"Mimi ni Mtanzania[1]": An Analysis of Post-Colonial Nation Building and the Emergence of National Identity in Contemporary Tanzania

Abstract   The United Republic of Tanzania, an East African nation of about 45 million people[2], has been overwhelmingly successful in establishing a strong and conscious national identity amongst its citizens. When asked whether they identify more with their respective nation or ethnic group, 88% of Tanzanian respondents chose 'nation.' On the other hand, 50% respondents from Senegal, 31% of respondents from Uganda and a mere 17% of respondents from Nigeria chose 'nation' (Afrobarometer, 2009; Robinson, 2009). This paper explores the role of colonialism and post-colonial nation building in the establishment of nationalism in contemporary Tanzania. Overall, I argue that while colonization played a role in nationalism in Tanzania, strong national identity is majorly a result of *deliberate* post-colonial nation building. The paper maintains that the presence of Swahili as a native national language in Tanzania is both a positive by-product of colonization and a reward of persistent post-independence nation building. Post-colonial nationalist efforts such as the 1960s 'Swahilization'; the 1970s socialist politics, policies and rhetoric; and the cessation of all forms of ethnic politics were all salient factors that critically and emphatically established the Tanzanian[3] national identity.

---

[1] Swahili for "I am Tanzanian." I asked Mohamed Bright, a Tanzanian studying at Virginia Tech, to tell me what he thinks about the presence of national identity in his home country – he first told me, "Mimi ni Mtanzania."

[2] 2012 Population and Housing Census. Tanzanian National Bureau of Statistics (Ministry of Finance). Exact figure provided: 44,928,923.

[3] For the purposes of this paper, I use "Tanzania" and the context of nationalism in reference majorly to the mainland (formerly Tanganyika). In the course of the paper, I explain the reason for so doing. However, Zanzibar is often referred to, and discussed.

Brief Colonial History

Tanzania – a union of mainland Tanganyika and Zanzibar archipelago[4] –has a long and relatively diverse colonial history. Although trade relationships between East Africa and the Red Sea date back over two thousand years, the first European contact came with the arrival of the Portuguese, particularly Vasco da Gama[5] (Coulson, 1982). The Portuguese occupied the coast, but did not have enough resources or knowledge to penetrate the inland. However, in 1652, the Omanis[6] emerged as the strongest power in the Indian Ocean, and successfully drove the Portuguese out of Zanzibar–and from the Omani base in Zanzibar, they took the other surrounding settlements: Kilwa in 1784, Pemba in 1822 and Mombasa in 1837 (Coulson, 1982). The Omani sultanate, which ruled Zanzibar, initially depended on the trade of African slaves[7] and ivory, before increasing its production of cloves. At the beginning of the 19th century, trade was highest with India (where demand for ivory was great), and between 1819 and 1860, Indian settlers in Zanzibar and along the coast rose rapidly.[8]

---

[4] The Zanzibar archipelago is made up of three major islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, and Mafia and many other smaller ones such as Njao, Mnemba, amongst several others.

[5] Subsequently, by 1505, the Portuguese took control of Kilwa and Mombasa and monopolized the trade of gold in those regions. With their gun ships and sailing prowess, they took over the Red Sea up to Muscat (Oman) by 1580. It wasn't until 1650 that the Omanis broke free of the Portuguese (Coulson, 1982).

[6] These relationships are evident in the similarities between Arabic and Swahili words like waqt/wakati – time; assubh/ asubuhi – morning; and countless others; and the common use of Arabic in Zanzibar. Furthermore, Zanzibar and the Tanganyika coast have almost exclusively Muslim populations.

[7] The effects of this are still seen in Zanzibar's rather racially tense society. During the Omani period, these slaves were actually likely taken from Somalia, and not further south. It was only from 1735 onwards, that slaves were taken from Mozambique and Kilwa. The British ultimately abolished slave trade in Zanzibar (Coulson, 1982).

[8] The relationship between the African, Arab and Asian societies were very stratified. Over the years of their role as the ruling class, the Arabs enslaved Africans (both for their own use and for export), and when Africans weren't enslaved, they were in subjugated roles such as crop sharing, whereby Arabs owned trees and Africans picked them. Asians' (Indians) positions in society–despite their relatively late arrival, and foreign status–was elevated. By 1861, they owned three-quarters of immovable property on the island. To put it in perspective, the 1860s was also the peak period of slave trade, with up to 20,000 enslaved Africans per year being taken to Zanzibar (Coulson, 1982; Iliffe, 1979; Sheriff & Ferguson, 1991).

