaharibu sana uhusiano wa Wakristo-Waislamu na usalama wa jamii yetu. ( )
    Kuchagua dini ni uhuru wa kila mtu. Haiathiri uhusiano wa Wakristo-Waislamu. ( )
21. Unafikirije kuhusu kuwahubiri Injili Waislamu?
    Ni kazi muhimu kwa kanisa. Inaweza kufanywa hadharani na kwa nguvu. ( )
    Ni muhimu lakini tunahitaji kuwa waangalifu tusiababisho hasira na chuki ya Waislamu kwa Wakristo. ( )
    Si muhimu. Acha Waislamu wawe Waislamu. Si kazi ya Wakristo. ( )

Asante sana kwa kujibu maswali. Mungu akubariki!

129
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VITA

Jonathan Joung Sun Lee was born in a Christian family in 1961 in Gwangju, Korea. After he majored history at Chonnam National University in Gwangju, he studied at Chongshin Theological Seminary in Seoul and earned Master of Divinity. He further studied and earned Postgraduate Diploma at Laidlaw Bible College in Auckland, and Bachelor of Counseling at Bethlehem Tertiary Institute in Tauranga, New Zealand. Then, Jonathan earned Doctor of Ministry in Global Ministries from the Graduate School of Intercultural Studies of Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, California, USA, with “Tanzanian Christians’ Perception of Muslims in the Context of the Nation’s Christian-Muslim Relations.”

Jonathan has happily married Tanok for thirty years with three children: Hansol, Esther and Irene. He was ordained as minister by the General Assembly of Presbyterian Church in Korea (GAPCK) and commissioned as missionary to Tanzania by the Global Mission Society (GMS) which is the mission board of GAPCK in 1993. He served his first ministry term with the Korea Church Mission (KCM), the Tanzanian field council of GMS, being involved in the ministries of church planting in Iringa as well as administration and teaching at Calvin Theological College (CTC) in Dar es Salaam, which was established by KCM. His second ministry term was conducted in New Zealand from 1999, pastoring Korean diaspora congregations in Hamilton and Tauranga. After 15 years of ministry in New Zealand, he returned to Tanzania in 2014, and served as principal of CTC until 2018.