

The Media in Society: Religious Radio Stations, Socio-Religious Discourse and National Cohesion in Tanzania

By

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Dedication

In memory of Bernard and Juliana, the finest!

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List of abbreviations

A.D	Anno Domini
AMNUT	All Muslim National Union of Tanganyika
BAKWATA	Baraza Kuu la Waislamu Tanzania
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BIGSAS	Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies
CCM	Chama cha Mapinduzi
CCT	Christian Council of Tanzania
CE	Common Era
CHADEMA	Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo
CIOT	Council of Islamic Organisations in Tanzania
CD	Compact Disc
CORDAC	Radio Corporation Radiodiffusion de l'Afrique Centrale
COSTECH	Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology
CPT	Catholic Professionals of Tanzania
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DVD	Digital Versatile/Video Disc
EAMWS	East African Muslim Welfare Association
ELWA	Eternal Love Wining Africa
FADECO	Family Alliance for Development and Cooperation
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
FM	Frequency Modulated
HIMS	Health Integrated Multicultural Service
IFBT	Islamic Foundation based in Tanzania
IOPA	Institute of Orkonerei Pastoralist Advancement
IPP	Industry Production Promotion
JF	Jamii Forums
MCT	Media Council of Tanzania
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NECTA	National Examinations Council of Tanzania
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
OIC	Organisation for Islamic Conference
PCT	Pentecostal Churches of Tanzania
RI	Radio Imaan
RMT	Radio Maria Tanzania
RTL	Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines
RVOG	Radio Voice of the Gospel
SAUT	Saint Augustine University of Tanzania
SDA	Seventh Day Adventists
SECAM	Secretariat of Episcopal Conferences of Africa and Madagascar
SORAFOM	Société de Radiodiffusion de la France d' Outre-Mer
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
TAMSYA	Tanzania Muslim Students and Youth Association
TAMWA	Tanzania Media Women Association
TBC	Tanganyika/Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation
TCC	Tanzania Communications Commission
TEC	Tanzania Episcopal Conference
TCF	Tanzania Christian Forum
TCRA	Tanzania Communications Regulatory Authority
UKW	Ultrakurzwelle(German: FM radio)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
WACC	World Association for Christian Communications

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Summary

This study investigates on the one hand the framing of issues and the presentation of socio-religious discourse in Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan while on the other hand identifying meanings which audiences of the two radio stations construct. Specifically this study focuses on the broadcasting activities of Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan, meanings which audiences construct in relation to *mshikamano wa kitaifa* (Kiswahili: national cohesion) in Tanzania. According to the Tanzania Communications Regulatory Authority (TCRA), a religious radio is a non-commercial radio station owned and run by a religious organization or group for religious goals. In Tanzanian context, religious radio stations are a product of the 1990s liberal economy. Historically, it was not possible under *Ujamaa policy* to think about having a private ownership of media in Tanzania. During the presidency of Julius Nyerere (1961-1984) ethnicity, religion as well as private media were viewed as divisive and would harm the national unity. In order to avoid such a phenomenon Nyerere nationalized the major means of production including the media, and adopted *utaifa* (nationalism) and *undugu* (fraternity) as frames of *mshikamano wa kitaifa* and *umoja* (unity) in Tanzania.

Specifically, the study answers the following theoretical and empirical questions:

(1) What informs the packaging of the programmes of Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan? (2) What are the contents of programmes broadcasted by Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan? (3) How do Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan deal with the socio-religious discourse prevailing in Tanzania? (4) What kinds of meanings do audiences construct from the broadcasting activities of Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan? (5) What are the implications of the constructed meanings on national cohesion in Tanzania?

Data were generated through questionnaires, semi-structured interviews; focus group discussion, qualitative content analysis, discourse analysis and participation in listening to programmes of the two radio stations were used. Apart from that, informal discussions, visiting weblogs and newspapers as well as the academic setting of Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies (BIGSAS) shaped the data collection and writing of the research report.

Five central conclusions have emerged. First, programmes of Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan are set to serve audiences in spiritual and material needs. This approach informs the setting and packaging of programmes. In this way, the two radio stations have programmes on spirituality, human promotion and welfare, news and information and social programmes. Secondly, there is an exclusive element in the contents of programmes of Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan. Under this phenomenon, Radio Maria Tanzania serves Catholic Christianity. Due to this situation, Radio Maria Tanzania hardens the doctrinal differences within Christianity as well as intensifies the intra-religious conflicts. Similarly, due to differences in doctrines and religious practices between Christianity and Islam, issues on Islam and Muslims come to the contents of Radio Maria Tanzania in the form of questions from audiences. On the part of Radio Imaan, programmes and contents are planned to serve Muslims. However, due to differences in doctrines and traditions, Radio Imaan serves mostly the group of Ansar as-Sunna/Sunni Muslims. In so doing Radio Imaan strengthens the gap of differences between groups of Muslims. Thirdly, the framing of issues in some programmes of Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan provoke audiences and cause socio-religious tensions and mistrust among audiences in Tanzania. This aspect is also demonstrated in the engagement of Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan in the “politics of religions” in Tanzania. Due to this phenomenon, the two radio stations are partly forums of accusations and counter-accusations as far as “politics of religions” in Tanzania are concerned.

Fourthly, discourses on *mfumokristo* (Kiswahili: Christian hegemony), *kipindi cha mateso ya kimfumo [kwa kanisa Tanzania]* (Kiswahili: Systematic persecution of the Church in Tanzania) and *udini* (Kiswahili: religionism) have amplified and become interpretative and expressive tools to the extent of causing demonstrations, hate speeches, claims of exclusive rights in some socio-religious spheres as well as socio-religious clashes between Muslims and Christians in Buseresere village. Moreover, the discourses of *mfumokristo* and *kipindi cha mateso ya kimfumo [kwa kanisa Tanzania]* cause mistrust over the government because in the application of these concepts each group views the government as favouring one part at the expense of the other.

Finally, while at an individual level Christians and Muslims maintain friendly relations however at a community level there are incidents which destabilize national cohesion. Guided by a shared mentality, some groups of Christians and Muslims use concepts such as *mfumokristo*, *kipindi cha mateso ya kimfumo [kwa kanisa Tanzania]*, *udini*, “*halal*” (Kiswahili: meaning ritually allowed for Muslims and “*haram*” (Kiswahili: meaning ritually forbidden for Muslims) to interpret different spheres of life in Tanzania to the extent of threatening national cohesion which is expressed under the values of *utaifa* (Kiswahili: nationalism), *undugu* (Kiswahili: fraternity). Due to this, in the context of *Ujamaa policy*, in Tanzania, religion and religious media even after more than 50 years since the assumptions of Julius Nyerere are still sensitive as far as *undugu* and *utaifa* are concerned. There is a need for more time for the broadcasting activities of religious radio stations to better serve Tanzania in the spiritual and material development of audiences.

Introduction

Unity and peace are often cited as national values setting apart Tanzania from other African Great Lake countries that are raked with ethnic and religious inspired conflicts. A single party system and political philosophy based on a slogan “*serikali haina dini, ila watu wana dini*” (Kiswahili: government has no religion but individuals can have religion) helped to keep religion out of the public sphere. However, the liberalization of the political landscape in the mid-1990s allowed some groups to use religion for political ends hence creating tensions. And since then the liberalization of the media industry has allowed media to prosper, especially religious radio stations with a specific religious and sectarian agenda. Such media have been used to frame issues which result in undermining *umoja* (Kiswahili: unity) and peace in the country.

Discourse on “*udini*” (Kiswahili: religionism) is now rife in Tanzania and even the current President Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete has been accused of being “*mdini*” (Kiswahili: a person who uses religion as an interpretive tool). Some Muslim groups want to replace the so-called “*mfumokristo*” (Kiswahili: Christian hegemony) which is said to undermine Muslims. Other demands include preferential treatment of Muslims in jobs, education, political posts, and giving Muslims exclusive rights to slaughter animals in the name of “*halal*” (Arabic/Kiswahili: ritually allowed in Islam). On the other part, some groups of Christians interpret events such as burning of churches and killing of Christian religious leaders as a plan under *kipindi cha mateso ya kimfumo [kwa kanisa Tanzania]* (Kiswahili: Systematic persecution of the church in Tanzania). As a reaction to *halal* and *haram* discourse, a group of Christians established their Christian butchers to avoid eating meat slaughtered by Muslims. This has led to a hardening of religious identities with religious belonging while destabilizing *mshikamano wa kitaifa* (Kiswahili: national cohesion). Whereas some scholars attribute the demise of national cohesion to religious factors both internal and external, this study singled

out broadcasting activities of religious radio stations as the source behind the amplification of socio-religious discourse that destabilizes national cohesion in Tanzania. Two Tanzanian religious radio stations: the Christian-owned Radio Maria Tanzania and the Muslim-owned Radio Imaan have been used to study this phenomenon.

Goals of this study

This study has sought to: (1) to study packaging and framing of issues in programmes, involvement of Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan in “politics of religions” and in prevailing socio-religious discourse. (2) To investigate kinds of meanings audiences construct from broadcasting activities of the two radio stations. (3) To contribute to the debates on the broadcasting activities of religious radio stations vis-à-vis destabilization of *mshikamano wa kitaifa* (Kiswahili: national cohesion) in Tanzania. Throughout this study, the concept of national cohesion refers to lives of Tanzanians under *Ujamaa policy*.¹ National cohesion was framed with values of *utaiifa* (nationalism) and *undugu* (fraternity). Under this phenomenon religion and ethnicity were not part of the identity of a Tanzanian. People were to proudly identify themselves as *Watanzania* (Tanzanians) and the concept of *ndugu* (relative, brother or sister) suppressed ethnicities.

The central problematic is that the media particularly religious radio stations play an important role in framing issues which influence construction of meanings among audiences. Some Tanzanians maintain that through their broadcasting activities religious radio stations have made possible religious-inspired violence and rhetoric which destabilize national

¹ This is a brand of African socialism which insisted on peaceful coexistence and unity in Tanzania based on extended family values and structures. The economy was centralised and basic services like education and health care were freely offered to the citizens. Politically, the country had a single-party democracy. See Julius K .Nyerere (1968) *Ujamaa: Essay on Socialism*. Dar-es-Salaam: Oxford University Press. See Julius K .Nyerere (1968) *Ujamaa: Essay on Socialism*. Dar-es-Salaam: Oxford University Press. Also: Frieder Ludwig (2002) *After Ujamaa: is religious revivalism a threat to Tanzania's stability?* In Westerlund, D. ed. *Questioning the secular state: the worldwide resurgence of religion in politics*. London. Hurst, pp.216-236.

cohesion. To the “believers” of *utaiifa* and *undugu* this phenomenon proves the assumptions made by Nyerere under *Ujamaa policy* that in the Tanzanian context religion and private media as well as ethnicity are delicate and divisive once accommodated. Under this assumption this group attributes the prevailing socio-religious tensions and discourse on *udini* in Tanzania to the mushrooming of religious radio stations. Based on this background this study answers the following central questions: (1) What informs the packaging of the programmes of Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan? (2) What are the contents of programmes aired by Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan? (3) How do Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan deal with the socio-religious discourse prevailing in Tanzania? (4) What kinds of meanings do audiences infer from the broadcasting activities of Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan? (5) What is the implication of constructed meanings for national cohesion in Tanzania?

Selecting field sites

This research was carried out in the context of Tanzania mainland. Fieldwork for the study was majorly conducted in Mwanza city, Morogoro municipality and minimally in Dar-es-Salaam city. These areas were purposefully chosen based on a number of reasons. Mwanza city is in the north-west part of Tanzania, around Lake Victoria. The city consists of the two political districts of Ilemela and Nyamagana. The city was purposely chosen to examine the audiences of Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan in terms of its geographical ‘remoteness’ from the headquarters of the two radio stations which are located in the eastern part of Tanzania, Dar-es-Salaam and Morogoro respectively. Mwanza is about 1152 km from Dar-es-salaam and 960 km from Morogoro.

Furthermore, Mwanza is the second largest city in Tanzania (the largest being Dar-es-Salaam) with a population of 474,679 inhabitants (2002 National population census). The city is home to Christians and Muslims of different denominations and groups. In addition,

Mwanza accommodates one of the largest media companies in Tanzania, the Sahara Media, which owns two radio stations: Kiss Fm and Radio Free Africa and its television arm Star TV. The broadcasting services of the Sahara Media channels cover the whole of Tanzania and the border regions of Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi, Kenya, Zambia and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Also, Sahara Media Company owns a weekly newspaper, *Msanii Africa*.

Another eye-catching fact is that Mwanza is home to one of the oldest schools of journalism in Tanzania, the Nyegezi Social Training Center established in 1975. In 1998, the training school was transformed into St. Augustine University of Tanzania (SAUT). Since then, the University is known for the promotion of journalism education in Tanzania. A good number of journalists working in different media companies, including religious radio stations, have since gone through the university. There is an increased awareness of media activities by the people of Mwanza city resulting from various seminars and media out-reaches done by lecturers and students from St. Augustine University of Tanzania. Such activities improve media literacy and preferences on the people of Mwanza city.

On the other hand, several factors conditioned the choice of the municipality of Morogoro as study area. First and foremost, consider the geographical ‘proximity’ of the audiences to the two radios. Radio Imaan is based in Morogoro while Radio Maria Tanzania is in Dar-es-Salaam, about 192 kilometers from the former. The municipal of Morogoro has a population of 490,933 inhabitants (the National population census 2002). The municipality is also home to the Catholic diocese of Morogoro and with a long tradition of Catholic Christianity in Tanzania. Morogoro is also one among the bases of Islam in Tanzania. The town is host to the headquarters of the ‘Islamic Foundation based in Tanzania’ with most of its projects including Radio Imaan. There are a great number of Arabs and Indians in the municipal of Morogoro. The two are believed to have a direct relationship with Sunni and

Shiite Muslims in the municipality. Each group identifies itself in various ways including the use of media and investments in projects of religious and social services such as schools, dispensaries and the provision of water.

Moreover Morogoro is one of the most rapid-growing municipalities in Tanzania; three universities and one college are sited here. These universities are the Muslim University of Morogoro owned and operated by the Islamic Foundation based in Tanzania; Jordan University owned and operated by a Christian organization, the government owned Sokoine University of Agriculture and Kigurunyembe Teachers' Training College. In the outskirts of the municipality of Morogoro, there is Mzumbe University which adds to the residents of the municipal area. Apart from that the presence of the universities influences media literacy among audiences who have a university education. Also there are different religious denominations which encourage the municipality of Morogoro to accommodate a kind of religious market competition through religious media. Due to this competition, as of July 2011 the municipal of Morogoro had five religious radio stations namely: Radio Ukweli, Radio Imaan, Radio Okoa, Radio Abood and Top Radio. Radio Abood which is owned by a Shia Muslim sometimes broadcasts religious activities of Shia Islam although it is not a religious radio. Under this situation, audiences in the Morogoro municipality have a wide range of choices of what to listen to and what to ignore.

Considering Dar-es- Salaam, apart from being the former capital city of Tanzania with almost all the government offices and parastatals, is also the most populated city in Tanzania with 2,487,288 inhabitants (the National population census 2002). Also, Dar-es-Salaam since 2004 is the headquarters of Radio Maria Tanzania and the Tanzania Communications Regulatory Authority (TCRA), the government organ which governs and regulates the communication sector in Tanzania.

In summary, the urban set-up of Mwanza, Morogoro and Dar-es-Salaam was of profound importance to this study. Studies show that people in urban areas participate more in religious activities than those in rural areas (Breault 1989; Taylor 1986). A discussion with Ukah, an expert in the field of religion, reveals that religious competition for souls is more intensive in urban areas due to the concentration of modern technological resources such as electricity, higher paying jobs, and high population density. He adds that, it is easier to seek a religious solution to one's problem in the urban areas than it is in the rural areas because of the availability of alternatives which may be absent in rural areas.²

Field trips

A total of ten months were spent in the field. The ten months were divided into three different periods. The first field work was done between August and October 2010, the second between February and June 2011 and the third between January and February 2012. The spread of the field trips enabled the emergence of new themes. For instance, my conceptualization was largely audience-oriented, but following the first field trip it was discovered that media proprietors and the TCRA were equally central to this research. This observation was made based on the fact that a number of listeners who filled the questionnaires expressed concerns in regard to the content of the religious radio programs with different views. This therefore called for the inclusion of interviews with media people and the TCRA. Furthermore, the spread of the fieldwork facilitated in the process of gap filling.

Study population

Arguing from Luttrell (2010) in qualitative research the most important aspect in relation to sampling is the possibility of gathering the most useful information needed to produce nuanced answers to the research questions. In that sense, what is important is not the size of the sample but rather the sample that can provide useful information fitting to the research.

² Informal discussion with Dr. Asonzeh Ukah held on 8 April 2013, Bayreuth, Germany.

“The point is to provide a clear explanation for why particular sites, participants, events or cases have been chosen and why the data being collected are significant.”³ The sample included 45 key informants as detailed in the Table below.

Table i.1 The categories of key informants

No.	Category	Description of the category	Interviews
1	Religious leaders	This group includes a bishop, two pastors, and Catholic priest, Nun, Sheik and an Imaam. This group meant to give an account on the uses of radio for religious goals.	07
2	Radio owners and Employees	Five high level Radio Maria Tanzania employees were interviewed (The Director, The Promoter and Programme manager and representatives of Morogoro and Mwanza). Similarly five employees of Radio Imaan were interviewed (two officials a programme producer and broadcaster). This group meant to provide necessary information concerning the radio stations, patterns of production of programmes, the contents of programmes	10
3	Active listeners	Active listeners of Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan were identified by Radio Representatives in their respective areas. Some of the listeners are members of listeners’ clubs and friends of the radio stations. This group provided experiences in the consumption of the programmes of the two radio stations and the meanings they construct.	24
4	TCRA	Two officers from the Tanzania Communications Regulatory Authority were interviewed to determine regulations related to broadcasting activities in Tanzania.	02
5	Radio Broadcasting experts	Two experts in the field of radio broadcasting were interviewed to give professional views as media stakeholders.	02
Total Number of Key Informants			45

Source: Author 2011

Methodology

A large part of this study is grounded in a qualitative approach of research and a Multiple Case Study research design was opted for. Denzin and Lincoln consider a qualitative research as a “situated activity that involves an interpretative and naturalistic approach to the world.” In this sense, qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings attempting to make

³ Luttrell 2010:6.

sense or interpret phenomena in the general term of meaning people bring to them. Furthermore this research design enables the collection of detailed data through the use of a variety of methods (Leedy 1997; Cassell and Symon 2004; Creswell 2009).

Data generation strategies

Six data collection techniques namely questionnaires, interviews, focus group discussion, qualitative content analysis, discourse analysis and participation in listening to programmes of the two radio stations were used in the generation of data (a detailed description of these methods follows below). Apart from that, informal discussions, visiting weblogs and newspapers as well as the academic setting of the Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies (BIGSAS) shaped the data collection and writing of the research report. Framing, Meaning construction and the Social identity theories are triangulated to aid in the conceptualization of this study.

Questionnaires

This was done to test the appropriateness of the research tools. In this phase 120 questionnaires were randomly distributed in Morogoro municipality and Mwanza city. Out of the distributed questionnaires, only 80% were returned and analyzed. The results from the questionnaires assisted in the creation of themes for interviews.

Key informant interviews

A total of 45 interviews (Appendix 15) were conducted in Morogoro municipality and in the cities of Dar-es-Salaam and Mwanza. Two types of interviews were used in the data collection. The first one was in-depth interviews with the proprietors of radio stations, journalists working in the two radio stations, religious leaders, and experts in radio broadcasting and with officers from the TCRA. Themes were set to guide these interviews (Appendices 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13). The second type was semi-structured interviews with the

consuming audiences of programmes of Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan. Guiding themes for interviews with this group were set (Appendix 14).

Focus group discussion

Focus Group Discussion was done with some members of a listeners' club called "*Radio Maria Umoja Salamu Club*" at Mkambarani in Morogoro. Seven people participated in the discussion. Major issues on their listenership of Radio Maria Tanzania were discussed.

Qualitative content analysis

Content analysis of documents and programmes' schedule from the two radio stations was another method which was used in the data collection. In order to find out the major contents of the programmes of Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan, the weekly programmes' schedules of Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan were obtained and analyzed accordingly. Apart from that, four programmes (two from each radio station) were sampled and analysed in detail to fit the objectives of this study.

Discourse analysis

Socio-religious discourses in the programmes of Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan as well as in the public domain were analysed to "study the rhetoric and argumentative organisation of talk and text."⁴ Also prevailing discourses in the public which were the result of the broadcasting activities of the two radio stations were mapped-out, analysed to determine their effects on the audiences' meaning construction and their impact on national cohesion.

⁴ Silverman 2006: 401.

Listening to Radio

I participated in listening to programmes of the two radio stations while I was carrying out the field work. And on some occasions through the on-line access of the two radio stations I continued to listen to them and paid attention to what was being broadcast.

Informal discussions

During my fieldwork I had informal discussions of my research with friends. The discussions were mostly conducted in places such as bars, coffee cafes, during lunch times and in *nyama choma* (Barbeque) occasions. At St. Augustine University of Tanzania (Mwanza and Dar-es-Salaam campus) I could discuss my research project with my colleagues and some students.

Back in Bayreuth more often during lunch and our coffee breaks I had the opportunity to discuss many aspects with my friends, namely Jude Kagoro, Venance Ndalichako, Dan Omanga, Samuel Ndogo and Salma Abdallah. Due to the fact that this group consisted of members from countries of East Africa, their knowledge on the socio-religious situation of Tanzania added much to our discussions. The mushrooming of religious radio stations in Tanzania and their involvement in framing socio-religious discourse provoked interesting discussions within this group. Their comments, challenges and observations enhanced my study.

Weblogs and Newspapers

Visiting Tanzanian weblogs such as *Jamii Forums* (JF) and *Wanabidii blog* apart from enhancing my data, they provided tips for informal discussion with my colleagues. Additionally, I was able to follow various influential discussions in the two weblogs sourced from the broadcasting activities of Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan. Furthermore reports from some newspapers such as the government-owned Daily News and Muslim owned *Al-Nuur* were used in gathering relevant data.

Academic settings

Membership in the workgroups of “The Meaning Making Work group” and “Religion in Contemporary Africa” enabled me to take part in discussions on issues and concepts related to meaning making and religion. Our discussions with colleagues shaped my data with new inputs. Also, through the BIGSAS academic settings I managed to participate in conferences and summer schools in which I presented my doctoral project. Comments and views from conferences and summer schools contributed to the shaping the analysis of my data and the focus of my research.

Data management

In the interviews and Focus Group Discussion (FGD), data were collected in the form of words, recorded in Kiswahili, transcribed and later translated into English. On some occasions, translations and transcriptions were done immediately after interviews to keep its pace. Discretion to what is important; I put together and formed different themes in terms of similarities and differences. For confidential purposes pseudo-names or titles of the interviewees are used with some exceptions of officers of Radio Maria Tanzania who preferred to keep their identities. However, the pseudo-Christian and Muslim names denote the religious affiliations of the interviewees.

Data from listening to the two radio stations were kept in the field notebook and sometimes were recorded especially when the programme was repeated or the theme presented for discussion was introduced in advance. Data from informal discussions which were important to the research were recalled and summarized immediately after the discussions.

Data analysis

Data collected from the Questionnaires were analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) computer software mainly data tabulation to find frequencies and percentages of responses. The questionnaires demonstrated the demographic status of consumers (audiences) of programmes of the two radio stations (Appendices 11, 12 and 15), listenership of the two radio stations (Appendix 13) as well as audiences' motives for consuming programmes of Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan (Appendix 14).

Interpretational analysis was the approach used in the analysis of the data from interviews. According to Gall *et al.* (1996) interpretational analysis includes the process of examining the data collected from the fieldwork for constructs, coding them in themes and patterns that can be used to describe and explain the phenomenon studied. In this sense, after putting together the data collected I grouped those which were significant to my research and arranged them in themes in accordance with the contents of the data (Charmaz, 1983). Then I analysed the expressed contents that were inferred from the data (Glazier and Powell 1992) which could fit with the objectives of the research (Strauss and Corbin 1990). This research is in the form of description in which the data presented reflect the searched reality from the participants particularly in the context of Tanzania mainland (Leedy 1997). In this way, I used programme producers to determine what informs the packing of the programmes, Programme Schedule of Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan to identify programmes and sample programmes relevant to my study, lastly from audience perspective I mapped-out the kinds of meanings which the audiences construct.

Rationale for the study

Ownership of radio stations by religious organisations is relatively new in the Tanzanian media industry. As shown above, there is an increase in the number of religious radio stations in Tanzania. According to Sturmer (1998) it was in 1994 when the first religious radio station

was established in Tanzania, nevertheless their broadcasting activities have not attracted scholarly attention compared to community radio stations. The role of community radio in Tanzania has been explored widely by scholars such as Mrutu (2008); Mpehongwa (2009); Matumaini (2009); Lobulu (2010); Audience Scapes (2010). On the same weight there is a need for empirical research on this growing kind of media and their involvement in audiences' religious life, in the media industry and nationalism in Tanzania. Consequently, this research contributes to existing understanding and knowledge of religious media particularly radio. Also it lays the foundation for similar studies in radio broadcast medium as well as religious television.

Strengths and limitations

The research field works were conducted in Tanzania. It was easy for me to conduct research in my country of origin, especially as an insider. Apart from that it was of great advantage for me to participate in listening to programmes of the radio stations under study. Kiswahili as a *lingua franca* in Tanzania made it possible to interview the key informants in their language. This phenomenon enabled me to seek more explanations if something was not properly presented because I am fluent in Kiswahili. Moreover my background in the field of media studies provided another advantage in the collection and analysis of data.

Several limitations were encountered in the course of this study. The fieldworks were conducted in Tanzania when the atmosphere was affected by the politics of the 2010 general elections. In the campaigns for political posts (presidential and parliamentary) two political parties were in strong competition in the race, each one trying to win power. The parties were the ruling party-*Chama cha Mapinduzi*-CCM (Revolutionary party) and the opposition party *Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo*-CHADEMA (Democratic and Development party). CCM had a Muslim candidate for the presidential post while *Chadema* had a former Catholic priest as a candidate. In order to win the votes of Tanzanians, intentionally (although

indirectly), elements of religion were imposed by politicians in the campaigns. Religion was politicized whereby *Chadema* was associated with Christianity, and Christians were viewed as supporters of *Chadema*. This state of affairs was easily cultivated in the minds of the people due to the fact that there were prevailing socio-religious tensions between Christians and Muslims in Tanzania since independence in 1961 (Westerlund 1980; Chande 1998; Ludwig 1999; Njozi 2000; Wijsen and Mfumbusa 2004).

The situation became worse after the general elections as religion was used as an interpretative and expressive tool in the socio-political, economic and educational spheres in Tanzania. My Christian background was first seen as an obstacle in accessing some data from Radio Imaan since I was regarded as a religious outsider. Westerlund (1980) documents the problem of accessibility to get relevant sources and materials if the researcher is not an insider. Once a researcher is an outsider in a certain society under study, it creates difficulties for getting information especially when the researcher needs information which may be seen as sensitive. Through the use of close associates of owners of Radio Imaan, I managed to interview the key informants of Radio Imaan and also got access to important documents such as the daily programmes' schedule. Access to married-muslim women was possible in the presence of their husbands. The reason given was a religious one which requires a married Muslim woman to seek permission from her husband for interviews and also it is necessary for the interviews to be conducted in the presence of her husband. I had a chance also to interview some young-muslim women in their working places. Lastly the interviews which were conducted in Kiswahili had to be transcribed and translated into English. Translation in some cases dilutes the original meaning. This caused me in some cases to consult the key informants for more clarification and verification.

Organization of the research

This study is divided into six chapters. The first chapter introduces the background of the study, a brief history of Islam and Christianity and Muslim-Christian interface in Tanzania. Chapter two presents conceptual reflections and various debates from scholarly works done in the field of media and religion in Europe, United States, Africa and Tanzania. Specifically, the chapter depicts the gap of empirical studies on religious radio broadcasting in Tanzania. Chapters Three and Four present respectively in-case analyses of Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan and qualitative content analyses of the programmes of the two radio stations with detailed analyses of four sample programmes. Chapter Five presents the cross-case analysis of Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan. Chapter Six sums-up and concludes the study with directions on areas for future studies in the field of religious radio broadcasting in Tanzania.

Chapter One

Socio-Historical Context

“We have agreed that our nation shall be a nation of free and equal citizens, each person having an equal right and opportunity to develop himself and to contribute to the maximum of his capabilities to the development of our society. We have said that neither race nor tribe, nor religion nor cleverness, nor anything else, could take away from a man his own rights as an equal member of society. This is what we have now to put into practice.”⁵

1.1. Introduction

The quotation above summarizes the vision of the country which Julius Nyerere, the first president of Tanzania (1961-1984) wanted to implement. To realise this vision, Nyerere used various strategies and methods. One among the strategies, in 1967 Tanzania adopted the African version of socialism-*Ujamaa* as a roadmap to socio-political, economic and cultural development. The government of Tanzania nationalized the major means of production and the *Ujamaa policy* became the roadmap. Under the *Ujamaa policy* all sectors including the media were structured to serve Tanzanian national interests and socialist ideology. In the media sector, the government of Julius Nyerere “abrogated private media in country.”⁶ This was consistent with the socialist policies of *Ujamaa* which “refused to accord the privately-owned press the right to claim absolute freedom of expression since this right could be used against the majority who were voiceless and who could easily be confused and exploited as a result.”⁷ The refusal was extended to the establishment and ownership of private/religious media by religious organizations and groups. The government of Tanzania under *Ujamaa policy* believed that private/religious ownership of media would cause segregation and divisions among Tanzanians based on religious affiliations. Under *Ujamaa policy*, private media and religion were considered having a potentiality of inciting violence in a community (Mitchell 2012). In order to prevent the potential violence, matters of religion were left to

⁵ Nyerere in Kaniki 1974:17.

⁶ Westerlund 1980:10.

⁷ Sturmer 1998:167.

believers. The government assumed a neutral position on matters of religion. In fact, “the trend was to excise religion from the public domain.”⁸ On private media, as it has been shown above, the government monopolized media. Private ownership of media was considered to serve personal and private interests which could harm the government’s *Ujamaa policy*. The policy framed media to emphasis on unity and the priorities of national interests which were centred on the war against three enemies of development of Tanzania namely ignorance, poverty and disease.⁹ Consequently, before 1993, “RTD (Radio Tanzania Dar-es-Salaam) was the only radio station in Tanzania.”¹⁰

Like religion, ethnicity was generally viewed under *Ujamaa policy* as not among the identifiers of a Tanzanian because it was constructed as divisive and dangerous not only to the ideology of *Ujamaa policy* but also to national unity. According to Omari while other “leaders used the ethnicity base for the development of political power, Julius Nyerere used the ethnicity base for the development of the nation...”¹¹ Nyerere used ethnicity to create nationalism through the use of Kiswahili as *lingua franca* in Tanzania. Excluding religious and ethnic identifiers left citizens to construct themselves as “Tanzanians.” Nyerere found “nationalism” as the weapon for achievement and well-being of the people and the country in general.¹²

However, the *Ujamaa* ideology did not withstand the wind of change in the world of political and economic systems that happened in Africa especially after the collapse of Communist East Europe. In the 1990s Tanzania changed to “political liberalization and commercialization... [systems which] run parallel to the decline of the state’s power to

⁸ Ndaluka 2012:225.

⁹ Nyerere 1973:263.

¹⁰ Sturmer 1998:186.

¹¹ Omari 1995:25.

¹² Omari 1995: 24-25.

dominate the media, to assign a place for religion in the sphere of private media...”¹³ Consequently, major players in the media sphere emerged championing the cause of private media ownership, for example, the Business Time Limited was formed in 1993 to own newspapers and the Industry Production Promotion (IPP) Limited formed in 1994 which now owns newspapers, radio and television stations (Sturmer 1998). Religious organizations were not left behind in the struggle for the airwaves. They responded to the emerging political economy by launching newspapers, television and radio stations. As of July 2011, there were 75 radio stations in Tanzania, 26 (35%) of these were owned by religious organisations and groups. In 1994 there was only one religious radio station in Tanzania, Radio Tumaini which is owned by the Catholic Archdiocese of Dar-es-Salaam.¹⁴ This is a substantial change compared to the pre-liberalization era when the ideology of *Ujamaa* suffused every sector of Tanzanian politics and policy. About this change and its consequences, Ihejirika observes that “the dismantling of the state monopolies of the broadcast media and the commercialization of airtime and ownership has radically altered the media landscape with significant consequences for religious communication and practice.”¹⁵

The phenomenon opened doors not only to media investments by religious organisations and groups, and therefore to a new form of ownership of media in Tanzania but also took religion to the public. As shall be detailed in the course of this study, the changes made in the way religion is performed and consumed created a forum for the public to discuss and ask questions in the media. The changes in religious communication which were made possible by media technologies have brought about new religious practices, modes of religious consumption as well as innovative forms of religious identity construction and exclusion.

¹³ Meyer and Moors: 2006: 6.

¹⁴ Sturmer 1998: 186-191.

¹⁵ Ihejirika 2009: 21.

To respond to challenges of political liberalisation and commercialisation of the media the Parliament of Tanzania restructured the communication sector. The Parliament passed the Tanzania Broadcasting Service Act in 1993 for the management and regulation of broadcasting activities and other matters related to it.¹⁶ The Act formed the Tanzania Communications Commission (TCC) under Act No.18 which became operational in 1994. Among other responsibilities, the Commission was charged with the regulation of the activities of the postal and telecommunications sub-sectors. Furthermore, the Tanzania Broadcasting Service Act established the Tanzania Broadcasting Commission (TBC) which was responsible for the allocation and monitoring of radio frequencies, issuing of broadcasting licenses (Sturmer 1998). Through this Act “Tanzania was among the first African countries that laid down the legal groundwork for licensing both private radio and television stations.”¹⁷

To accommodate the current challenges of communications technology, in 2003 the Parliament of Tanzania merged the TCC and the TBC and established the Tanzania Communications Regulatory Authority (TCRA) as a statutory body responsible for regulating the communications and broadcasting sectors in Tanzania. In the TCRA there is a department responsible for broadcasting affairs.¹⁸ An important function of the department is to monitor all matters relating to broadcasting services including programs run by various broadcasting stations. Also the department enforces the broadcasting standards and ethics as well as controls unauthorized broadcasting activities and content. Despite these Acts and media regulating bodies, one factor is obvious; there is a point of departure from state-monopolized media to liberal media industry. There has been a proliferation of private radio stations

¹⁶ See: United Republic of Tanzania. The Broadcasting Services Act, 1993, (Act No 6/93). Available at: <http://www.parliament.go.tz/index.php/documents/acts/year/1993/15>. Accessed on 17 July 2013.

¹⁷ Maja-Pearce and Adewale 1995: 298.

¹⁸ See: TCRA: Department: Broadcasting Affairs. Available at: <http://www.tcra.go.tz/index.php/about-tcra/departments/2-tcra/79-department-broadcasting-affairs>. Accessed on 17 July 2013.

including religious radio stations which take religion to public. Advancement in electronic media has profoundly shaped and conditioned the ways through which religion is communicated. This study infers that the use of media technology has breached and bridged boundaries of religious practices particularly on the African continent. This is so particularly with the innovative usage of the media championed by Pentecostal and Charismatic movements. In this line of reasoning perhaps influenced by Pentecostal and charismatic movements the mainstream religions in Tanzania such as Islam and Catholic-Christianity have followed suit. Emissaries within Christianity and Islam claim to use the radio stations in religious activities. This is an added aspect since the introduction of Islam and Christianity in Tanzania.

1.2. Islam and Christianity in Tanzania

Before getting into a deeper discussion of the usage of the media technology (especially radio) by mainstream religions in Tanzania a brief historical account of the advancement of Islam and Christianity in the country demands some attention. A number of scholars document Islam to have come to Tanzania within the first century after the foundation of Islam (Welbourn 1965; Were and Wilson 1970; Sekamwa 1976; Palmer 1987; Pouwels 2000; Mbogoni 2004). According to Pouwels (2000) archaeological excavation confirmed the presence of Islam in East African Coast evidenced by remnants of an ancient mosque and Muslim burial sites dated between 780 and 850 C.E. at Shanga in Lamu. Thus, it is agreed that Islam is the second oldest religion in Tanzania, the oldest being African religions.

Originally (before the advance of media technology), Islam spread through a number of ways. First, through the commercial link between the Far East and the East African Coast, later in the interior of the mainland pioneered by Arab, Persian and Indian migrants (Welbourn 1965; Mbogoni 2004). Second, following political upheavals in Persia and Arabia a number of political refugees of Islamic faith sought asylum on the East African coast. In the

course of integration the new settlers spread their faith to the local population. Third, some preachers arrived from Islamic countries with the express purpose of spreading the faith (Rukya 2007). Fourth, in the process of establishing and consolidating colonial rule in the interior, the German utilized the educated coastal Muslims to replace the hitherto local systems. After assuming tasks such as clerical, tax collection, military and as chiefs the coastal Muslims simultaneously preached Islam (Sperling 2000).

Important to stress is that Islamization in Tanzania can be summed-up into three stages (Levtzion and Pouwels 2000; Ndaluka 2012). The first stage involved the acceptance and adaptation of Islamic culture and practices such as dressing style and the use of Islamic religious concepts. The second stage was the formal conversion to Islam. The final stage included the “recognition and adherence to the principles of Islamic law and acceptance of the five pillars of Islam.”¹⁹ To avoid over-simplification it is important to point out that Muslims in Tanzania cannot be grouped as one cluster. “Available evidences shows that there are two main Muslim denominations in Tanzania, namely Sunni and Shiite. Three quarters of Tanzania’s Muslims are said to be Sunni...The Shiites are a minority group, mainly of Asian origin.”²⁰ There is a Muslim group within Sunni called Ansar as-Sunna. This is a puritanical Islamic movement inspired by al-Wahhab (A.D.1703-92) of Saudi Arabia. Available documents show that “Muhammed ibn Abd al-Wahhab is its founding warrior.”²¹ The Ansar as-Sunna group of Muslims lays emphasis on strict observance of all the precepts as presented by the grand sources of Islam (Chande 2000). It accepts only the authority of Qur’an and Sunnah; it became dominant in Saudi Arabia. Sometimes Ansar as-Sunna group of Muslims state that what they require is the strict implementation of *Shari’a*. However, from their sermons and behavior one can easily deduce their zeal for public and private *Shari’a* implementation (Lodhi&Westerlund 1999).

¹⁹ Ndaluka 2012:5.

²⁰ Lodhi and Westerlund 1999:100.

²¹ Katel 2007: 11.