From 1886 to 1916, through the use of armed coercion[9] and brutality, the Germans (headed by Karl Peter's German East Africa Company) took over the mainland and Zanzibar. The Germans consciously perpetuated pre-colonial racial hierarchy in the colony. The Germans favored Arab and Asian interests over that of Africans. Despite the evident harmful nature of German favoritism it did enable the African population to unite in dissatisfaction over German rule and non-African superiority.[10] In their administration though, the Germans found that the local and widespread language of Swahili was well-developed and cross-ethnic, thus decided that it was cheaper for them to employ Swahili in lower levels of administration, and by so doing, further supported the spread of the language (Coulson, 1982; Iliffe, 1969).

At the end of World War I[11], the treaty of Versailles granted Britain control of former German East Africa. As with most of its colonies, Britain installed an indirect rule system– allowing local chiefs and councils to appear in charge, while the colonizers pulled the strings and actually made the relevant laws and collected taxes. In Tanganyika, British tried to establish tribal rivalries – much like they had done in other colonies; and also aimed to deepen racial divides between Arabs, Africans and Asians.[12] For colonial powers, this was neither unusual nor

---

[9] The Germans had a motto of employing *schnell, kühn and rücksichtslos (swift, daring and ruthless)* strategies as they sought to take control of East Africa, and establish a protectorate. In 1885, the Germans claimed a huge chunk of the mainland as German Eat Africa, and in response, in 1890, the British forced the Sultan of Zanzibar and Pemba to declare it a British protectorate. The Germans were ruthless, and with tactics quite reminiscent of the 1904 Namibian Genocide (particularly intentional famine), they quelled rebellions such as the 1905 Maji-Maji uprising in German East Africa (Iliffe, 1969).

[10] By focusing on the racial divide, the Germans largely ignored ethnic cleavages within the African population, meaning that no sort of African-to-African resentment built up. This is unlike what happened further north in Rwanda and Burundi where Germans exacerbated Hutus and Tutsi's differences.

[11] As early as 1916, British forces had already begun heading south (from Kenya) into German East Africa to overtake the territory as they were attacking Germany on all fronts during WWI. From 1920 to 1946, Tanganyika was administered under a mandate from the League of Nations.

[12] By the 1950s, laws were introduced that tried to establish a representation in government that would disempower the African population, although there was 400 Africans to 1 European; and 100 Africans to 1 Asian. Furthermore, Asians outnumbered Africans in schools (deliberate action on the part of the British). The British also tried to flare tribal divides – in boarding schools, they tried to divide students

unintentional "where stratified societies existed, colonial powers aimed to strengthen these divisions to prevent the natives from uniting and overwhelming the colonizers who tended to make up a very tiny percentage of the population" (Jackson and Maddox, 1993).

Through post-independence policies and rhetoric, which preached human equality and egalitarianism, Tanzania has been very successful in overcoming colonial influence, which fostered ethnic divisions and encouraged racial hierarchies where Europeans and Asians were favored, and the majority African population was disempowered (Aminzade, 2013).

Post-Colonialism and Nation Building

In 1954, a local schoolteacher, Julius Nyerere[13] organized a political party–the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). As Nyerere himself put it: "[TANU] was born in July 1954, and modern political development in Tangika really begins from that date" (Nyerere, 1967). TANU championed its core values as egalitarianism, African self-reliance (*kujitegemea),* and self-determination, and national unity. TANU, unlike many nationalist political movements across the Continent, purposely did not align itself with any ethnic faction or religious ideals.[14]

TANU, its message, and the charisma of its leaders, received an overwhelmingly positive response from the local populace, despite repeated efforts by the British (especially Governor Twining) to thwart its rise.[15] The Arusha Declaration was passed in January 1967, and it

into 'houses' according to tribes, but students refused to accept orders from prefects from tribes different from theirs (Coulson, 1982).

[13] Julius Kambarage Nyerere (1922-1999); President of Tanzania (1964-1985). He was a Pan-Africanist and proponent of African socialist. Referred to as Mwalimu (teacher) within the country.

[14] In Nigeria for example, Obafemi Awolowo's Action Group publicly based itself on the rights and empowerment of the Yoruba tribe, while Northern People's Congress supported Muslim-dominated Northern rights, and NCNC pushed Igbo and Cameroonian interests.

[15] Governor Twining closed down TANU branches all over Tanganyika, shelved plans to nominate Nyerere to the legislative council, banned him from making speeches in public and initiated a campaign to discredit Nyerere's statements (Lohrmann, 2007).

outlined TANU's meaning and vision for self-reliance and socialism in Tanzania. Furthermore, it established the ideas of *ujamaa*[16] and egalitarianism in Tanzania. By declaring and adopting these national policies that shunned classism, racialism, and ethnic bias, the Tanzanian national leadership was sending (and enforcing) strong messages of human equality.[17] Researchers have ventured to say that nation-building policies (like the Arusha Declaration), which follow and enforce clear positions of nation-wide equality, can lessen the threat of ethnic politicization (Miguel 2004). As with most of TANU's activities in Tanzania, the Arusha Declaration received much outpouring of support from the mostly poor locals, because it promised greater equality, end of foreign economic domination and greater access to basic amenities (Aminzade, 2015; Lohrmann, 2007).[18]

National Identity

In general, one could describe national identity as the willingness of any given individual of a nation to self-identify as belonging to that nation as a whole over any underlying ethnic or religious cleavages. In short, this paper describes national identity as identification with the *state,* over any other sub-state group.

---

[16] Ujamaa will be later addressed

[17] "Socialism is not for the benefit of the black men, nor brown men, nor white men, nor yellow-yellow men … And the economic institutions of socialism, such as those we are now creating in accordance with the Arusha Declaration, are intended to serve men in our society. Where the majority of people in a particular society are black, then most of those who benefit from socialism there will be black. But it has nothing to do with their blackness; only with their humanity" (Nyerere, 1967)

[18] According to Lohrmann (2007), TANU's major goal was gaining independence from the British. While it technically was not the first political party in Tanganyika, it certainly was the first to effectively disseminate information and Nyerere's overwhelming popularity meant that the party saw large gatherings wherever he spoke. Tanganyika gained independence in 1961.

Contemporary Tanzania was only formed in 1964, when Nyerere and the then-president of Zanzibar[19], Abeid Karume, agreed to join forces and united their nations together as Tanzania[20]. Nyerere assumed position of President, while Karume became the Vice President. Upon the creation of the new state, it was important for Nyerere and the government to ensure an establishment of a national identity, particularly as the two regions needed to put aside historical racial[21] and even ethnic tensions.

Overall, the cessation of ethnic politics was a thorough and persistent action throughout the 1960s. According to Miguel (2004), Nyerere forcefully downplayed the role of ethnic affiliation in public life and instead emphasized a single Tanzanian national identity. Building national identity was a constant and deliberate action, and this was evidenced particularly in schools in Tanzania. In 1973, a common Form 6 exam question was "Discipline is a pre-requisite for nation building, comment with respect to Tanzania."[22] Nation building and loyalty to country was instilled into the youth through different mediums of socialization. The introduction of

---

[19] In order to present a fair argument, it is important to note that while the union with Zanzibar was important for the radical swahilization and 'leftist' politics of Tanzania, Zanzibar doesn't show as high overall nationalism as the mainland does. This has been attributed to the historical racial divide (particularly because of the slave trade) and rising Zanzibari interest in complete self-autonomy. However, heavy influence from the mainland allow for fluctuating national identity amongst Zanzibari elites in particular. The Tanzanian national identity in Zanzibar is still very high and inclusive politics are emphasized on the islands (Mwakikagile, 2002).

[20] **Tan**ganyika and **Zan**zibar – even the shared names shows the commitment of equality and brotherhood that both regions aimed to achieve with each other.

[21] Post-independence, throughout the liberalization era of the 1990s, and till today, observers say that the Asian (Indian and Pakistani descent) community in particular has faced a rather fierce relegation of powers. However, historically in the region, the Asian minority has owned most of the property and businesses because of the pre-colonial and colonial racial hierarchy (Coulson, 1982). Therefore, when property was nationalized, it appeared to target the Asian minority – but that was because the Asian minority essentially owned everything. Nyerere insisted that TANU emphasized racial balance and inclusive non-racial citizenship, and one can tell from his commitment to equality, that Nyerere pushed for a racially equal Tanzania.