For the other part, a definitive historical account of the advance of Christianity in Tanzania is less coherent. For a start, the spread of Christianity included a multiplicity of different pious emissaries and missionary groups of different denomination--Catholics and Protestants--and from several European countries. For their part Wijzen and Mfumbusa (2004) locate two periods of the advancement of Christianity in Tanzania. They recount a brief presence of Christianity under Portuguese rule in the early 16th century. In this period the Augustinian missionaries had come along with the renowned Portuguese explorer Vasco Da Gama. However, following the defeat of the Portuguese by the Arabs from Somalia down to Mozambique the Augustinian missionaries fled the country (Sahlberg1987; Ndaluka 2012). Secondly, Wijzen and Mfumbusa (2004) argue that there has been a more profound evangelization since the second half of the 19th century by Protestant and Catholic missionaries from a number of European countries.

Missionaries who evangelized Tanganyika (Tanzania mainland) included the Holy Ghost congregation which established ransoming centers in Bagamoyo and Zanzibar for freeing slaves who were then made Christians to avoid making converts among Muslims (Welbourn 1965; Smith 1993); the Benedictines who evangelized in the southern highlands of Tanzania and Songea (Welbourn 1965), German Moravians and Lutherans who established missionary stations in south-west Tanzania (Welbourn 1965) and the White Fathers in north-west Tanzania, Tabora and in the southern shore of Lake Victoria (Nolan 1978; Kittler 1957). A number of historians document that Christianity in Tanzania was spread through the freeing of slaves and provision of education and health services (Welbourn 1965; Versteijnen 1991; Spears and Kimambo 1999). It can be claimed that the fundamentalist movements and Pentecostal revivalism in the USA in the 20th century have influenced Christianity in Africa and Tanzania as well. The new approach has been given different names, such as crusades, open air evangelistic meetings, gospel rallies and gospel festivals (Chesworth 2007). Rukya (2007) estimates about 150 Christian denominations in Tanzania. The presence of different

groups in the two proselytizing religions poses challenges in the practices of religions and the general relations among followers. This phenomenon sets the ground for a brief account of Muslim-Christians interface in Tanzania.

1.3. Muslim-Christian interface in Tanzania

Throughout history of Tanzania, the relationship between followers of the two religions (Islam and Christianity) has been characterised by mutual suspicions, accusations and religious bigotry (Westerlund 1980; Chande 1998; Ludwig 1999, Njozi 2000; Wijzen and Mfumbusa 2004; Mukandala, et al 2006; Ndaluka 2012). It must be kept in mind that Islam and Christianity are the two major religions in the country (Westerlund 1980). The unavailability of updated statistics notwithstanding, the two religions have the largest numbers of followers. The last population and housing census which identified the religious affiliation of citizens in the country was in 1967. The statistics of the 1967's population and housing census showed that Tanzania had the following: "30% Muslims, 32% Christians, 37% followers of African religion."²² Since 1967 the statistics of religious affiliations have become a contested issue. Christians and Muslims each passionately claim to have the greater numbers. For instance, in 2012 some Muslims refused to participate in the national population and housing census demanding the inclusion of the element of religious affiliation on the questionnaire. As it shall be seen later in this study this was the main reason for the suspension from broadcasting activities of the Muslim owned Radio Imaan. The government of Tanzania through the TCRA suspended Radio Imaan for "persuading" Muslims not to participate in the 2012's housing and population census.

This study argues that the Muslim-Christian interface and tensions (Wijzen, 1997, 2002) have found a new platform and new ways of religious confrontation through the radio technology. What is lacking is an understanding of the way these radio stations frame issues

²² Said 1998:276; Ndaluka 2012:2.

in their broadcasting activities, the way they deal with socio-religious discourses emerging in the “politics of religions” and the meanings which audiences in Tanzania construct from consumption of broadcasting services offered by these radio stations. This is what this study seeks to investigate.

1.4. Religious radio broadcasts in Tanzania

Despite of the neutral position of the government of Tanzania on matters of religion, since 1961 the government-owned radio station incorporates religious programmes in its daily schedule. Both Muslims and Christians start and end the day with religious programmes aired by Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation radio-TBC-*Taifa* and its television arm-TBC1. Till present times Christian programmes are aired on Sundays while Muslim programmes are aired on Fridays. During the Lenten period and the Muslim’s holy month of Ramadan, both TBC-*Taifa* and TBC1 allocate air time specific for these periods (Sturmer 1998).

According to Sturmer (1998) after the nationalization of the TBC in 1965 the government of Tanzania under Julius Nyerere re-defined the roles of the radio station and made it an instrument for national service and development. In pursuance of the policy on broadcasting for national interest, religious programmes (under national service programmes) were given 3.25 hours per week or 2.7% of the total programmes of TBC with the aim of “attracting followers of different confessions in many parts of the country and educating them in their respective beliefs.”²³ Moreover Sturmer reports that just “30 minutes (0.8%) were allocated to religious programmes in the weekly output of the External Service of the national radio”²⁴ a wing which was specifically dedicated to the services of liberation movements in countries of southern Africa.

Furthermore Sturmer (1998) reports that the history of religious broadcasts in colonial time dates back to 1959. The schedule shows the inclusion of religious programmes in the

²³ Sturmer 1998:133.

²⁴ Sturmer 1998: 135.

weekly programme schedule of the TBC three years after its establishment. In the schedule there are recorded religious programmes from Christians and Muslims. Under this system, the holy Quran was given 15 minutes air time on Fridays, from 5:30 pm to 5:45 pm while on Sunday, religious services such as the Mass from 5:30 pm to 6:00 pm. It is remarkable that, although the government and privately-owned media offer air-time for religious programmes, as it has been noted above, this is not deemed sufficient by leaders and adherents of these religions. It is as a result of this perceived insufficiency of government and private media allotted airtime for religious programmes that some religious organizations apart from other reasons, construct their needs to establish their own radio stations for religious purposes (Lyaro 1996).

1.5. Religious radio stations in Tanzania

According to the TCRA, religious media refer to “non-commercial media entities owned and run by religious organizations or groups for religious goals.”²⁵ According to the TCRA religious bodies seeking licenses to invest in media are issued with restrictions which exclude them from taking on commercial advertisements as ways of shoring up their revenue base. Consequently, religious organisations when applying for a broadcast license have to present to the TCRA their sources of income to demonstrate the financial sustainability of the project.²⁶ As noted above, since 1990s there is a proliferation of religious media in Tanzania especially radio stations. In the list, some of the religious radio stations have a country-wide coverage which makes their broadcast signals far outstrip those of the other religious radio stations which only have district or regional coverage. The impact of these frequency modulated (FM) religious radio stations with a district or regional coverage is mostly felt by audiences within

²⁵See: TCRA .Licenses’ regulations. Available at:<http://www.tcra.go.tz/regulation/THE%20COMMUNICATIONS%20LICENSING%20REGULATIONS%202005.pdf>. Accessed on 20 November 2011.

²⁶ Interview with TCRA Officer (2), Dar-es-Salaam, 06 June 2011.

those specific areas where they are located. Such kind of radio stations leaves the majority of Tanzanians in other parts of the country without their broadcasting services.

Table 1. 1. Religious radio stations in Tanzania as of July 2011

SN	Radio station	Location	Religious affiliation
1	Radio Tumaini	Dar-es-Salaam	Catholic
2	Radio Sauti ya Injili	Moshi-Kilimanjaro	Lutheran
3	Radio Kwizera	Ngara-Bukoba	Catholic
4	Radio Faraja	Shinyanga	Catholic
5	Radio Ukweli	Morogoro	Catholic
6	Radio Maria Tanzania	Dar-es-Salaam	Catholic
7	Radio Chemichemi	Sumbawanga-Rukwa	Catholic
8	Radio Mwangaza	Dodoma	Catholic
9	Wapo Radio	Dar-es-Salaam	Pentecostal
10	Radio Imaan	Morogoro	Islam
11	Praise Power Radio	Dar-es-Salaam	Pentecostal
12	Radio Upendo	Dar-es-Salaam	Lutheran
13	Radio Sauti ya Quran	Dar-es-Salaam	Islam
14	Radio Uzima	Dodoma	Anglican
15	Radio Safina	Arusha	Pentecostal
16	Living Water Radio	Mwanza	Pentecostal
17	Qiblatain Radio	Iringa	Islam
18	Radio Habari Njema	Mbulu-Manyara	Lutheran
19	Radio Furaha	Iringa	Lutheran
20	Radio Kheri	Dar-es-Salaam	Islam
21	Top Radio	Morogoro	Pentecostal
22	Radio Huruma	Tanga	Catholic
23	Kwa Neema Radio	Mwanza	Pentecostal
24	Ushindi Radio	Mbeya	Morovian
25	The High Way of Holy Life	Mwanza	Pentecostal
26	Radio Okoa	Morogoro	Pentecostal

Source: TCRA, 2011

The distribution of religious radio stations in Tanzania (Table 1.1) indicates that as of July 2011, Protestants owned 14 radio stations, eight of which belong to different Pentecostal groups, four to the Lutheran Church and one apiece to the Monrovia church and the Anglican communion of Tanzania. The Catholic Church owns eight radio stations. The Muslim communities of Tanzania own four radio stations, three of them owned by the Ansar as-Sunna group and one by the National Muslim Council of Tanzania (BAKWATA). The

Shiite Muslim community of Tanzania is yet to register its presence in the broadcast media ownership league. As shall be discussed later in this study, the ownership of religious radio stations has become an important way in contemporary Tanzania of forging a strong and enviable collective identity by religious bodies as well as source of inter and intra-religious conflicts.

Table 1.2. Distribution of religious radio stations in zones as of July 2011

S/N	Region	Zone	Total
1	Dar-es-Salaam	Eastern	7
2	Morogoro	Eastern	4
3	Tanga	Eastern	1
4	Dodoma	Central	2
6	Arusha	Northern	1
7	Kilimanjaro	Northern	1
8	Manyara	Northern	1
9	Shinyanga	Lake	1
10	Mwanza	Lake	3
11	Kagera	Lake	1
12	Mbeya	Southern Highlands	1
13	Rukwa	Southern Highlands	1
14	Iringa	Southern Highlands	2

Source: TCRA, 2011.

Furthermore, the distribution of religious radio stations in terms of geographical zones (Table 1.2) indicates that the eastern zone has 12 religious radio stations most of them are located in Dar-es-Salaam, the commercial capital of Tanzania, and in Morogoro where the Islamic Foundation based in Tanzania has invested most of its projects including Radio Imaan.²⁷ Five religious radio stations are located in the Southern Highlands while three are established in the Northern zone, five in the Lake zone and one in the Central zone. The Southern and Western zones do not as yet have any religious radio stations sited in the geographical area

²⁷ See: The Islamic Foundation based in Tanzania. Available at: <http://islamicftz.org/about-us>. Accessed on 22 November 2011

although inhabitants of these areas received radio coverage from such country-wide radio stations as Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan.

1.6. Conclusion

This chapter depicts the socio-political, economic, cultural and religious development in Tanzania under *Ujamaa policy* and the changes that occurred under the neo-liberal economy. Historically, the chapter presents the establishment and development of Islam and Christianity in Tanzania and the way the two religions relate to each other as demonstrated by believers in the socio-religious interactions. Moreover, the chapter documents the development in the media industry and the emergence of religious radio stations in Tanzania. Explicitly the chapter shows how religious radio stations are a product of the changes brought about by political liberalization and commercialization. The distribution of religious radio stations operating in Tanzania as of July 2011 is presented. This chapter lays the foundation of the discussions in this study.

Chapter Two

Conceptual Reflections and Debates

2.1. Introduction

There are two central foci to this chapter. The first part explores the major theories which are applied in this research. It can be argued that the media theories applied in this study in one way or another are conceptualised in the scholarly debates explored in this chapter. For instance, one can observe how Kellow & Steeves (1998) have combined Framing, Meaning construction and Social identity models in exploring how *Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* (RTL) was a catalyst in the Rwandan genocide in 1994.

In the second part, the chapter presents scholarly debates in the field of media and religion in the United States of America and Europe. Most of the scholarly works under this group focus on the emergence of religious radio broadcasting in America and Europe with their impact on religion. Moreover the available scholarly works focus on how the media condition the practices of religion among followers of religions, especially Christianity. Scholarly works under this group present the socio-religious challenges faced in the integration of media technology in religions and how the integration marked a new beginning. Also in this part of the chapter, media are explored to demonstrate their dual role in the practice of media. Mitchell (2012) uses a wide range of media such as posters, cartoons, websites, radio and film to explore how media can promote peace and incite violence. He takes cases from Rwanda, Iran and South Africa to demonstrate how media can promote peace and incite conflict.

The post-Arab spring religious broadcasting in the Middle East is another interesting exploration made by scholars to map out the broadcasting boom that emerged thereafter. Contrastingly, scholars document how various television channels re-constructed socio-

religious identities and at the same time amplified the existing line of demarcations between Muslim communities and groups. According to Hroub “central to this process [of religious broadcasting] as is shown in most of the chapters ...is the socio-political and cultural claim of ethical superiority and higher moral ground embedded in the discursive deliveries of these religious broadcasters.”²⁸ To demonstrate this, the edited volume by Hroub consists of chapters which focus on a variety of religious broadcasting that include Islamic-Arabic channels, Christian and Jewish broadcasting.

Back to Africa, the chapter historically explores the scholarly debates on radio broadcasting from the era of colonialism to post-colonial Africa. There is a point of departure from radio broadcasts which served the colonial interests diverting to media serving community interests. Interesting to note is the observation on radio broadcasting that could cause not only division but also catalysed genocide. Furthermore, the setting of Tanzanian radio broadcasting industry has been depicted in this chapter to document kinds of scholarly debates available. Worth noting is the mushrooming of religious radio stations in Tanzania which has not attracted as much attention and research as their proliferation really merits. More relatively are studies which explored community radio stations in relation to their audiences in Tanzania. Moreover, studies on radio broadcasting in this chapter focus on the aspect of audiences.

2.2. Conceptual framework

To arrive at a comprehensible interpretation of the kinds of meanings audiences infer from the consumption of on-air services of Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan, it is imperative that attention is paid to the major conceptual orientations of the same. According to Wood a theory is something that “teaches us how to describe, interpret, understand, evaluate and

²⁸ Hroub 2012:2.

predict a phenomenon.”²⁹ Wood’s thinking depicts a practical value of a theory. Furthermore Wood adds that a theory is “a human account of what something is, how it works, what it produces or causes to happen, and how that something can be changed, if necessary.”³⁰ Therefore it is important to stress that this research does not work under one overarching theoretical model. As it shall be seen in the subsequent sections of this chapter, three models of: Framing (Lippmann 1922, Cohen 1963, McCombs and Shaw 1968); the Meaning construction theory (DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach 1989) and Social identity theory (Tajfel et al, 1971; Spivak 1985; Haslam 2004) are triangulated. It is argued that media frame issues which tend to affect the imagination, thinking and even actions of media users. The effects can be seen in the meanings the audiences construct. The religious radio stations under this study have affiliations to specific religions, in this way Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan are also agents of identity formation and consolidation. Due to this inter-relation the three models have aided in the conceptualization of this study to make up an empirical bricolage (Löfgren, 1987).

2.2.1. Framing model

Framing/Frame is one among the models under the constructivism. In 1974 Erving Goffman applied the term “frame to refer to how people treat what is currently relevant and irrelevant.”³¹ He argues that a [frame is what] “allows its user to locate, perceive, identify and label a seemingly infinite number of concrete occurrences.”³² In this sense, a frame provides a way to understand an event or issue. In the media the basic argument in the framing model is the way representation, treatment and production of issues is done. According to Fourie “...framing describes the influence on the public of journalistic bias, the interpretative and ideological frameworks from which journalists report an issue and the contextualisation of

²⁹Wood 2000: 2-5.

³⁰Wood 2000: 33.

³¹ Silverman 2006:402.

³² Goffman1974:21.

news reports within a specific (ideological) framework.”³³ For Entman framing means “to select some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.”³⁴ Under this situation the selected angle of a reality becomes a frame. Fourie calls such treatment as an “ideologically coloured [which] in reporting is known as advocacy”³⁵ through which a frame is constituted. Under this advocacy:

The media may decide to report about a person, a topic, group or institution in a certain way. They may only focus on the negative (or positive) attributes of a politician, a financial group, a gang or proposed law. The results are that the public, being exposed to the negative (or positive) aspects perceive a person, a group, an institution or an issue mainly in a negative (or positive) way.³⁶

For their part, Gamson and Modigliani consider frames to be “interpretative packages that give meaning to an issue. At the core of this package is a central organizing idea, or frame for making sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issue.”³⁷ By framing events and issues in particular ways media shape public opinion. Based on these scholarly contributions, in this study framing will be used as the main tool to conceptualize the setting and production of issues in four programmes (two from each) of Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan, in the *matamko* (Kiswahili: official statement) as well as in prevailing socio-religious discourse in Tanzania. The main assertion is that framing of issues in programmes of Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan, dealing with the prevailing socio-religious discourse, as well as airing the contents of *matamko* from religious leaders and groups have an impact on audiences’ meaning construction and the national cohesion. In this way, the model will be used in two dimensions: on the one hand, the way the RMT and RI frame issues, while on the

³³ Fourie 2007: 245.

³⁴ Entman 1993:52.

³⁵ Fourie 2007:245.

³⁶ Fourie 2007:245.

³⁷ Gamson and Modigliani 1989:3.

other hand concentrating on the framing effects from the audiences' perspective (Vreese 2005).

2.2.2. The Meaning construction model

The Meaning Construction model argues that people through interaction and consumption of media in their daily life shape their thoughts and actions (DeFleur& Ball-Rokeach 1989; Fourie 2001). According to Sánchez “[a]s individuals we are all influenced, our opinions shaped, reinforced and altered by our exposure to the media.”³⁸ Fourie (2004) presents various stages in the process of construction of meanings. According to Fourie, in the first stage, the media produce messages which an audience receives, interprets and consumes. The consumed message either consolidates what the person believes or shapes the person with a new meaning based on his/her personal interpretation and needs. In this stage the construction of meanings takes place. At the last stage, the constructed meaning is strengthened, adopted and eventually guides audiences in shaping their thoughts and actions. This approach as Hoover describes “...think in terms of what the audiences, individuals, or communities did with the media they consumed than what the media did to those audiences, individuals and communities.”³⁹ In this sense the theory sees “how the various media messages that are accessible to individuals in the private spheres are received, understood and potentially used in the other spheres of social and cultural life.”⁴⁰

According to Hospers in a single phenomenon, there are multiple meanings; “meaning as definition; meaning as intention, meaning as implication; meaning as purpose, meaning as import for the future...”⁴¹ However, for the purpose of this study, I will be specifically looking at meanings constructed by audiences resulting from the broadcasting activities of Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan which have implications for national cohesion.

³⁸ Sánchez 2002: 13.

³⁹ Hoover 2006:32.

⁴⁰ Hoover 2006:36.

⁴¹ Hospers 1997:3-4.

2.2.3. The Social identity model

Central to the establishment of the Social Identity Theory was “an attempt to understand the psychological basis of intergroup discrimination. The theory aimed at answering the question, “why do group members malign other groups and what makes people so often believe that their own group is better than others?”⁴² To answer this question, various studies were conducted by scholars such as Tajfel and his colleagues (1971) who conducted what they called minimal group studies and found that in-group favouritism against out-group is one among the reasons behind the phenomenon of a group believing it is better than others (Haslam, 2004). The findings of Tajfel and his colleagues were applied as a model by various scholars in different disciplines to establish the reasons for the social-categorization of in-groups and out-groups. For instance, Brown’s (1978) came to establish that wage differentials between various categories of employee created levels and grades which adversely formed in-groups and out-groups among employees in the same organisation.

In 1985 Spivak developed the theory of ‘Othering’ as a process of social identity building to study power relations between the rulers (colonialists) and their subjects in colonies. She used the dichotomy to analyse the dimensions of “Othering” present in archive material of British colonial power in India. Spivak came to conceptualize ‘Othering’ as a process of building social identity that draws a line of demarcation within social groups based on classes, race and gender (Jensen 2011). Borrowing from the ideas of Spivak (1985), it can be argued that ‘Othering’ establishes borders between one group and others. And the creation of borders between groups does not occur accidentally but is intended and fuelled by established social laws, doctrines, principles and practices. The process of creating identities marks boundaries between social groups which may also extend within the same social group to create functional borders and groups based on educational qualifications, gender or social

⁴² Haslam 2004:18; Müller 2011.

status. For instance, Christianity can be used in a community as a religious domain to exclude those who are not Christians. Moreover, denominations within Christianity also create borders between and among themselves. Catholics and Protestants generate different types of “Christian identities” which often may be conceived as exclusionary.

Tajfel and Turner (1986) likewise Hinkle and Schopler (1986) based on the Social Identity theory viewed ‘Othering’ in terms of a social consensus whereby social groups require a consensus on the group’s identity among their members. Under this state of affairs Müller (2011) documents how “Othering” contributes to an individual’s social identity and its significance to a person’s self-concept. Accordingly, once a social identity is formed, it lays down the foundation of membership, and it gives a social recognition and right to belong to a specific social group which will exclude other groups. “Othering” under this sense creates insiders and outsiders, a group of those who can benefit and those excluded. It creates favouritism, bias and sometimes a sense of ignoring outsiders. In the words of Lister ‘othering’ is a “process of differentiation and demarcation, by which the line is drawn between ‘us’ and ‘them’, between the more and less powerful and through which social distance is established and maintained.”⁴³ According to Ndogo “Othering” in religion is “something which one cannot skip because it is a means of attaching importance to faith related issues as it creates a boundary which an intending devotee has to cross. And this is what makes someone to identify with a certain religion or religious group. It is one among strategies which are used to consolidate religious identity.”⁴⁴

Coleman (1991) establishes a two level model to bridge the individual and social levels of “Othering”. For Coleman “Othering” is a mediated process. Basing on this Müller (2011) maps five steps in viewing “Othering” as a mediated process in a two-level model:

First, the content of mass media contains in-group/out- group biases of larger social groups. Second, this content is received by individuals who consider themselves

⁴³ Lister 2004:101.

⁴⁴ A remark made by Samuel Ndogo in informal discussion. Bayreuth, 10 April 2013.

members of positively (or negatively) portrayed social groups Third, the reception of the biased media content activates or newly establishes a cognitive scheme of the own group's superiority (or threat) Fourth, the perception of superiority (or threat) of the own social group enhances the individual's satisfaction with his/her group membership Lastly, this leads to high group identification on the micro- level which cumulates in a high stability of social groups on the macro-level and, thus, in a high stability of the social structure at large.⁴⁵

“Othering” (likewise other aspects in Social Identity theory) is a normal phenomenon in day-to-day social and religious activities. For example, Tantawi maintains that “there is no social advancement, no civilization without identity.”⁴⁶ Due to this, national ethnic or religious identities are exclusive and differences unbridgeable (Huntington 1996). ‘Othering’ benefits members of a social group in different ways. For instance, it can add commitment and genuineness on the part of the insiders. However, othering can, inversely create a situation which may result in social-classes, social-clashes and the clash of ideology and identity within a society. Under such inverse phenomenon, each group will try to be strong and suppress others, especially when there are majority/minority social dichotomies. Various means are employed to facilitate and consolidate identities. For example, a radio station can be used to create group identities for owners and their diverse or different audiences through programmes. In the case of religious radio stations, the programming of these broadcasts reinforces old religious self-understanding and perception and generates new ones. While the stations may educate their listeners on what it means to be a good Catholic or Muslim, they also disseminate the idea that a good Muslim is not a Catholic and vice versa. In this study this model conceptualizes the broadcasting activities of Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan from the audiences’ perspectives to map the new faces in the identity discourse and how they affect national cohesion in Tanzania.

⁴⁵ See: Phillip Müller (2011): Othering as a Mediated Process. Theoretical Modelling and Examples from International Communication. Kurzvortrag und Posterpräsentation auf dem 1. Sozialwissenschaftlichen Forum Wien am 2. Dezember 2011 in Wien. Available at: http://www.ifkw.uni-muenchen.de/personen/mitarbeiter/mueller_philipp/poster_wien.pdf. Accessed on 12 April 2013.

⁴⁶ Tantawi, 2012:121.

2.3. Religion in the media: A world view

Since the second half of the 20th century, there has been a rapid increase in the use of electronic media by religious organisations as well as the integration of religion in media (Hoover 2006). For instance, in the United States of America (USA), in the mid-1970s both publicly-owned and religiously-owned media have created on-air spaces for religious broadcasts to the extent that “[religion] achieved a high-profile presence on the airwaves and public discourse.”⁴⁷ According to Hoover, the emergence of religious radio broadcasts in the USA has changed the scenario and made religion an agenda in public discourses. On the other hand, the emergence of religious radio broadcasts was also a point of departure from televangelism in the USA due to “series of high profile scandals in the late 1980s leading several important TV preachers to leave the air and led to a general decline in public attention...”⁴⁸ Before these scandals some TV preachers captured the public’s imagination and became favourites, but scandals caused viewers to shift their attention from TV to radio broadcasts.

The shift from televangelism to religious radio broadcasts gave way to a sound religious radio broadcasting market and development in the USA. Hoover documents that “the period from mid-1970s to 1980s..., over 800 stations each reporting that at least part of their day is formatted Christians or ‘religious’ or another 650 calling themselves ‘Gospels’ and thirty-four even self-designating as ‘New Age’.”⁴⁹ This account shows the increase and expansion of religious radio broadcasts in the religious market place whereby radio stations with their religious programmes attracted audiences’ attention and tastes. As we have noted above, in various ways the inclusion of religion in media in the USA has added value and widened the accessibility horizon of religions to audiences.

⁴⁷ Hoover 2006:60, 234.

⁴⁸ Hoover 2006:60.

⁴⁹ Hoover 2006:60.

Africa was not left behind with the use of radio technology in religion. In contemporary Africa, the use of media in religion reflects the present missionary and *da'wah* strategies of spreading religion. In some sense it constitutes the “new scramble for Africa” in which emissaries within Christianity and Islam use media to scramble for followers and the establishment of religious hegemony between two intensely proselytizing religions of the Book (Mazrui 1993; Chesworth 2007). The use of media technology especially radio in religious activities is new when contrasted with earlier methods of evangelization. Formerly, methods such as public religious rallies, social interaction and inter-marriages, provision of education and health services were used differently in Christian evangelization and in Muslim *da'wah* (Welbourn 1965; Versteijnen 1991; Spears and Kimambo 1999). In Africa, since the second half of the 21st century it is claimed that the media (particularly radio) has become the principal channel in Christian evangelism and Muslim *da'wah* directed towards bringing about growth in the number of followers, strengthening of the followers, the assertion of social visibility and competition for social and economic resources among other purposes.

Unlike in Europe and the USA where television is a preferred medium, in Africa radio, being cheaper, affordable and mobile, is a reliable medium for news, entertainment as well as education. The capability of a radio to reach a wide population, both literate and illiterate has value compared to other media such as television and the internet. According to media consumption survey's results conducted by English (2008)⁵⁰ in 23 countries of sub-Saharan Africa, radio is the most important medium to 59% of the population. It means that, the emergence of religious radio broadcasting in Africa is consistent with the radio culture of the people in Africa. Similarly, a report by the Media Council of Tanzania (MCT) in 2010

⁵⁰See: Cynthia English (2008) Radio the Chief medium for news in Sub-Saharan Africa. Available at:<http://www.gallup.com/poll/108235/Radio-Chief-Medium-News-SubSaharan-Africa.aspx>. Accessed on 29 September 2010.

indicates that 66% of Tanzanians rely on radio for their main source of news.⁵¹ These studies increasingly point to the pivotal role which radio as a medium of social communication and mobilization continues to play in the lives of many Africans as communities as well as individuals. Even in the era of the internet and global television, “the effect of radio media is unexhausted and never replaced but enhanced it and its services.”⁵² As a consequence the use of media by religious organizations for religious activities has become an important cultural domain and has stimulated scholarships in the field of religion and media. For instance, White (2009) records that “...there are from ten to fifteen books dealing with some aspect of media and religion published every year and a number of major academic publishers... have established book series in this field.”⁵³ White’s estimate deals only with books published in English leaving aside those published in other languages. Additionally, he mentions the presence of numerous critical essays published in respectable journals, dictionaries of religions, and encyclopaedias each year on the broad theme of religion and media. According to him, there are many conferences, research institutions, university faculties which are devoted to media and religion studies. Increasingly therefore “[t]he complex relationship between media and religion and the even more complex process of mediation are receiving more scholarly attention in different parts of the world.”⁵⁴

On the same line of thinking, Hoover (2006) presents the evolution of research on media and religion which took place in the USA in the 19th century. The two scholars observe the changes which occurred on research in the field of media and religion in two different perspectives. White observes the change in the focus of research from 1960s whereby it changed from focusing on the institutional sites of ritual to the current personalistic constructions of meaning and identity (White 2009). On his part, Hoover(2006) goes further

⁵¹See: Tambwe Masembe “Radio is the main source of news-survey” in *The Daily News*, Tanzania. 17 December 2009.

⁵² Myers 2008:47.

⁵³ White 2009:169.

⁵⁴ White 2009:169.

to observe the scholarship on media and religion as evolving from treating media as a medium with capabilities of conveying religious messages to effects-oriented; from media effects to meaning making; from success of various religious broadcasts to the emergence of televangelism. The observations and views of White and Hoover presented above, point to an increased research focusing on the field of media and religion which is justified by the presence of several scholarly studies on the field of religion and media.

2.4. Studies on audiences and religious media

Most scholarly studies we have in the field of media and religion are from media-saturated USA and Europe where audiences are exposed to different kinds of religious experience. For instance, White (2009) presents an international survey on scholars who have explored widely on different aspects in media and religion. He mentions Gunter, Svenning, Haldane and Spiers as among scholars who have provided fine materials on audiences of religious programmes and methodologies of surveys of religious television in the USA and Europe between the 1980s and 1990s. Apart from the list of White, there are scholars who currently work in the field of religion, media and culture (Lynch, Mitchell and Strhan 2012) and on media, religion and conflict (Marsden and Savigny 2009; Mitchell 2012). Worthy of mention is Hoover who worked extensively with noticeable contributions in the scholarship of media and religion focused mostly on the USA. One among his most celebrated scholarly contribution is *Religion in the Media Age* published in 2006. In this scholarly work, Hoover tries to answer two major questions geared to understanding the interactions between media and religion in the daily life of people. The questions are: “Where is the significance [of the interaction between media and religion] to be found? And what is the outcome from that interaction?”⁵⁵ The two questions are the focal-points of the whole materials documented in the book we are exploring. To achieve his goals, he uses a qualitative-interpretive approach

⁵⁵ Hoover, 2006:14.

with in-depth and semi-structured interviews to study 144 household members sampled from born-again and mainstream believers, metaphysical believers, dogmatists and secularists (Hoover 2006). Also there were individual interviews and weekly in-depth discussions with colleagues regarding the interview transcripts.

Methodologically, Hoover's "Religion in the Media Age" is a continuation of his previous study on "Media, Home and Family" published in 2004. He uses the empirical data collected from the groups of families in USA mentioned above to assess families' negotiation with media in the domestic spheres as far as the lived-religion is concerned. Against this background, the analysis of the data enabled him to identify "domestic sphere of the household"⁵⁶ as places where the significance of the interaction between religion and media has to be found.

From the domestic spheres Hoover (2004) maps-out different outcomes gained from this interaction. The variety of outcomes on the lived religion and spirituality are the inspiration gained, the emotional force experienced, the changes in thinking and behaviour, the gained knowledge about others, the formed identity and gained power to decide on what to accommodate and what to reject on the media consumption. Furthermore, as outcome, media play a parenting role in conveying values parents wish to maintain as normative in their homes. Also families are using media as valuable and positive occasions for family togetherness and interaction. In this way, media play not only as schools of values for families but also they provide the "curriculum for values and ethical norms."⁵⁷

In order to cement his main agenda of looking at the interactions between media and religion in the life of the people in USA, Hoover presents the changes in media and religious practices occurring in USA by locating what he calls "information superhighway"⁵⁸ and its impact on the lived life and religion of Americans. According to him, the information

⁵⁶ Hoover 2006:5, 290.

⁵⁷ Hoover 2006:227.

⁵⁸ Hoover 2006:48

superhighway added to the pervasiveness of media which excludes all possibilities of escaping from media culture and influences once media are accessible. He looks at the information superhighway and the pervasiveness of media as two aspects which challenge the practices of religion in America and they are causes for changes in lived life and religion life of the Americans.

Furthermore Hoover (2006) documents how families in the USA use media as inputs in making their religious and spiritual meanings. He accounts for different tastes of media in households, reports on how ranges of religious traditions and background assist in choosing media resources. He acknowledges the individual's ability to determine what is appropriate from media which can become a channel for growth in his/her lived religious life and spirituality. This is a point of departure from the traditional views of looking at religion and media as institutions outside the individual realms of spiritual and intellectual activity to media and religion as embodied domains in the daily lived lives. Under this situation, human beings are not objects but reasoning creatures with ability to make decisions on their fate.

It can be argued that this scholarly work of Hoover also lays a foundation for studies on the two domains: religion and media in the cultural life of people. Studies on religion and media are needed not only in USA but elsewhere in the world, especially in Africa where there is extensive investment in the media by religious organisations as vital tools for spreading religion in the new scramble of Africa as we have noted above. The project of using media for evangelisation and *da'wah* will be successful if research on the interaction of religion and media will be conducted on African perspectives. This is because, unlike in Europe and America, in Africa the two proselytizing religions, Christianity and Islam, are second religions to African traditional religions in many societies.

It is worth noting that in *Religion in the Media Age* Hoover does not attempt to make a comparative study between media and religion so as to show which one is more important than the other, but rather, in a way he shows how media make religion

and religious institution to be in the public and religious spheres. He notes that “...media have come to define the terms through which religious and spiritual interests and ideas are formed, shaped, and conveyed.... For religious institutions, to exist today is to exist in the media, and they have continued to struggle with this reality”⁵⁹ The message is simple, media are serving religion and “it is through the media that much of contemporary religion and spirituality is known.”⁶⁰

All in all, Hoover’s project focuses on television and the internet, with cases taken from audiences with Christian, Buddhism, Hindu and Mormon religious backgrounds. Also the locus is USA where the level of media literacy is high, media are well developed and audiences have religious experience with different tastes. Hoover concentrates specifically on the significance of the media age (not necessarily religious media or radio stations) on religious and spiritual meaning-making in USA. In addition the study is not designed to include other empirical evidence and experiences from Muslims within and even outside America. Instead it localizes audiences by taking cases from Denver metropolitan area and in other places like upper Midwest, the Northeast, and southern California involving families related to one another (Hoover 2006).

Another study of similar approach is that of Campbell (2010) which explores religious communities of Jewish, Muslim and Christian to record their engagement with new media especially internet and cell-phones. In her study, Campbell tries to answer this question: what happens when religious communities meet media technology? Instead of taking the media-oriented approach to look at how the media shape the religious communities, Campbell inversely shows how various religious individuals and communities react to new media technology and shape it to fit their individual or community life. This takes her to the development of the theoretical concept of religious-social shaping of technology to examine

⁵⁹ Hoover 2006:284.

⁶⁰ Hoover 2006:1.

the negotiation that happens when a new form of media technology emerges and introduced to a particular religious community. According to Campbell, the theoretical concept of religious-social shaping of technology enables a religious community to decide which aspects of new technology to accept, reject or reconstruct in order to make it compatible with community's beliefs and ways of life. In this sense, it is how community shapes technology and not vice-versa.

Campbell uses cases from three groups of communities which apply similar traditions as criteria in their negotiation with new media technology. The three communities consider issues within their core beliefs and practices, their traditional interaction with sacred texts and their understanding of religious authority. These three new elements are used in deciding whether to accept, reject or reconstruct media technology by these religious communities. They are also the criteria used to counteract any media revolution which may wash away the community or cause controversies in society as we will further see in the study by Schulz. Campbell's exploration on the engagement of religious communities with new media technology leads her to conclude that "[r]eligious people are not anti-technology rather; they are constrained by a number of social and faith-based factors which inform and guide their responses to the possibilities and challenges offered by new form of media."⁶¹ This way enables religious communities to shape the new technology rather than allowing the new technology to shape communities. Nevertheless, the study deals only with acceptance or rejection of new media, specifically internet and kosher cell phones by religious communities and not on religious radios or even not on the meanings these communities make from the use of those media. The study deals with what will happen to the socio-religious life in religious communities if new media technology will be left to invade them without taking precautions.

From a similar perspective but with different case studies, Larsson (2011) explores historically, the debates on the introduction and use of media in Islam. He discusses different

⁶¹ Campbell 2010:6.

*fatwas*⁶² from well-known Muslim scholars “*ulama*”⁶³ from different schools of thought the arguments and consensus achieved in some contested issues. He draws a historical map of media from print, broadcasting, photography, and film and recently internet and cell phones to understand how Muslims relate to and come to terms with technological and social changes. Larsson looks for answers on the nature of arguments of the *ulama* when it comes to new media and to what extent those arguments have influenced the current decisions to accept or reject certain kind of media. He also looks at what is to be taken into consideration when looking for a solution aiming at integrating new media into Islam. The debates on the use of the new information and communication technologies in most cases are related to the questions of power and authority as far as who is responsible for defining true and authentic religion when one is confronted with new media without proper religious education. The challenge is how religious teachings and authority will be maintained under the function of media without watering down their power. In short, this is a collection of different opinions or *fatwas* from *ulama* on the uses of new media in Islam. The different opinions are applied by Muslims as references when there is an issue to decide on new media technologies. For instance, what should be observed on the use of telephone in services of Islam such as granting divorces and witness?

In all cases, according to Larsson, Islam and Muslims should stand for the true teachings so as to mould the new media technologies and not the other way round. Nevertheless, Larsson focuses on the dangers of new media technologies to Islam and the reactions of Muslims on the new media technologies. The reactions to this phenomenon enabled different *fatwas* to be given as guidelines to Muslims in their encounter with the new media technologies. The study however, does not deal with meanings Muslims construct in

⁶² *Fatwa* (Arabic/Kiswahili means a legal opinion in Islam.

⁶³ *Ulama* (Arabic/Kiswahili) a body of Islamic scholars who have jurisdiction over legal and social matters for Muslims.

their daily lives from the use of these new media technologies but rather it cautions the ways these media must be treated and used by Muslims to moderate their influences.