[22] National Form 6 questions (1973); Woods, Schertzer, Kaufmann (2012). These types of questions were a reflection of the nation's commitment to *siasa* (political education). In many ways, I find that I can compare *siasa* to teaching young children to pledge allegiance to the American flag, before they even understand the meaning of the words. Political education is critical in effectively inculcating national identity into young people.

compulsory National Service for university graduates helped to expose them to the 'rigors of manual self-reliance' and to achieve social egalitarianism by bridging the gap between the better educated city-dwellers and the more peasant country-dwellers (Mazrui, 1999).[23]

In 1973, Nyerere moved the capital of Tanzania from coastal Dar-es-Salaam to the more centrally-located, Dodoma. This was largely a symbolic action showing the nation that the seat of politics did not belong to one specific region, rather to the country as a whole.[24] Furthermore, as Dar-es-Salaam was the colonial capital, Nyerere was sending a message of Tanzanian self-determination and independence from previous colonial structures.

Despite the presence of over 120 tribes in Tanzania,[25] Nyerere was thorough about ensuring a non-ethnic political environment in the country. He actually banned tribal unions or factions that tried to align themselves with ethnic ties (Tripp 1999; Ndonyangi 1995). Similarly, he banned the mention of ethnic groups in mass media. Despite this ban, ethnicity is not lost in modern Tanzania–it is simply not politicized. While there are still the social and cultural ties to ethnic background[26], it has not been allowed to penetrate the political space.

---

[23] General Gowon of Nigeria implemented a similar program at the end of the Nigerian Civil war to rebuild national identity, and "reconstruct, reconcile and rebuild" the country.

[24] Relocation of capital cities to a more central location was not limited to Tanzania. In Africa, it was done in Nigeria (Lagos to Abuja), Ivory Coast (Abidjan to Yamoussoukro) and Malawi (Zomba to Lilongwe) amongst others. While a strong symbolic action and often times, economically useful, relocation of capital cities did not put an end to ethnic divide in any of the aforementioned nations.

[25] The 1967 census was the last time Tanzanians were asked about their ethnic identity – and the government identified about 125 groups with more than 1000 members (Government of Tanzania, 1969)

[26] As Mohammed Bright shared with me: "My tribal last name is Mwinyi – Tanzanians hear that and know that I am from the coast and know my tribe, because we still have our cultures. But this, honestly, will not affect me negatively or positively if I want to run for President, like it might affect people from other African nations."

Role of Swahili in Nation Building

Like other African nations, the borders of present-day Tanzania were drawn arbitrarily (during the Berlin Conference) without any consideration of the local population and ethnicities. Therefore, post-independence, African nations were struggling not only with gaining legitimacy, but also building a national identity in the midst of many ethnic cleavages. Language has been proven to be instrumental both in the promotion of national unity, and in the marginalization (exclusion) of a group/groups of people (Yusuf, 2012). The presence of a single national native language means that a nation emerging from a colonial history could find a focal point of building a national identity, in regards to that native national language. Adoption of Swahili as the *lugha ya taifa*[27] in Tanzania was critical to nation building.

By adopting an endoglossic language policy, Tanzania was proving to the world, and to itself, that it dared to be self-reliant (Kula, 2008). However, it is important to note that there are many factors that contributed to Tanzania's effective adoption of Swahili and make it different from other African nations such as Ethiopia with single native national languages, or Nigeria that has English (a colonial language) as its official lingua franca.

Firstly, during colonization under the Germans and the British, Swahili enjoyed a status that no other native African language in any colony had officially experienced–it was used in lower levels of administration in the government, in the education system and in administrative correspondence (Coulson, 1982; Ngonyani, 1995). Thus, upon colonization post-WWI, the British inherited an administrative system that allowed (and even encouraged) use of Swahili amongst the natives.

---

[27] Swahili meaning "language of the nation." It is only fair to mention that, unlike many other African languages at colonization, Swahili had already a written script, established documented literature and extensive numbers of fluent speakers, which were all factors of civilized language as far as the Western powers were concerned.