Schulz (2012) documents that women's public mediation in the new media technologies in Mali. According to Schulz, the women's public mediation on religious matters using new media creates controversies on the authenticity of women to give public religious speeches and the authority of the content of their preachings in media. In Islam there is a *fatwa* which maintains that women have seductive voices therefore they should not be allowed to preach in public, let alone preaching religion. Sometimes, those who are holding this *fatwa* use some verses in *Surat An-Nisā'* as reference to this *fatwa*. Schulz in her study, explores the changes brought by sound reproduction technologies which altered what were "previously considered authoritative, standardized, and gender-specific forms of religious leadership and how these changes affect in turn the (gender) subjects of media practice"⁶⁴ The role of Muslim women groups, radio *hadjas*⁶⁵ and female program presenters (in French known as *animatrice*) have being used by Schulz to present the changes and new ways of defining religious authority brought by Muslim women in Mali. This is a new development in political Islam which calls for new *fatwas* if necessary to fill the *lacuna iuris* in dealing with new media technologies. A provision of a *fatwa* will prevent harming the authentic teachings and authority in Islam which is based on the Quran and the *hadith* of the Prophet.

In short, Schulz in her scholarly work poses challenges on the uses of sound reproduction technologies which give voice and forum to Muslim women who make use of these new media technologies in Islam and in the public sphere. As it has been noted above the position of Muslim women on the public use of media technology like radio is still a debatable issue with no consensus. Muslim scholars are divided on a criterion to be used as standard on the integration of women in media. For instance in Tanzania, some Muslim-

⁶⁴ Schulz 2012:24.

⁶⁵ *Hadjas* (Arabic) means a Muslim woman who has made pilgrimage to Mecca.

owned radio stations such as Radio Imaan do not allow women to present programmes or to call-in.

It is generally accepted that religion as well as religious radio stations are divisive in their services. On this line of thinking, Ali (2012) presents how religious broadcasting in Iraq was behind the sectarian divisions. In his study, Ali introduces the decision made by the Iraqi Prime Minister, Nouri Al-Maliki, “to stop broadcasting the Shiite version of the *Azzan-al Zuhur* (the midday prayer call)... as a means of healing division. The decision justified an initiative of national reconciliation”⁶⁶ According to Ali, the decision reflected the post-war situation in Iraq. “...the post-war Iraq of 2003, religion had become a divisive factor, whether in the media or elsewhere. The population, which is overwhelmingly Muslim, is divided into Shi’a and Sunni. While sectarian violence is something new to modern Iraq, sectarianism is not.”⁶⁷ The divisive role of religious broadcasting in Iraq extended also to the practices of religion. Controversies (on dates and times of worship likewise the start of the holy month of Ramadan) between the Shiites and Sunni Muslims were accelerated by religious broadcasting because people were observing them as they were presented in the media. According to Ali, the controversies as well as the decision of the Prime Minister of Iraq to stop the Shiite version of the *azzan* “reflect a deeper political and religious divide...”⁶⁸ phenomenon which has surrounded Muslim communities in Iraq and the need to heal the situation.

As it has been introduced above, Mitchell (2012) explores how popular media can both promote peace and incite violence. Mitchell’s exploration records a significant part in the study of religion and media. He uses different forms of media as case-studies to justify his approach of looking at the potentiality of media and religion in the creation of peaceful and violent environments in societies. Mitchell borrows examples from the icons scattered in Iran which were meant to commemorate the Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988) as celebrating martyrdom.

⁶⁶ Ali 2012:155.

⁶⁷ Ali 2012:155.

⁶⁸ Ali 2012:155.

Likewise he uses images decorating churches and museums in Europe which visualise holiness and *Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* (RTL) to conceptualize how this specific radio station cultivated the Rwandan genocide. From studies of Mitchell one can grasp how religion and media play a role of promoting violence. Commemorating a controversial event or violence through media or keeping icons in museums can incite further violence especially from the victims' side.

In the second part of the book, Mitchell presents how media were used to promote peace in the post-genocide Rwanda, post-apartheid South Africa and post-Iraq-Iran war. The use of films, documentaries and posters promoted the culture of reconciliation in post-genocide Rwanda. In a similar way in the post-apartheid South Africa, media were used as means of searching for the truth and bringing about reconciliation. In post-apartheid South Africa posters, music, film and other media channels had contents which paved the way to searching for truth and reconciliation. Mitchell wants to tell us the role of media and religious representations in inciting violence and promoting peace. Media and religion can cause violence as well as can be used to restore peace.

2.5. Radio broadcasting in Africa

The effectiveness of the broadcasting medium to reach great distances and to reach illiterates in colonial Africa has been documented and appreciated by Sturmer (1998). According to Sturmer the development and use of broadcasting media in colonial Africa could not be possible without the efforts made by two European institutions. The two institutions were the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and the *Société de Radiodiffusion de la France d'Outre-Mer* (SORAFOM). One among the first results of these two institutions was the establishment of the first radio station in Algeria, *Radiodiffusion Algérienne* in 1925. From there, the establishment of radio stations by the two institutions in colonial Africa to serve the interests of colonial masters was projected in both British and French colonies.

Although radio was firstly established in Algeria in 1925⁶⁹ nevertheless Head observes that “[t]he study of broadcasting in Africa has been neglected”⁷⁰ and he uses this phenomenon to express the reasons we have few studies on broadcasting media in Africa and the injustice we make to this dependable medium in Africa. Most studies on the broadcasting sector in Africa focus on community radio stations. This may be the area of interest to most scholars who view community radio stations as fitting in Africa for democracy, religious and socio-economic development.

The above observation by Head, introduces his edited collection, ‘Broadcasting in Africa’ (1974) which contains survey reports conducted on post-colonial broadcasting industry in the entire continent of Africa at the time when most of the African countries became politically independent. The reports are on the broadcasting industry and its contribution to the development of Africa. Given the fact of difficulties in accessing information caused by poor infrastructural systems during that time, this scholarly collection paved the way for studies on broadcasting media in Africa. The collections preserve valuable historical information on the development and types of broadcasting radios which were available by then. They also document the roles and problems faced by the broadcasting media industry rooted especially in colonial legacy in the post-colonial Africa. Moreover, the documents present the key developments and successes made from the use of radio technology. Finally, the reports pose challenges for future studies in the field of broadcasting. The challenge for studies in broadcasting media is still under-implemented as far as the present situation of studies on broadcasting media in Africa is concerned. Several studies we have on community radio stations in Africa are salient sources and references of knowledge on broadcasting media industry in Africa.

⁶⁹ This is contrary to Alumuku (2006:64) who documents that the first radio was established in Egypt in 1920, followed by South Africa in 1924 and by Kenya in 1928. 1920s is the period taken by Alumuku and Sturmer to document the emergence of radio in Africa.

⁷⁰ Head 1974:3

Head (1974) documents that religious broadcasting was used as a tool in missionary activities to spread and promote Christianity and Islam in Africa. In his study, Head traces back to 1960s when a powerful radio in Egypt was used to spread Islam. In order to counteract Muslim's 'missionary' activities in Africa, Christian missionaries who were prevented from public evangelization in Muslim areas, established radio stations to facilitate evangelisation of Muslims because radio transmission could penetrate into adjacent territories and be received by interested Muslims. Due to its importance, Head adds radio to the methods used in the spread Christianity in Africa.

In another development, Robertson (1974) identifies two types of Christian broadcasting found in colonial and post-colonial Africa namely Christian Broadcasting in Africa and Christian Broadcasting to Africa. According to Robertson, two international religious organizations involved: the Switzerland based Roman Catholic Association *Catholique Internationale pour la Radiodiffusion et la Television* which had 30 members in African states and territories, and the London based World Association for Christian Communication (WACC). The WACC was formed in 1968 as ecumenical broadcasting association with 30 individual members in 12 African states and with Africa-based corporate members such as the All Africa Conference of Churches, based in Kenya, Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation and TELE-STAR in the then Zaire. Christian broadcasting in Africa and to Africa was done through Christian programmes channelled in government broadcasting services, church initiated production centres and in independent broadcasting stations. Also in feeder studios supported and controlled by religious bodies local and international which served also several neighbouring countries.

Furthermore, Robertson (1974) documents that under the project, *Radio Corporation Radiodiffusion de l'Afrique Centrale* (CORDAC) was established in 1963 in Burundi, Eternal Love Wining Africa (ELWA) established in 1954 in Liberia and Radio Voice of the Gospel (RVOG) started in Ethiopia as major church-related radio stations based in Africa. Also there

were two major church related radio stations outside Africa operating through feeder stations in Africa. These were the Vatican State Radio established by the Vatican in 1931, with services in African countries in different languages and in major international languages and the Trans World Radio started 1954 in the then International Zone of Tangier, Morocco, and finally shifted and merged with Radio Monte Carlo in Monaco in 1971.

On the other hand Aske (1974) explores the program philosophy of religious broadcasting to see how these international religious radio stations outside Africa related to the local radio stations in Africa. The focus is on how the international radio stations consider and identify the needs of the local people to avoid international dominancy and imposition. He also analyses the relationship which existed between religious radio stations and African governments. Aske found that in some cases, governments predetermined programmes' formats and controlled them to avoid touching issues on development, education and national building which might collide with the interests of the governments. However, all these studies focus on aspects of historical development and functions of radio stations and religious radio stations but not from the audiences' perspectives to see their impact on the daily lives of the audiences and even the meanings the audiences construct from the consumption of programmes of these radio stations.

Another study is that of Myers (2008) which covers the report on the radio broadcasting industry in Africa. Unlike Head's edited collection, Myers in this scholarly report presents in a detailed and systematic way, supported with empirical data the present situation of the radio broadcast industry in Africa. She assesses the capacity of radio broadcasting in promoting development in Africa, presents the future prospects for radio broadcasting and development in Africa and poses research issues and priorities for future studies. Myers presents what have been achieved so far as successes from radio broadcasting and also the challenges the radio broadcasting industry faces in bringing further development in Africa. In the report of Myers, radio as a medium apart from the technological

convergences from internet and other new media stands to be the reliable medium in Africa whereby the technological developments and opportunities are enhancements, and not suppressants or replacements. This report has great command and relevance for reference as far as radio broadcasting industry in Africa is concerned, however, it does not deal with the contribution made by the rapidly increasing and influential religious radio broadcasting in Africa as an isolated case. In the report, religious radio stations are mentioned as new forms of radio ownership emerging in Africa. Kasoma (2001) studies community radio stations with particular focus on their management and organisation with practical insights from Zambia. In his study, Kasoma explores the colonial and post-colonial development of radio broadcasting in Zambia, types of radio stations found and the need for community radio stations as alternative media in Zambia. He considers community radio stations as solution to the up-bottom radio production and consumption patterns of the government owned radio stations. Kasoma establishes the bottom-up production pattern among the reasons which necessitated the need for community radio stations in Zambia. Apart from that, he establishes the viability of community radio stations as an answer to the local needs of the communities in terms of contents and language.

According to Kasoma, religious radio stations differ from other community radio stations. Community radio stations involve communities in the management and setting up of the radio stations but the situation is not the same with radio stations owned by religious organisations. Religious radio stations deny the community a participatory role at the level of management and decision-making for the running of the radio station. This is contrary to the management and operation of a community radio station which Kasoma advocates.

Furthermore, Kasoma recommends his study as a necessary reference for those who want to launch and manage a community radio station. This study unveils procedures to start and to successfully manage and run a community radio station. All in all, the study does not focus on the meanings communities can make from the consumption of these community

radio stations. According to Kasoma religious radio stations are considered as church related radio stations which are also part and parcel of community radio stations available in Zambia. The study is an advocacy of a claim that community radio stations in Africa are viable options for development and alternative to government and commercial media.

Similar in the content, is the study of Alumuku (2006) which draws various experiences on the development of community radio stations from America, Europe, Asia and Africa to assess roles of these participatory radio stations in bringing about changes within communities in areas where they operate. Alumuku apart from documenting the evolution and impact of radio broadcasting in Africa explores in detail the aspects of a community radio station and what is expected from a community radio station. In his scholarly work he uses eight community radio stations: three in Ghana, two in Zambia (both Catholic radio stations) and three in South Africa as case-studies to determine strategies of community radio stations in Africa and to analyse the administration of these radio stations as models of the future of radio broadcasting industry in Africa. Compared to other studies reviewed in this chapter, Alumuku treats religious radio broadcasting in a more detailed way. Although religious radio stations lack some aspects of a community radio station such as community ownership and community participation in decision-making Alumuku puts them under the genre of community radio stations.

Furthermore Alumuku describes Catholic Radio Sutatenza which was established in Colombia in 1947 as a nucleus and model of community radio stations spread all over the world. Also he unveils decisions of three conferences of Catholic bishops behind the involvement of the Catholic Church in Africa in the investments and use of media especially radio in evangelization. First it is a fulfilment of the decisions which were reached in the Pan-African meetings of Episcopal commissions on Social Communications held in Ibadan in 1973. The same decisions on the investment and use of radio in evangelization were reached in the Secretariat of Episcopal Conferences of Africa and Madagascar (SECAM) Plenary

Assembly held in Lome, Togo in 1990 and lastly we consider the contribution of the Synod of African Bishops held in the Vatican in 1994. Among other matters, the case for using new media, especially radio, aiming at improving evangelization and strengthening Christianity in Africa was decided to be implemented at diocese, national and continental levels.⁷¹

Consistent with Kasoma's assertions on the viability of community radio stations in Africa, Alumuku recommends community radio stations as practical media to be used for bringing development in Africa. In his line of thinking, if authorities in Africa want to exploit the benefits of media, the establishment and application of community media, be it by religious or other leaders within the parameters of a community is the best option for Africa. Religious development, which he puts among the domain of human developments, will be fuelled by the use of community (religious) radio stations owned and operated by religious organisations or groups. In this way, studies on different aspects of community radio stations including those owned by religious organisations or groups will demonstrate how these radio stations are viable within Africa, as far as the use and consumption of programmes of these radio stations are concerned.

As discussed above, the role of media in Africa has been connected to the uprisings and massacres in Rwanda. Kellow and Steeves (1998), Li (2002) and Mitchell (2012) document the role of *Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* (RTLM) in catalyzing the Rwandan genocide in 1994. According to Mitchell, RTLM presents how:

a communicative process of telling and certain kinds of telling can contribute to cultivating violence... [in his discussion he analyses] different kinds of telling: radio broadcasting, subverting and claiming, chatting and singing, publishing and naming, directing and inciting, reporting and interpreting, judging and assessing, and... displaying.⁷²

⁷¹ See: John Paul II (1995): Apostolic Exhortation "Ecclesia in Africa." Available at: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/apost_exhortations/documents/hf_jp-ii_exh_14091995_ecclesia-in-africa_en.html. Accessed on 23 April 2011.

⁷² Mitchell 2012: 76, 77.

Li (2007) views the coherent language of massacre as the tool which incited listeners of RTLM into genocide, while Kellow and Steeves align with Mitchell by viewing RTLM as a catalyst of the 1994 Rwandan genocide. The horror of Rwanda uprisings may be considered as one such endpoint arising from provocative and influential dialogue of media with vested interests. It underlines how various audiences can infer a collective meaning from media and act on that. This phenomenon provides a salient point to look at how the two religious radio stations frame issues and how audiences construct meanings, based on their religious backgrounds.

2.6. Radio broadcasting and audiences in Tanzania

There are several studies on radio broadcasting in Tanzania which focus on audiences, radio listenership and preferences (Kivukuru 1994; Audience Scapes 2010), radio sets population per household (Mutambo & Mufrume 2002) and reliability of radio to Tanzanians (Tambwe 2010).

Audience Scapes (2010) surveyed four private radio stations in Tanzania: Radio Free Africa which is located in Mwanza (North-west Tanzania), and three radio stations located in Dar-es-Salaam, eastern part of Tanzania namely Radio One, Radio Maria Tanzania and Clouds FM. The survey examined the audiences' listenership by geographic and demographic differences. The findings show that 38% of those who named Radio Maria Tanzania as one of the three they listen to most often consist of lower and middle income earners. In terms of age, four age groups are surveyed and the findings show that the age group of 15 to 24 has the highest listenership followed by the group with age from 35 to 44 and the group of 45 and above. The group of age ranging from 25 to 34 has the least listenership of Radio Maria Tanzania. In terms of gender and geographic location the findings show that men listen to Radio Maria Tanzania more than women and people in rural areas listen to Radio Maria Tanzania more than those in urban areas. However, this survey report focused on

consumption of media according to geographic and demographic aspects and not on the aspect of meaning-construction by audiences which is the subject of my research.

There are studies done in Tanzania which focus on community radio stations. The Tanzania Communications Regulatory Authority (TCRA) places community and religious radio stations under the same licence category of non-commercial radio stations, although with different goals. Due to this mode of grouping it suggests conducting studies on community radio broadcasting in Tanzania. Mrutu (2008) explores the role of community radio stations in Africa, taking cases from five community radio stations in Tanzania namely Iramba Community Radio Station in Singida in Central Tanzania; Orkonorei Community Radio Station in Manyara region-Northern Tanzania; Sengerema Community Radio Station Mwanza in Lake Zone; Mlimani Community Radio Station in Dar-es-Salaam region and Kilosa Community Radio Station in Morogoro region both located in Eastern Tanzania. His salient objective is to assess how community radio stations in Tanzania enhance the flow of information in rural areas. Mrutu uses the available literature on community radio stations to present generally, the evolution and development of community radio stations in America, Europe and compares them with community radio stations in Africa, taking cases from Ghana, Zambia and South Africa.

The analysis of the findings from his study leads Mrutu to conclude that community radio stations have helped in making positive changes possible. Moreover he documents that community radio stations in different areas he has visited triggered positive results and had served as true agents of changes. Additionally, he records the positive change on the enhancement of information flow in areas of his study that are attributable to the five community radio stations. According to Mrutu the five radio stations have “gone raising and

stepping up public awareness on the major obstacles to the country's social, cultural, economic, political and overall development.”⁷³

Mrutu establishes from his findings the role played by community radio stations through their programmes, responding to the needs of community. The radio stations' broadcasts have proved to be practical tools for carrying out the developmental agendas in their respective areas. However, in the study responses which are taken from inquires on audiences' reception, radio strengths and weaknesses do not produce empirical evidences on how the radio stations under study have created impact on audiences. For instance, the stepping up awareness on different developmental issues to those communities served by these radio stations is not explicitly presented. It looks as an assumption based on views and opinions from audiences without making a thoroughly observation with his own experience to prove how far these radio stations have triggered positive results. Narratives presented do not suffice to produce evidences to the social changes targeted by these radio stations taking in account the low rate of media literacy most of the people in villages have to interpret and digest contents received from radio stations and use them for changes.

Another study on community radio stations by Mpehongwa (2009) assesses the impact of community radio stations in Tanzania. Unlike Mrutu, Mpehongwa goes further and in a systematic way, to study three community radio stations in three geographical zones in Tanzania. First is the Orkonerei community radio in Simanjiro district, in Manyara region, Northern zone. The radio station was established in 2002 by the Institute of Orkonerei Pastoralist Advancement (IOPA). IOPA is a community membership organization aimed at finding solution to problems of the Maasai community, so as to enhance well-informed and knowledgeable pastoral community on development issues. The second is Kilosa community radio station which was established in 2006 in Kilosa, Morogoro region in the eastern zone of

⁷³ Mrutu 2008:iv

Tanzania through collaborative efforts of UNESCO, the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH) and local communities. The radio station which is now run by the Kilosa District Council was established “with a mission to inform, educate and entertain local residents on numerous issues affecting their lives [as this] district suffered from isolation from other media coverage located in Dar-es-Salaam and Morogoro municipality.”⁷⁴ The third is Fadeco community radio station established in 2007 in Karagwe district, Kagera region in the western lake zone. The radio is run by Family Alliance for Development and Cooperation (FADECO), a local membership Non-Government Organisation (NGO) with a mission to provide, disseminate and exchange development information to the people in Karagwe district (Mpehongwa 2009).

In his study, Mpehongwa uses the participatory media approach to interview 600 interviewees (200 in each community radio), 20 key informants, and four focus group discussions (two in each community radio station) with 40 participants to determine social change brought about by the radio stations in their respective areas. He reports that despite all the challenges facing community radio stations in Tanzania; this medium is still the most preferred broadcasting services in rural areas. Moreover, he observes that the community radio stations in Karagwe, Kilosa and Simanjiro are more popular than other radio stations and they registered social change in areas of information flow and education, albeit slowly (Mpehongwa 2009).

Furthermore Mpehongwa documents the social changes brought by the community radio stations under his study namely enhancement in information flow, education on various issues, increased interaction, recognition of local culture and entertainment (Mpehongwa 2009). However in doing that he depends much on the views and opinions given by the

⁷⁴ Mpehongwa 2009:24.

interviewees without bridging them with his own observations to cement his findings. The media “proximity”⁷⁵ would be the reason for the popularity of these radio stations to the audiences without making social changes. Audiences guided by the sense of possession might be happy and satisfied with the presence of those radio stations in their areas without taking interest in the content. This opinion can be justified by the views given by his interviewees that they are happy to hear people they know broadcasting. An important factor to consider is the participation of leading individuals from the community audience in programme production. Audience inclusion raises the potential of programme content to influence the thinking of listeners who naturally appreciate the opinions of local identities. Unfortunately in the study, there is nothing presented on the production pattern which could be used to establish how the patterns of programmes production condition the audiences to consume the contents from those radio stations.

Community’s influences in policy-making and even participation in the designing of the programme schedule together with participation in the production of programmes attract consumption with meanings. Also the study does not consider the level of media literacy of the rural communities in the research which is one among the most important factors in the media consumption with results. Media literacy may be defined as the ability to the audience to understand the full import of the messages aired the pivotal factor when measuring the results of media consumptions. Media literacy measures the ability of the audience to grasp and digest the intended, underlying meanings in the messages aired, written or televised.

Lobulu (2010) narrows the scope of an area of study by Mpehongwa (2009) in which he examines the role of community radio stations among pastoral communities in Tanzania. He focuses on the opportunities and challenges that confront community radio stations in fostering democracy and development. Lobulu uses Orkonerei FM community radio station,

⁷⁵ In media studies, one among the characteristics and criteria for news is ‘Proximity’ both geographical and physiological. Geographical and psychological closeness/nearness of a listener to the media location and news has impact to the consumption and effects but not always the case, sometimes people are happy and proud to have a radio station in their place without benefiting from what that radio offers to them.

located at Terrat village in Simanjiro district, Manyara region, as a case-study in three research areas: Simanjiro (Manyara region), Longido (Arusha region) and Same region) in northern Tanzania occupied by Maasai pastoral ethnic group (Lobulu 2010). sets out to prove the hypothesis: “if such kind of media [community radio station] were established and sustained in rural areas [in Tanzania], the majority of Tanzanians would have more influence in decision making as well as in community and national development.”⁷⁶ To achieve that Lobulu uses triangulation methods and examines the social changes and development the radio station brought about in Maasai communities. Apart from some challenges such as funding the radio station faces, Lobulu discovers that radio gives voice to Maasai communities to discuss and disseminate knowledge and information which helps them eradicate certain social and traditional practices of Maasai communities which were barriers to their socio-economic development. The radio station managed to create a new attitude towards women, in particular, to their dated, existing oppressive cultures and traditions. Specifically, it reduced the incidence of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) among Maasai communities. The communities realized the value of formal education and sent their children to schools instead of reducing them to the status of cattle herders (Lobulu 2010).

Furthermore Lobulu’s findings show that the incidence of girls marrying at too early an age is lowered as result of education provided in programmes of the radio station. In addition to that Maasai communities have changed their attitudes about keeping the number of cattle as a sign of wealth to modern methods of animal husbandry, agri-pastoralism and environmental conservation (Lobulu 2010). These shifts in behaviour are undoubtedly significant and positive changes in cultural modernization. In this study, Lobulu advocates a

⁷⁶ Lobulu 2010: 166, 202.

higher priority be placed on the option and adoption for community radio stations as a catalyst of development and democracy in Tanzania. However the study investigates largely the changes which a community radio station can bring about within its audiences (media-oriented approach). The opportunity was lost to investigate how communities can benefit (audience-oriented approach) from the influence that the content of a community radio station has to make positive social and cultural changes. It is to be noted that having a community radio station is one thing, but having a community which can digest the contents of programmes of the radio station especially in rural areas is another thing.

The studies above address some aspects of the radio broadcasting industry in Tanzania. Many of the studies dwell on aspects of community radio stations; the only study which has focused on the general radio broadcasting industry in Tanzania is that by Matumaini (2009). In his study, Matumaini considers the government-owned radio station, Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation Taifa (TBC-Taifa) and four major commercial radio stations in Tanzania namely: Radio Free Africa-Mwanza and its sister, Radio Kiss Fm-Mwanza, Radio One based in Dar-es-Salaam and Radio Clouds FM also located in Dar-es-Salaam. There are three religious-owned radio stations in Tanzania: *Radio Sauti ya Injili* (Kiswahili:Radio Voice of the Gospel) based in Moshi Kilimanjaro, Radio Maria Tanzania in Dar-es-Salaam and Radio Tumaini in Dar-es-Salaam also considered when researching the history of radio broadcasting for development in Tanzania. Historically Matumaini presents the role of radio broadcasting in relation to development from the colonial period to the present neo-liberal economic era to see how radio stations contribute to development in Tanzania. Matumaini acknowledges a certain level of media campaigning for development in the post-colonial Tanzania especially after the nationalization of the media under *Ujamaa* policy. Under this policy the radio broadcasting industry was required to assist in building the nation, and defined this assistance as a tool of education and training. Additionally, the radio broadcasting industry during the era of *Ujamaa* (1967-1984) was used as a means to

counteract foreign influences and priority of was given to fostering of the development of the country.

From 1990s, Tanzania, under the neo-liberal economy, opened the doors for private investments and oversaw the emergence of three types of radio ownership in Tanzania, namely public media, private commercial media and community/religious media. This arrangement enabled Matumaini to apply “Another Development model” to assess how radio stations under the three kinds of ownership are serving development strategies and plans in Tanzania. According to him, the development paradigm at country level should concern the social, economic and cultural empowerment of the rural and urban lower-status groups (Matumaini 2009). He uses this model to investigate the means by which media, especially radio stations, work to implement the empowerment. In his study, Matumaini concludes that there is an ineffective use of media for development in Tanzania. He further urges that media, especially radio stations, can be used for effective development. However, due to constraints, the contribution of radio broadcasting for development is minimal. Matumaini recommends to deal with these deficiencies.

2.7. Conclusion

In this chapter, exploration on theories which conceptualised the collection and analysis of data of this study has been done. Three theories namely Framing, Meaning Construction and the Social Identity are triangulated to fit the objectives of the study. The scholarly works reviewed in this chapter indicate that there is a gap of knowledge regarding the entity of religious radio broadcasting. Currently in Africa, religious radio stations as well as community radio stations have grown with noticeable energy. Religious radio stations become tools for religious goals, yet have not attracted specific studies compared to community radio stations. This study attempts to widen the horizon of knowledge on the rapid growing investments in religious radio broadcasting in Tanzania with cases from two religious radio

stations: Radio Maria Tanzania owned by the Association of Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan owned by the Islamic Foundation based in Tanzania. This study endeavours to determine the manner in which Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan collect, process and disseminate information about social, religious, economic and political issues, and influence their audiences in constructing meanings on these matters.

Chapter Three

Case study one: Radio Maria Tanzania

3.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the history of the World Family of Radio Maria which comprises a world-wide network of radio stations, including Tanzania. Included is an overview of Radio Maria Tanzania, its organisational structure and programmes with their major categories of contents. Lastly the chapter analyses *Ijue Biblia* (Kiswahili: Know the Bible), and Catechism of the Catholic Church programmes to determine the framing of issues and the depth of influence exerted upon audiences' meanings contributing to national cohesion in Tanzania. Besides, the chapter analyses the concept of *kipindi cha mateso ya kimumo [kwa Kanisa Tanzania]* (Kiswahili: Systematic persecution [of the church in Tanzania]) and how it is used to frame events as well as a number of *matamko* (Kiswahili: an official statement) and *Barua za Kichungaji* (Kiswahili: Pastoral Letters) from Christian organisations and find out how the framing of *matamko* and *Barua za Kichungaji* influence audiences' meaning making, socio-religious discourse and the national cohesion.

3.2. The World Family of Radio Maria⁷⁷

The World Family of Radio Maria (hereinafter, WFRM) is a non-governmental organization (NGO) which was legally established in 1998 and its founding member is the Italian Association of Radio Maria. The family which owns Radio Maria worldwide, as of 2007 was composed of forty national associated members present in different countries in various continents; eleven of them are in Africa. The first Radio Maria broadcasting station was founded in 1983 as a parish radio station in Arcellasco d'Erba, in the province of Como in the Catholic diocese of Milan. The purpose of the radio station was to provide news for

⁷⁷ Materials in this introductory part of the chapter are taken from RM, 2007:7-13.

parishioners and help them in prayers, by broadcasting the Mass and Rosary. Radio Maria maintained this characteristic until January 1987, when the Radio Maria Association was founded. The Association was composed of married and single people, religious brothers, nuns and priests with the aim of making the station independent from the parish and involving it in a broader plan of evangelization. All of the regions of Italy were quickly covered at the same time, so that in 1990 Radio Maria was considered a national religious radio station. Radio Maria began expanding to the rest of the world in the 1990's. In 2007, there were more than 30 Radio Maria stations worldwide and many others were getting ready to start broadcasting. The expansion of Radio Maria has created a worldwide Catholic radio network, with an independent management for the individual national stations. However, they are united and coherent, religiously inspiring radio programming organization, supported by volunteer staffing and listener-donated finance.

The WFRM aims at serving audiences in a holistic way, promoting spiritual growth and material well-being of the people, primarily in the developing countries. With the aid of radio broadcasts and publication of specific local events, the WFRM plans to promote social, cultural and religious values. Moreover, it aims at improving the life of the people and development of human resources especially in the context of communication through education and training. In line with the teachings of the Magisterium of the Catholic Church, the WFRM pays special concern to the poor, elderly, prisoners and sick people by giving them the message of joy and hope.

Financially and technically, the WFRM supports communication media projects in developing countries through the promotion of volunteering spirit and development programmes as means to self-sufficiency and development. Radio Maria as a project of evangelization through mass media is based on volunteer work whereby its members with their different qualifications, volunteer in the daily running of the stations. Due to its spiritual nature, Radio Maria excludes all types of commercial advertisements; financing comes

exclusively from listeners' donations. From its aims, objectives and mission, therefore, it is obvious Radio Maria is for the worldwide Catholic Church, serving the evangelization mission in the third millennium. As a Catholic radio station, it is committed to calling for conversion through radio programming which offers plenty of air-time for prayers, catechism and humanistic promotion, spiritually and materially.

3.3. Radio Maria Tanzania

Radio Maria Tanzania (hereafter RMT)⁷⁸ with the motto "A Christian Voice in Your Home" is a Frequency Modulated (FM) radio station which was established in 1996 in the municipality of Songea, in southern Tanzania. The establishment of RMT is a result of "the initiatives made by Archbishop Norbert Mtega⁷⁹ of the Catholic Archdiocese of Songea in his meeting with the President of the Association of the WFRM-Italy in 1995 in Uganda."⁸⁰ RMT is owned and managed by the Association of Radio Maria Tanzania Company Limited. The members of the Association of Radio Maria Tanzania include "married and non-married people, religious brothers and nuns, priests and bishops; however, the radio is not owned by a specific catholic diocese in Tanzania or the Tanzania Episcopal Conference."⁸¹

Due to logistic and operational problems in Songea, in 2003 RTM relocated its main studio to Mikocheni area in Dar es Salaam, the commercial capital of Tanzania. The city of Dar-es-Salaam accommodates most of the services needed by the radio station which could not be accessible easily in Songea because of its remoteness (RM 2007). The station was registered by the TCRA under the non-commercial licensing category to operate as a religious radio station with priority for religious content and goals. As a condition under this licence category, commercial advertisements are forbidden.⁸² Apart from that before getting the licence, applicants for non-commercial radio stations are required to present their financial

⁷⁸See: Radio Maria Tanzania. Available at: www.radiomaria.co.tz. Accessed on 19 June 2011.

⁷⁹Archbishop Norbert Mtega on 15 May 2013 officially retired from the episcopate on health reasons.

⁸⁰ Matumaini 2009:118.

⁸¹ Matumaini, 2009:118.

⁸²Interview with TCRA Officer (1), Dar-es-Salaam, 01 June 2011.

plan to demonstrate the financial sustainability in running the radio station which excludes commercial advertisements.⁸³ However, this condition has been partially implemented. Practically when a financial need arises the non-commercial radio stations employ various strategies to get funds. For example these non-commercial radio stations include social announcements as one among the means of getting funds. These social announcements are aired in non-commercial radio stations with some financial agreements. Moreover, there are some non-commercial radio stations (including religious radio stations) which are taking commercial advertisements from companies such as mobile phone companies operating in Tanzania. According to an official at the TCRA “this constitutes a breach of the provisions stipulating the conditions for non-commercial licences for media investments as laid out by the TCRA.”⁸⁴ Financial instability is one of the many challenges facing non-commercial media in Tanzania.

3.4. The organisation of Radio Maria Tanzania

According to the Director of RMT⁸⁵ the radio station is under the patronage of the Archbishop of Songea. However, the patronage has nothing to do with the ownership and management of the radio station. The RMT is managed by the Association of Radio Maria Company Limited which consists of the country president of the Association Radio Maria Tanzania, the Board and the General assembly. The daily running of the radio station is under the supervision of the Director of RMT who is also a member of the Board of Directors of RMT. The chain of command under the Director of RMT includes the Programming Director who oversees the Music Director, Broadcasters and Volunteers.

The daily activities of RMT are organized and coordinated by the Co-ordinator of the radio station. Under the office of the Radio Co-ordinator, there are two lines of command: one

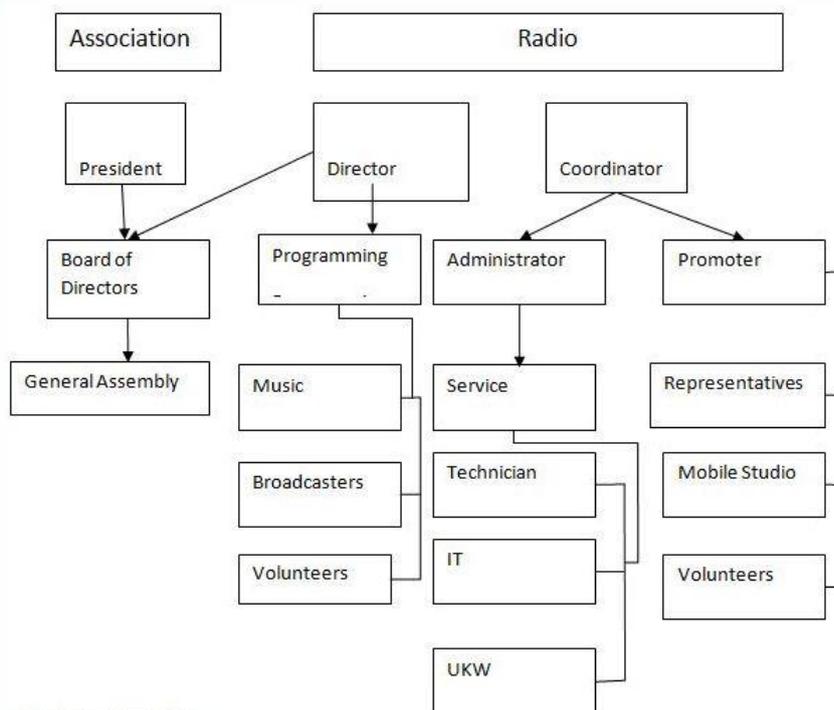
⁸³ Interview with TCRA Officer (1) Dar-es-Salaam, 01 June 2011.

⁸⁴ See also in Tanzania Broadcasting Act 6 of 1993: Part III, Broadcasting Licensing, 10: 2 (f). Available at: http://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/text.jsp?file_id=244949. Accessed on 24 March 2013.

⁸⁵ As at July 2011, Father John Bosco Nguah was the Director of RMT. Interview, Dar-es-Salaam, 01 May 2011

is geared to the Promotion Department that consists of the Promoter whose command extends to the Radio's regional representatives, the mobile studios and volunteers both at the head office and in the regional representative centers. The second line consists of the office of the Administrator, which includes the Service Department, the Technical Department and the Information Technology Department.

Figure 3.1. The organisation structure of RMT



Source: RMT, 2011

Furthermore, the Director of RMT discloses the number of staff members whereby “as of July 2011 the radio had 11 full time staff-members, 12 regional representatives and 35 volunteers both at the headquarters and in the regional offices. Members of staff and volunteers have different educational and religious backgrounds.”⁸⁶

On volunteering, the Director discloses that:

the aspect of inclusion of people from different religious backgrounds is intended to encourage volunteering and at the same time to boost the ecumenical efforts of the

⁸⁶ Interview with Father John Bosco Nguah, Dar-es-Salaam, 1 May 2011

Catholic Church aiming at healing the wounds of division that created denominations in the Christendom and also promote religious dialogue with Muslims.⁸⁷

According to the Director, a strategy which the radio station uses to reduce the gap of division among Christians is to include other Christian denominations in some of its programmes:

RMT in its gospel music programmes includes songs from all Christian denominations and in some roundtable and discussion programmes, producers invite to studio discussers from other Christian denominations and sometimes Muslims when the theme under discussion needs their participation and contributions. These are some of the strategies that are employed by RMT to attract unity among audiences and religious groups.⁸⁸

3.5. Area of coverage of RTM

As of July 2011, RMT covered 13 dioceses out of the 33 Catholic dioceses in Tanzania. However, through its satellite transmission which is boosted by eight transmitters located in different areas in Tanzania, the broadcasts of the radio station reach almost the whole Tanzania. Also RMT is accessible online through *www.radiomaria.co.tz* and can be reached through messages in its Facebook account. In areas where the reception is weak RMT has erected booster towers which are under the supervision of the radio station's regional representatives. Through fund-raising and donations, audiences in the region where the tower is erected finance the costs of running the booster tower and the staff members. According to the Director of RMT through their financial contributions "audiences show a sign of appreciation for the services of RMT to them and feel responsible for the funding of the tower and the staff of RMT in their zone."⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Interview with Father John Bosco Nguah, Dar-es-Salaam, 1 May 2011

⁸⁸ Interview with Father John Bosco Nguah, Dar-es-Salaam, 1 May 2011

⁸⁹ Interview with Father John Bosco Nguah. Dar-es-Salaam, 01 May 2011

Figure 3.2. Radio Maria Tanzania: Regional Representative Offices



Source: RMT, 2011

According to the Director of RMT, the TCRA allocated the first frequency of the RMT to Songea in 1996 and the last frequency was allocated to Dar-es Salaam in 2010 (Table 5). Although there is no specific reason given by the TCRA, the provision of an additional frequency to a radio station which is already operating takes longer than an application for a new licence to launch a new radio station. This is also the case with RMT which got an additional frequency for Dar-es-Salaam seven years after its re-location. Technically, a frequency number can be shared by more than one location depending on the geographical

closeness. In Table 3.1 below Unguja, Pemba and Dar-es-Salaam share the same frequency number. An observation on Table 3.1 shows that RMT expanded greatly in 2005 with seven new frequencies in seven localities in Tanzania. The Director of RMT attributes the expansion to the amendment in the Broadcasting Service Act of 1993. The amendment allowed the extension in the area of coverage from 25 percent of Tanzania to the whole country.⁹⁰ Before the amendment non-commercial radio stations as well as private radio stations and television in Tanzania were allowed to cover only 25 percent of the country. However the regulation became obsolete due to the technical advancements which made it impossible to restrict broadcasting coverage to the 25 percent regulation.

Table 3.1. Frequency distribution of RMT as of July 2011

Location	Frequency	Starting Date
Songea	89.1	26.04.1996
Iringa	90.4	26.11.2004
Manyara	106.7	22.04.2005
Mbeya	91.9	27.04.2005
Arusha	106.7	22.04.2005
Mwanza	106.0	03.05.2005
Pemba	103.5	11.05.2005
Morogora	102.0	29.08.2005
Unguja	103.5	23.09.2005
Singida	91.4	21.06.2008
Mtwara	95.3	26.06.2008
Mpanda	90.9	02.07.2008
Kilimanjaro	107.6	24.02.2009.
Dar-es-Salaam	103.5	30.05.2010.

Source: RMT, 2011.

In addition financial support from local donors and friends of RMT facilitated the expansion. According to the Director “donors and friends’ contributions played a great role in funding

⁹⁰ See: Aili Tripp *Political Reform in Tanzania. The Struggle for Associational Autonom.* In Comparative Politics, Vol. 32, No. 2 (Jan., 2000), pp. 191-214

the equipment which was installed in the new locations.”⁹¹ Furthermore the Director discloses that:

the expansion of RMT to Pemba and Unguja (Zanzibar) which are mostly inhabited by Muslim majority as a result of a gentleman agreement reached in our meetings with government and religious leaders in Zanzibar to “allow officially” the air-waves of RMT in Zanzibar as it was technically not possible to control the air-waves.⁹²

Before the agreement, there was anxiety amongst the religious people of Zanzibar, especially Muslims, on the accessibility of the broadcasts of RMT with a Christian message. It is generally accepted that of 1,303,569 inhabitants of Zanzibar about 98% are Muslims.⁹³

According to Maria Stella, before the meetings the Christian minority in Zanzibar “could not freely listen to RMT without interruptions from Muslims. In some cases Christians in some areas were forced to tune-off their radio receivers when they were heard listening to it because it was considered as a strategy of Christians to use the radio waves to spread Christianity in Zanzibar.”⁹⁴

The advancement in the media technology faces challenges in the Muslim world not only on its integration and uses in religion but also on its effects on Islam (Eickelman and Anderson 2003; Larsson 2011; Schulz 2012). A noteworthy point is the way Muslims take precautions in the integration and uses of media in Islam. This might be the reason behind their suspicion over the presence of RMT broadcasts in Zanzibar given the fact that Christians form a minority of the population. Alternatively, religious freedom as stipulated in article 19 of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania might be an added reason to the justification of the agreement on the access of RMT to the Zanzibar Christian minority.

⁹¹ Interview with Father John Bosco Nguah, Dar-es-Salaam, 1 May 2011

⁹² Interview with Father John Bosco Nguah, Dar-es-Salaam, 1 May 2011

⁹³ This figure is according to the Population and Housing Census 2012 as per as the National Bureau of Statistics. Due to the fact that religious background is not included in the demographical data, it is taken for granted that about 98% of inhabitants in Zanzibar are Muslims.

⁹⁴ Maria Stella is a Catholic nun who works in Pemba-Zanzibar. Telephone interview, Bayreuth, 26 June 2012

3.6. Volunteering in RMT

As it has been noted above, in its daily operation RMT includes volunteers. These are people who are not employed by the radio station but come to work in RMT. With their backgrounds in different knowledge areas volunteers participate in the preparation of programmes, production of programmes and broadcasting. Some volunteers participate in the technical activities in the studio and in centers as regional representatives of RMT. According to Hiza “RMT does not recruit people to volunteer but one becomes a volunteer after being motivated by the radio station. For example, there is time when some people willingly want to practise their knowledge by preparing programmes which are aired in the RMT.”⁹⁵

As it has been noted above, the group consists of 35 volunteers who carry out different duties. The Director of the radio discloses that “volunteering is one among the central aspects in the spirit of WRMF in running all radio stations under its umbrella. Without volunteers, we could not manage to run the radio station and its representative offices because we do not have funds to pay salaries.”⁹⁶ According to the Director, “there are volunteers who are well equipped in journalism, religion, economics, and social issues. The involvement of volunteers in the daily running of the radio station reflects the participation of the community in the spirit of working together in RMT.”⁹⁷

Consistent with the definition of volunteering, RMT volunteers have no formal employment and are not paid a salary. In reality volunteers need a certain amount of funds as allowances for their subsistence. Frequent fund-raising events and invitations to donate to the radio station are means to support the volunteers and their volunteering activities in RMT. According to Hiza “the strategy of integrating volunteers in the daily running of the radio station attracts audiences from areas where the volunteers reside because some people like to

⁹⁵ Agnes Shayo Hiza is an Assistant Director of RMT responsible for programming. She is one among the founding staff members of RMT in 1996. Interview with Dar-es-Salaam, 2 May 2011.

⁹⁶ Interview with Father John Bosco Nguah, Dar-es-Salaam, 1 May 2011.

⁹⁷ Interview with Father John Bosco Nguah Dar-es-Salaam, 1 May 2011.

hear in a programme someone known to them.”⁹⁸ This is true because in the electronic media audiences are sometimes attracted to listen to a specific radio station or watch a television station because there is someone related to them. However, taking a larger view, the phenomenon of volunteering has a certain disadvantage to the radio station when a volunteer has become extremely popular on air, perhaps even a radio-celebrity. This happens when he or she decides to quit from serving the radio station she or he may quit with her/his fans. Moreover, volunteering is not something permanent and cannot contribute to permanent staff development. Also the use of volunteers with no journalistic knowledge in the production of programmes has an effect on the quality of the programme as well as in the content which is not within his or her area of competence.

Apart from the group of volunteers, there are two groups which are involved in the activities of RMT. According to Bishoge⁹⁹ the two groups are composed of listeners’ clubs and friends of RMT. The two groups have different roles and contributions to the radio station.

There are groups of listeners’ clubs¹⁰⁰ which are made up of fans of RMT in different places where RMT is accessible and with regional representative. Fans have organised themselves in associations which have resulted into a new way of recognition and identification among themselves. They have their new identities with group names. These are families of RMT which include people from different religious backgrounds and affiliations, social and economic status. These clubs arrange live broadcasts of *salaam* (Kiswahili: greetings) through cards and phone calls. In these occasions, members lively read their cards and send greetings to their friends, relatives and members of other RMT listeners’ clubs. Through this, the participation of members of the clubs is high and they feel involved in the activities of RMT.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Interview with Agnes Shayo Hiza, Dar-es-Salaam, 2 May 2011

⁹⁹ Leonia Odilo Bishoge is the Promoter of Radio Maria Tanzania responsible for fund-raising activities and promotion of the radio. Interview. Dar-es-Salaam, 2 May 2011

¹⁰⁰RMT listeners’ clubs as of July 2011 are: *Rekebisha* salaam club and *Wasema Kweli* salaam club in Mtwara, (South-east Tanzania) *Singapore* salaam club in Singida, (central Tanzania) *Tam Tam* salaam club in Arusha, (northern Tanzania), *Ave-Maria* salaam club in Dar-es-Salaam, Radio Maria Umoja Salaam Club in Morogoro, *Iringa* salaam club in Iringa and two Mbeya salaam clubs in Mbeya, southern highlands of Tanzania

¹⁰¹Interview with Leonia Odilo Bishoge, Dar-es-Salaam, 2 May 2011.

Listeners' clubs play a promotion role for the radio station and support it financially through donations and the money they spend in buying coupons for best wishes and greetings programmes. Also listeners clubs are among the family members of a specific radio station and are concerned in keeping the radio station on-air through their donations and participation in programmes of their interest including the greeting programmes. Furthermore, Bishoge reveals that the second group involved in the activities of the radio station consists of friends of RMT who are mostly responsible in organising fund-raising activities.¹⁰² The financial support and plans of this group to some extent help in coping with the financial constraints because RMT depends mostly on the donations from donors. Having friends for a radio station is an important strategy in the promotion of the radio station and in fund-raising activities, however, if it is not taken with foresight, friends with their money can exert their influence on the radio station. Extrapolating, this phenomenon may create a situation which will allow some friends who are politicians or close associates of politicians to use the radio station to channel their political agendas.

Apart from volunteering agenda, RMT in its daily activities incorporates participatory approach. Speaking on the participatory approach and the participation of its audiences, the Director of RMT discloses that:

Since the participatory approach includes different groups of people from various sectors of social life, religious and professional backgrounds, the audiences feel represented. In doing so, RMT catches audiences from all circles of life and religions as they can hear people from their places, religion and occupational background involved in the activities of the radio.¹⁰³

¹⁰²Friends of Radio Maria Tanzania organize fund-raising occasions and plan for visits of Radio Maria Tanzania officials in their respective areas. From 19 October to 29 October, 2011, this group coordinated fund-raising campaign christened *Mariathon* in all representative regions. Apart from their own contributions, Friends of Radio Maria were behind the mobilization of people to contribute for the Radio. Online -Interview with Leonia Bishoge, Bayreuth, 18 October 2011.

¹⁰³Interview with Father John Bosco Nguah, Dar-es-Salaam, 1 May 2011.

The participatory approach is extended to the production of programmes in RMT whereby participation of audiences is active in a more interactive way such that “audiences become producers and at the same time listeners in some of our programmes especially those which are recorded live be it in the studio or somewhere in the field.”¹⁰⁴

3.7. Patterns of production of programmes

Guided with its mission of serving audiences spiritually (through religious and spiritual contents) and materially (through contents on issues of economics, health, politics, social and cultural). RMT broadcasts 343 programmes per week with an average of 49 programmes per day (Appendix1). Through these programmes RMT implements the goal of serving its audiences spiritually and materially (RM 2007). Logistically, Hiza discloses that:

of the 343 programmes, about 90% are produced in the main studio in Dar-es-Salaam and in the regional representative’s centers as live or recorded programmes.

Programmes are set to respond to the needs of different groups of people such as children, youths, the elderly, sick people and prisoners.¹⁰⁵

In the production of programmes, there are discussion programmes in which scholars or guests are invited to discuss specific themes or issues. This pattern of production is used in all live round-table programmes. Apart from the discussion programmes there are live programmes from the studio such as news bulletin, sports news, newspaper reviews and entertainments from choirs and gospel music. Also there are recorded programmes which are aired as repeated programmes in studio.

According to Hiza the remaining 10% of programmes in RMT are externally produced. Programmes under this category include broadcasts of live-events such as holy Masses from parishes and dioceses of the Catholic churches in Tanzania. Also covered live are religious services such as prayer programmes aired from Catholic Christian families, in

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Father John Bosco Nguah, Dar-es-Salaam, 1 May 2011.

¹⁰⁵ Interview with Agnes Shayo Hiza, Dar-es-Salaam, 2 May 2011.

religious houses and from prayer groups. Similarly, RMT covers live fund-raising occasions and greetings programmes from listeners associations.¹⁰⁶

The programming and programmes in RMT are set to respond to the needs of different groups of people such as children, youths, elderly, sick people and prisoners. These groups are from different religious and social backgrounds. According to Hiza RMT targets audiences from all religions. For example in 2007, “RMT estimated its listeners to be four million, among them 77% Catholic Christians, 18% Christians of other denominations and groups, 4% Muslims and 1% Animists.”¹⁰⁷ The figures are comparable to the findings of this study whereby the findings from the two study areas Mwanza and Morogoro show that among the respondents who listen to RMT (Appendix 6), 62% are Catholic Christians, 36% Christians of other denominations and groups, and 2% Muslims.

The analysis of the programme schedule of RMT shows that with the exception of the rosary programme with the Pope which is aired in Latin and English, other programmes are produced in Kiswahili language. The use of Kiswahili is one of the conditions prescribed in the broadcasting policy in Tanzania. The use of Kiswahili as a condition of the broadcasting activities in Tanzania is stipulated in the Broadcasting Services Act 1993 as well as in the Tanzania Communication Regulatory Authority Act 2003.¹⁰⁸ The reason underlying this condition is more socio-politically based than for professional reasons, as it aims at preventing tribal division which could erode the national unity. Prevention of the use of vernaculars was extended to media. Sturmer (2007) reports the reason for the difficulty posed by the use of tribal languages in Tanzania as follows “[t]here are 120 tribes in Tanzania plus another three of Arab, Asian and European origin, making 123. All these make up the nation of Tanzania. (...) If all 123 tribes in Tanzania made claims for their languages to be used, this

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Agnes Shayo Hiza, Dar-es-Salaam, 2 May 2011.

¹⁰⁷ RM 2007:96.

¹⁰⁸ See: TRCA Service (Content) Regulations 2005: Part III, Programme Content: 15(a) Language.

would be the start of quarrels.”¹⁰⁹ Currently in Tanzania, there are more than 120 ethnic groups which are unified by Kiswahili.¹¹⁰

In the Programme Schedule of RMT (2011) there are two imported programmes from Italy and Kenya. First is the rosary programme with the Pope which RMT connects live to Radio Maria Italy. The rosary programme is aired in Latin every Tuesday, Thursday and Friday from 3.00 pm to 3.30 pm. The English version is aired every Monday at 03.00 am. Apart from that RMT allots 420 minutes per week to praying the rosary programmes. This indicates its premium place in the station’s schedule of programmes. Second is a recorded *Biblia kwa Njia ya Radio* (Kiswahili: The Bible through Radio) programme which is produced in Kiswahili by the Bible Society of Kenya and Tanzania. The programme is recorded by Trans-Word studios in Kenya.¹¹¹ The *Biblia kwa Njia ya Radio* programme has an ecumenical element as it includes content for Catholics and other mainstream Christian denominations namely Moravian, Lutheran and Anglican churches.¹¹² The *Biblia Kwa Njia ya Radio* contains a series of dramatized biblical passages followed by brief reflections from biblical scholars. The series of *Biblia Kwa Njia ya Radio* are also aired by some religious radio stations in Tanzania owned by dioceses under the Catholic Church.

Moreover, RMT twice a day connects to the national radio-TBC-*Taifa* for news bulletins. According to Hiza “this is an advice from the TCRA on the need to join the national radio station on programmes with national interests. Also it enables the audiences to join with other Tanzanians to listen to issues of the national interests aired by TBC-Taifa at the same time keeping our audiences stay-tuned RMT.”¹¹³ It is my opinion that the mushrooming of private and commercial radio stations in Tanzania does not affect the audiences’ preferences

¹⁰⁹ Sturmer 1998: 113.

¹¹⁰ See: Tanzania Ethnic groups. Available at: http://www.indexmundi.com/tanzania/ethnic_groups.html. Accessed on 15 April 2012.

¹¹¹ I listened to the series of *Biblia kwa Njia ya Radio* during field work January-July, 2011 and heard in the introduction of each programme about the Trans World studio in Kenya as the recording media company of those biblical series.

¹¹² Interview with Father John Bosco Nguah, Dar-es-Salaam, 1 May 2011.

¹¹³ This fact was also expressed by the TCRA Officer (1) in my interview within Dar-es-Salaam, 1 June 2011.

for news bulletins aired by the national radio station. This is because users of media in Tanzania still consider that the national radio station to serve the national interests without bias. People, especially in rural areas in Tanzania prefer to listen to the news bulletin from the national radio at least once a day. There is a perceived benefit for listeners of RMT, particularly in rural areas, to listen to the national news without having to retune to different broadcasting stations.

3.8. Contents of programmes

The analyses of the contents of the programmes of RMT in the daily schedule show that 41% relates to matters of Catholic Christian spirituality and knowledge; 27% deals with human promotion and welfare; 14% focuses on news and information and 18% deals with social and entertainment programmes.¹¹⁴ According to the Director of RMT “these categories of contents are packed in the mission of WFRM which aims at serving audiences in both spiritual and material needs. In Tanzania the mission of WFRM to serve audiences in a holistic way is carried out by RMT through its broadcasting activities in accordance with the needs of audiences in Tanzania.”¹¹⁵ Moreover, the analysis of the programmes’ contents shows that 59% focuses on the material needs of people and the rest 41% deals with their spiritual needs. One would expect RMT as a religious radio station to prioritize spiritual and religious content over material needs which the ‘secular’ media are serving. To this state of affairs the Director of RMT expresses that “the services of RMT are guided by principles of the teachings of the Catholic Church, so even the contents of programmes which deal with the material needs of people are set to match with the teachings and perspectives of Catholic Christianity.”¹¹⁶ Consequently, all programmes produced by RMT are programmed from the perspectives of Catholic Christianity.

¹¹⁴ The RMT’s Programme schedule (2011).

¹¹⁵ Interview with Father John Bosco Nguah, Dar-es-Salaam, 1 May 2011.

¹¹⁶ Interview with Father John Bosco Nguah, Dar-es-Salaam, 1 May 2011.

3.8.1. Catholic spirituality and knowledge

These are programmes which focus on knowledge, values and spirituality of the Catholic Christianity. This category aligns with the mission of RMT which aims at bringing a Christian message to the people, to empower the marginalized, with a special concern for the sick, the neglected and prisoners (Matumaini, 2009).

RMT opens its studio's 24 hour services at 6:00 am with morning prayers followed by a live coverage of the Holy Mass from the parishes of the Catholic Church in Tanzania. There are 15 minutes allocated for afternoon prayers from 12:00; half an hour for evening prayers from 6:00 pm and 15 minutes for night prayers from 8:20 pm. These prayer programmes are aired live from different families, religious houses of brothers or sisters and in seminaries. On some occasions prayers are read in the studio by broadcasters on duty.

Maombi kwa wote (Kiswahili: Prayers for all) is another prayer programme in RMT whereby interested individuals pray live through phone calls for their various needs and petitions. Petitions and needs prayed for include praying for a sick relative, success in business and examinations, safe journey for travelers, peace for the country and prosperous in families.¹¹⁷ The programme is aired for one hour from 9:00 pm to 10:00 pm every day except on Mondays, Saturdays and Sundays. The program is open to individuals from different religions and denominations.¹¹⁸ Compared to other prayer programmes discussed above prayers are spontaneously recited by individuals.

Furthermore in the category of Catholic Christian spirituality there are two programmes for saints, namely the Life of the Saints, which is aired every Tuesday from 06:45 pm to 07:00 pm and the Saint of the Day aired every morning from 06:30 am to 07.00 am. According to Hiza, in the two programmes the earthly life of a saint is read in

¹¹⁷ I listened to this prayer programme during field work in Tanzania and in Bayreuth.

¹¹⁸ In the days which I listened this programmes I heard Christians from other denominations and Muslims praying for their needs. Prayers are said promptly by individuals.

biographical way to enable the audiences to learn the life of a specific saint.”¹¹⁹ Also in the programme schedule there are series of biblical-related programmes. These include *Biblia kwa Njia ya Radio* (Kiswahili: Bible through Radio) which is a daily programme from Monday to Saturday aired for 15 minutes, from 7:45 am to 8:00 am. Another programme which is related to the Bible and general knowledge on religions is the *Ijue Biblia* (Kiswahili: Know the Bible). Similar to *Ijue Biblia* programme in imparting religious knowledge is a programme called Catechism of the Catholic Church aired for half an hour, every day from 8.00 am to 8.30 am. These two programmes will be analysed and discussed in detail below.

On Saturday from 7:30 pm to 8:00 pm, there is a programme called *Tafakari Masomo* (Kiswahili: Scriptural reflections). In this the programme scriptural passages of Sundays are read and reflected upon by a Catholic priest. The aim is “to prepare audiences especially Catholic Christians for Sunday’s liturgical services.”¹²⁰ As it has been noted above, RMT is devoted to the Blessed Virgin Mary who is the patroness of WFRM. According to Hiza “as an honour to Blessed Virgin Mary there is a programme which focuses on the teachings and doctrines of the Catholic Church on the Blessed Virgin Mary called Mariology.”¹²¹ The Mariology programme is aired for 30 minutes every Friday from 4:30 pm to 5:00 pm. As will be discussed further Mariology as broadcast by RMT widens the gap of doctrinal differences between Catholic Christians and other Christian denominations. This is because other Christian denominations do not recognize the special honour given to the Blessed Virgin Mary by Catholic Christians. Similar to Mariology in widening the differential gap between Catholic Christians and other Christian denominations is a programme on the teachings of the documents of the Vatican II, aired on Mondays from 5:30 pm to 6:00 pm. The two programmes together with the rosary programmes express the uniqueness of the Catholic Church compared with other Christian denominations. As previously noted these programmes

¹¹⁹ Interview with Agnes Shayo Hiza, Dar-es-Salaam, 2 May 2011.

¹²⁰ Interview with Agnes Shayo Hiza, Dar-es-Salaam, 2 May 2011

¹²¹ Interview with Agnes Shayo Hiza, Dar-es-Salaam, 2 May 2011

adversely affect the unity within Tanzanian Christendom and are openly considered to encourage or provoke intra-religious conflicts.

3.8.2. Human promotion and welfare

In the Programme Schedule of RMT (2011) the following programmes focus on social, political, cultural and economic spheres of Tanzanians. *Maoni yako* (Kiswahili: Your Opinion) is a 55 minute programme aired every Tuesday from 10:05 am to 11:00 am. The same programme is repeated on the same day at 11:00 pm. Audiences of this programme are given air-time to contribute their views on an issue presented through direct phone calls to the studio, through e-mails, Short Message Service (SMS) and Facebook. According to Hiza “*Maoni yako* attracts active participation from the audiences because it deals with issues which touch their daily lives.”¹²² In the programme, the radio presenter introduces the theme and facilitates the views and opinions of the audience. Similar in structure and context with *Maoni yako* is *Meza ya Duara* (Kiswahili: Round Table) which is an hour programme aired on Mondays and Thursdays from 4:00 pm to 5:00 pm. In this programme, scholars from different professional backgrounds such as sociology, economics, political science, laws, agriculture and medicine are invited to the studio on different occasions to speak on issues related to their professions. Audiences get a chance to give their views, comments and ask questions through phone calls, Facebook and SMS.

Under the category of programmes on human promotion and welfare, there is Pro-Life programme which deals with issues that aim at protecting life against all human actions which destroy life. Experts on the social teachings of the Catholic Church and Pro-life activists such as priests, social workers, medical doctors are the producers of this discussion programme. Audiences are given chances to ask questions and share their views to the discussions by direct telephonic discussion, text messages and through Facebook. Listening to this programme, and from my own observations, the Pro-Life programme attracts youth,

¹²² Interview with Agnes Shayo Hiza, Dar-es-Salaam, 2 May 2011

especially from colleges and universities. The issues which draw the attention of the youth are abortion and the use of medical contraceptives in family planning. Also, interesting questions from the young people centred on the moral obligations of nurturing pregnancies resulting from rapes. In answering questions on controversial topics, participants in the discussions occasionally become irate.¹²³ Other extremely controversial discussions suggested killing old people with “red eyes” suspected of witchcraft and the killings of albinos. According to the producer, the goal of this programme is to raise awareness and educate people on all these problems so as to abolish them.¹²⁴

Maadili (Kiswahili: Morals) is another programme in RMT which focuses on Catholic moral teachings. *Maadili* is aired on Sundays for 30 minutes from 3:00 pm and it is repeated on Saturdays at 0:30. In a comparative way, traditional and religious moral principles are discussed with practical examples from daily life of Tanzanians. In this programme Catholic moral teachings in some occasions face challenges with modernity especially when freedom to decide on specific moral circumstances is sought for on issues such as the use of condoms in family planning. According to Hiza, “*Maadili* programme targets the youths. Apart from *Maadili* there are other programmes devoted to youths namely *Jahazi la Vijana* (Kiswahili: The Boat of the Youths) and *Vijana na Kanisa* (Kiswahili: Youths and the Church).”¹²⁵ The Programme Schedule shows that each programme is aired for 55 minutes on Mondays and Saturdays respectively from 10:05 am. *Vjana na Kanisa* is repeated on Mondays at 11:00 pm. These programmes are produced by professionals and specialists dealing with youth formation. The content comprises youth development, their roles in the life of the church and the various challenges facing young people. The audience participates by phone to ask questions and contribute to the issues under discussion.

¹²³I frequently listened to this programme from RMT during field work in Tanzania, from January to July 2011.

¹²⁴I heard this in the introduction of some Pro-life programmes during field work in Tanzania. January to July 2011

¹²⁵ Interview with Agnes Shayo Hiza, Dar-es-Salaam, 2 May 2011.

Farijika na Familia (Kiswahili: Consolations/happiness in Families) is another programme within the category of human promotion and welfare. This programme focuses on matters of the family's well-being and welfare. Family members and social counsellors participate in the production of this programme in the form of live discussions in the studio. This programme is aired for 30 minutes every Friday from 5.30 pm to 6.00 pm. Most of the issues discussed focus on how to create a happy family. According to Hiza, through issues discussed in this programme "some families with problems find a consolation and start new life."¹²⁶ Similar to *Farijika na Familia* programme is *Maridhiano* (Kiswahili: Reconciliation). Yet is another program which deals with family issues. Problems relating to broken marriages encountered by family members and sometimes by those whose marriages are experiencing instability or by couples in search for solutions and reconciliation. *Maridhiano* is aired on Mondays from 9.00 pm to 10.00 pm and is repeated on Wednesdays at 11.00 pm. In this programme audiences are invited to participate by direct phone call to present their views, ask questions or share their own experiences on these topics.

Moreover, there is *Harakati za HIMS*¹²⁷ (Kiswahili: The activities of HIMS) program which focuses on the rights of women and children. Through this programme, activists for human-rights campaign against cultures and cultural practices which humiliate women and children. Female Genital Mutilation¹²⁸ and early marriage practices in some ethnic groups are some of the issues discussed by participants in this programme. There are some ethnic groups such as Maasai whose cultures oblige a girl to be married at an age below the official age of marriage in Tanzania. According to the Tanzania Law of Marriage "no person shall marry a

¹²⁶ Interview with Agnes Shayo Hiza, Dar-es-Salaam, 2 May 2011.

¹²⁷ HIMS is a Health Integrated Multicultural- Service, Non-Governmental Organisation based in Arusha, northern Tanzania working in Maasai areas for education programmes on issues related to health and for changes in some traditional practices which are no more hold respect like FGM within Maasai communities.

¹²⁸ In some areas Female Genital Mutilation is called women circumcision or Female genital surgery.

person who, being male, has not attained minimum age the apparent age of eighteen years or, being female, has not attained the apparent age of fifteen years.”¹²⁹

Commenting on this programme Hiza notes that “the programme plays an advocacy role against such cultural practices.”¹³⁰ RMT runs *Harakati za HIMS* programme for 30 minutes on Sundays from 4.00 pm. Participants in the campaign sometimes invite traditional FGM practitioners called *ngariba* (Kiswahili: practitioners/performers of FGM)¹³¹ to the studio to air their views and experiences in their work and how they can abolish. Also on some occasions, *ngariba* who have abandoned the practices of FGM are used in this programme to campaign for its abolition. The issue of FGM is widely discussed in different social circles in Tanzania with an appeal to stop it. Some activists and groups such as the Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA)¹³² use media campaigns for its abolition.¹³² In the same way, the Ministry responsible for women and children rights and welfare joins with the activists to campaign for the abolition of FGM.

In RMT children are given air-time in the programme called *Watoto na Radio Maria* (Kiswahili: Children and Radio Maria). This programme is aired on Mondays from 6.30 pm to 7.00 pm. In this programme, children¹³³ greet their friends, parents and relatives through phone calls. According to Hiza, “this programme attracts children because they hear their voices live from the radio station and can interact with the programme’s producer through phone calls.”¹³⁴

Another group to which RMT devotes time is that of old people.¹³⁵ This is done through the *Mang’amuzi ya Wazee* (Kiswahili: Old is Gold) programme which is aired for

¹²⁹ See: The Tanzania Law of Marriage Act (1971):13.-(1).

¹³⁰ Interview with Agnes Shayo Hiza, Dar-es-Salaam, 2 May 2011.

¹³¹ *Ngariba* are old women who use sharp knives and sometimes razor to perform Female Genital Mutilation.

¹³² The Tanzania Media Women’s Association (TAMWA) is one among the campaigners for the elimination of Female Genital Mutilation in Tanzania. See: <http://www.tamwa.org>. Accessed on 24 June 2012.

¹³³ In Tanzania, children in this case are from the age of five to 14 years.

¹³⁴ Interview with Agnes Shayo Hiza, Dar-es-Salaam, 2 May 2011.

¹³⁵ The group consists of people of 60 years and above, most of the invited are retired people who were working in different sectors in Tanzania and abroad. This group has wisdom and knowledge which through this program, they share with listeners of RMT.

half an hour on every Thursday from 6.30 pm to 7.00 pm. In this programme old people are invited to the studio to discuss various issues based on their life experiences. Some issues which old people discuss are their faith, customs, culture, economics and politics. In their discussions, old people try to compare the old and new generations based on experiences from their history and present life. Participants in the programme sometimes highlight the impact of globalization and the changes it has brought about in the world. In such discussions old people recommend the ways the new generation can accommodate globalization, increased social interconnectedness and rapid change, without going astray by learning how history dealt with innovations.¹³⁶

As mentioned above, one of the goals of WFRM is raise awareness and concern for the ill. Guided by this concern, RMT allocates an hour every Sunday from 2.00 pm to 3.00 pm for the so afflicted in the programme called *Wagonjwa wetu* (Kiswahili: Our Sick people). In this programme broadcasters visit the hospitalised and discuss their health and the treatment they get. Apart from that sick people get a chance to greet their relatives at home through the radio medium and get consolation.

The programme schedule of RMT (2011) has two programmes devoted to the marginalized and people living in extreme difficulties such as street children, the drug-addicted and orphans. The programmes are *Sauti yetu* (Kiswahili: Our Voice) which is aired on Wednesdays from 4.00 pm to 4.30 pm and *Makala yetu* (Kiswahili: Our Feature) aired on Saturdays from 5.30 pm to 6.00 pm. The two programmes are produced in a narrative model whereby the invited guest narrates his or her history and the problems which he or she faces. After the narratives, audiences ask questions, comment and sometimes make promise for financial support and counselling, depending on the needs presented in the programme.

¹³⁶I listened to this programme during my field work in Morogoro on 12 May 2011

Furthermore, there are several field-based programmes in the schedule whereby broadcasters visit work-places, market places and farms to interview audiences in their respective places of activities. In this group, workers have a programme called '*Ulimwengu wa Wafanyakazi*' (Kiswahili: Workers' World). In this programme workers are interviewed about their employment, successes and the problems they face. This programme is aired as recorded on Wednesdays for 55 minutes, from 10:05 am.

There is a programme from market places which is called *Kutoka Sokoni* (Kiswahili: From the Market) in which petty traders and businessmen and women speak about their business and items available in the market. This program is aired for 30 minutes every Saturday from 4:30 pm to 5:00 pm. Moreover, farmers under the umbrella of '*Mtandao wa Vikundi vya Wakulima Tanzania-MVIWATA*' (Kiswahili: Network of Farmers in Tanzania) have a weekly programme on methods of modern farming and animal husbandry. The programme is aired for 30 minutes on Tuesdays from 5:30 pm to 6:00 pm. There is another programme for farmers which is prepared by the Caritas Department of the Catholic Diocese of Mbeya (Southern highlands) called '*Dira ya Mkulima*' (Kiswahili: Farmers' Compass). This programme educates farmers on methods of sustainable farming and animal husbandry. The programme is aired for 30 minutes on Tuesdays from 5:30 pm to 6:00 pm and it is repeated on Saturdays at 4:00 pm.

RMT through its programme *Heka Heka Vijini* (Kiswahili: Endeavors from Villages), aired for half an hour every Sunday from 5:00 pm to 5:30 pm explores poultry activities. In this programme broadcasters visit poultry-keepers in rural areas and interview them on their daily activities. The field-based programmes discussed above, to bring information and education to audiences and promote the agricultural sector and animal husbandry with its produce.

Moreover, RMT offers a 30 minute programme for parishes and institutions of the Catholic Church on Fridays from 4:00 pm to 4:30 pm. In this programme, priests and heads

of Catholic institutions discuss pertinent details about their parishes and institutions. According to Ndalichako “this programme exposes to the audiences activities done by these institutions and to a certain degree they are promoting these institutions for social visibility and marketing.”¹³⁷

3.8.3. News and information

Taarifa ya Habari (Kiswahili: News bulletin), *Dimba la Michezo* (Kiswahili: Sports news) and *Yasemavyo Magazeti* (Kiswahili: Newspapers’ review) contribute to and compose the news components and information programmes of RMT. Twice a day, at 1:00 pm and 8:00 pm RMT joins the national radio-TBC *Taifa* for news bulletin. Also every day at 7:00 pm there is a news bulletin from RMT.

Yasemavyo Magazeti is an hour programme aired daily from 08:30 am to 09:30 am. In this programme the major Tanzanian Kiswahili dailies are reviewed. These include *Tanzania Daima*, *Mtanzania* and *Mwananchi*. Others are *Uhuru*, *Habari Leo*, *Nipashe*, *Majira* and *Zanzibar Leo*. In addition, every Friday, two weeklies from the Catholic Church *Kiongozi* and *Tumaini Letu* are reviewed in this programme. With exception of *Zanzibar Leo* which is owned and produced by the government of Zanzibar, all other newspapers are produced on the Tanzania mainland. In terms of ownership, *Tanzania Daima*, *Mwananchi*, *Nipashe*, *Majira* and *Mtanzania* are privately owned newspapers. *Uhuru* is owned by *Chama cha Mapinduzi* (Revolutionary Party) while *Habari Leo* is owned by the government of Tanzania. *Kiongozi* is owned by the Catholic Bishops of Tanzania and *Tumaini Letu* is owned by the Catholic Archdiocese of Dar-es-Salaam. Apart from the access to news, audiences also comment or give views on what they discover from the newspapers. Views and comments are given through SMS, Facebook and Push [Mobile] system.¹³⁸ In addition to the news bulletin

¹³⁷An observation made by Father Venance Ndalichako (A catholic priest from Kigoma diocese in Tanzania) in our discussions. Bayreuth, 18 November 2012.

¹³⁸Push-System includes an agreement between RMT and a company in which a special PUSH-System number is provided by the Cellular Phone Company to the Radio to be used in sending SMS with special charges per SMS and funds will be collected by the radio. As at 2011, RMT has PUSH-Number 15551.

and newspapers' review there is a news programme produced by the Catholic Professionals of Tanzania (CPT). The programme is aired every Thursday from 5:30 pm to 6:00 pm. In this programme, Catholic professionals from different backgrounds are invited to the studio to talk about their roles in the Catholic Church.

But what do these programmes and contents mean to audiences? Analysis of audiences' consumption and meanings they construct from programmes and contents of RMT will provide answers to the posed question. As mention before, programmes of RMT focus on the spiritual and material needs of audiences, however, only two programmes Ijue *Biblia* and Catechism of the Catholic Church programme will be analysed in detail to fit the objectives of this study.

3.8.4. Social and entertainment

In its 2011 programme schedule, RMT has allocated 600 minutes per week for *Salaam programmes* (Kiswahili: Greetings and best wishes programmes). In these programmes, audiences and members from listeners' associations take the opportunity to send greetings and best wishes to friends and relatives through cards or phone calls. A unique feature of the *salaam* programmes is the "Lunch Together" programme aired daily for 45 minutes from 12:15 pm to 1:00 pm. In this programme, audiences greet and invite each other for lunch. They also mention the type of foods which have been prepared for those greeted.

Every night except Sunday there is a "best wishes" programme called *Lala Unono* (Kiswahili: Sleep Well). *Lala Unono* is aired for 45 minutes from 10.15 pm. In this programme, audiences call in to greet their friends, relatives and associates and wish them a good night. On Wednesdays the same type of programme is aired for 45 minutes but it is done through cards which are read in the studio by a broadcaster. Another greeting programme is called *Niwapendao* (Kiswahili: The loved ones) aired daily for one hour, from 11:00 am to

12:00 noon. This is a call-in programme. The entertainment programmes provide revenue because greetings and best wishes cards sold for 500 to 1000 Tanzanian shillings.¹³⁹

Furthermore, in the programme schedule of RMT (2011) there are programmes dealing with gospel music from different Christian groups. Similarly, there is a special programme of songs dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, the patroness of WFRM. In addition there are programmes arranged specifically for groups of choirs from different parishes of the Catholic Church in Tanzania. These programmes are *Kwaya Zetu* (Kiswahili: Our Choirs) aired on Saturdays from 1:30 pm to 2:00 pm and Promotion Beats aired for 15 minutes on Sundays from 1:15 pm to 1:30 pm. In these programmes, a choir group (or leaders) attends the studio for interviews on the development of the choir. The two programmes provide a form of visibility and promotion for newly released albums; in other words, it is a religious form of advertising the commodity.

Similar to *Kwaya Zetu* in content, is a programme called *Nyimbo Mchanganyiko* (Kiswahili: Mixed Songs). This programme is aired every Sunday for an hour from 5.00 am. The programme includes Christian songs from all Christian denominations. This seems to be a strategy of RTM to attract audiences from different Christian denominations. In my experience, there is no air-time given to choirs from the Catholic Church in religious radio stations owned by other Christian denominations. The reason given is “to avoid some teachings of the Catholic Church which are contrary to the doctrines of other Christian denominations.”¹⁴⁰ Also there is a call-in programme called *Chaguo langu* (Kiswahili: My Choice). In this programme audiences choose a Christian song which they like to be played in the studio. The *Chaguo langu* programme is aired every day except Saturday and Sunday from 1:30 pm to 2:00 pm.

¹³⁹I saw these cards during field work, January-July 2011. A card which an audience reads live is sold at 1000(equivalent to \$0.5) Tanzanian shillings while the one which read at studio is sold at 500(Equivalent to \$0.25) Tanzanian shillings.

¹⁴⁰Interview with Pastor Lucian Ambrose of Pentecostal Church in Morogoro. Morogoro, 18 February 2011.