Historically, Swahili was largely an apolitical language. Prior to colonial rule, it was already established (especially in the isles and along the coast) as the language of commerce.[28] Therefore, unlike Amharic and the Amhara in Ethiopia, Swahili didn't belong to a specific group of people who wielded particular Aristocratic or political power over a lower group or groups[29] (Omari, 1995). In fact, Mazrui (1999) stated "the availability of Kiswahili as a language of the masses was fortunate from the point of view of Tanzania's egalitarian bias." Swahili's historical cross-ethnic background meant that it didn't perpetuate a single group as inherently superior.

During the push for independence in the late 1950s and early 1960s, Swahili was the instrument used to advertise ideals of self-reliance, unity and self-determination to elites and masses alike (Ngonyani, 1995). In the 1960s, the fervent nation building in Tanzania recognized the need to elevate Swahili's status in the nation, and to ensure that it gained–and retained–a place as an official language. Under the leadership of Nyerere, the country underwent a period of "Swahilization" where mass media, education, and public administration were conducted almost exclusively in Swahili. The National Swahili Council was set up to promote the use of Swahili in all public settings (Miguel, 2004). The ultimate purpose was to foster national unity (separate

---

[28] Ngoyani (1995) mentions that Swahili developed further as a form of communication between the Swahili traders and their porters, and subsequently, caravan routes meant that Swahili spread into the interior and was also the mode of communication between coastal traders and inland traders.

[29] Botswana, another country which employs a single native national language, Sestwana, is different because the Tswana (ethnic speakers of Sestwana) make up almost 80% of the population, so their use of Sestwana isn't particularly impressive because the population is almost homogenous, compared to Tanzania's ethnically diverse landscape. Of course, Swahili alone isn't responsible for nationalism in Tanzania. In Somalia, Somali is also the single national language and ethnic Somalis make up over 80% of the population, but this didn't hinder the outbreak of war in the country. Thus, this even proves that it was a conscious mix of post-colonial nation building tactics that encouraged the presence of nationalism in Tanzania

from the colonizer's language) and to build the understanding that to be *Mtazania* was to be

Mswahili.[30]

Today, Kiswahili retains its status as Tanzania's official language, and the most widely

spoken language in the nation. World media such as BBC and Voice of America have

implemented the use of Kiswahili, and there are an increasing numbers of computer-assisted

programs and OCRs to identify Kiswahili text (Moshi, 2006). The language has since gained

foreign recognition from international economic forums to instruction in tertiary institutions in

African and Western nations alike.

Villagization of 1970s

In the global South, nationalism was closely related, and often translated to, twentieth

century socialism (Aminzade, 2015). In the African context, this socialism linked to nationalism

is unarguably best seen in Tanzania's *Ujamaa*[31]*,* which was "the basis of African socialism"

(Nyerere, 1967).

The *Ujamaa* movement manifested in a massive attempt to permanently move and settle

the country's population into villages with designs and agricultural production controlled in part

or wholly by the government. Again, unlike several mass relocation activities in the world (such

as Native American into reservations or fascist Italization under Mussolini), Villagization had no

ethnic, racialized or religious connotations–it was simply for facilitating the goal of a welfare

---

[30] The government aimed to push the notion that one couldn't be Tanzanian, without also being a Swahili person–therefore both identities became intertwined.
[31] Swahili for 'familyhood,' reflecting the socialist ideals of sharing, moral obligations to neighbor and accomplishment of greater national good.

state (Scott, 1998). Although Villagization ultimately failed "economically and ecologically"[32] (its policies ruined the Tanzanian economy and caused a famine in the otherwise fertile region), the sincerity of its underlying purpose was effective in further solidifying a national identity.

Admittedly, compulsion and unauthorized coercion by the government was often implemented towards the locals, in order to quickly settle people into villages. However, Nyerere often publicly condemned doing so. Despite this, the *ujamaa* was relatively successful in placing people in villages, and thus making it easier for the government to reach otherwise isolated communities. This meant that the government could socially engineer and regiment the most illegible and dispersed groups (Coulson, 1982; Scott, 1998; Mazrui, 1999).

Another important angle of villagization is the *language* that surrounded its discourse in Tanzania. As *Ujamaa* relied on the ideals of 'familyhood,' those who engaged in it (i.e. the entire nation) were seen as one big extended family. The citizens of Tanzania were referred to as *'wananchi'* (children of the nation); Nyerere became *Baba wa taifa (*Father of the nation); and people referred to one another as *ndugu* (brother/sister/comrade) (Fouéré, 2014).[33]

Further Considerations

Furthermore, in 1967, Nyerere banned the collection of data on ethnic background in national censuses (Robinson, 2009) [34]. Although this banning practice is becoming more

---

[32] In his 1998 book, "Seeing Like A State," James Scott offers in-depth evaluation of the ujamaa policies, and analyzes extensive possible reasons for its epic failure.

[33] This promotion of inter-ethnic relationships via government/bureaucratic policy is very similar to Mali's 'Joking Cousins.' While the implementation of both is rather different, the basic principle of inter-ethnic camaraderie is similar and effective.

[34] With the research I gathered and comparison of dates, I believe that witnessing the Igbo pogroms and the subsequent civil war in Nigeria was a major influencer of Nyerere's anti-ethnic politics. Interestingly enough, the Nyerere-led Tanzania was one of the first nations to recognize secessionist Biafra. According to Nyerere, the pogroms of the Igbo and the lack of reaction by the Nigerian government motivated his support of Biafra. In his speech to the OAU, he presented the internal domino theories and African

prevalent across the continent since 1994[35], many countries still document ethnic backgrounds in census. Information on ethnic background is often used to know how to disseminate national resources to specific groups, and of course, to aid politicians in knowing the size of certain ethnic groups, which then informs them on how best (and *who* best) to appeal along ethnic lines. However, it is important to note that appealing along ethnic lines in contemporary Tanzania will likely be useless in politics. This is highly relevant, because it could explain why a strong national identity has remained in Tanzania since the liberalization of the 1990s. As Tanzania does not have any particularly large ethnic groups, or even any ethnic groups large enough to form minimum winning coalitions (without having to appeal to across a very broad population), it wouldn't appear to make any sense to campaign along ethnic lines[36]. Furthermore, within Tanzania itself, the government has maintained a relatively equal distribution of resources across region, thus limiting any chances of regional resentment (Miguel, 2004).

Another consideration is the fact that it would appear that upon granting independence to Tanganyika, the British did not handpick a successor (often linked to his ethnicity) as they did in Nigeria, for example. Much like Ghana's Nkrumah, Nyerere emerged as a clear and widely accepted leader of the nationalist movement.[37] Therefore, there was very little room for ethnic or racial wielding on the part of the British. Of course, this is of very little significance, as it did not ensure any form of ethnic solidarity in Ghana–but it *did* avoid ethnic resentment (a pitfall in Nigeria).

---

domino theories as reasons why the OAU ought to have condemned Nigeria during the war (Mwakikagile, 2010).

[35] The Rwandan Genocide – also, it is now illegal in Rwanda to ask for any form of ethnic identification.
[36] The two largest ethnic groups in Tanzania, the Sukuma (12%) and the Nyamwezi (4%) still make up only about 17% of the population–too few to form a winning coalition (Afrobarometer, 2008; Barkan, 1994).
[37] TANU fought against several anti-African laws that Governor Twining tried to enforce, and by the time Governor Turnbull took over, he was wise to be flexible to African interests, and to not tamper with local political leaders.

On a global scale, studies show that national identity rises with positive factors such as economic growth, increased employment rates, and government provision of basic amenities (Green, 2009). However, these positive factors do not always translate on a nation-to-nation basis. In Africa, some of the countries performing better than Tanzania in these areas include South Africa, and neighboring Kenya, yet both have a much lower presence of national identity. On the other hand, Tanzania has long been considered one of the poorest nations in the world, but has still maintained a consistently strong nationalism amongst its citizens. This proves that the overarching and long-lasting Tanzanian identity is neither a fad, nor related to economic prosperity, but rather has been imbibed by the inhabitants of the nation over time.

Conclusion

Despite numerous attempts by many scholars in the past couple of decades, it has been understandably difficult to empirically present a zero-defect argument on why a strong Tanzanian national identity remains.

However, it is now known that there are several factors that worked together to establish contemporary Tanzanian nationalism. From colonialism to nationalist struggles to post-independence nation building, those in power in Tanzania have by and large (directly or indirectly) supported a national identity. One must accept that the Germans and British allowed Tanzania to have a national language, whether by accident or design (Coulson, 1982; Iliffe, 1979). The "Swahilization" of the 1960s, which aggressively peddled the single native national language to the populace, promoted a national identity. Then, nationalist activities (such as the relocation of the capital city; employment of *siasa* political education in schools and the banning

of ethnic politics); the discourse surrounding African socialism (*ujamaa)* and the focus on egalitarianism in the nation were instrumental also.