3.9. The Ijue Biblia Programme

The *Ijue Biblia* programme focuses on different biblical issues and general religious knowledge from Christianity, Islam and other religions including African traditional religions. The *Ijue Biblia* (Kiswahili: Know the Bible) programme is aired twice on Sundays from 10:05 am to 11:00 am and from 8:30 pm to 9:00 pm. It is also aired for half an hour from 8:30 pm to 9:00 every day except Thursday. The pattern of production of this programme consists of answering questions which audiences send to RMT through emails and letters. The programme is also known by audiences of RMT as the programme of “Father Titus Amigu” who is the main producer of this programme since the establishment of RTM.¹⁴¹

An analysis of the questions sent by audiences show that some questions touch issues on Islam, Muslims and other Christian denominations in Tanzania. For example, according to the Director of RMT:

from January 2010 to July 2011 audiences sent 62 questions on matters of Islam and Muslims which were answered in different *Ijue Biblia* programme. Among them, 70% focused on different issues about Prophet Muhammad, 20% on issues related to Islam and 10% issues on the relationship between Muslims and Christians in Tanzania. In the same period, 47 questions on matters related to other Christian denominations were sent to RMT by audiences. Some of the issues which were asked range from doctrines, sacraments, the supremacy of Catholic Church, the Pope and challenges of evangelization from the Pentecostals.¹⁴²

The *Ijue Biblia* is a programme of RMT which is pointed out by some audiences of the media in Tanzania (particularly audiences of religious radio stations) as one of several programmes by RTM which accelerates divisions and hatred among followers of religions in Tanzania. Other programmes which are mentioned as having divisive socio-religious elements are: *Katekismu ya Kanisa Katoliki* (Kiswahili: The Catechism of the Catholic Church), programmes on the Blessed Virgin Mary and programmes focusing on the Vatican and the

¹⁴¹Father Titus Amigu is one among the prominent biblical scholars in Tanzania. He is a Catholic priest incardinated to the Catholic diocese of Lindi, South East Tanzania. He is famous due to his ability to answer faith-related and biblical questions in a more informative way with practical examples from daily lives of Tanzanians. Fr. Amigu has researched and published extensively on witchcraft.

¹⁴²Interview with Father John Bosco Nguah, Dar-es-Salaam, 1 May 2011

Pope. Doctrinal differences and religious comparative debates on these programmes are the issues that were identified as divisive. It is argued on the one hand that while maintaining Catholic Christian teachings, these programmes of RMT widen the differences within Christianity and beyond its boundaries, for example, between Christianity and Muslim faith. The socio-religious discourses in the *Ijue Biblia* programme influence the imagination and thinking of the audiences with some meanings which are divisive. According to Hussein¹⁴³ speaking on the *Ijue Biblia* programme, sometimes the topics that are discussed depart from Christianity and provoke Muslims and cause hatred.

RMT in its *Ijue Biblia* programme instead of dealing with questions about Christianity, sometimes it answers questions on issues about the Prophet and Islam. For instance, one day answers which were given on *jihad*¹⁴⁴ and *da'wah* activities were very provocative and they lacked respect to Islam and the Prophet. In this way, the programme causes hatred and they misled the audiences."¹⁴⁵

The above discussion reflects the problem of comparative religious debates in the Tanzanian context and the ways RMT frame issues presented in these programmes. In most cases, such debates aim at proving one's superiority over others or one's authenticity over others. Given this situation, audiences construct meanings which influence their daily interactions to the extent of making them think more about their differences than the matters that unite them as Tanzanians.

On the other hand, the findings show that the *Ijue Biblia* programme is one of the programmes of RMT that educates its audiences. Answers which are given in this programme help audiences in many ways; from widening their faith to clearing doubts on doctrinal-related controversies. Sofia¹⁴⁶ acknowledges the high desire of audiences to know more about

¹⁴³ Hussein Kingamkono, a retired politician who lives in the municipality of Morogoro. Interview, Morogoro, 23 February 2011.

¹⁴⁴ *Jihad* is regarded as a campaign waged by Muslims in defense of the Islamic faith against people, organizations, or countries regarded as hostile to Islam

¹⁴⁵ Interview with Hussein Kingamkono, Morogoro, 23 February 2011

¹⁴⁶ Sofia Sabini lives at Mkambarani Village-Morogoro, a founder-member of Mkambarani Radio Maria Umoja Salaam Club.

their Christian faith through the questions they send to *Ijue Biblia* programme. According to Sofia:

There is a growing desire of some audiences of RMT to know more on matters of faith. People ask different questions on issues which trouble them on their lives as Christians. The questions asked reveal the vacuum they have on matters of faith. Listeners ask questions in order to know more and fill the vacuum of faith. The *Ijue Biblia* programme quenches the thirst of knowledge on matters of faith. In this way, we have a forum of knowledge to deepen our Christian faith and avoid blind faith.¹⁴⁷

Furthermore, asking questions on the dominant discourses of faith such as the adoration of the Crucifix in RMT indicate a need for audiences to know more on matters of faith. For example, Sofia recalls some issues which made her to grow in faith and enabled her to share it with others. She remembers in one programme of *Ijue Biblia*, Father Amigu answered questions on whether Catholics adore the Crucifix and statues. The answers which were given by Father Amigu made her understand more about the Crucifix and the practice of the Catholic Christians on the Holy Friday. Sofia discloses that “I came to know that we do not adore the Crucifix but the one who died on the cross, Jesus Christ. The answers given by Father Amigu helped me to build self-confidence and answer people who ask me about the practice of Catholic Christians on the Holy Friday.”¹⁴⁸

In my observation the use of media channels, especially radio stations, as forums for asking questions on matters of faith is a new phenomenon. It emerged with the presence of religious radio stations in Tanzania which creates space for questions. Formerly, followers of Catholic Christianity had a chance to ask questions on matters of faith during catechetical instructions. According to the Director of RMT “the culture of seeking knowledge on matters of faith is a religious practice which shows a special concern of audiences of religious radio broadcasts in Tanzania. Religious radio stations respond to that culture by creating programmes for audiences to ask questions.”¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ Interview with Sofia Sabini, Mkambarani-Morogoro, 15 February 2011.

¹⁴⁸ Interview with Sofia Sabini, Mkambarani-Morogoro, 15 February 2011.

¹⁴⁹ Interview with Father John Bosco Nguah, Dar-es-Salaam, 1 May 2011.

For her part Veronica¹⁵⁰, in addition to her daily follow-up of prayer programmes of RMT, pays special attention to the *Ijue Biblia* programme. Veronica argues that the programme answers controversial questions among religious denominations and religions. She remembers an incident whereby there was a question sent by a Muslim on the divinity of Jesus Christ and the legitimacy of the Vatican Nunciature in Tanzania. “These issues are very controversial. Father Amigu answered them nicely and gave a chance for more questions if the one who asked was not satisfied. I made a follow-up, there was no question followed from that man on the same issues.”¹⁵¹ In the mind of Veronica, the answers given are proper. Under this mentality there is no room for different answers on the same issues. On the other part, those who are not satisfied with the answers will find their own way of dealing with such situation. For instance, some groups of Muslims in Tanzania question the legitimacy of the Vatican Nunciature in Tanzania. As it shall be discussed further, the presence of the Vatican Nunciature in Tanzania creates a diplomatic demand for Muslims to join the Organisation for Islamic Conference.

More broadly, within the Christendom there are doctrinal controversies on the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Papacy. Such issues cannot be resolved in Sunday masses which are attended mostly by Catholic Christians. According to the Director of RMT “it is through this created air-space of radio that the waves from the pulpit are extended to reach those who are not in the Catholic Church. Through faith-related programmes, audiences of RMT who are Catholics Christians, non-Catholics and “interested” Muslims find answers on doctrinal controversial issues between religious groups.”¹⁵² As noted above the programme attracts audiences from different religious backgrounds to listen and ask various questions, an opportunity which otherwise could not be obtained in churches. In this way, the *Ijue Biblia*

¹⁵⁰Veronica Peter, a married woman who lives in Mabatini-area, Mwanza city. With her family frequently prays Rosary, evening and night prayers and broadcasted live by RMT through the regional representative in Mwanza. She started to listen to RMT in 2005. Interview with Veronica, Mwanza, 11 April 2011.

¹⁵¹Interview with Veronica Peter, Mwanza, 11 April 2011.

¹⁵² Interview with Father John Bosco Nguah, Dar-es-Salaam, 1 May 2011

programme provides a forum for knowledge, clearing away faith-related doubts at the same time widening the gap between religious groups and denominations.

3.10. The Catechism of the Catholic Church

The programme of Catechism of the Catholic Church is aired for an hour from 7.30 am to 8.30 am. The programme was formerly produced by catechists from the Archdiocese of Dar-es-Salaam but from 2012 the programme is prepared by Father Christian Mhagama¹⁵³ and aired live by RMT from the Catholic Diocese of Mbinga, southern Tanzania. The representative of RMT in Mbinga diocese supervises and coordinates this programme. Compared to the *Ijue Biblia* programme, the Catechism of the Catholic Church is a doctrinal programme. Two patterns of production are employed: First, teaching the contents of the Catechism of the Catholic Church step by step. Second, creation of general themes deduced from the contents of the Catechism. Apart from the Catechism of the Catholic Church, the Bible and official documents of the Catholic Church are used as sources in this programme. Opportunities to ask questions are given to audiences at the end of each programme. Through SMS audiences ask questions which the coordinator reads and Father Mhagama answers them. Moreover, on some occasions, Father Mhagama uses the Saturday's programme to answer questions which need more time and explanations.

According to the Director of RMT; "Catechism of the Catholic Church, is one among the core programmes on the teachings of the Catholic Church because it focuses on matters which Catholic Christians need to know."¹⁵⁴ Interesting to note is the framing of issues in this programme which demonstrate the "Othering" element of the Catholic Christianity. While consolidating the identity of the Catholic Church, this programme amplifies adversely the

¹⁵³Christian Mhagama is a Priest from the Catholic diocese of Mbinga, southern Tanzania. He is one among the prominent biblical scholars in Tanzania. He spent some years in Israel during his studies to experience the biblical cities. He has extensively published books in Kiswahili on the life of Jesus and on the four Gospels and Letters of St. Paul.

¹⁵⁴Interview with Father John Bosco Nguah, Dar-es-Salaam, 1 May 2011.

differences between Catholic Christianity and other Christian denominations and Islam.

According to Mabula:

Some issues which are addressed in the Catechism of the Catholic Church and questions asked provoke audiences from other religions and religious denominations. In this programme, the Catholic Church claims to be authentic and superior over other religions and Christian denominations. This is not good; the programme divides Christians and accelerates doctrinal differences. On the part of Muslims, the programme sometimes touches issues which are not the concern of Christianity. It would be enough to focus on matters of Catholic Christianity rather than dealing with issues on Islam and other Christian denominations.¹⁵⁵

The remark of Mabula expresses the way group identities can cause problems. In identity discourse the core problem comes when one group considers itself better than others. As it has been argued above, the Catechism of the Catholic Church contains teachings which make the Catholic Church superior to others. Under this phenomenon it is easy for audiences to conceive the same agenda with a shared mentality. Under this situation “each specific group of actors react to the othering they are subject to.”¹⁵⁶ Those who feel undermined will react towards the group which claims to be superior “thus threatening the peaceful co-existence both religions have enjoyed for years”¹⁵⁷ as well as the national cohesion in Tanzania.

3.11. Framing of issues from Socio-religious discourse

Apart from the framing of issues in programmes of *Ijue Biblia* and the Catechism of the Catholic Church, RMT through its broadcasting activities engages in the “politics of religions”¹⁵⁸ revolving in Tanzania especially between Christians and Muslims. In Tanzania one among the aspects of the “politics of religions” is issuing of *tamko/matamko* (Kiswahili: an official statement/statements) and *Barua za Kichungaji* (Kiswahili: Pastoral Letters) by religious leaders. RMT as a radio station owned by an organization under the Catholic Church

¹⁵⁵ Elibariki Mabula is a pastor of African Inland church in Mwanza. Interview, Mwanza 12 April 2011

¹⁵⁶ Jensen 2011.

¹⁵⁷ Wijssen and Mfumbusa 2004.

¹⁵⁸ “Politics of religions” in this context denotes the way religious institutions and radio stations in Tanzania engage in the tug of wars whereby religious groups confront each other and sometimes involve in accusations and counter -accusations.

airs different *matamko* from the Catholic Church in Tanzania. Apart from the *matamko* and *Barua za Kichungaji* from bishops of the Catholic Church, RMT also airs *matamko* from associations working with the Catholic Church. For instance RMT aired content of *Ilani ya Uchaguzi na Mapendekezo yetu ya Vipaumbele vya Kitaifa*¹⁵⁹ (Kiswahili: The Electoral manifesto and our proposal on the national priorities) which was given by the Catholic Professionals of Tanzania (CPT) under the umbrella of Catholic Bishops of Tanzania in 2009. The document was criticized by groups of Muslims who viewed it as an attempt to persuade Tanzanians to elect a presidential candidate of a political party who was a Christian. For some groups of Muslims that could mean a prolongation of *mfumokristo* (Kiswahili: Christian hegemony) in Tanzania. The CPT's *tamko* intensified the discourse of *mfumokristo* in Tanzania especially in the Muslims' circle. As it will be further discussed in chapter four, Muslims reacted by issuing different counter *matamko*.

Moreover, RMT (and other radio stations under Christian organisations and groups) aired the contents of two *matamko* which were issued by the Tanzania Christian Forum (TCF). The forum consists of members from Pentecostal churches in Tanzania (PCT), The Tanzania Episcopal Conference (TEC) of Catholic Bishops and Protestants' Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT). Seventh Day Adventists (SDA) are invited as observers. The first *tamko* titled *Tamko la Jukwaa la Wakristo Tanzania kuhusu Amani Nchini* (Kiswahili: A statement of TCF on the state of peace in the Country) came out on 6 December 2012. This *tamko* outlined seven issues which were considered to deteriorate the relationship between Christians and Muslims in Tanzania.¹⁶⁰ One among the seven issues in the *tamko* was clarifications on the concept of *mfumokristo*. Members of the TCF discussed the concept of *mfumokristo* and how it is used by some groups of Muslims to "mislead" people. According to TCF the concept of *mfumokristo* is wrong and misleading because about 90% of the holders of the top positions in

¹⁵⁹ See: *Ilani ya Uchaguzi na Mapendekezo yetu ya Vipaumbele vya Kitaifa* Available at: <http://www.chatama.netau.net/wakatoliki.pdf>. Accessed on 18 May 2013.

¹⁶⁰ See: *Tamko la Jukwaa la Wakristo Tanzania kuhusu Amani Nchini*. Available at: <https://groups.google.com/forum/#!msg/wanabidii/Cwinw6su8Zo/Ko0XdLVTD68J>. Accessed on 18 May 2013.

the government of Tanzania are Muslims. These positions include the President, the Vice-President, Head of National Security, Chief Justice and the Inspector General of the Police. The TCF called for the government to take steady measures to control the wide-spread propaganda by groups of people who are using the concept of *mfumokristo* for their own interests. According to the TCF the situation is tense and threatens peace and unity of the country.

The second *tamko* of TCF was released after its *ad hoc* meeting on 19 March 2013. The *tamko* was framed as a reaction of Christians in Tanzania to the socio-religious situation in Tanzania. Issues which were discussed in this meeting were framed under the so-called *kipindi cha mateso ya kinfumo kwa kanisa Tanzania*] (Kiswahili: Systematic persecution of the church in Tanzania) referring to the killing of a priest in Zanzibar on 17 February 2013, burning of churches in Zanzibar and Dar-es-Salaam on 12 October 2012, threats made against Christian leaders through the short messages service (SMS), the fate of minority Christians who live in Zanzibar and the controversy over the right to slaughter animals which resulted in socio-religious violence between a group of Muslims and Christians at Buseresere village on 10 February 2013.

The socio-religious violence at Buseresere village claimed the life of one pastor and left ten people injured.¹⁶¹ In this meeting the TCF declared that a small group of Muslims was behind the deterioration of peace and unity in Tanzania. In the context of *mfumokristo*, the TCF framed the situation as a plan of small group of Muslims in Tanzania to fulfill some interests against Christians. Worth noting is the way this meeting pointed a finger at the role of some religious radio stations to incite violence through their provocative contents. The TCF appealed to the government to take measures against those religious radio stations that incited violence. Even before the establishment of RMT, in 1993 the Catholic Bishops in

¹⁶¹ See: Esther Sumira and Jacqueline Masinde, “*Mchungaji auawa kwenye vurugu Geita*” in Mwananchi newspaper. Available at: <http://www.mwananchi.co.tz/habari/Kitaifa/-/1597296/1691536/-/11suf2n/-/index.html>. Accessed on 18 May 2013.

Tanzania issued a public statement against provocation in public religious preachings: "*Tamko Rasmi la Baraza la Maaskofu Katoliki Tanzania Mintarafu Kashfa za Kidini*" (A statement of the Tanzania Episcopal Conference on religious blasphemies). This *tamko* was not favorably received by some groups of Muslims who reacted by destroying non-halal butcheries (pork shops) in Dar-es-Salaam during Christians' celebrations of Good Friday 1993 (Mbogoni 2004).

3.12. Conclusion

This chapter provides the history of the World Family of Radio Maria, the founder and overseer of all Radio Maria broadcasting stations across the world. It also presents an account on the history of RMT based on its establishment, management, coverage and programmes. Aiming to serve its audiences in a holistic way RMT constructs its programmes to implement this mission. Through its volunteering character, RMT gathers talents from people who come to volunteer in the daily broadcasting activities. The volunteering shows an element of community participation which attracts audiences' listenership. The programmes of RMT have been briefly analysed in this chapter based on the four major categories of programmes namely Catholic Christianity and spirituality, Human promotion and welfare, News and information, and Social and entertainment. To fit to the objectives of the study, two programmes namely *Ijue Biblia* and the Catechism of the Catholic Church have been analysed in detail.

The analyses of the two programmes based on the benefits audiences get as well as the framing of issues and their influences to the thinking, imagination and actions of audiences of RMT. As argued previously some responses to questions asked provoke followers of other religions and religious denominations. From the discussions, the chapter identifies doctrinal differences and comparative debates on religious issues in the two programmes. These

debates and doctrinal differences play a role in exacerbating the gap among audiences of religious radios in Tanzania as well as inter-and intra-religious conflicts.

The last part of this chapter presents the way RMT involves itself in the socio-religious discourse and in the “politics of religions” in Tanzania. The use of the concept of *kipindi cha mateso ya kimfumo [kwa Kanisa Tanzania]* as an interpretative tool of events and the culture of issuing *matamko* and *barua za kichungaji* under the “politics of religions” find forum in the Tanzanian religious media. The phenomenon allows framing of issues in the way those who release the *matamko* want to present the issue. The culture of issuing *matamko* adversely amplifies the socio-religious discourse in Tanzania. The chapter concludes that an analysis on some contents of the *Ijue Biblia* programme, the Catechism of the Catholic Church, as well as the *matamko*, essentially reflect how some religious radio stations in Tanzania nurture the seeds of conflict between religious groups with impact on the national cohesion.

Chapter Four

Case study two: Radio Imaan

4.1. Introduction

This chapter explores briefly the history of the Islamic Foundation based in Tanzania which owns Radio Imaan. Also the chapter presents an overview of Radio Imaan, its organisational structure, patterns of production of programmes and the major categories of contents. Further, the chapter analyses two programmes *Mwangaza wa Jamii programme* (Kiswahili: The Light of the Society) and *Kidokezo* (Kiswahili: Hint /Clue/ Tip-off) to determine how their contents influence meanings which audiences of Radio Imaan construct. Also Radio Imaan as a religious radio station broadcasts Muslim events in Tanzania. The last part of this chapter explores the role of Radio Imaan during the *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* in 2011 (Kiswahili: Muslims' public rallies against Christian hegemony in Tanzania in 2011) and related *matamko* from Muslims' organisations and groups. The framing of agendas of *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* in 2011 and *matamko* are analysed in this chapter in relation to their influences on the socio-religious discourse, in the public domain and upon the national cohesion, from meanings which audiences of Radio Imaan construct.

4.2. The Islamic Foundation based in Tanzania

The Islamic Foundation based in Tanzania (hereafter IFBT) was registered “in 1998 as a religious organisation to proclaim Islam to the entire Tanzania and convey the pure authentic Islamic knowledge without any blemishes nationally and internationally.”¹⁶² The headquarters of the IFBT is located in the Morogoro municipality, Msamvu area. The IFBT has 12 branches in the different regions of Tanzania mainland and Zanzibar. These regions include

¹⁶² See: The Islamic Foundation based in Tanzania. Available at: <http://www.islamicftz.org/> Accessed on 20 November 2011.

Dar-es-Salam, Arusha, Dodoma, and Singida. Other regions are Kagera, Mtwara, Mwanza, Kigoma, Tabora and Tanga. In Zanzibar the branches are situated in Unguja and Pemba.¹⁶³ As of July 2011 the IFBT had five departments which implement its various objectives under its motto “Removing mankind from darkness to light (by the permission of Allah subhana wa ta'la). The departments are: Da’wah, Education, Health, Orphanage and Media.”¹⁶⁴ Moreover, the IFBT has built and runs over 400 mosques all over Tanzania. Through the department of Orphanage, it takes care of 325 orphans. Under the department of Education, the IFBT built and runs seven schools. The IFBT constructed over 700 water wells. Through the Health department, it built and run two dispensaries and Mahaad al Imaan.¹⁶⁵

4.3. Radio Imaan

Radio Imaan (hereafter RI) is a Frequency Modulated (FM) radio station established in 2004 in the municipality of Morogoro, situated in the eastern part of Tanzania.¹⁶⁶ Its transmission studio is located on the second floor of Masjid Haqq in Morogoro town. RI is owned by the IFBT. RI which is also accessible on-line through www.ustream.tv/channel/radio-imaan-fm aims at broadcasting Islam to reach the masses. Moreover RI has a Facebook account. RI, with its motto “Education without borders” implements the mission of the IFBT of bringing humanity out of darkness into the light under the guidance of Allah. Dedicated to this mission, “the programmes of RI are set to educate and inform people on Islamic teachings and values.”¹⁶⁷ There is a plan to launch Imaan Television and an Imaan Newspaper. The Media department also owns Mobile Studio and Cinema which has 4000 watts of loud speaker power, a stage, backstage with seats for the guest, mobile studio, a projector screen, wireless

¹⁶³ See: The Islamic Foundation. <http://www.islamicftz.org/>

¹⁶⁴ See: The Islamic Foundation. Available at: <http://www.islamicftz.org/> Accessed on 20 November 2011

¹⁶⁵ See <http://www.islamicfinder.org/getitWorld.php?id=107039&lang=arabic>, accessed on 20 November 2011.

¹⁶⁶ See: Tanzania Communications Regulatory Authority. Available at: <http://www.tcra.go.tz/events/pressReleaseContent.pdf>. Accessed on 20 November 2011

¹⁶⁷ Interview with Programme producer of RI, Morogoro 22 March 2011.

microphone and public address system. This is for *da'wah* in order to promote as well as get support for RI and later TV Imaan.¹⁶⁸

Figure 4.1. Masjid Haqq Morogoro



Source: Author 2011

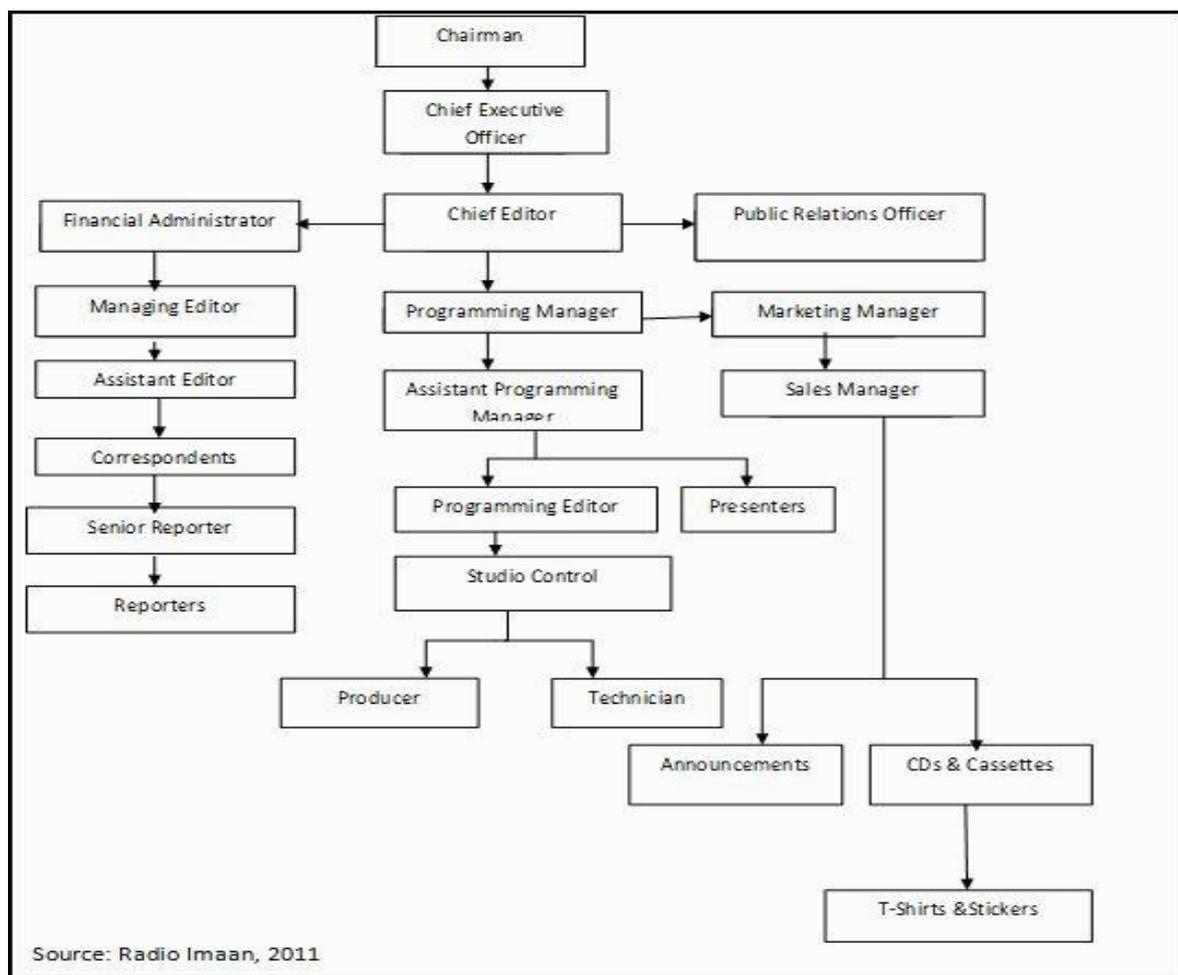
4.4. The Organisation of Radio Imaan

According to the organizational structure (Figure 4.2) the daily running of RI is under the Chief Executive Officer who receives command from the Chairman of RI. Below the Chief Executive Officer there are three officers who are responsible for supervising the daily activities of the radio station. The officers are: Chief Editor, Financial Administrator and the

¹⁶⁸ See: The Islamic Foundation: Mobile Studio and Cinema. Available at: <http://islamicftz.org/dawah-latest-news/mobile-studio-and-cinema>. Accessed on 20 November 2011

Public Relations Officer. The line of command of the Chief Editor extends to Programming Manager who commands the Assistant Programming Manager. The Assistant Programming Manager commands the Programming Editor and Presenters. Under the Programming Editor the line of command extends to the Studio Controller who commands the Producer on duty and the Technician. The Programming Manager shares the level of command with the Managing Editor whose commands extends to Assistant Editor, Correspondents, Senior Reporter and Reporters. The Programming Manager and Managing Editor share the level of command with the Marketing Manager whose command extends to CDs and cassettes sales, Announcements department and T-shirts and Stickers department.

Figure 4.2. Organisational structure of RI



4.5. Areas of coverage

RI through its satellite transmission covers almost the whole of the Tanzania mainland, Zanzibar and the borders of neighbouring countries.¹⁶⁹ As of July 2011 RI had 10 transmitters in different localities in Tanzania. The radio has news correspondents (reporters) in different localities in Tanzania who are also responsible in the promotion and marketing of the radio station.

Table 4 .1. Frequency distribution of RI

Area	Frequency
Morogoro	96
Pwani	96
Dar- es-Salaam	104.4
Zanzibar	104.4
Pemba	104.4
Tanga	104.4
Mafia	104.4
Kigoma	92.5
Mwanza	106.5
Dodoma	102
Singida	102
Tabora	101.6
Mtwara	90.9
Songea	94.2
Arusha	90.8
Kilimanjaro	90.8
Mbeya	90.3.

Source: Radio Imaan, 2011

4.6. Patterns of production of programmes

RI dedicates its programmes to the service of audiences in a holistic way. According to the Programme schedule of RI (Appendix 2), the radio station runs 364 programmes per week; with an average of 52 programmes per 24 hours. Three languages are used in the broadcasting activities of RI. The languages are: Kiswahili which is mostly used in the social, human

¹⁶⁹ See: Radio Imaan. Available at: <http://islamicftz.org/radio-imaan>. Accessed on 20 November 2011.

promotion and welfare programmes; Arabic which is used in all Quran-related programmes and prayers. Lastly is English which is used in programmes of Islamic knowledge and values produced by Muslim scholars in Egypt, America and England. According to the programme producer of RI¹⁷⁰ “all programmes which are in Arabic and English, a short translation is done in Kiswahili at the end of a programme or sometimes it is done at intervals during the programme. The translation enables the message to reach the audiences with meanings.”¹⁷¹ About 90% of the programmes of RI are produced from the studio. These programmes include: prayers, news bulletin, human promotion programmes and round table programmes. In the round table programmes *Wanazuoni wa Kiislamu* (Kiswahili: Muslim scholars) from universities in Morogoro¹⁷² and sheikhs are invited to the studio to discuss different issues on Islam. The programme schedule shows that most of the studio-produced live programmes are later repeated as recorded programmes.

Moreover, in the programme schedule there are some recorded programmes in Arabic imported from Saudi-Arabia and Egypt. These programmes contain teachings on Islam from different sheikhs and Islamic scholars from the two countries. According to an official of RI, one of the main producers of these imported programmes is Sheikh Abdulbaasit Abdulswamad.¹⁷³ Moreover, there are imported programmes from Egypt, England and America in English. The Arabic and English imported programmes include: Quran Translation aired every day except Friday from 1.00 pm to 1.20 pm. This programme is repeated in evenings on the same days for twenty minutes from 4:00 pm. On Fridays, this programme is aired once from 4:00 pm to 4:20 pm. *Quran Tukufu Surat al-Kahf* (Arabic:

¹⁷⁰ Interview with Programme Producer of RI, Morogoro 22 March 2011

¹⁷¹ Interview with Programme Producer of RI, Morogoro 22 March 2011

¹⁷² Morogoro as at June 2011 had four universities: The Muslim University of Morogoro and Jordan University College which are owned by religious organizations, Sokoine and Mzumbe universities owned by the government of Tanzania. RI often invites Muslim scholars from Muslim, Sokoine and Mzumbe in their round-table programmes.

¹⁷³ Abdulbaasit Abdulswamad-Egyptian Sheikh and Islamic scholar is one among sheikhs who produce imported programmes. Sheikh Abdulbaasit records most of his *mawaaidha* (Kiswahili: general teachings on Islam) which are later aired by RI as an imported, pre-recorded programme.

Holy Quran, Surat al-Kahf) in another programme under this group of imported programmes of RI. It is aired on Fridays from 10:00 am to 11:00 am. According to Mabrouk¹⁷⁴, the *Quran Tukufu Surat al-Kahf* is a programme on a *sura* 18 of the Holy Quran which talks about the story of the people of the Cave. “These series of the recorded programmes by Sheikh Abdulbaasit Abdulswamad apart from their religious and spiritual values, they present ‘*Hukm*’ (Arabic: the way the Quran is recited).¹⁷⁵ Due to their importance, “the series are used as models in the Quran reciting competitions in Tanzania which are organized by different Islamic groups during the holy month of Ramadan.”¹⁷⁶

RI through its Outside Broadcasting van covers events of some Muslim groups occurring in different places in Tanzania, especially those sponsored by the Islamic Foundation based in Tanzania.¹⁷⁷ RI also airs prayers and events taking place in Masjid Haqq where it is situated. Also there are recorded *mawaidha* (Kiswahili: general religious teachings) and *Khutuba* (Kiswahili: sermons given by sheikhs or an Imam on Fridays) produced by sheikhs, especially on matters of faith and Islamic values aired by RI. The aired recorded *mawaidha* are from Sheikh Mselem Ally, Sheikh Nasoro Bachu, and Sheikh Ibrahim Twaha. Others are Sheikh Ilunga Hassan and Sheikh Abdurahaman Muina.¹⁷⁸ According to an official of RI, some of the recorded programmes from these Sheikhs are aired during the holy

¹⁷⁴ Mabrouk Ally is a student of Media studies at St. Augustine University Tanzania. He is also the former Director of Istiqma Radio in Zanzibar. He is one among listeners of RI. Interview, Mwanza, 23 January 2012.

¹⁷⁵ According to Salma Mohamed “*Hukm*” (Singular) is an Arabic word and *Ahkam* is the plural. It means the correct way for reading/ reciting the Holy Quran according to *Ahkam al- Tajweed*, which means the application of Arabic language grammar perfectly. Informal discussion, Bayreuth, 9 February 2013.

¹⁷⁶ Interview with Sheikh Omari Jumbe who serves a mosque in the Morogoro municipality, Morogoro, 24 February 2012

¹⁷⁷ During the time of field work, I listened to RI on several activities done by the Islamic Foundation of Tanzania. Some of these activities were inauguration of mosques constructed by the Foundation, graduation ceremonies in schools and institutions owned and sponsored by the Foundation, religious ceremonies conducted by Ansar as-Sunna Muslims. Also, from 15 January to 16 October 2011, in different occasions RI covered live Muslims religious public rallies titled *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo in Taanzania* (*Muslims’ Public rallies against Christian hegemony in Tanzania*) took place in Dar-es-Slaam, Mwanza, Morogoro, Tabora, Kigoma, Iringa, Arusha, Pemba and Zanzibar to address Muslims’ grievances to the government against what Muslims claim the presence of Christian hegemony (in Kiswahili, *mfumokristo*) in Tanzania.

¹⁷⁸ These Sheikhs have become famous among audiences of RI through their *mawaidha*. Additionally, some of their *mawaidha* are recorded and sold in CDs and cassette tapes in shops owned by Masjid Haqq where the radio is located. Sheikhs Mselem Ally and Nasoro Bachu are from Zanzibar. The researcher visited these shops and bought some CDs and cassettes by these Sheikhs and also listened to their programmes in RI.

month of Ramadan to guide Muslims on different matters such as fasting, life of prayers and caring after the needy.¹⁷⁹

4.7. Contents of programmes

The analysis of the Programme schedule of RI (2011) indicates four major categories of programmes. These categories include Islamic spirituality and knowledge, Human promotion and welfare, News and Information and Social programmes which exclude elements of entertainment.¹⁸⁰ In RI, Islamic spirituality and knowledge accounts for 60%, Human Promotion and Welfare 15%, News and Information 20% and Social programme 5%. Moreover, programmes of RI are clustered under five periods of time namely: *Asubuhi Njema* (Good Morning) programmes from 6:58 am to 11:00 am, *Adhuhuri tulivu* (Calm Afternoon) programmes, from 11:01 am to 3:15 pm and *Jioni Maridhawa* (Healthy evening) programme which is aired from 3:16 pm to 7:00 pm. There are *Usiku mtulivu* (Calm Night) programmes which are aired from 7:01 pm to 11:00 pm and the last group is programmes under *Usiku wa Quran* (Night of the Quran) which start at 11:01 pm to 6:57 am. According to the Programme Producer of RI, “these five groups of programmes have nothing to do with the five periods of prayer in Islam. They are just grouped in that way for convenience.”¹⁸¹ All in all, “strategically, programmes of RI have been set to respond to the needs of Muslims in different spheres of life, and when we review them, priority is given to the needs of Muslims in Tanzania to help them to live Islam in accordance to the teachings of the Quran and the Sunnah of the Prophet.”¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ According to an official of RI (1), these pre-recorded programmes are also sold in mosques under the Islamic Foundation based in Tanzania to those who want to listen at home with their families. Interview, Morogoro, 20 March 2011.

¹⁸⁰ According to an official of RI (1) in the social programmes of RI there is no element of entertainment and the radio does not play secular music even religious music in these programmes. Interview, Morogoro, 20 March 2011.

¹⁸¹ Interview with the Programme Producer of RI, Morogoro, 20 March 2011 RI (1)

¹⁸² Interview with Broadcaster of RI, Morogoro, 22 March 2011

4.7.1. Islamic spirituality and knowledge

An analysis on the Programme Schedule of RI (2011) shows that the following programmes are under the group of Islamic spirituality and knowledge: *Darasa la Duara* (Kiswahili: Round Table Class) which goes on air every Wednesday from 5:20 pm to 6:20 pm. In this programme, different issues related to Islam, such as Muslim education, practices of Islam and principles of Islam are discussed with Muslim scholars. Audiences are invited to air their views and ask questions on an issue presented and discussed through phone calls.

There is *Ijue Shar'ia* (Kiswahili: Know Shar'ia) programme which is aired on Thursdays from 7:00 to 7:45 pm. In this programme, Muslim scholars who are experts in Islamic laws are invited to the studio to discuss various issues on *Shari'a* and its applications in the life of Muslims. Opportunities are given to audiences to contribute to the discussion and ask questions through telephone calls. According to an official of RI "as far as Islam and the life of Muslims are concerned, this is one of the core programmes of RI which aims at giving light to Muslims to live their lives according to the principles laid down by Allah."¹⁸³ Furthermore, the officer of RI highlights the encompassing character of *Shari'a* and knowledge on *Shari'a* in the life of a Muslim, "without such knowledge, it is easier for a Muslim to fall into a life which is not pleasing Allah. For a Muslim, *Shari'a* is the compass in everything done from morning to the time he or she retires."¹⁸⁴

Moreover in this category of programmes there are four related programmes which focus on the Quran. These are Quran Translation programmes aired in Arabic and English, imported from Saudi Arabia, Egypt, England and America. In this programme translations of the verses of Quran are made by Muslim scholars and sheikhs. The programme goes on air twice a day (except Friday) from 1:00 pm to 2:00 pm and from 4: 00 pm to 4:20 pm. On Fridays, the programme is aired only once from 4:00 pm to 4:20 pm.

¹⁸³Interview with an official of RI (1), Morogoro, 23 March 2011.

¹⁸⁴Interview with an official of RI (1), Morogoro, 23 March 2011.

The second programme in this group is *Tafsiri ya Koran*, (Kiswahili: Quran Interpretation) broadcast in Arabic and Kiswahili. As of July 2011, the programme was produced by Sheikh Mselem Ally from Zanzibar. This programme is aired twice a day on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays from 9:00 am to 10:10 am and from 9:15 pm to 10:15 pm. The same programme is aired only once on Wednesdays and Sundays from 9:00 am to 10:10 am. This programme focuses on the exegesis of the Quranic verses.

The third programme is *Koran Tukufu* (Kiswahili: The holy Quran) programme which goes on air every day from 0:10 am to 5:00 am. This is a recorded programme in Arabic and aired in the studio continuously after mid-night with no translation in Kiswahili. The last is a programme called *Mafundisho ya Koran* (Kiswahili: The teachings of the Quran) which is aired on Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays, from 7: 20 pm to 8:00 pm. In this programme an invited sheikh instructs audiences on various issues of life in Islam based on the teachings of the holy Quran.

In RI there is a *Mafundisho ya Swala* (Kiswahili: Teachings on Prayers) programme which is aired on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays from 7:00 pm to 7:45 pm. Matters presented in this programme range from the importance of prayers in life to the benefits a Muslim can derive from prayers. In addition, teachings are given on the preparations needed before prayers, how to pray and conditions for prayers in Islam. Also the challenges posed by the new communication technology in prayers are discussed. According to the teachings of this programme, a Muslim cannot claim to fulfill the obligation of prayers by listening to a prayer programme aired by a radio station.¹⁸⁵

Furthermore, analysis of the programme schedule of RI shows the following prayer programmes. First is *Du'a*¹⁸⁶ (Kiswahili: petition) which is aired on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, from 6:20 pm to 6:30 pm; 6:45 pm to 7:00 pm, and at 12.00 midnight to 12.10

¹⁸⁵ I heard these teachings in RI during my field work in Tanzania, Morogoro 27 May 2011.

¹⁸⁶ *Du'a* in Islam means special prayers dedicated to a specific intention and time.

am. *Du'a* is also aired on Tuesdays, from 12:00 midnight to 12.10 am. On Thursdays *Du'a* is aired from 12:50 pm to 1:00 pm, from 6:45 pm to 7:00 pm; from 11:50 pm to 12.00 midnight. On Saturdays *Du'a* is aired from 6:00 pm to 6:30 pm and from 11:50 pm to 12:00 midnight. On Sundays *Du'a* is from 6:00 pm to 6:30 pm and from 6:45 pm to 1:00 pm.

In RI there is *Adhkari za Asubuhi* programme which is aired every day, from 5:10 am to 5:40 am. *Nyiradi za Asubuhi* programme which goes on-air every day, from 5:40 am to 6:00 am. Other prayer periods are *Swala ya Magharibi*, (Kiswahili: Evening Prayer) which is aired live from Masjid Haqq every day (except Tuesday and Friday) from 6:35 pm to 6:45 pm. On Tuesdays the programme is aired from 7:00 pm to 7:10 pm while on Fridays it is aired from 6:58 pm to 7:15 pm. The *Swala ya Isha*, (Kiswahili: Last Prayer of the Day) is aired on Mondays, Wednesdays and Thursdays, from 8:00 pm to 8:15 pm while for the rest of the week it is aired from 8:15 pm to 8:30 pm.

Every Friday, from 6:30 pm to 1:00 pm, there is live coverage of Friday's prayers and services from Masjid Haqq. The service is repeated on the same day as a recorded programme from 5:40 pm to 6:10 pm. Connected to these prayer programmes are the five calls for prayers known as *Adhana* (Kiswahili: Call to prayer). The five *Adhana* are as follows: *Adhana ya Alfajiri* (Kiswahili: Morning call) every day from 5:05 am to 5:10 am, *Adhana ya Adhuhuri* (Kiswahili: Noon's call) every day from 12:45 to 12:50 pm, *Adhana ya Alasiri* (Kiswahili: Afternoon call) from 3:45 pm to 3:50 pm. *Adhana ya Magharibi* (Kiswahili: Evening call) from 6:30 to 6:35 pm and *Adhana ya Isha* (Kiswahili: Day's last call for Prayer) from 7:45 pm to 7:50 pm.

Moreover in the programme schedule there are programmes which focus on Islamic knowledge. Among them is a *Mawaidha* which is aired daily from 2:00 pm to 3:00 pm. The Programme schedule of RI shows that as of July 2011 the producer of this programme was

Sheikh Nassoro Bachu¹⁸⁷ whose teachings are tailored to advise Muslims on matters of Islam and religious life. *Sira ya Mtume* (Kiswahili: memoirs of the Prophet) are narratives which focus on the earthly life of the Prophet and his relationship with other people. RI runs *Sira ya Mtume* programme on Mondays, Tuesdays Wednesdays and Thursdays from 3:15 pm to 3:45 pm. Similar to *Sira ya Mtume* programme in its mode of production is the programme called *Maisha ya Maswahaba*, (Kiswahili: life of the Caliphs) which is aired by RI on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays from 4:20 pm to 4:55 pm. This programme explores the life and contribution made by the successors of Prophet Mohammed in Islam. Related to *Maisha ya Maswahaba*, is *Tunawakumbuka* (Kiswahili: Memoirs) programme which is aired by RI in every Saturday from 4:20 pm to 4:55 pm. In the programme, the earthly life and contributions are presented of different notable Muslims and other important people in the growth and spread of Islam in history. All these programmes use historical and autobiographical approaches to bring to audiences of RI the life and contributions of different and important people in Islam.

Another programme under the group of programmes on prayer and Islamic knowledge is the Islamic call (in Kiswahili: *Mwito wa Kiislamu*) which goes on-air every Saturday from 10:00 pm to 11:00 pm. In this programme, sheikhs present the theological meanings of being a Muslim and the obligations of all Muslims to live the values of Islam in accordance with the teachings of the Quran and Sunnah of the prophet. This English programme is one of the imported programmes of RI produced by Sheikhs in Egypt, America and Britain. Translation in Kiswahili is given at the end of the programme.

Furthermore, in the programme schedule of RI (2011) there are two *fatwa* programmes; *Fatwa za akina Mama* (Kiswahili: Fatwah on Women) which is aired on Tuesdays from 11:10 am to 12:00 noon. *Fatwa* is aired on Fridays from 11:20 am to 12:00

¹⁸⁷ Nassoro Bachu is a Zanzibarian sheikh who produces series of *Mawaidha* programmes which RI airs as recorded programmes.

noon. These two programmes explore various legal opinions given by Muslims scholars on women and other important matters in Islam. Apart from the *Fatwa* programmes, there is *Nasaha za Ijumaa* (Kiswahili: Friday's wisdom/advice) programme which is aired on every Friday from 9:00 am to 10:00 am. In this programme, advice is given by Sheikhs, and occasionally by programme producers on how to keep the day, especially on the fulfillment of religious obligations of Muslims on Fridays. Related to *Nasaha za Ijumaa* are two programmes: *Nasaha za Asubuhi* (Kiswahili: Morning's wisdom/ advice) programme which is aired every day, from 6:00 am to 6:30 am. In this programme, advice is given on how to live a successful day in accordance with Islam and the second one is *Nasaha za Washairi* (Kiswahili: Poet's wisdom/advice) programme which is aired on every Saturdays from 5:20 pm to 6:00 pm in which advice is given in the form of poems sung in the studio.

Seeking knowledge is one of the aspects of audiences of the Tanzanian electronic media. There are two programmes in RI which deal with answering general religious knowledge questions from its audiences. These are *Radio Imaan ni Jibu* (Kiswahili: Radio Imaan is the Answer) which goes on-air every Friday from 9:15 pm to 10:15 pm, and *Maswali na Majibu* (Kiswahili: Questions and Answers) aired on Sundays from 9:00 pm to 9:40 pm. In these programmes Muslim scholars are invited to studio to answer questions sent by letters and emails from audiences who seek to get knowledge on different issues. In my experience, some of the major issues asked by the audiences are based on Islam, the life of the Prophet and the Caliphs. Other subjects are on *Shari'a*, Muslims' relationships with people of different religions, Islamic marriage and comparative religious debates.¹⁸⁸ The two programmes *Radio Imaan ni Jibu* and *Maswali na Majibu* sometimes include research data collected from various sources, especially questions requiring very specific kind answers.

¹⁸⁸ I listened to RI and managed to analyze issues asked in this programme during my field work in Tanzania, January to July 2011.

However, there are some questions asked in these programmes which provoke audiences of other religions.

4.7.2. Human promotion and welfare

An analysis on the programme schedule of RI shows that most of the human promotion and welfare programmes address issues of health, education and economics. Other issues are related to politics, social and cultural spheres of Tanzanians, particularly Muslims. According to the Programme Producer of RI, “issues discussed in programmes under this category are framed and defined in accordance with the Islamic teachings so as to make them convey religious values even on matters which are considered secular.”¹⁸⁹ The framing of the “secular” programmes from Islamic perspectives is consistent with the mission of RI to serve its audiences in holistic way.

RI adheres to the teachings of the Quran and Sunnah of the Prophet in its daily broadcasting activities. In this sense, its programmes find meanings within Islamic definition in religious, social and even health programmes. In regard to human health, RI runs *Afya ya Jamii* (Kiswahili: Community health) programme every Sunday from 9:15 pm to 10:00 pm. In this programme, Muslim medical experts are invited to the studio to talk on issues of human health from the Muslim perspectives. Audiences telephone to ask questions the health topics presented. The programme is repeated on Mondays from 11:05 am to 11:30 am and Thursdays from 11:10 pm to 12:00 noon. The variation on the duration of the production is rooted from the patterns of production of this programme. According to the Programme Producer of RI “on Sundays the programme is aired live but when it is repeated it is edited to fit into the allocated time.”¹⁹⁰ Similar to *Afya ya Jamii* programme in content is *Radio Imaan na Tiba* (Kiswahili: Radio Imaan and Treatment) programme which is aired on Wednesdays from 3.15 pm to 4.15 pm. This programme is repeated on Thursdays from 12.00 noon to

¹⁸⁹ Interview with Programme producer of RI, Morogoro, 22 March 2011.

¹⁹⁰ Interview with Programme producer of RI, Morogoro, 22 March 2011.

12.45 pm. In this programme, as of July 2011 Sheikh Abdulkarim Mambo Saleh from *Kliniki ya Tiba Asilia za Kisunnah* (Kiswahili: Clinic of Traditional Sunnah medicine) became the producer and was talking about alternative treatments for various diseases, based on Islam. Related to *Radio Imaan na Tiba* programme in content is *Uislamu na Tiba* (Kiswahili: Islam and Treatment) programme which is aired on Wednesdays from 9:15 pm to 4:15 pm. In this programme “knowledge about health and treatment according to Islam is given to guide Muslims.”¹⁹¹ These programmes which focus on health and treatment are also promoting and marketing the traditional medicines to Muslims. In my experience in Tanzania there is a trend whereby people opt to *Tiba mbadala* (Kiswahili: alternative treatment/medicine) which are mostly traditional medicine compared to modern medicine. In my opinion, the reason behind this trend needs investigation for any logic based on effectiveness or economic factors.

Moreover there is a family programme in RI called *Familia* which goes on-air every day for half an hour from 11.30 pm to mid night. This programme “aims at educating the audiences on how to establish a stable Muslim family. Parents are advised on their responsibilities in families according to principles of Islam. By accommodating Islamic principles, families will be prevented from moral decay and influences that can harm a Muslim family.”¹⁹² Themes which are aired in this programme include forming a stable Muslim family, life of prayer, Islamic morals, what Islam teaches about family, children and Islamic values. Other themes are preventing children from external bad influences of secular media, music, films and video. Participants in this programme are “proficient Muslims on matters of family, based on Islamic teachings. Apart from parents, in this programme children, as future parents, are given knowledge on how to relate with their parents.”¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ Interview with Programme producer of RI Morogoro, 22 March 2011.

¹⁹² Interview with programme producer of RI Morogoro, 22 March 2011. Also during my field work (January to July 2011) more frequently I listened to this programme. Western cultural influences, secular governments and Christianity were mentioned in some programmes as threats to Islam so Muslim families must be aware of and take measures to control them.

¹⁹³ Interview with an official of RI, Morogoro, 23 March 2011.

Furthermore, in the Programme schedule of RI (2011), there is a programme which focuses on children's welfare and issues. The programme is called *Malezi ya Watoto* (Kiswahili: Children's upbringing) aired on Wednesdays from 11.05 am to 11.45 am. Religious instructions and teachings on the rights of children according to Islam are some of the main issues explored in the programme. This programme targets parents, children, teachers of *madrasas* and those who are working in care centers for Muslim children. Additionally, on every Sunday from 11.10 am to 11.45 am, RI allocates 35 minutes for Muslim children in a programme called *Radio Imaan na Watoto* (Kiswahili: Radio Imaan and Children). In this programme, children share religious experiences through stories, questions and knowledge from *madrasas*.

Harakati ndani ya Jamii (Kiswahili: Social Movements) is another programme under the category of human promotion and welfare. This is a half an hour recorded programme aired every Sunday from 3.15 pm to 3.45 pm. Being report-oriented, mixed issues needing attention by various people entrusted with appropriate responsibilities in the government or in religious institutions report from different places in Tanzania. According to a programme producer of RI "the programme aims at enlightening parts concerned in various social and development endeavors to take actions on issues reported."¹⁹⁴

Mwangaza wa Jamii (Kiswahili: The Light of Society) is another programme which focuses on issues related to Muslims' welfare in Tanzania. This programme is aired live from the studio every Sunday from 8:05 am to 9:00 am. Detailed analysis of *Mwangaza wa Jamii* programme follows in section 4.8 below. Another programme of RI under human promotion and welfare is *Adhauq wa Shauq* (Arabic: Desire to know). This programme is aired on Thursdays, from 4:20 pm to 4:58 pm. The programme is quiz-oriented one as it includes questions posed in studio and audiences call-in to answer questions. Prizes such as religious items are given to the winners. Moreover, in the programme schedule there are three

¹⁹⁴Interview with broadcaster of RI, Morogoro, 22 March 2011

programmes which focus on learning foreign languages. In the programme, basics of English and Arabic are taught. On Saturdays from 3:15 pm to 3:45 pm RI airs *Jifunze Kiingereza* (Kiswahili: Learn English) programme. Audiences interested in English language learn step-by-step through the weekly aired series of this programme. Lastly there are *Kalima ya Kiarabu* and *Lisanaul-arabi* programmes which teach Arabic and Arabic literature, respectively. According to an officer of RI “all these language programmes aim at giving basic knowledge of English and Arabic to our audiences who want to learn them. In this way, we help those who have no money to pay language schools.”¹⁹⁵

4.7.3. News and information

As of July 2011, news and information accounted for 20% of the programmes of RI. The following are news and information programmes: *Taarifa ya Habari ya Asubuhi* (Kiswahili: Morning news bulletin) which is aired every morning from 7:00 am to 7:13 am, *Radio Imaan na Magazeti* (Kiswahili: Newspapers’ review) which goes on air every day for 45 minutes from 7:15 am to 8:00 am. *Habari Kwa ufupi* (Kiswahili: News in brief) and *Taarifa ya Habari* (Kiswahili: News bulletin) is aired three times a day from 3:00 pm to 3:15 pm, 5:00 pm to 5:15 pm, and from 9:00 pm to 9:15 pm. *Habari Kwa ufupi* is aired every day from 11:00 am to 11:05 am. Moreover, there are three feature programmes. These include *Yaliyojiri Wiki hii* (Kiswahili: Weekly Episode), *Yaliyojiri* (Kiswahili: Episode) and *Makala ya Wiki* (Kiswahili: Feature of the Week). *Yaliyojiri Wiki hii* programme is aired every Saturday from 8:15 pm to 9:00 pm. It is repeated on Mondays from 0:30 am to 1:00 am. The programme summarizes the weekly current affairs. Similar to *Yaliyojiri Wiki hii* programme in content and pattern of production is *Yaliyojiri* (Kiswahili: Episode) which focuses daily news and events (current affairs) occurring in different places in Tanzania. The programme is aired on Mondays, Wednesdays and Sundays; from 8:15 pm to 9:00 pm. Lastly is *Makala ya Wiki* (Kiswahili: Feature of the Week) which is aired every Tuesday from 8:30 pm to 9:00

¹⁹⁵ Interview with an official of RI (1), Morogoro, 23 March 2011

pm. This programme analyses weekly events and news. Apart from that in RI there are news and information programme called *Kidokezo* (Kiswahili: Hint/Tip-off /clue) which is aired from Monday to Saturday from 8:05 am to 8:50 am. A detailed analysis of the *Kidokezo* programme follows in section 4.9 below.

Ulimwengu wa Kiislamu (Kiswahili: The Muslim World) and *Ulimwengu Juma hili* (Kiswahili: This Week in Perspectives) are programmes within the news and information category. *Ulimwengu wa Kiislamu* is aired every Tuesday from 5:20 pm to 6:20 pm. In this programme a summary of weekly events and news from the Muslim world is presented in a documentary form. Similar to *Ulimwengu wa Kiislamu* programme in the pattern of production is *Ulimwengu Juma hili* programme (This Week in Perspectives) which summarizes news reported weekly in media from different parts of the world. This programme is aired on Fridays, from 5:00 pm to 5:40 pm. Another programme on news and information is *Madrasa zetu* (Kiswahili: Our Madrasas). This programme is aired on Fridays from 4:20 pm to 4:55 pm. In this programme a broadcaster visits schools of Islamic traditional discipline (madrasas), especially those run by the Islamic Foundation based in Tanzania and interviews teachers on activities occurring in the *Madrasas*. In its daily broadcasting activities RI neither joins with the National radio-TBC *Taifa* nor any other radio station for news or any other programme. As shall be discussed further, the censorship enables RI to get news compatible to its goals.

4.7.4. Social programmes

RI airs several programmes aiming at socializing its audiences. As mentioned previously, social programmes account for 5% in the overall production of RI. The social programmes of RI include *Asubuhi Njema* (Kiswahili: Good Morning) which is a greetings programme through cards aired every day except Friday from 10:00 am to 11:00 am. RI allocates most of its greetings programmes on Friday. For instance, on Fridays, from 11:10 am to noon, RI airs a call-in greetings programme called *Salaamu za Ijumaa kwa simu* (Kiswahili: Friday

greetings through phone call). Apart from that, there is a sister programme of *Salaamu za Ijumaa kwa simu* called *Salaamu za Ijumaa* (Kiswahili: Friday Greetings) through cards which is aired from 1:20 pm to 2:00 pm. From 3:15 pm to 3:45 pm, there is a greetings programme called *Pongezi za Ijumaa* (Congratulations on Friday). In this programme, audiences of RI send congratulations through cards to their relatives and friends who celebrate their various occasions such as birthdays, successes and achievements in life.

Moreover on every Friday night there is a greetings programme called *Salaamu za Usiku* (Kiswahili: Night Greetings). This is the last programme of greetings on Fridays which goes on-air from 8:30 pm to 9:00 pm. On every Sunday, from 1:20 pm to 2:00 pm, there is a greetings programme called *Salaamu za Adhuhuri* (Kiswahili: Afternoon greetings) whereby “friends of RI have chances to greet each other through cards.”¹⁹⁶ These social programmes provide time for audiences to socialize and for the radio station to source income through the selling of greeting cards.

As argued above, RI aims at serving Muslims through its broadcasting activities. To fulfill the objectives of this study of looking at the way religious radio stations in Tanzania frame issues, the effects of the framing on audiences, meaning making and the national cohesion, a detailed analysis will be made on two programmes of RI: *Mwangaza wa Jamii* (The Light of Society) and *Kidokezo* (Hints/Tipp-off/clue). The assumption is that the analysis of the two programmes will better address the wider context of the phenomenon of meaning construction and the national cohesion in Tanzania.

4.8. Mwangaza wa Jamii programme

Mwangaza wa Jamii (The Light of Society) is a programme which falls under the category of human promotion and welfare. The programme is aired live from the studio every Sunday morning from 8:05 am to 9:00 am. Two patterns of production of the programme are used:

¹⁹⁶Interview with an official of RI (1), Morogoro, 23 March 2011.

first, a presenter on duty introduces a theme which the presenter has prepared and takes calls from audiences for views on the same theme. In the second pattern RI hosts an Islamic scholar (s) in the studio to talk on a specific issue. Then from the studio the presenter invites audiences through direct phone calls to give their views on the issue presented.

The *Mwangaza wa Jamii* programme addresses wide-ranging issues related to Muslims' interests. The themes and issues are selected from current affairs and revolving discourses in the public and media spheres. For example, most of the themes presented in 2011 focused on Muslim education; politics in Tanzania, the rights of Muslims, effects of *mfumokristo* and Muslims' welfare in Tanzania.¹⁹⁷ As shall be discussed below, these issues also constituted the agendas presented in *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo in Tanzania* (Kiswahili: Muslims' public rallies against Christian hegemony in Tanzania) in 2011. Other issues which were frequently presented in *Mwangaza wa Jamii* programme were framed under *mfumokristo*. Under this phenomenon, such themes were presented in *Mwangaza wa Jamii* programme: *Mfumokristo dhidi ya Elimu ya Waislamu* (Kiswahili: Christian hegemony vis-à-vis Muslims' Education), *Mfumokristo na ukandamizaji wa haki Waislamu* (Christian hegemony and the marginalization of Muslims' rights in Tanzania). In some programmes of *Mwangaza wa Jamii* the invited guest used themes from a book of a Catholic priest John Sivalon titled "*Kanisa Katoliki na Siasa ya Tanzania Bara: 1953 hadi 1985*" (Kiswahili: The Catholic Church and the Politics of Mainland Tanzania: 1953-1985) to frame two hypotheses: first to prove the notion of Julius Nyerere as the founder of *mfumokristo* in Tanzania; second to show how the marginalization of Muslims under *mfumokristo* is documented in the book.¹⁹⁸ Other issues were on the National Muslim Council

¹⁹⁷ These issues were presented in programme of *Mwangaza wa Jamii* during my research field work in Tanzania, January-July 2011.

¹⁹⁸ This book of John Sivalon titled "*Kanisa Katoliki na Siasa ya Taanzania Bara: 1953 hadi 1985*" was publicized through *Mwangaza wa Jamii* programme whereby it became one among the books which had market. In May 2011, no copy was available in the Catholic Bookshop in Dar-es-Salaam. Two contested explanations accounted for the situation: From the Bookshop owners, the book became a fast-selling to the extent of having

of Tanzania (BAKWATA), the participants of Muslims in the National Population and Housing Census in 2012, discussions on *matamko* issued by bishops of the Catholic Church in Tanzania, the participants of Muslims in the process of writing the new constitution in Tanzania, the establishment of the *kadhi* court, Tanzania membership in the Organisation for Islamic Conference (OIC) and the right of Muslims to slaughter animals. Worthy of note is the way presenters of this programme selected and framed the issues for discussions. In most cases, the discussions were framed to show the negatives of *mfumokristo* and the need to replace it.¹⁹⁹ Under this phenomenon, contributions from audiences reflected the way a presenter in the studio framed an issue.

In another development, from January 15 to October 16 in 2011, RI covered live *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* aimed at raising awareness on the marginalization of Muslims in Tanzania. The *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* in 2011 were held in Dar-es-Salaam, Tabora, Kigoma and Mwanza. Other places were Morogoro, Mtwara, Arusha, Kilimanjaro and Mbeya; Iringa, Pwani, Kagera and Zanzibar. All the *makongamano* were held on Sundays from 9:30 am to about 3:00 pm.²⁰⁰ RI covered the events from the inauguration day in the Diamond Jubilee in Dar-es-Salaam on 15 January 2011 to the last day on 16 October in the same venue. As argued above, the main agenda of the *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* in 2011 was to raise awareness among Muslims to what is ‘claimed’ *mfumokristo* which has operated in Tanzania since 1961. Borrowing the definition from the Muslims’ public rallies in 2011 “*Mfumokristo, ni mfumo wa udini dhidi ya Uislamu na Waislamu*” (Kiswahili: Christian

no copy in stock, on the other part, some Muslims established that, the bookshop decided to create the situation by removing all the copies because the book reveals how *mfumokristo* was founded by Nyerere. It is a contested situation which needs further investigation. However, this is not in the core objectives of this study.

¹⁹⁹ See: Mujahiduun (2011) *Hatima ya Tanzania na Mfumo Kristo*. Available at:

<http://mujahiduuna.blogspot.de/2012/06/hatima-ya-tanzania-na-mfumo-kristo.html>. Accessed on 17 May, 2013

²⁰⁰ I listened the *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* during my research field work in Tanzania from January to June 2011, also I made a follow-up on the *makongamano* from July to October after coming back from field work in Tanzania in July 2011 through my research assistant and sometimes online.

hegemony is a religionism against Islam and Muslims in Tanzania).²⁰¹ As it will be further discussed the framing of *mfumokristo* during the Muslims' public rallies influenced a significant section of Muslims in Tanzania with different interpretations and actions.

The concept of *mfumokristo*, which loosely translates to Christian hegemony, is the widely held notion among sections of Tanzanian society that attempts to explain the perceived marginalization of Muslims. Indeed, significant sections of the Muslim society feel that the government of Tanzania is operating under *mfumokristo*. According to these discourses and revisionist attempts at historical facts, it is claimed that Julius Nyerere, the first President of Tanzania (1961-1984) is the founder of *mfumokristo*. Furthermore, the propagators of *mfumokristo* maintain that the concept does not refer to a specific religious background or affiliation of a president who is in power but the system under which the government of Tanzania has operated since independence in 1961.²⁰² As it shall be discussed below the framing of issues in the programmes of *Mwangaza wa Jamii* and *Kidokezo* as well as in the *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* in 2011 amplified the concept of *mfumokristo* to the extent of making in an interpretative and expressive tool in spheres of life in Tanzania.

In the *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* in 2011 as well as in *Mwangaza wa Jamii* and *Kidokezo* programmes the concept of *mfumokristo* was used to frame the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) signed in 1992 between the government of Tanzania in one part and Tanzania Episcopal Conference (TEC-Catholic) and Christian Council of Tanzania (Protestant-CCT). The MoU gave birth to Christian Social Services Commission (CSSC). Through the memorandum the government of Tanzania committed to support initiatives made by two church organisations in Germany: Catholic Church and the Lutheran Church by providing subsidy to church-owned health centers and hospitals when

²⁰¹ See: Mujahiduun (2011) *Hatima ya Tanzania na Mfumo Kristo*. Available at: <http://mujahiduuna.blogspot.de/2012/06/hatima-ya-tanzania-na-mfumo-kristo.html>. Accessed on 17 May 2013.

²⁰² See: Kongamano (Diamond Jubilee) *Hatari ya Mfumo Kristo*. Part 1-3. Available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AHgCgmp-0iY>. Accessed on 17 May 2013.

applied for that purpose.²⁰³ At the time when the memorandum was signed, already there were discourses in Tanzania that Muslims were historically marginalized and disadvantaged in comparison to Christians (Njozi, 2003). Due to this background the signing of the MoU added to the discourse of *mfumokristo* and became a reference for the development of Christians and the marginalization of Muslims in Tanzania. In this manner the concept of *mfumokristo* was framed and embodied in the agenda of the *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* in 2011 to express the differences in levels of development between Christians and Muslims. The explanation given is that *mfumokristo* assists Christians to develop and adversely it causes Muslims to remain poor.

On the other hand, the framing and analysis of the MoU and its implementation in RI and in the *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* in 2011 is viewed by some Christians as a provocative agenda and misleading. For instance, Liberatus maintains that the discourse of *mfumokristo* in relation to the signing of the MoU instigate violence.

It is true that RI is serving the interests of Muslims but sometimes the services overlap the interests and threatens the unity and peace among Tanzanians. I remember how RI through its *Mwangaza wa Jamii* programme dealt with issues linked to *mfumokristo* in Tanzania in relation to the Memorandum of Understanding. The issues were aired by RI in a manner which intended to create hatred against Christians and the government of Tanzania. Understanding the logic behind the memorandum and thorough investigation on the terms of agreement between the two parts would enable the audiences especially Muslims to know it in the right way. Unfortunately in the programme the signed memorandum of understanding was presented negatively as something which implements *mfumokristo*. In reality social services provided by hospitals are not only for Christians. But they framed the MoU as if favours Christians at the expenses of Muslims. Such presentations create hatred and mistrust between Muslims and Christians. This is not true and really incites hatred among Tanzanians and threatens the national cohesion.²⁰⁴

In my observation, the issue of the MoU is a revolving agenda and Muslims believe that there is a conspiracy between the state and Christians to discriminate against them (Smith 1993, Tambila 2006, Ndaluka 2012). Unfortunately no clear answers have been given by the government of Tanzania to clear doubts building around it. The silence of the government

²⁰³ See: The history of Christian Social Services Commission. Available at http://www.cssc.or.tz/about_us/history.php. Accessed on 17 May, 2013

²⁰⁴ Liberatus Anthony is a journalist in Morogoro. Interview, Morogoro, 12 May 2011

leaves room for the people in Tanzania to construct different meanings. As it has been noted in chapter three, it is the CFT which tried to respond to Muslims on the MoU through their *tamko* but not the government. Since the CFT is an organ of Christians its response could mean a defence and an attempt to justify *mfumokristo*.

In the education sector *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* in 2011 framed an agenda to show the way *mfumokristo* operates. According to the agenda, since 1961 the top posts in leadership of the Ministry of Education in Tanzania show that about 80% are under Christians.²⁰⁵ According to the statistics given in the *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* as of October 2011 about 166 holders of the top posts of leadership in the Ministry of Education were Christians compared to 24 Muslims.²⁰⁶ Also the statistics show that since the establishment of the National Examinations Council of Tanzania (NECTA) in 1973 the posts of the chairperson and the executive secretary have been under Christians. NECTA is responsible in planning, setting and marking examinations of all secondary schools in Tanzania. Due to the fact that it is headed by Christians since its establishment, in the *makongamano* Muslims “claimed” that NECTA is responsible for the failures in examinations of Muslims children and schools. This agenda was framed to show how NECTA is working under *mfumokristo* to “sabotage” examination results of Muslim children and schools.

Furthermore in the context of Tanzanian political Islam the concept of *mfumokristo* is framed as a mobilizing tool for unity of Muslims against “a Christian dominated state since colonial period.”²⁰⁷ In this mentality in the *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* in 2011 there was an agenda which

²⁰⁵See: Mujahiduun (2011) *Hatima ya Tanzania na Mfumo Kristo*. Available at: <http://mujahiduuna.blogspot.de/2012/06/hatima-ya-tanzania-na-mfumo-kristo.html>. Accessed on 17 May, 2013.

²⁰⁶See: Mujahiduun (2011) *Hatima ya Tanzania na Mfumo Kristo*. Available at: <http://mujahiduuna.blogspot.de/2012/06/hatima-ya-tanzania-na-mfumo-kristo.html>. Accessed on 17 May, 2013.

²⁰⁷Heilman and Kaiser 2002:695.

questioned the legitimacy of the Vatican's Apostolic Nunciature in Tanzania.²⁰⁸ By using the frame of *mfumokristo* the presence of the Vatican's Apostolic Nunciature in Tanzania made an agenda in the *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* in 2011 which demanded the establishment of the *kadhi* court in Tanzania mainland as well as Tanzanian membership in the OIC.

Also in the context of *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* in 2011 the application of the concept of *mfumokristo* was extended to the National Muslim Council of Tanzania (BAKWATA). BAKWATA is viewed by some groups of Muslims in Tanzania as a political organ established by the government for political reasons. Due to this state of affairs, BAKWATA is framed as an organisation of the government which works for the government in the name of Muslims' organ. Under this frame the findings show that Muslims blame BAKWATA for not working on matters of Muslims compared to what RI is doing for Muslims in Tanzania. According to Aziz RI fills the vacuum of spokesperson caused by BAKWATA which was supposed to speak on behalf of all Muslims in Tanzania.

For him:

BAKWATA was supposed to stand for the rights of Muslims in Tanzania, but due to the background of its establishment it is a political organ serving the interests of the government than Muslims. Similarly Radio Sauti ya Koran (Radio Voice of the Quran) which is owned by BAKWATA serve the interests of the government and those who are in BAKWATA. In this way, the establishment of RI changed the situation. RI stands for the rights of Muslims. Through its programmes, the radio station makes the voiceless Muslims to have a voice and it creates great impact not only to Muslims but also to the government and the audiences in Tanzania. Things have changed, people especially Muslims are very aware of many things of their rights which have been suppressed for long time. RI opens a new way horizon and mobilizes for unity among Muslims to fight for our denied rights under *mfumokristo* and BAKWATA.²⁰⁹

In the minds of some groups of Muslims in Tanzania the establishment of BAKWATA in 1968 to replace the East African Muslim Welfare Society (EAMWS) was done politically by

²⁰⁸See: Thomas Joseph Ndaluka (2012:22) for detailed information.

²⁰⁹Aziz Mwinyimkuu is a lecturer at Sokoine University of Agriculture. Interview, Morogoro 11 May 2011.

Nyerere's government in order to control Muslims in Tanzania (Westerlund 1980; Njozi 2000; Chande 2000). However according to Nimtz (1980) the formation of BAKWATA meant to give religious power to Africans as part of achieving hegemony in the realm of religion. In this way, the formation of BAKWATA was considered as an element in the process of "Africanisation" adopted in post-colonial Africa. Apart from that in the *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya Mfumokristo Tanzania*, BAKWATA was blamed for "selling" property of Muslims in Tanzania. Moreover, the legitimacy of BAKWATA to announce the sighting of the moon during the holy month of Ramadan was questioned. As if that is not enough, BAKWATA is also viewed by some Muslims as a wing of the ruling party-CCM to implement the interests of the government (Masoud, 2001). According to the opposers of BAKWATA, there is a need for Muslims in Tanzania to unite and establish an organ which will involve all groups of Muslims in Tanzania from its process of establishment; composition and functions.²¹⁰

All in all, over the past few years, RI has been reputed to have raised Muslims' awareness in Tanzania through *Mwangaza wa Jamii* and *Kidokezo* programmes and *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* in 2011. For example, Sheikh Omar ²¹¹ maintains that "RI since its establishment especially through *Mwangaza wa Jamii* and *Kidokezo* programmes enlightens Muslims on matters of faith and on what the government and "people from the other side" are doing to suppress the rights of Muslims and Islam in Tanzania under *mfumokristo*."²¹² According to Sheikh Omari, RI through its broadcasting activities unites Muslims to fight for their rights. "Look at the *Makongamano* (Kiswahili: public rallies) of Muslims in the country. The main agenda is to address our rights

²¹⁰I heard this in one of the *Makongamano ya Waislamu ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* aired live by RI from Diamond Jubilee-Dar-es-Salaam on 15 January 2011.

²¹¹Sheikh Omar Jumbe is one among the Sheikhs under the group of Ansar -as Sunna Muslims in Morogoro. Interview, Morogoro, 24 February 2011.

²¹² Interview with Sheikh Omar Jumbe, Morogoro, 24 February 2011.

against *mfumokristo*. It is only RI which covers the *makongamano*, we are very grateful to RI; otherwise we could not know what is going on.”²¹³

The *Mwangaza wa Jamii* and *Kidokezo* programmes as well as agendas of *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* in 2011 attracted extended discussions in the new media especially weblogs. Two local blogs *Jamii Forums* and *Wanabidii* blog frequently posted threads on issues aired in the programmes. For instance, from January 2011 to February 2013 *Jamii Forums* had 41 threads on different issues sourced from the *Mwangaza wa Jamii* programme.²¹⁴ On the other hand, *Wanabidii blog* from January to March 2011 posted nine threads taken from the same programme.²¹⁵

As discussed in the previous chapter, the use of *matamko/tamko* has become a tool of communication in Tanzania. Leaders in Christianity and Islam use *matamko* to communicate with their followers. In 2009 the Catholic Professionals of Tanzania under the umbrella of Catholic Bishops of Tanzania issued *Ilani ya Uchaguzi na Mapendekezo yetu ya Vipaumbele vya Kitaifa*.²¹⁶ The document was criticized by some groups of Muslims who viewed it as favouring a presidential candidate of a political party who was a Christian. Some groups of Muslims framed it as an implementation of *mfumokristo*. The document added much to the discourse of *mfumokristo* not only in programmes of RI but also in the daily interactions among Muslims. On 28 August 2009 the Council of Islamic Organisations in Tanzania

²¹³Interview with Sheikh Omar Jumbe, Morogoro, 24 February 2011.

²¹⁴ Eight threads posted in *Jamii Forums* which were sourced from *Mwangaza wa Jamii* programme in February 2013 are: *Jamii Forum na madai ya Waislamu*(03 February 2013); *Radio Imaan ni zaidi ya shule*(4 February 2013); *Radio Imaan* (10 February 2013); *Radio Imaan yapata tuzo*(14 February 2013); *Radio Imaan na sakata la kuchinja* (17 February 2013); *Radio Imaan mnakotupeleka hakufai* (18 February 2013); *Baada ya FBI kutua nchini, Radio Imaan yahubiri amani* (24 February 2013); *Radio Imaan na Markaz-Aljazeera*(26 February 2013). Source: <http://www.jamiiforums.com>

²¹⁵The threads sourced from *Mwangaza wa Jamii* programme of RI in *Wanabidii blog* are: *Matangazo ya Radio Imaan FM: Tafsiri yangu* (19 January 2011); *Tamko la Jumuiya na Taasisi za Kiislamu Jijini Mwanza*(31 January 2011); *Majibu ya Rais kwa Waislamu*(05 February 2011); *Matamko ya Waislamu Mwanza na Tamko kuu Dar*(13 February 2011) *Madai ya Waislamu yafanyiwe kazi*(19 February, 2011); *Kwanini Waislamu wanalalamika?*(20 February 2011), *Ufisadi wa Mfumo Kristo waanikwa*(26 February 2011) *Nilichokisikia Kongamano la Kiislamu Arusha*(28 March 2011) and *Waislamu nchi nzima kazeni buti*(30 March 2011). Source: [www.wanabidii .com](http://www.wanabidii.com).

²¹⁶ See: *Ilani ya Uchaguzi na Mapendekezo yetu ya Vipaumbele vya Kitaifa* Available at: <http://www.chatama.net.au/wakatoliki.pdf>. Accessed on 18 May 2013.

(CIOT)²¹⁷ in Dar-es-Salaam issued a *mwongozo* (Kiswahili: guideline) titled “*Mwongozo kwa Waislamu*” (Kiswahili: Guideline to Muslims). In the introduction of the *mwongozo* the CIOT declares that “*Ndani ya mwongozo wetu kuna ujumbe maalum kwa serikali ya CCM kwa kule kaka kimya kwake kimya baada ya Kanisa Katoliki kutoa waraka ambao kimsingi jamii na serikali zinajua kabisa kwamba unahatarisha umoja wa kitaifa.*”²¹⁸ (Kiswahili: In our document there is a special message to the government for its silence on the manifesto issued by the Catholic bishops which basically threatens the national unity). The *mwongozo* of CIOT intended to instruct Muslims on matters of the general elections in 2010. After the general elections in 2010, the Council of Islamic Organisations in Tanzania, (Mwanza branch) issued *tamko*²¹⁹ titled *Tamko la Jumuiya na Taasisi za Kiislamu Jijini Mwanza kuhusu hali ya Kisiasa, Kauli za Maaskofu, na Mustakbali wa Nchi* (Kiswahili: Declaration of Council of Islamic Organisations in Mwanza on the status of politics, statements of Bishops, and the future of the Country) to counteract the *tamko* issued by the bishops of the Catholic Church of Tanzania discussed above. Also the *tamko* congratulated Tanzanians for turning down what the Council “claimed” as attempts of bishops to direct Tanzanians to choose a specific Christian candidate for the presidency. The contents of *matamko* were aired in RI in news bulletin and *Mwangaza wa Jamii* and *Kidokezo* programmes.