As Chaligha et al (2002) posited: "President Nyerere's efforts to mold a national identity (for example, by emphasizing Kiswahili as the national language and abolishing traditional rule) have borne fruit…if Tanzania was an artificial construct of colonial mapmakers, it is no more." It is now evident (and undeniable) that deliberate and focused post-colonial nation building instilled a strong national identity amongst *Watanzania.*[38]

---

[38] Swahili for "Tanzanian people"

References

Aminzade, R. (2013). "The Dialectic of Nation Building in Postcolonial Tanzania" *The Sociological Quarterly 54(3)* 335-366.

Aminzade, R. (2015) *Race, Nation and Citizenship in Postcolonial Africa.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Barkan, J. (1994). *Beyond Capitalism versus Socialism in Kenya and Tanzania.* Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers.

Chaligha, A. et al. (2002). "Uncritical citizens or Patient Trustees? Tanzanian views of Political and Economic Reform." Afrobarometer Paper No. 18.

Coulson, A. (1982). *Tanzania: A Political Economy.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Fouéré, M. (2014). "Julius Nyerere, Ujamaa, and Political Morality in Contemporary Tanzania." *African Studies Review 57(1)* 1-17.

Green, Elliot (2009). "The Political Economy of Nation Formation in Modern Tanzania." *Crises States Research Center (London School of Economics).* Retrieved from https://www.american.edu/sis/africacouncil/upload/Elliott-Green-Tanzania-Paper-2009-1.pdf

Jackson, R. and Maddox, G. (1993) "The Creation of Identity: Colonial Society in Bolivia and Tanzania." *Comparative Studies in Society and History. 35 (2) 263-284.*

Iliffe, J. (1969) *Tanganyika Under German Rule.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Iliffe, J. (1979) *A Modern History of Tanganyika.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lohrmann, U. (2007) *Voices from Tanganyika: Great Britain, the United Nations, and the Decolonization of a Trust Territory, 1946 – 1961.* Berlin: Lit Verlag.

Mazrui, Al'Amin Ali (1995). *Swahili State and Society: The Political Economy of An African Language.* Africa World Press: Kenya

Miguel (2004) "Tribe or Nation? Nation Building and Public Goods in Kenya versus Tanzania." *World Politics 56. 327-362*

Moshi, Lioba (2006). Selected Proceedings of the 36th Annual Conference on African Linguistics, ed. Olaoba F. Arasanyin and Michael A. Pemberton, 166-175. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

(M. Bright, Personal Communication, April 27, 2015)

Mwakikagile, G. (2002). *Nyerere and Africa: End of an Era.* Atlanta, GA: Protea Publishing

Mwakikagile, G. (2010). *Prominent African Leaders Since Independence.* New Africa Press.

Ngonyani, D. (1995) "Language Shift and National Identity in Tanzania." *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies. 23 (2)* 69-92.

Nyerere, J. (1967). *Freedom and Unity*. London: Oxford University Press.

Omari, C. (1995). "The Management of Tribal and Religious Diversity." In Legum, C and Mmari, G (eds.), Mwalimu: Influence of Nyerere, London: James Currey.

Population and Housing Census (2012). Tanzanian National Bureau of Statistics (Ministry of Finance).

Robinson, A. (2009) "National versus Ethnic Identity in Africa: State, Group and Individual Level Correlates of National Identification." Working Group in African Political Economy (University of California, Berkeley – Department of Political Science).

Sheriff, A. and Ferguson, E. (1991). *Zanzibar Under Colonial Rule.* Ohio: Ohio University Press.

Scott, J. (1998). *Seeing Like A State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Tripp, A. (1999). *The Accommodation of Cultural Diversity: Case Studies.* London: Macmillan Press.

Whitley, H. (1969) *Swahili: The Rise of A National Language.* London: Methuen.

Woods, E., Schertzer, R., and Kaufmann, E. (2012). *Nationalism and Conflict Management.* London: Routledge.

Yusuf, H. (2012) "Language As A Tool for National Integration: the Case of English in Nigeria." *International Journal for Cross-Disciplinary Subjects in Education. 2 (1)* 898-905.