Through *Mwangaza wa Jamii* and *Kidokezo* programmes, airing the contents of *matamko* and the live coverage of *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* in 2011, RI exposed *mfumokristo* to the public. RI made *mfumokristo* to be an expressive and interpretative tool in Tanzania. RI amplified *mfumokristo* to the extent of

²¹⁷ The Council of Islamic Organisations in Tanzania combines all organisations of Muslims in Tanzania. Among its agendas is that of not recognizing BAKWATA as a sole legitimate organ of Muslims in Tanzania.

²¹⁸ See: *Waislamu Kuzindua Mwongozo wa Uchaguzi* Alhamisi. Available at: <http://sayuni.blogspot.de/2009/08/waislamu-kuzindua-mwongozo-wa-uchaguzi.html>. Accessed on 18 May 2013.

²¹⁹ See: *Tamko la Jumuiya na Taasisi za Kiislamu Jijini Mwanza kuhusu hali ya Kisiasa, Kauli za Maaskofu, na Mustakbali wa Nchi* lililotolewa Jumapili Tarehe 23 Januari, 2011 katika Viwanja vya Shule ya Msingi Mbugani (Muslim School), Jijini Mwanza. Available at: <http://hapakwetu.blogspot.de/2011/01/tamko-la-jumuiya-na-taasisi-za-kiislam.html>. Accessed on 18 May 2013.

associating it to the social, economic and political problems which Muslims are facing in Tanzania. This phenomenon nurtures the seeds of conflict existing in Tanzania between Muslims and Christians. As it will be discussed in the chapter five, through *mfumokristo* and *udini* discourses in religious radio stations audiences infer meanings which keep the enduring national cohesion in Tanzania on trial.

4.9. Kidokezo Programme

Kidokezo (Hints, Tip-off /Clue) programme is aired every day except Sunday from 8:05 am to 8:50 am. This programme introduces a topic/theme for an extended discussion through phone calls. In this programme, tips for discussion are sourced from newspapers, radio stations, television and new media especially weblogs. Apart from that tips are sourced from current affairs and revolving socio-religious discourses, and follow-up of events related to the interests of Muslims in Tanzania. Some issues which were presented as tips in the programme of *Kidokezo* from January to June 2001 were on follow-up of issues related to Muslim rights. Other issues presented were on Tanzanian media reports on Islam and Muslims, results of national examinations secondary schools owned by religious organisations and appointments to government posts. Worth noting is the way the presenter of the programme “censors” the audiences to allow those who are “*wenzetu*” (Kiswahili: our people/insiders) to ask or contribute. After receiving the call, the presenter will greet the one who calls in the traditional Muslim manner. The presenter says “*As-salam alaykum*” (Arabic) in order to verify that the caller is one of the “*wenzetu*.” The caller has to answer in a long formula “*wa `alaykumu s-salāmu wa rahmatu l-lāhi wa barakātuh*” (Arabic). This will clear doubts over outsiders and the caller will be allowed to give his views. When an audience fails to do that the presenter will negate the call.²²⁰ This “censorship” ensures that the discussion is biased in favour of the presenter’s view. This guarantees a shared mentality on what has been framed. However, it

²²⁰ I observed this through listening to *Mwangaza wa Jamii* programme during my field work in Tanzania January to June 2011.

needs more than the long formula of greetings because a caller who is not a Muslim may learn it and be able to call. In order to control this situation, the contribution of the caller on the tip will be subject to the second criterion. If the caller's verbal delivery is unattractive to the presenter, the call will be terminated with and immediately the presenter will say "*huyo si mwenzetu*" (Kiswahili: he is not one among us).²²¹

Contrasted with *Mwangaza wa Jamii* programme, *Kidokezo* programme does not include discussions in the studio but a programme presenter introduces a tip and leaves the audience to discuss by direct phone calls. On some occasions, a presenter frames an issue to seek opinions on a specific tip presented. In my experience, the *Kidokezo* programme is used as a forum to set daily agendas for audiences of RI. The production pattern of this programme allows lively discussions on what has been tipped. According to programme producer of RI:

This programme is used to set an agenda for audiences in every day except on Sunday when there is the *Mwangaza wa Jamii* programme which in their functions complement each other. Through *Kidokezo* programme, RI frames issues in a form of tips to the audiences to know and discuss. Sometimes we use this programme to evaluate the understandings of our audiences on the tips presented.²²²

The remark above shows how the *Kidokezo* programme can be used to frame issues to seek opinions from audiences or understanding of audiences on an issue presented. Notwithstanding its importance to audiences of RI and some groups of Muslims, the *Kidokezo* programme airs biased and provocative dialogue which weakens national cohesion in Tanzania.

4.10. Framing of issues from Socio-religious discourse

RI through the coverage of the *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* in 2011 managed to carry in a broad sense the agenda of dismantling Christian hegemony. The

²²¹ Several times I heard in *Mwangaza wa Jamii* programmes during my field work in Tanzania January to June 2011.

²²² Interview with Programme Producer of RI, Morogoro, 20 March 2011.

agenda of *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* in 2011 were coated to reflect the prejudice of *mfumokristo* and the need to dismantle it. According to the agenda of *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* in 2011, *mfumokristo* is “major reason” behind the marginalization of Muslims, failures in examinations of Muslim children, source of inequality in employment as well as in the ownership of hospitals and schools. The *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* in 2011 singled-out the MoU between the government of Tanzania and the Christian bishops as evidence of the way *mfumokristo* operates in Tanzania, in favour of Christians, at the expense of Muslims.

Furthermore, some groups of Muslims use the concept of *mfumokristo* to demonstrate the “failure” of BAKWATA to work for the interests of Muslims. The establishment of BAKWATA is attributed to initiatives of politicians. This kind of establishment is contrary to the minds of many Muslims in Tanzania who favour having an organ which is established by themselves under the guidance of Islamic norms and principles.²²³ Interesting to note is the involvement of RI in the “politics of religion” in Tanzania. RI airs the contents of *matamko* from Muslims which counteract those of Christians. This phenomenon makes RI appear to be a battlefield of politics of religion between Christians and Muslims. RI extrapolates the utterings makes of the Christian lobby and exposes them to Muslim doctrine especially through its *Kidokezo* programme, a strategic initiative for dismantling *mfumokristo*.

4.11. Conclusion

This chapter explored the history of the Islamic Foundation based in Tanzania (IFBT) which owns RI. Through its departments of *Da'wah*, Education, Health, Orphanage and Media the IFBT purportedly under the guidance of *Allah* set to liberate mankind from darkness to the light. Since the establishment of RI in 2004, the IFBT uses the radio station as medium to implement its objectives of serving mankind. Through its programmes RI serves its audiences

²²³See Abdin Chande, *Radicalism and Reform in East Africa* in Levtzion & Pouwels (2000). The History of Islam in Africa. Also Hamza Njozi (2000) The Mwembechai Killings and the political future of Tanzania

in spiritual and material needs. Due to its country-wide coverage, RI is reputed by groups of Muslims in Tanzania for being a catalyst of their awareness as a community to live their faith and fight for their “denied” rights under *mfumokristo* since independence in 1961. Moreover, to some groups of Muslims, RI is a tool to express grievances of Muslims to the government of Tanzania which is “claimed” to operate under *mfumokristo* to favour Christians. The radio station through its *Mwangaza wa Jamii* and *Kidokezo* programmes frame issues which have significant impact, not only on Muslims, but also on peace and unity in Tanzania. The *Mwangaza wa Jamii* highlights issues which call for action by Muslims as well as the government and Christians. In the media sphere, the issues presented in the *Mwangaza wa Jamii* and *Kidokezo* programmes have attracted extended discussions in weblogs with impact on the content and mode of contributions.

All in all, RI through *Mwangaza wa Jamii* and *Kidokezo* programmes as well as the coverage of the *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* caused *mfumokristo* to become an expressive and interpretative tool of imbalances between Christians and Muslims in the socio-religious, political and economic spheres in Tanzania. In this situation, the overemphasis on *mfumokristo* made in the programmes of RI on the one hand unites Muslims under a shared mentality to fight against *mfumokristo*. On the other hand, it causes hatred and tensions among Tanzanians, based on religious affiliations. This phenomenon weakens the national cohesion which Tanzanians have enjoyed since independence in 1961.

Chapter Five

Cross Case Analysis and Discussion

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents what has been explored in the previous chapters. To arrive at the goal of this chapter, a case-oriented analysis model²²⁴ is used to compare and contrast what has been presented in previous chapters. RMT and RI have been analysed in terms of history, organisational structure, areas of coverage, patterns of production of programmes, number of programmes and contents. Also, four programmes from RMT and RI have been singled out and analysed to determine the framing of issues, the presentations and the kinds of meanings audiences infer from what was presented in the two programmes. Further analysis on framing of issues under discourses of *mfumokristo*, *kipindi cha mateso ya kimfumo [kwa kanisa Tanzania]* and *udini* revolving in Tanzania as well as the *matamko* (official decrees) and *makongamano* (public rallies) is made to determine their effects on audiences' meaning construction and national cohesion.

5.2. Findings

The findings reflect the aforementioned research questions that this study sought to address.

5.2.1. On the organisation structure and areas of coverage

The ownership of RMT (Table 3.1) excludes direct integration of the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in Tanzania. This situation creates a kind of independence from interference of the hierarchy in the daily broadcasting activities. Similarly, the organisation structure of RI (Table 4.1) excludes the National Muslim Council of Tanzania (BAKWATA). Accordingly

²²⁴ Two types of cross-case analyses exist: the variable oriented analysis and cases oriented analysis. The former looks at various variables for example, the organisational chart, patterns of production of programmes. The latter looks at the case as a whole and offers the possibility of providing comparison between the cases studied. See Mathew B. Milles and A. Michael Huberman (1988) *Qualitative data analysis: A sourcebook of new methods*. Beverly Hills: Sage, p.172

with RMT, the exclusion of BAKWATA in the daily broadcasting activities of RI allows a kind of independence. The two radio stations are registered as non-commercial radio-stations for religious purposes. During the course of this study RMT and RI were the only religious radio stations with country-wide coverage with correspondents in different areas in Tanzania. Moreover, the two radio stations are also accessible on line a factor which benefits audiences (Tanzanians) in diaspora.

Significantly the two radio stations differ in a many ways, while RI is “completely” independent from BAKWATA in its daily activities and “some” doctrines; RMT is “relatively” independent from the Tanzania Episcopal Conference (TEC) in terms of membership, but not in doctrines. As previously noted, a great number of Muslims in Tanzania are Sunni; however RI keeps its broadcasting activities in accordance with the teachings of the group of Ansar as-Sunna Muslims. In this way RI sometimes differs with BAKWATA, especially on issues related to the legitimacy of the announcement of the sighting of the moon during the holy month of Ramadan. On the other hand, although RMT has international elements and implements the mission of the WFRM, however it cannot claim to be free from the teachings and directives from the TEC. In its broadcasting activities RMT involves Catholic dioceses in Tanzania for coordination and organising fund-raising in respective dioceses. Moreover in the daily broadcasting activities, RMT uses volunteers from different socio-religious and academic backgrounds and gender while RI on its part uses only employed male journalists and correspondents in different localities in Tanzania.

The findings show that the two radio stations are playing important roles to their respective religions and audiences. Apart from the contributions the two radio stations make on issues of faith still they serve audiences in their material needs. The presence of RMT and RI gives voices and spaces for religious practices to Catholic Christians and Ansar as-Sunna / Sunni Muslims respectively.

5.2.2. On the packaging of the programmes.

The findings show that programmes of RMT and RI are planned to respond to the goals of serving audiences spiritually and materially. Through different programmes of RMT and RI the church and the mosque are respectively on-air reaching heterogeneous audiences in Tanzania. The goals of serving of audiences in a holistic way are also coated in the mottoes of RMT and RI. With the motto of “Christian voice in your home” RMT packs its programmes to bring to the public Catholic Christianity. Similarly, RI under its motto “Education without borders” sets its programmes to teach Islam. Basically the two mottoes reflect the missions and visions of the broadcasting activities of the two radio stations. In this sense, the mottoes embody the utility of RMT and RI (Gaddy 1984).

Furthermore, the doctrinal differences between Christianity and Islam condition the contents and the broadcasting activities of RMT and RI. This phenomenon intensifies the “othering” tendency among audiences based on religious affiliation, groups and denominations hence creating what Heilman and Kaiser call “intra and inter-faith conflicts due to lack of consensus within and between religious groups.”²²⁵ This situation amplifies and enforces on one hand, religious identities and on the other hand, divisions based on religious affiliations such as ‘we are Catholics, they are Protestants; we are Christians, they are Muslims, and we are Muslims, they are Christians, we are Ansar as-Sunna Muslims, they are Shia Muslims.’ In its broader sense, the trend shapes the imagination, thinking and actions of audiences to the extent of affecting the values of *undugu* (Kiswahili: fraternity) and *utaiifa* (Kiswahili: nationalism) among Tanzanians.

Through religious programmes each religion tries to claim superiority over the other. Under such situation each religion seeks to strengthen its own social identity and establish religious hegemony, thus threatening the peaceful coexistence both religions have enjoyed for years (Smith 1993; Wijsen and Mfumbusa 2004). As it shall be further discussed this situation

²²⁵ Heilman and Kaiser 2002:703.

amplifies socio-religious discourses of *mfumokristo*, *kipindi cha mateso ya kinfumo [kwa kanisa Tanzania]* and *udini* revolving in Tanzania. In this way, the two radio stations in their programmes frame issues which make audiences to infer some meanings which amplify the existing socio-religious discourses to the extent of undermining the national cohesion.

5.2.3. On the contents of the programmes of RMT and RI

The findings show that contents of programmes of RMT and RI are all-encompassing in the sense that they serve audiences in both spiritual and material needs. Moreover, the findings show that RMT and RI have audiences from Christian and Muslim backgrounds (Appendix 4) who listen to meet different needs such as to deepen faith, prevent worldly influence, entertainment as well as to create peace and order (Appendix 7). In the programmes of RMT, 59% of them focus on the material needs of its audiences. On its part 60% of the programmes of RI focus on the religious needs of its audiences. Mathematically, 59 % of the programmes of RMT have contents which deal with the materials needs compared to 40% of programmes of RI which focus on materials needs.

An analysis of the contents of the programmes of RMT shows that there is no single programme with a content that includes or focuses the interests of Muslims. Issues on Islam and Muslims come occasionally as questions in the *Ijue Biblia*. In one way or another, this is an obstacle to the official statements of the Catholic Church on dialogue with Muslims²²⁶ and other Christian denominations. RMT could be among the forums within the Catholic Church which implements this mission through dialogic contents on Islam. A similar situation occurs with the programmes of RI which are dedicated to serve Muslims and Islam. In the programme schedule of RI there is no programme which includes or focuses on the interests of Christians or Muslims who are not Ansar as-Sunna/Sunni. In RI matters of Christians or

²²⁶The Catholic Church has Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue which fosters and supervises relations with members and groups of non-Christian religions as well as with those who are in any way endowed with religious feeling. See Pastor Bonus, 159. Available at: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/apost_constitutions/documents/hf_jp-ii_apc_19880628_pastor-bonus-index_en.html. Accessed on: 23 April 2012.

Christianity are only discussed in comparative religious debates and socio-religious discourses such as the “marginalization” of Muslims in Tanzania under *mfumokristo*.

In general, it is normal for a religious radio station to confine its activities to serving a religion to which it belongs; however there are some exceptions in the sense that there are religious radio stations in different parts of the world which are serving the interests of all members of a community. For example, Radio Progress of the Catholic diocese of Wa in northwest Ghana abides by the legislation of community radio stations and provides programming for all religious groups in the place. This radio station provides equal time for all religious groups, especially for the Muslims who are numerous in northern Ghana.²²⁷ According to Alumuku (2006), Radio Progress was able to bring about reconciliation between conflicting Muslim groups, and the Muslims were most grateful to Radio Progress. Unfortunately, this is something that few religious radio stations in Africa can offer to their audiences; in most cases religious radio stations are tools of nurturing and perpetuating differences.

Furthermore, RMT operates under the patroness of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Due to this, the contents of some programmes convey Marian messages with phrases such as “*Sisi watoto wa Maria*” (Kiswahili: We are the Children of Mary) “*Radio ya Mama yetu Maria*” (Kiswahili: The Radio of our Mother Mary). The patroness and these phrases, apart from spreading the Catholic mission on Blessed Mary, they also cement the respect which Catholic Christians pay to Mary. While maintaining this uniqueness of the Catholic Church to the Blessed Virgin Mary inversely they create borders between themselves and those who are not paying due respect to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Moreover, “the teachings on the Blessed Virgin Mary (Mariology) and time dedicated to praying the rosary in the daily schedule induce non-Catholics to tune-off/stop listening to the station when these programmes are

²²⁷ Informal discussion with Prof. Robert White held on 17 July 2012, Kwa Zulu Natal University, Durban

aired.”²²⁸ Similarly, programmes which focus on Catholicism with reference to the church whose headquarters is in the Vatican make other denominations within Christianity to be outsiders within Catholicism. Programmes of RMT that “focus on the supremacy of the Pope; the teachings and the justification of the sacraments according to the “Catholic” church are also mechanism which RMT use to fortify the uniqueness of Catholic Christianity at the same time keep us [other Christians] apart.”²²⁹

In-house censorship of newspapers’ review programmes is a strategy which is used by RI to sort out the needed contents from newspapers. According to an official of RI “in- house censorship is employed to sort-out news items which are relevant to Islam and of Muslims’ interests. The radio station cannot air contents which may scandalize Islam and Muslims; that is why in-house censorship is necessary.”²³⁰ Under this situation, news items from newspapers which are termed as “*za kwetu na zinatuhusu*” (Kiswahili: ours and are relevant to us) are aired and “*hizo hazituhusu, si zetu, za wenzetu wa upande wa pili*” (Kiswahili: they are not ours; they belong to those of the other side) are censored. Apart from the censorship on news items, RI selects only few newspapers among the dailies of Tanzania. RI reviews extensively few newspapers such as *Uhuru* which is owned by the ruling party of Tanzania, *Zanzibar Leo*, a newspaper owned by the revolution government of Zanzibar and *An-Nuur*, a Muslim’s weekly newspaper. Other major Kiswahili dailies in Tanzania which are censored in RI include: *Tanzania Daima*, *Mwananchi*, *Nipashe*, *Majira* and *Mtanzania* (privately owned newspapers) and the government owned *Habari Leo* newspaper.²³¹

According to an official of RI “the in-house censorship also aims at preventing newspapers which are working under *mfumokristo* to find a room in RI as well as avoiding

²²⁸ Interview with Elibariki Mabula, Mwanza 12 April 2011.

²²⁹ Interview with Pastor Elibariki Mabula, Mwanza 12 April 2011.

²³⁰ Interview with an official of RI (1), Morogoro 23 March 2011.

²³¹ I observed the in-house censorship through listening to newspapers’ review programmes aired by RI during my field work January to July 2011.

news which may harm the teachings of Islam.”²³² The in-house censorship of news and sources of news is in line with what some groups of Muslims in Tanzania regard as a negative reporting on Islam and Muslims by private media. In order to avoid the so called media’s demonization of Islam and Muslims in Tanzania (Njozi 2000), RI selects newspapers to be reviewed as well as censors the news items contained in newspapers.

On the other hand, although RMT reviews all the Kiswahili major dailies mentioned above, it does not review the weekly *An-Nuur* newspaper owned by Muslims and other newspapers owned by Protestant and Pentecostal churches such as *Nyakati* and *Msemakweli*. Although there is no clear reason given nevertheless it is enough to point finger to the differences in doctrines as the reason behind the phenomenon. RMT and RI are religious radio stations with the obligation to fulfil the roles of information, education and entertainment which are salient functions of media. It is true that in every media house there are policies which guide the selection of news but sometimes censorship amounts to the abuse of press freedom and the right for information, a right which is guaranteed in the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania (URT).

Furthermore the findings show that the two radio stations broadcast contents which are perceived by audiences as provocative. The contents which focus on a comparative religious debate in Ijue *Biblia* and the Catechism of the Catholic Church programmes as well as contents of *matamko* from Christian institutions have been singled-out as provocative and a source of religious conflicts. Similarly the contents of *Mwangaza wa Jamii* and *Kidokezo* programmes; agendas of *Makangamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* which were covered live by RI in 2011 and *matamko* from CIOT have intensified *mfumokristo* and *udini* discourses in Tanzania. The provocative contents nurture the “seeds” of religious

²³² Interview with an official of RI (1), Morogoro, 23 March 2011.

conflicts and divisions among Tanzanians based on religious affiliations and groups. Abdul refutes the views of provocation in the contents of RI:

It is not the case with the aired contents of RI. I know some people especially those from ‘the other side’ are not happy with the developments which Muslims in Tanzania are making. This is the reason which makes them to say RI agitates conflicts and hatred among Tanzanians. Those people aim at silencing us, but what I can say, there is no programme in RI which aims at causing conflicts. Issues which are discussed in the *Mwangaza wa Jamii* programme are taken from newspapers or from current affairs revolving in Tanzania and some issues from *Ulimwengu wa Kiislamu* programmes which are from the Muslim world so there is no hidden agenda. RI takes them for discussions among its audiences. *Mfumokristo* is an obvious phenomenon since independence. The discussions in RI refer to the past and the present and call Muslims to take action to dismantle it. This is not hatred against Christians but against the Christian hegemony which denies the rights of Muslims. In this sense RI aims at liberating Muslims from the domination of *mfumokristo*. RI is only a threat to those who are against Muslims and Islam especially the beneficiaries of *mfumokristo*.²³³

The history of Tanzania shows some incidents of violence propelled by religious circumstances. (Forster 1997:172-173; Njozi 2000, Mahenge 2002:1, 3; Heilman and Kaiser 2002; Mbogoni 2004, Mukandala et al.2006). In this sense, the provocative contents in religious radio stations can amplify inter-faith and intra-faith differences among religious groups, especially between Muslims and Christians. In this way amplified differences become raw material for potential religious violence in Tanzania (Heilman and Kaiser 2002). Be it in a religious radio station or commercial radio station, provocative contents especially those which incite violence create a negative perception to audiences on the issue presented. The above remarks by Abdul as well as that of Hussein and Liberatus in the previous chapters indicate competing religious views among audiences of religious radio stations with no consensus. This phenomenon connotes power relations between the two proselytizing religions in Tanzania, each one trying to establish hegemony²³⁴ through the amplification of

²³³ Abdul Kibwana is a shopkeeper of religious CDs and DVDs in Morogoro. Interview, Morogoro, 12 May 2011.

²³⁴ Antonio Gramsci (1891-1941) based on the deterministic economic views of Marxism developed this concept to explain the power relations between a dominant ruling group who constantly persuades subordinate groups to accept their dominion over moral, political and cultural ideologies. The ruling group becomes a think tank of all. In reality the concept of hegemony is not achievable because the subordinates will resist through active struggle such as riots, demonstrations. For more detail see: Magriet Pitout “Media Culture” in Pieter J

socio-religious discourses existing “that had not been allowed to take expression in the government-controlled media.”²³⁵ Whatever the case, in media studies abiding to media ethics is paramount. In order to serve the best, religion and media ethics need to line in equal balance so as to avoid extremes especially on matters of religion.

5.2.4. On Socio-religious discourse and audiences’ meanings construction

The two radio stations command trust among their respective audiences. According to the findings, audiences consider the two radio stations as voices serving their religions in a better way. RMT is viewed as a source of knowledge and forum to clear doubts on doctrinal issues. On its part, RI apart from being one of the voices of Muslims and Islam in Tanzania takes the grievances of Muslims to the public. In this way, audiences trust the issues framed by the two radio stations as reality and they infer different meanings in accordance with what they consume from the programmes.

As argued in chapter two, the study of audiences and media examine meaning construction as a function of the interaction between media and audiences. The process includes the production of the media content, the interpretation and consumption of the content (De Fleur and Dennis 1994: 595, Fourie 2004:243). Furthermore, borrowing from Hospers (1997) there are multiple meanings which media users can construct from a single phenomenon. This process depends on the persuasion from which an audience receives, interprets and consumes media content. However, the position of Hospers does not deny objectivity or a common meaning but rather it shows how from a single event different meanings can be gathered. The same position is applied to this study; the findings show that from the consumption of programmes of RMT and RI audiences construct different kinds of meanings influenced by what they consume from the programmes of the two radio stations.

Fourie, (Ed). (2007) Media Studies. Media History, Media and Society. Second edition. Cape Town. JUTA pp. 132,279-281.

²³⁵ Tantawi 2012:107.

However, as mentioned in chapter two the focus of this study is on the meanings which audiences construct from the consumption of the programmes of RMT and RI that have implications for national cohesion in Tanzania.

The findings show that there are diametrically opposed views among significant numbers of Christians and Muslims in Tanzania affected by revolving socio-religious discourses. This phenomenon is reflected in the framing of issues by religious leaders as well as in RMT and RI based on the concepts of *kipindi cha mateso ya kimfumo [kwa kanisa Tanzania]* and *mfumokristo* respectively. The two concepts condition not only socio-religious discourses in the media but also situate Tanzania within an intense debate pitting Muslims and Christians on opposite sides. Notwithstanding their complexity the concepts of *mfumokristo* and *kipindi cha mateso ya kimfumo [kwa kanisa Tanzania]* are interpretive and expressive tools in the socio-religious and economic spheres and events in Tanzania. As shown in chapter three and four, RMT and RI through their broadcasting activities amplify *mfumokristo*'s discourse. Due to the amplification of the concept of *mfumokristo* based on this discourse audiences construct meanings which affect national cohesion. While a significant fraction of Muslims attribute the "marginalization" to *mfumokristo*, for their part, Christians consider such views as an attempt to incite hatred so as to persecute the church and Christians.

In the Chapter Four analysis, the main agenda of *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* in 2011 was a plan to dismantle and replace *mfumokristo* in Tanzania. The agendas of the *makongamano* were framed under this concept. Speakers in the *makongamano* used this frame to analyse the social, religious political and economic spheres in Tanzania to verify how *mfumokristo* operates. For example the discourse on the MoU is attributed by groups of Muslims to the way *mfumokristo* operates in Tanzania regardless of the religious background of the incumbent president. During the signing of the MoU in 1992,

Al-Hajj Hassan Mwinyi, a Muslim was the president. As shown below, some groups of Muslims responded in various ways to “dismantle” *mfumokristo* in Tanzania.

Furthermore, the *mfumokristo* discourse is attributed to be the cause of the “humiliation” of Muslim children in the public schools. For example, in January 2012 at Ndanda Secondary school (south-east Tanzania) 20 Muslim students were suspended from school allegedly instigating religious hatred in the school. Muslim students considered the suspension an agenda under *mfumokristo* to undermine them from success in education. As shown in Chapter Three on the shared mentality against *mfumokristo*, Muslim students under their umbrella of *Tanzania Muslim Students and Youth Association* (TAMSYA) organised a rally in Dar-es-Salaam on 20 January 2013 (Appendix 16). Muslim students met the Ministry of Education and raised their grievances on how they were being “humiliated” by *mfumokristo*.

Furthermore, RI broadcasted contents which “persuaded” Muslims not to participate in the population and housing census in 2012. It was maintained that unless the element of religion was included in the general questions of the census Muslims should not take part in the census. The reason for the collection of this data was to know the exact proportion of Muslims, Christians and believers of African traditional religions in Tanzania. As documented in this study, since the last population and housing census in 1967, the element of religion was removed for politically-sensitive reasons (Bakari 2007). Since then, there are no current and reliable figures on the exact proportions as far as religions are concerned in Tanzania.

The government of Tanzania has rejected this demand; as a result, some Muslims did not participate in the population and housing census in 2012. As a reaction, the government arrested and remanded those who abandoned the census in different regions of Tanzania. Muslim “activists” organised a demonstration in Dar-es-Salaam on 6 September 2012 to the Ministry of Home Affairs to demand for the release of the “victims of census” in all places

where they have been imprisoned (Appendix 17). On that occasion the government, through the Ministry of Home Affairs, ordered the bailed release of the “victims of census.”

Of germane to this event of population and housing census moment, on 27 February 2013 RI was suspended from operations for six months for having broadcasted programmes which were thought to have breached the peace. According to TCRA during the national population and housing census in 2012, RI aired programmes with the intent to persuade Muslims not to take part in the national census until the element of religion was itemized in the census. This action of RI was contrary to the laws governing the content of programmes in Tanzania.²³⁶ In a statement the Content Committee of TCRA required RI to commit in writing, effective the post-suspension period, to avoid any further breach of the broadcasting code of ethics and to explain in detail the editorial policies and the timetable of their programmes which they pledged to honour.²³⁷

As argued above on the part of Christians the discourse on *mfumokristo* is viewed as something aiming at inciting hatred against Christianity. Due to this the first *tamko* of the TCF responded to the “claim” of *mfumokristo* by outlining the number of Muslims in the top government posts. According to the TCF’s *Tamko la Jukwaa la Wakristo Tanzania kuhusu Amani Nchini* of 6 December 2012 about 90% of officials in the top government posts were Muslims. However, referring to the definition of *mfumokristo* during the *Makangamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo* Tanzania in 2011, the concept refers to the “system” under which the government of Tanzania operates and not to a specific religious background or affiliation of the incumbent president.

²³⁶ According to Tanzania Broadcasting Act 6 of 1993 Part IV: Coordination and Supervision of Broadcasting. Article 14(1-3) stipulate on measures to be taken where breach conditions occur. Section 3(e) stipulates that the Commission is responsible to determine period and issue a suspension to broadcasting license holder.

²³⁷ See: Rouge FM radios suspension proper. Available at: <http://www.dailynews.co.tz/index.php/local-news/15167-rouge-fm-radios-suspension-proper1>. See also: TCRA to assess broadcasting ethics compliance in Mwanza. Available at: <http://www.ippmedia.com/frontend/?1=52551>. Accessed on 21 May 2013.

In the second *tamko* of TCF the concept of “Systematic persecution [of the church in Tanzania]” (in Kiswahili: *kipindi cha mateso ya kimumo [kwa kanisa Tanzania]*) was used to frame the series of events against the church and Christians which occurred in different places in Tanzania. The series of events were “referred” to by the TCF as an implementation of the agendas of *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* in 2011.

The church strongly condemns the killings and threats towards leaders of the church and Christians in general. The series of events against the church and Christians happening right now are clear signs of the implementation of a long term plan. On January 15, 2011 a group of Muslims including some of their leaders assembled in the Diamond Jubilee hall to discuss on what they called *mfumokristo* in Tanzania. The conference was concluded by a decree to fight against *mfumokristo* in Tanzania.²³⁸

The series of events which are referred in the TCF *tamko* include: the burning of churches in Zanzibar and Dar-es-Salaam, the attacking of a priest in Zanzibar (24 December 2012), killing of a priest in Zanzibar (17 February 2013), the public presence of CDs and DVDs with recorded hate speeches in religious public rallies and in some religious radio stations, and the event of socio-religious clash in Buseresere ward in Geita which led to the death of a pastor and injuries to ten people (11 February 2013).²³⁹ As noted, RMT and other Christian radio stations broadcasted this *tamko*. Moreover, the TCF instructed leaders of Christian churches in Tanzania to read this *tamko* in all churches. Also Christians in Tanzania were instructed in this *tamko* to fast and pray for a week from 24 March to 30 March 2013 for what was happening to the church.²⁴⁰ This phenomenon to a certain degree copied the logic of the *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* in 2011 which called for Muslims to unite to fight against *mfumokristo*. The prayers and fasting of Christians in

²³⁸See: Tamko la pamoja la Mkutano Mkuu wa dharura wa Jukwaa la Wakristo Tanzania: Dar-es-Salaam, 8 March, 2013. (Kiswahili: Joint decree of ad hoc meeting of the Tanzania Christian Forum, Dar-es-Salaam, 8 March, 2013)

²³⁹See: Tamko la pamoja la Mkutano Mkuu wa dharura wa Jukwaa la Wakristo Tanzania: Dar-es-Salaam, 8 March, 2013.

²⁴⁰See: Tamko la pamoja la Mkutano Mkuu wa dharura wa Jukwaa la Wakristo Tanzania: Dar-es-Salaam, 8 March, 2013.

Tanzania were framed to “abolish” the so called *kipindi cha mateso ya kimfumo [kwa kanisa Tanzania]*.

This phenomenon discussed above is like a tug of war between the two religions whereby RMT and RI are used as battle ground. This reflects what Bakari and Ndumbaro call “the accusations and counter-accusations in the press...”²⁴¹ This is shown in the way the concepts of *mfumokristo* and *kipindi cha mateso ya kimfumo [kwa kanisa Tanzania]* are used as frames by RMT and RI. The framing of issues under these concepts influences the thinking, imagination, interpretation and actions of the audiences. Moreover, the framing of issues under *mfumokristo* and *kipindi cha mateso ya kimfumo [kwa kanisa Tanzania]* in some contents of programmes of RMT and RI has amplified the *udini* discourse in Tanzania.

As noted above, *mfumokristo* and *kipindi cha mateso ya kimfumo [kwa kanisa Tanzania]* have become interpretive and expressive tools on what took place in Tanzania. Similar to the two interpretative and expressive tools is *Udini* (Kiswahili: religionism).²⁴² According to Wijzen *udini* can be seen in following practices and expressions:

witnessing religious tensions and thinking that there may be religious conflicts in the future; attending rallies that slander religions and thinking that these rallies exacerbate religious tensions; reading religious magazines and thinking that these magazines contribute to religious conflicts; watching videos that slander other religions and thinking that it would be good to ban these videos; thinking that people of any religion in Tanzania are oppressed; and thinking that the sharia can solve Muslims’ problems.²⁴³

The definition of Wijzen encompasses the way *udini* is used as interpretative and expressive tools in the social and religious fabric of Tanzania. Although we cannot locate its genesis, at least in Tanzanian politics, Julius Nyerere saw the sparks of *udini* in 1990s. According to Nyerere, *udini* emerged as a sign of bankruptcy in politics whereby “those [politicians] who are bankrupt in policy in their heads will look for legitimacy. If they won’t legitimize their

²⁴¹ Bakari and Ndumbaro 2001.

²⁴² Tambila (2006) uses religionism and Thomas Joseph Ndaluca (2012) uses religio-centrism to express the extreme in using religion as lenses to interpret almost every things happening in different spheres of life in Tanzania.

²⁴³ Wijzen 2004:2.

position using their Tanzanian citizenship, and [they will] legitimize it on religio-centrism grounds, they are people who are bankrupt.”²⁴⁴ Moreover, documentary evidence from scholars point to religious revivalism both in Christianity and Islam as the reason behind *udini* in Tanzania in 1990s (Ludwig 1996; Gifford 1996; Lodhi and Westerlund 1999; Tambila 2006).

Religious media in Tanzania amplify *udini* to the extent of making it an interpretative and expressive tool in the socio-political and economic spheres. For instance, in the *An-Nuur* newspaper (owned by Muslims) No. 966 of July 8-14, 2011, the lead story with *udini* lenses analysed the employment opportunities in the public sector in Tanzania whereby the story reports that 2325 employment opportunities were given to Christians compared to 142 given to Muslims. The analysis on the holders of the top posts in the government as well as in NECTA presented above is based on *udini*. Moreover, the interpretations made by TCF on the series of events under *kipindi cha mateso ya kinfumo [kwa kanisa Tanzania]* are framed in the light of *udini*. By using the lenses of *udini* Heilman and Kaiser (2002) likewise Ndaluka (2012) document the competing views of Muslims and Christians and the way *udini* is applied in different spheres of life in Tanzania.

The above discussions point to the inclination of looking at social, political and economic issues through the prisms of religion. In the public sphere, audiences view *udini* as something which emerged with the religious radio stations. For instance, Hussein²⁴⁵ considers the mushrooming of religious radio stations in Tanzania as the source of *udini* among audiences. According to Hussein, “this is something which was not experienced before the emergence of religious media in Tanzania especially during the reign of Nyerere.”²⁴⁶

²⁴⁴ Nyerere 1995b:24.

²⁴⁵ Hussein Kingamkono, a retired politician who lives in the municipality of Morogoro. Interview, Morogoro, 23 February 2011.

²⁴⁶ Interview with Hussein Kingamkono, Morogoro, 23 February 2011.

Hussein notes that:

There is a dramatic change from what it used to be in Tanzania. Religion and ethnicity were not among the constituents of identities of a Tanzanian. People were proud of being Tanzanians regardless their religious and ethnic backgrounds. Issues related to religion were left in churches and mosques. Now the situation has changed, people are talking about religions. People are using religion to discriminate against others, and there is a growing culture among people to use religious symbols and articles to publicize their identities.²⁴⁷ This is an extreme in the practice of religion which has effects on other spheres of life in Tanzania. Issues are interpreted in terms of religion be it in politics or in employment opportunities and even in appointments for governmental posts. This is a new phenomenon which erodes the unity and our national identity.²⁴⁸

The observation of Hussein is a result of the 1990s liberalization of the media industry which gave room for the media, especially religious radio stations to emerge with specific religious and sectarian agenda. In this way, the liberal economy also brought changes which erode national cohesion as far as the mushrooming of religious radio stations is concerned.

Furthermore, there is a trend of claiming for exclusive rights based on *udini*. The right to slaughter animals is framed under *udini*. Some Muslims groups define the right to slaughter animals as ritual belonging to them. The demand for exclusive right to slaughter animals is referred to the religious concepts of “*halal*” meaning ritually allowed for Muslims and “*haram*” meaning ritually forbidden for Muslims. The event of socio-religious violence at Buseresere ward in Geita, Lake Zone is a vivid example of a shared mentality on the frame of “*halal* and “*haram*” under *udini*. The incident demonstrates the power relations and clash of religious ideology on the right to slaughter animals between Muslims who “claim” slaughtering animals includes a religious ritual and Christians who oppose the “claimed”

²⁴⁷There is a growing culture in Tanzania whereby people express their religious affiliations through the use of articles or items such as by wearing rosaries, hijabs and other religious symbols. However, some may wear these religious items as fashion without holding any religious affiliation.

²⁴⁸Interview with Hussein Kingamkono, Morogoro, 23 February 2011.

right. As noted previously the socio-religious violence at Buseresere ward resulted in death and injuries.²⁴⁹(Appendix 18).

These events proved crucial in organizing and constructing shared mentality among followers of Christianity and Islam. The incident of socio-religious violence resulted in the establishment of special butchers for Muslims and Christians in some parts of the Lake zone (Appendix 19). On the part of Muslims, there is a *Halal bureau* which controls foods, beverages and cosmetics in Tanzania (Appendix 20). This is an incident which is a result of the framing of issues under the discourse of *udini*.²⁵⁰ The framing of issues in RMT and RI (as well as other religious media in Tanzania) and the socio-religious discourses of *mfumokristo*, *kipindi cha mateso ya kimfumo [kwa kanisa Tanzania]*, *udini “halal”*, and *“haram”*, lead to entrenched religious grandstanding.

5.3. Discussion

“Tanzania has gone. *Udini* takes a role in Tanzania to the extent of threatening the unity which Mwalimu Nyerere struggled in his life to build. I am afraid *udini* may find a room to the neighbouring countries. It is pity that Tanzanian’s *utaifa* and *undugu* are likely to fall apart at the expense of *udini*.”²⁵¹ The remark of Kagoro reflects the situation of Tanzania discussed above. In the same line of thinking, Kaiser (1996); Foster (1997), Mukandala (1999) and Campbell (1999) view the situation as the demise of Tanzanian national identity. At least all these scholars point to the upsurge of religious tensions between Muslims and Christians as one reason behind this phenomenon. Different reasons ranging from the collapse

²⁴⁹ See: IPP Media *Geita yakumbwa na mapigano ya kidini*. Available at: <http://www.ippmedia.com/frontend/?l=51132>. Accessed on 13 July 2013.

²⁵⁰ Borrowing from the concept of symbolic power of Bourdieu the phenomenon above expresses a struggle for power between Christians and Muslims. Slaughtering has an economic gain for the butcheries and the owners of meat shops. In this way, the socio-religious clash should be looked from both religious and economic perspectives. According Bourdieu symbolic power is very important in the religious field where believers struggle for access to religious capital. In so doing, they also engage in a process of polarization and exclusion. Their pursuit of symbolic capital and, eventually, symbolic power legitimizes the view that their belief is the true one and others are false beliefs (Bourdieu 1977). In this way, the incident at Buseresere ward is somewhat a constant struggle to acquire religious capital as well as economic capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992).

²⁵¹ A remark made by Jude Kagoro in informal discussion. Bayreuth, 23 March 2013.

of *Ujamaa policy*, religious revivalism in both Christianity and Islam, and Pentecostalism are attributed to this state. An analysis of these reasons brings in the liberalization of the political landscape as well as in the media industry in 1990s. The liberal economy opened doors to the age of political-multiparty and private media. Religious groups and organisations were not left behind in the utilization of the airwaves. Almost every religious group in Tanzania embarked on the media investment. In Tanzanian context this was a point of departure from state-monopoly of media, exclusion of religion in politics and in the public domain and the phobia of private/religious media. The emergence of religious radio stations took religion from private to the public domain, from confined places such as churches and mosques to diverse audiences in Tanzania.

On the one hand, the liberal policy enhanced press freedom and freedom of religion through the mushrooming of religious radio stations; on the other hand this policy amplified religious tensions. Under this mentality some Tanzanians locate the mushrooming of religious radio stations as the reason for the amplification of *udini* in Tanzania. For instance, RMT and RI through their broadcasting activities as well as their involvement in the “politics of religion” in Tanzania adversely affect audiences’ meanings construction that weakens national cohesion. As shown above, *mfumokristo*, *kipindi cha mateso ya kimfumo [kwa kanisa Tanzania]* and *udini* are frames as well as interpretative and expressive tools in the social, political and economic spheres in Tanzania. RMT and RI through their broadcasting activities amplify them and use these as frames; on the one hand to interpret the “persecution” of the church and Christians while on the other hand to show the indicators of the “marginalization” of Muslims in Tanzania. While Christians place series of events happening against the church and Christians in Tanzania in the context of *kipindi cha mateso ya kimfumo [kwa kanisa Tanzania]*, for their part Muslims frame their “marginalization” under *mfumokristo*. RMT and RI are battle grounds for discourse on *kipindi cha mateso ya kimfumo [kwa kanisa*

Tanzania]. As noted above the battle affects the imagination, thinking and action of the audiences to the extent of giving way to discourse of *udini*.

Udini is now rife; *udini* is an interpretive and expressive tool. *Udini* is used as a frame of analysis in employment opportunities. *Udini* is used to claim exclusive rights to slaughter animals in the name of “*halal*.” *Udini* is the reason for religious clash and killings in Buseresere ward. *Udini* is used to create meat-shops for Muslims and Christians. *Udini* forms a shared mentality at community level. This state affects the national cohesion. The meanings which the audiences infer make them to think more on their religious differences than the national cohesion.

Language exclusion in the media and the public spaces is framed in phrases such as *makafir* (religious infidels) versus *watu wa dini ya Allah* (Kiswahili: people of the true religion of Allah). *Mungu mmoja dini moja*, (Kiswahili: one God, one religion) versus *watu wa dini ya Paulo or Wagalatia* (Kiswahili: followers of Paul or Galatians) as well as *Shari'a* versus *mfumokristo* are extended into the public domain.²⁵² The frame of *kafir* is extended to Muslims and organisations within Islam such as BAKWATA which are considered by some groups of Muslims as arms of *mfumokristo* (Masoud 2001; Heilman and Kaiser 2002). In socio-interaction it is common to hear some people using phrases such as ‘*hao si wenzetu*’ (not one among us) and ‘*hao wa upande mwingine*’ (Kiswahili: those from the other part).²⁵³

As discussed above, through broadcasting activities RMT perpetuates the religious borders between Catholics and Protestants likewise with Muslims. These borders, while strengthening Catholic Christianity, nevertheless they contradict *ecumenism*,²⁵⁴ the initiative

²⁵²These phrases and terminologies were frequently used by speakers in the *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* in 2011. These phrases and terminologies also affected the public as people used them as references in their discussions and also in the new media. I experienced this through listening to RI during my field work in 2011.

²⁵³Such phrases were applied in RI's *Kidokezo* programme to refer to Muslims who are members in the Joint Committee of Muslims and Christians formed in early 2013 to cooperate with the government on restoring peace in Tanzania.

²⁵⁴*Ecumenism* is a movement aiming at promoting unity among Christian churches or denominations separated in history due to differences in doctrines and practices. Authors of this movement refer to the words of Jesus when He prayed for unity in the gospel of John 17:11

of unification of the divided Christendom which the Catholic Church propagates, consistent in religious dialogue with Muslims. On the other hand, in RI there are borders between Sunni and Shiites, Sunni and Ansar as-Sunna, a phenomenon which is contrary to the concept of *Ummah*²⁵⁵ which insists on the unity of Muslims and one Islam (Westerlund 1980; Campbell 2010). Under this phenomenon, there is no one Christianity as well as no one Islam. Doctrinal differences and religious practices are the reasons behind this scenario.

5.4. Conclusion

Guided by their goals to serve mankind in a holistic way, RMT and RI package their programmes. RMT and RI as religious radio stations frame programmes for the material needs of audiences under Christian and Muslim perspectives respectively so as to avoid any thing which can contradict religious teachings. Most of the programmes of RMT and RI are studio-produced programmes. Very few are broadcasted live from events taking places in different localities in Tanzania.

Framing of issues in *Ijue Biblia* and Catechism of the Catholic Church programmes of RMT as well as *Mwangaza wa Jamii* and *Kidokezo* programmes of RI condition audience's meaning construction with effects on the national cohesion. Similarly, the framing of issues under *mfumokristo*, *kipindi cha mateso ya kimfumo* and *udini* affects socio-religious discourse of the same in Tanzania. The three frames become interpretative and expressive tools in different spheres of life in Tanzania to extent of demising the national cohesion.

The chapter also depicts various views on the changes from *Ujamaa policy* to liberal economy. In media, the mushrooming of religious radio stations amplifies the gap of doctrinal differences between religions and religious groups. Under this situation, each religion tries to

²⁵⁵The word *umma* is Arabic term that designates Islamic Community with national, trans-national and global-Islamic characteristics. For more, see Jones Clara and Mas Ruth: *Transnational conceptions of Islamic community: national and religious subjectivities* in *Nations and Nationalism* 17(1), 2011, 2-6. Also: Westerlund, D. (1980:21) in which Islamic unity and brotherhood of all Muslims are expressed as of primary importance.

assume hegemonic position and it complicates the Christian's concept of *ecumenism* as well as the Islamic concept of *Ummah*. This chapter concludes that despite benefiting the audiences, RMT and RI through their functions, affect the public and the religious spheres in a way that amplifies the existing religious tensions and mistrust, especially between Christians and Muslims in Tanzania. The two radio stations (with other religious media) through some of their broadcasting activities and their involvement in the "politics of religion" nurture the seeds of conflict hence departing from religion which serves mankind to *udini* which causes hatred and divisions among Tanzanians.

Chapter Six

Summary and Conclusion

6.1. Study overview

This study sought to investigate on the one hand the framing of issues and the presentation of socio-religious discourse in RMT and RI while on the other hand identifying kinds of meanings which audiences of the two radio stations construct. Specifically this study focuses on the broadcasting activities of RMT and RI, meanings which audiences construct in relation to national cohesion in Tanzania. According to the TCRA, a religious radio station is a non-commercial radio station owned and run by a religious organization or group for religious goals. In Tanzanian context, religious radio stations are a product of the 1990s liberal economy. Historically, it was not possible under *Ujamaa policy* to think about private ownership of media in Tanzania. During the presidency of Julius Nyerere (1961-1984) ethnicity, religion, as well as private investments including the media were viewed as divisive and would destabilize *mshikamano wa kitaifa* (Kiswahili: national cohesion). In order to avoid such a phenomenon Nyerere adopted *utaifa* (Kiswahili: nationalism) and *undugu* (Kiswahili: fraternity) to frame an identity of a Tanzanian. In this way people proudly identified themselves as Tanzanians regardless their different religious and ethnic backgrounds. However *Ujamaa policy* did not withstand the winds of change in the world's political and economic systems. Consequently, in the 1990s Tanzania changed to a liberal economy which opened the way to multiparty system as well as private investments including religious radio stations.

This study was prompted by the mushrooming of religious radio stations in Tanzania resulting from the changes in the political and economic systems mentioned above. The mushrooming of religious radio stations apart from widening the horizon of freedom of the

press and religion also marked a point of departure from the Nyerere's phobia of private/religious media in Tanzania. The emergence of religious radio stations created new faces of socio-religious practices and trends. The central problematic is that notwithstanding their role in the media industry and the changes in the media and religious landscape, in Tanzania religious radio stations through their broadcasting activities frame issues which make audiences to construct meanings that have effects on the national cohesion. Whereas some scholars attribute the demise of the national cohesion to religious factors both internal and external, this study places broadcasting activities of the mushrooming of religious radio stations as the source behind the weakening of national cohesion.

In order to meet the goals of exploring the activities of religious radio stations RMT owned by a Christian organisation and RI owned by a Muslim community have been used as case studies. In the aforementioned research questions, three questions studied the phenomenon from the media perspective and two questions from the perspectives of the audiences. Qualitative methods were used to generate data in the three study areas. Additionally, participation in listening to programmes of the two radio stations, informal discussions, visiting weblogs and newspapers as well as BIGSAS' academic settings shaped the collection of data and writing of the study. Framing, the Meaning construction and Social identity theories are triangulated to aid in the conceptualization of this study.

From the media perspective this study uses programmes from RMT and RI to analyse the patterns of the programme production and the contents. The study shows that great percentage of the programmes of the two radio stations are produced in studio. Analysis on the content of programmes of RMT and RI showed that they are holistically designed to serve the spiritual and material needs of audiences.

Furthermore, in order to give precision to the objectives of this study, four programmes (two programmes from each radio station) have been singled out and analysed to

identify the pattern of production, the framing and presentation of issues. The analysis shows that these programmes are the locus of provocative contents which result in intra and inter-religious conflicts. Consequently this phenomenon weakens the long cultivated and experienced national cohesion in Tanzania.

Apart from the four programmes worth noting is the involvement of the two radio stations in the “politics of religion” revolving in Tanzania. It is found that through the live-coverage of *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* in 2011 (Kiswahili: Muslims’ public rallies against Christian hegemony in Tanzania) RI managed to disseminate to the public the agendas of the *makongamano* (public rallies) under the frame of *mfumokristo* (Kiswahili: Christian hegemony). Due to this, RI amplified the *mfumokristo* discourse and made the concept of *mfumokristo* to be an interpretative and expressive tool in the public domain particularly in the Muslim sphere. Some Muslim groups in Tanzania constructed meanings in accordance with the frame of *mfumokristo* with a shared mentality aiming at dismantling it as a solution to their “marginalization.” With this shared mentality some Muslims groups managed to organize demonstrations against *mfumokristo*. Noted in this study are the demonstrations against the case for the suspended students at Ndanda secondary school and the one aimed at demanding the release of the remanded “victims” of the Population and Housing Census in 2012. The two demonstrations of some groups of Muslims are examples of the action taken against *mfumokristo*. RI involved in broadcasting *matamko* (Kiswahili: an official statements) from Tanzania Muslim Students and Youth Association and the Council of Muslim Organisations. In this way, RI involves in the “politics of religions” in Tanzania, especially in the use of media as forums of accusations and counter-accusations between Christianity and Islam. In so doing, RI intensifies religious tensions and hatred among audiences in Tanzania.

On the other hand, RMT incorporates in its programmes contents of *matamko* from the Tanzania Episcopal Conference as well as from the Tanzania Christian Forum. Worth noting is the way RMT and other radio stations owned by Christian groups and organisation disseminated issues framed under the concept of *kipindi cha mateso ya kimfumo kwa kanisa Tanzania* (Kiswahili: Systematic persecution of the church in Tanzania). The discourse on *kipindi cha mateso ya kimfumo [kwa kanisa Tanzania]* was used as an interpretative tool on events “viewed” as persecutions of the church. Under this frame, Christians were instructed to pray and fast for a week for the “persecuted church” in Tanzania. To create a shared mentality among Christians, the issues framed under *kipindi cha mateso ya kimfumo [kwa kanisa Tanzania]* from the Tanzania Christian Forum were read in all churches in Tanzania and in all religious radio stations under Christianity including RMT. As a result, the discourse on *kipindi cha mateso ya kimfumo [kwa kanisa Tanzania]* formed a shared mentality that the church and Christians in Tanzania are “persecuted” as part of the implementation of the agendas set during the *Makongamano ya Waislamu dhidi ya mfumokristo Tanzania* in 2011.

The framing of issues under *mfumokristo* and *kipindi cha mateso ya kimfumo [kwa Kanisa Tanzania]* made possible the amplification of *udini* (religionism) discourse. Due to this *udini* is used as an interpretive and expressive tool in employment opportunities, appointments to government posts and in results of secondary schools’ examinations. Underneath *udini* discourse there is a continuum of what Huntington (1993) calls the ‘Clash of Civilization’ between the two proselytizing religions in Tanzania. In this way RMT and RI are not only the tools of an electronic church and mosque but also forums of accusations and counter-accusations in the “politics of religions” in Tanzania.

This phenomenon paints the picture of the current socio-religious tensions in Tanzania, amplified by religious media especially radio stations. Tanzania is grappling with an intense debate pitting Muslims and Christians on opposite sides. There are elements of exclusion staged by RMT and RI which affect social-interactions among Tanzanians. A

language of exclusion is used in socio-religious discourses to point out *kafirs* and *wajahidina*. This is an indicator of power relations between Christians and Muslims in Tanzania. Each group tries to assume superiority over the other. Moreover, role definition and claim of exclusive rights on socio-religious issues are used as a means to establish legitimacy of one group against others. The discourse on the right to slaughter animals falls under this line of thinking. The claim of exclusive right to slaughter animals resulted into a socio-religious clash in the lake zone of Tanzania. Documentary evidence predicted religious clashes in Tanzania if the seeds of religious conflicts would be left to grow. However, with the incident of Buseresere village; it is obvious that religious clash is no longer a prediction but a reality. Apart from the socio-religious clash at Buseresere the discourse on the right to slaughter animals was framed and politicized to the extent of establishing meat shops (butchers) for Christians and Muslims. This is another way that indicates how *udini* is an interpretive and expressive tool.

Ndaluka (2012) argues that at individual level Muslims and Christians live in harmony and avoid violence; however this study establishes that at community and institutional levels there are elements of hatred and mistrust which threaten national cohesion which is framed under the values of *utaifa* and *undugu* at the expense of religion and ethnicity. At an institutional level there is a conspiracy in relationship between Muslims and Christians as institutions which in this study is manifested in the *matamko* (official statements) released in various moments. In the context of Tanzania this phenomenon proves the assumptions made by Nyerere under *Ujamaa policy* that private ownership of media and the inclusion of religion in the public domain could harm national cohesion. Tanzania, as the study found, is not the same; the mushrooming of religious radio stations takes *dini* (religion) which serves mankind to *udini* (religionism) which causes hatred and divisions. In the religious media as well as in the public domain some issues are framed and interpreted in the context of *udini*. This study found that RMT and RI comment on political issues as well as in

matters of politics. This state of affairs shakes the trust which the audiences have on religious radio stations as far as religious goals are concerned.

From the audiences' perspectives key informants were interviewed in three study areas: Mwanza city, Morogoro municipality and Dar-es-Salaam city. The three study areas were selected due to their relevance to the data needed for this study. The interviewees included: consuming audiences of RMT and RI to know the kinds of meanings they construct from the consumption of programmes of the two radio stations; the proprietors and journalists working in the two radio stations to determine what informs the packing of the programmes and framing of issues; experts in radio broadcasting and officers from the Tanzania Communication Regulatory Authority to discover their views as media stakeholders.

At any rate, the above explanations cannot deny the fact that RMT and RI have transformed the media landscape and religious spaces in Tanzania with a new form of media ownership and contents. Some of the contents of the two radio stations attract extended discussions in the new media particularly Tanzanian weblogs. In this study it is found that *Jamii Forums* one of the famous weblogs in Tanzania, presented threads on different issues from the broadcasting activities of RI for discussions among bloggers. Analysis on those discussions reveals different meanings which bloggers constructed from issues taken from the broadcasting activities of RI. Moreover, through the broadcasting activities of RMT and RI audiences eventually reinforce their religious commitments and convictions and project for more significant changes in the socio-religious spheres. Some of the programmes of RMT and RI widen knowledge on socio-religious matters, clear some doctrinal controversies among religions and religious denominations for better understanding and practices.

At community level RMT and RI through their services raised audiences' awareness regarding their religious rights and obligations. Due to their wide-capitalization of the air space in Tanzania and beyond, the two radio stations carry religions (Christianity and Islam) into the public spaces. As far as the religious market economy is concerned, RMT and RI play

the role of ‘selling’ Christianity and Islam respectively to the public. By the action of these radio stations Christianity and Islam benefit through publicity among audiences in Tanzania

Five central conclusions have emerged. First, Programmes of RMT and RI are set to serve audiences in a holistic way. This approach informs the setting and packaging of programmes. In this way, the two radio stations have programmes on religious knowledge and spirituality, human promotion and welfare, news and information and social programmes. However as religious radio stations, RMT and RI frame their programmes which focus on materials needs of their audiences respectively in Christian and Islamic perspectives. In this way, contents of programmes on the material needs of audiences cannot contradict the teachings of Christianity and Islam respectively. Secondly, there is an exclusive element in the contents of programmes of RMT and RI. Under this exclusivity, RMT serves Christians in Tanzania in accordance with the teachings of the Catholic Church; other Christian denominations are served indirectly in those contents whose doctrines fit to those denominations. Due to this situation, RMT hardens the doctrinal differences within Christianity as well as intensifies the intra-religious differences. Similarly, due to differences in doctrines and religious practices between Christianity and Islam, issues on Islam and Muslims come to the contents of RMT in the form of questions from audiences. Programmes and contents of RI are planned to serve Muslims. However, due to differences in doctrines and traditions, RI serves mostly the group of Ansar as-Sunna/Sunni Muslims. In so doing RI solidifies the gap of differences between groups of Muslims. In the contents of programmes of RI Christianity finds space mostly in comparative debates and in the socio-religious discourse. Though the use of religious radio stations the othering tendency is amplified. In the context of Tanzania, this is a new face of relations whereby religion becomes a part of one’s identity with a divisive element. Thirdly, the framing of issues in some programmes of RMT and RI provoke audiences and cause socio-religious tensions and mistrust. This aspect is also demonstrated by the engagement of RMT and RI in the “politics of religions” in Tanzania.

Due to this phenomenon, the two radio stations are partly forums of accusations and counter-accusations as far as “politics of religions” in Tanzania are concerned.

Fourthly, the framing of issues in some programmes of RMT and RI, the involvement in airing issues sourced from the “politics of religions” in Tanzania affect audiences’ meaning construction. Some audiences construct meanings according to the ways these issues are framed. The amplified discourse of *mfumokristo*, *kipindi cha mateso ya kimfumo [kwa kanisa Tanzania]* and *udini*, have become interpretative and expressive tools to the extent of causing demonstrations, hate speeches, claims of exclusive rights in some socio-religious spheres as well as socio-religious violence between Muslims and Christians in Buseresere ward. Moreover, the discourses on *mfumokristo* and *kipindi cha mateso ya kimfumo [kwa kanisa Tanzania]* causes mistrust over the government because in the application of these concepts each part views the government as favouring one part at the expense of the other.

Finally, at individual level Christians and Muslims maintain friendly relations; however at community level, guided by a shared mentality, some groups of Christians and Muslims use *mfumokristo*, *kipindi cha mateso ya kimfumo [kwa kanisa Tanzania]*, *udini*, *halal* and *haram* concepts to interpret different spheres of life in Tanzania to the extent of weakening the national cohesion. Due to this phenomenon, in the context of Nyerere’s *Ujamaa policy*, religion and religious media are still sensitive to the national cohesion. More time is needed to make religious radio stations better serve the Tanzanian community for spiritual and material development of audiences.

6.3. Contribution

This study has made two main contributions: First, it has explored the religious radio stations in Tanzania which are relatively new in the field of research in Tanzania. Consequently, this study contributes to existing understanding and knowledge of religious media, particularly

radio stations. It lays the foundation for similar studies in the broadcasting medium as well as religious television. As noted since the 1990s, investment in religious media, especially radio stations is flourishing in Tanzania. However studies on this fast-growing kind of media ownership have attracted little attention as far as empirical studies are concerned. Second, this study in one way or another proved the assumptions of Julius Nyerere's *Ujamaa policy* on the sensitivities of religion and religious media in the Tanzanian context. The socio-religious and political environment of Tanzania suffers from the hang-over of this background. Bringing religion to the public, likewise the mushrooming of religious radio stations in Tanzania so far have caused socio-religious tensions and clash which destabilize national cohesion.

6.4. Future Study

The current study is mostly focused on the packing of programmes, contents of programmes, involvement of RMT and RI in the socio-religious discourse and the kinds of meanings the audiences of RMT and RI construct in relation to the national cohesion. This study recommends future research on the role of religious radio stations in the religious sphere. As noted in this study there is a mushrooming of radio stations owned by religious groups or organisations. This indicates a new trend in the use of the radio technology as space for religious practices and access in Tanzania. Future studies will reveal the relevance of the electronic church and mosque to the enforcement of religion among audiences in Tanzania. The research question is: Can a religious radio station be a dependable tool for religion? This will demonstrate the position of electronic church and mosque in relation to the physical church and mosque.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 : Programme schedule of Radio Maria Tanzania

1

RADIO MARIA : RATIBA YA VIPINDI – 2011							
SAA	JUMAPILI	JUMATATU	JUMANNE	JUMATANO	ALHAMISI	IJUMAA	JUMAMOSI
12.00	MALAIKA WA BWANA/MALKIA WA MBINGU NA MASIFU YA ASUBUHI +						
12.30	MTAKATIFU WA LEO +	MISA TAKATIFU +					
1.00	M I S A + TAKATIFU	MUZIKI & RADIO PROMO					
1.30		MTAKATIFU WA LEO +					
1.45		BIBLIA KWA NJIA YA RADIO +					
2.00		KATEKISIMU KATOLIKI +					
2.30		YASEMAVYO MAGAZETI					
3.30	YASEMAVYO MAGAZETI	ROZARI +	ROZARI	ROZARI	ROZARI	ROZARI	ROZARI
4.00	HABARI KWA UFUPI - RM						
4.05	IJUE BIBLIA +	VIJANA NA KANISA	MAONI YAKO	WAFANYAKAZI	PRO-LIFE	MAONI YAKO	JHAZI LA VIJANA
5.00	NIWAPENDAO						
6.00	MALAIKA WA BWANA NA SALA YA MCHANA +						
6.15	LUNCH TOGETHER						
7.00	TAARIFA YA HABARI – TBC TAIFA						
7.10	MUZIKI & MATANGAZO						
7.15	PROMOTION BEATS	NYIMBO ZA BIKIRA MARIA +					SALAMU-KADI
7.30		CHAGUO LANGU					KWAYA ZETU
8.00	WAGONJWA						
9.00	MAADILI	ROZARI-PAPA+	PRO – LIFE	ROZARI-PAPA	ROZAR-PAPA	ROZARI YA HURUMA YA MUNGU	IJUE BIBLIA
9.30	NYIMBO-MARIA	NYIMBO-MARIA	NYIMBO ZA BIKIRA MARIA				
10.00	HARAKATI ZA HIMS	MEZA YA DUARA	PATA POTEA	SAUTI YETU	MEZA YA DUARA	MCHUNGAJI	DIRA YA MKULIMA
10.30	MUZIKI & RADIO PROMO					MARIOLOGY	KUTOKA SOKONI
11.00	NYIMBO MCHANGANYIKO	DONDOO NA BURUDANI					
11.30		HATI ZA MTAGUSO WA VATCAN +	MVIWATA	DIRA YA MKULIMA	CPT	FARIJIKI NA FAMILIA	MAKALA YETU
12.00	MALAIKA WA BWANA NA MASIFU YA JIONI +						
12.30	LITURUJIA +	WATOTO WAKUSALIMU	MUZIKI & RADIO PROMO	WANAWAKE NA MAENDELEO	MANG'AMUZI YA WAZEE		TAFAKARI WITO
12.45			MAISHA YA WATAKATIFU				
1.00	TAARIFA YA HABARI - RM						

SAA	JUMAPILI	JUMATATU	JUMANNE	JUMATANO	ALHAMISI	IJUMAA	JUMAMOSI
1.15	MUZIKI & RADIO PROMO	DIMBA LA MICHEZO					MUZIKI & RADIO PROMO
1.30	ROSARI TAKATIFU †						TAFAKARI MASOMO
2.00	TAARIFA YA HABARI – TBC TAIFA						
2.10	MUZIKI NA MATANGAZO						
2.20	SALA ZA JIONI †				IBADA YA EKARISTI	SALA ZA JIONI	
2.30	IJUE BIBLIA					IJUE BIBLIA	
3.00	NYIMBO ZA SHUKRANI-RC TU †	MARIDHIANO	MAOMBI KWA WOTE			MAISHA NI SAFARI	
4.00	HABARI KWA UFUPI						
4.15	JIPE MOYO	LALA UNONO - SIMU		LALA UNONO - KADI	LALA UNONO - SIMU	LALA UNONO - SIMU	
5.00	MARUDIO †	VIJANA NA KANISA (MARUDIO)	MAONI YAKO (MARUDIO)	MARIDHIANO (MARUDIO)	BIBLIA MAALUM †	MAONI YAKO (MARUDIO)	PRO LIFE (MARUDIO)
5.30	SEHEMU YA MISA						
6.00	ROZARI TAKATIFU - SWAHILI †						
6.30	MUZIKI NA RADIO PROMO	MARIOLOGY †	MUZIKI NA RADIO PROMO			HATI ZA MTAGUSO WA VATCAN	MAADILI (MARUDIO)
7.00	KATEKISIMU KATOLIKI †						
7.30	MUZIKI NA RADIO PROMO						
7.45	BIBLIA KWA NJIA YA RADIO †						
8.00	KWAYA ZETU †						
9.00	ROZARI TAKATIFU - KIINGEREZA †						
9.30	MUZIKI WA INJILI †						
10.00	IJUE BIBLIA †						
10.30	ROZARI TAKATIFU - SWAHILI †						
11.00	TAFAKARI † MASOMO	NYIMBO ZA BIKIRA MARIA †					
11.30	KUTAMBULISHA STESHENI						
11.40	SALA ZA ASUBUHI †						
11.50	FIKARA						

Appendix 2: Programme schedule of Radio Imaan

RADIO IMAAN FM-MOROGORO					
RATIBA YA JUMATATU					
No	MUDA WA KIPINDI	JINA LA KIPINDI	MUHUSIKA WA KIPINDI	TRACK	CD NO
1		ASUBUHI NJEMA			
2	01:00-01:13	Taarifa Ya Habari Asubuhi	Mtangazaji		
3	01:13-01:15	Matangazo	Kutoka Studio		
4	01:15-02:00	Radio I Maan Na Magazeti	Mtangazaji		
5	02:00-02:05	Matangazo	Kutoka Studio		
6	02:05-02:50	Kidokezo	Mtangazaji		
7	02:50-02:55	Matangazo	Kutoka Studio		
8	02:55-03:00	Soma ratiba	Mtangazaji		
9	03:00-04:10	Tafsiri Ya Qur'ani	Shekh Mselem Ally		
10	04:10-05:00	Asubuhi Njema	Mtangazaji		
ADHURI TULIVU					
11	05:00-05:05	Habari Kwa Ufupi	Mtangazaji		
12	05:05-05:30	Afya ya Jamii (Marudio)	Jafary Mponda		
13	05:30-06:45	Matangazo	Kutoka Studio		
14	06:00-06:45	Nasaha Za Washairi Marudio	Kasimu Lyimo Na Mponda		
15	06:45-06:50	Adhana Ya Adhuhuri	Kutoka Studio		
16	06:50-07:00	Ujumbe	Mtangazaji		
16	07:00-07:20	Quran Translation	Shekh		
17	07:20-08:00	Adhuhuri Njema	Mtangazaji		
18	08:00-09:00	Mawaidha	Shekh Nasoro Bachu		
19	09:00-09:15	Taarifa Ya Habari	Mtangazaji		
JIONI MARDHAAWA					
21	09:15-09:45	Sira ya Mtume	Shekh		
22	09:45-09:50	Adhana ya Alasiri	Kutoka Studio		
23	09:50-10:00	Soma Ratiba	Mtangazaji		
24	10:00-10:20	Qurani Translation	Abdulbaasit Na Marmaduke		
25	10:20-10:55	Maisha ya Maswahaba	Shekhe		
26	10:55-11:00	Matangazo	Kutoka Studio		
27	11:00-11:15	Taarifa Ya Habari	Mtangazaji		
28	11:15-11:20	Matangazo	Kutoka Studio		
29	11:20-12:20	Lisanularabi Marudio (Marudio)	Gulana Iyombe		
30	12:20-12:30	Dua	Shekh Mohamad Jibrilu		
31	12:30-12:35	Adhana Ya Magharibi	Kutoka Studio		
32	12:35-12:45	Swala Ya Magharibi	Live Kutoka Masjdi Haq		
33	12:45-01:00	Dua	Shekh		
USIKU TUVU					
35	01:00-01:45	Mafundisho ya Swala	Shekh Abdurahaman Muina		
36	01:45-01:50	Adhana Ya Ishaa	Kutoka Studio		
37	01:50-02:00	Soma Ratiba	Mtangazaji		
38	02:00-02:15	Swala Ya Ishaa	Live Kutoka Studio		
39	02:15-03:00	Yaliojiri	Mtangazaji		
40	03:00-03:15	Taarifa Ya Habari	Mtangazaji		
41	03:15-04:15	Tafsiri Ya Qurani	Shekh Mselem Ally		
42	04:15-05:30	Tunawakumbuka (Marudio)	Gulana		
USIKU WA QURANI					
44	05:30-06:00	Familia	Abdrahman Muhina		
45	06:00-06:10	Dua	Shekh		
46	06:10-11:00	Quran Tkufu	Shekh		
47	11:00-11:05	Soma Ratiba	Mtangazaji		
48	11:05-11:10	Adhana Ya Alfajiri	Kutoka Studio		
49	11:10-11:40	Adhkari za Asubuhi	Ustadh Ally Ajirani		
50	11:40-12:00	Nyiradi Za Asubuhi	Shekh Ibrahim Twaha		
51	12:00-12:30	Nasaha Za Asubuhi	Shekhe		
52	12:30-01:00	Yaliojiri Wikii hii Marudio	Mtangazaji		

Prepared by The Islamic Foundation Committee

RADIO IMAAN FM - MOROGORO
RATIBA YA JUMANNE

No	MUDA WA KIPINDI	JINA LA KIPINDI	MUHUSIKA WA KIPINDI	TRACK	CD NO
1		ASUBUHI NJEMA			
2	01:00-01:13	Taarifa Ya Habari Asubuhi	Mtangazaji		
3	01:13-01:15	Matangazo	Kutoka Studio		
4	01:15-02:00	Radio I Maan Na Magazeti	Mtangazaji		
5	02:00-02:05	Matangazo	Kutoka Studio		
6	02:05-02:50	Kidokezo	Mtangazaji		
7	02:50-02:55	Matangazo	Kutoka Studio		
8	02:55-03:00	Soma Ratiba	Mtangazaji		
9	03:00-04:10	Tafsiri Ya Qur'ani	Shekh Mselem Ally		
10	04:10-05:00	Asubuhi Njema	Mtangazaji		
		ADHUHRI TULIVU			
11	05:00-05:05	Habari Kwa Ufupi	Mtangazaji		
12	05:05-05:10	Matangazo	Kutoka Studio		
13	05:10-06:00	Fatwa Za Kinamama	Ustadh		
14	06:00-06:45	Sharia ya Kiislaam	Shekh Maduga		
15	06:45-06:50	Adhana Ya Adhuhuri	Kutoka Studio		
16	06:50-07:00	Soma Ratiba	Mtangazaji		
17	07:00-07:20	Quran Translation	Shekh		
18	07:20-08:00	Adhuhuri Njema	Mtangazaji		
19	08:00-09:00	Mawaidha	Shekh Nasoro Bachu		
20	09:00-09:15	Taarifa Ya Habari	Mtangazaji		
		JIONI MARDHAAWA			
21	09:15-09:45	Sira ya Mtume	Shekhe Twalib Ahmad		
22	09:45-09:50	Adhana Ya Alasiri	Kutoka Studio		
23	09:50-10:00	Soma Ratiba	Uchuli Chikela		
24	10:00-10:20	Qurani Translation	Shekh		
25	10:20-10:55	Maisha ya Maswahaba	Shekh		
26	10:55-11:00	Matangazo	Liverpool		
27	11:00-11:15	Taarifa Ya Habari	Khamissi Tembo		
28	11:15-11:20	Matangazo	Kutoka Studio		
29	11:20-12:20	Ulimwengu Wa Kiislaamu (Live)	Hashim Gulana		
31	12:30-12:50	Ujumbe	Kutoka Studio		
32	12:50-01:00	Adhana Ya Magharibi	Live Kutoka Masjidi Haq		
33	01:00-01:10	Swala Ya Magharibi	Minshari Rashid		
		USIKU TUIVU			
35	01:10-02:00	Mafundisho Ya Swala	Ustadhi Abdarahaman Muhina		
36	02:00-02:10	Adhana Ya Isha	Kutoka Studio		
37	02:10-02:15	Soma Ratiba	Mtangazaji		
38	02:15-02:30	Swala Ya Isha	Live Kutoka Masjidi Haq		
39	02:30-03:00	Makala Ya Wiki	Kasimu Lyimu Na Kihemba		
40	03:00-03:15	Taarifa Ya Habari	Mtangazaji		
41	03:15-04:15	Tafsiri Ya Qurani	Shekh Mselem Ally		
42	04:15-05:30	Mawaidha	Shekhe		
		USIKU WA QURANI			
44	05:30-06:00	Familia	Abdrahaman Muhina		
45	06:00-06:10	Dua	Shekh Idriss Abkar		
46	06:10-11:00	Quran Tkufu	Shekh		
47	11:00-11:05	Soma Ratiba	Mtangazaji		
48	11:05-11:10	Adhana Ya Alfajiri	Kutoka Studio		
49	11:10-11:40	Adhkari za Asubuhi	Ustadh Ally Ajirani		
50	11:40-12:00	Nyiradi Za Asubuhi	Shekh Ibrahim Twaha		
51	12:00-12:30	Nasaha Za Asubuhi	Shekh		
52	12:30-01:00	Yaliojiri Marudio	Mtangazaji		

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RADIO IMAAN FM - MOROGORO

RATIBA YA JUMATANO

No	MUDA WA KIPINDI	JINA LA KIPINDI	MUHUSIKA WA KIPINDI	TRACK	CD NO
1		ASUBUHI NJEMA			
2	01:00-01:13	Taarifa Ya Habari Asubuhi	Mtangazaji		
3	01:13-01:15	Matangazo	Kutoka Studio		
4	01:15-02:00	Radio I Maan Na Magazeti	Mtangazaji		
5	02:00-02:05	Matangazo	Kutoka Studio		
6	02:05-02:50	Kidokezo	Mtangazaji		
7	02:50-02:55	Matangazo	Kutoka Studio		
8	02:55-03:00	Soma ratiba	Mtangazaji		
9	03:00-04:10	Tafsiri Ya Qur'ani	Shekh Mselem Ally		
10	04:10-05:00	Asubuhi Njema	Mtangazaji		
		ADHURI TULIVU			
11	05:00-05:05	Habari Kwa Ufupi	Mtangazaji		
12	05:05-05:45	Malezi kwa watoto	Muhina		
13	05:45-06:45	Mawaidha	Kutoka Studio		
14	06:45-06:50	Adhana Ya Adhuhuri	Kutoka Studio		
15	06:50-07:00	Ujumbe	Kutoka Studio		
16	07:00-07:20	Quran Translation	Shekh		
17	07:20-08:00	Adhuhuri Njema	Mtan gazaji		
18	08:00-09:00	Mawaidha	Shekh Nasoro Bachu		
19	09:00-09:15	Taarifa Ya Habari	Mtangazaji		
		JIONI MARDHAAWA			
21	09:15-09:45	Sira ya Mtume	Shekh		
22	09:45-09:50	Adhana ya Alasiri	Kutoka Studio		
23	09:50-10:00	Soma Ratiba	Mtangazaji		
24	10:00-10:20	Qurani Translation	Abdulfbaasit Na Marmaduke		
25	10:20-10:55	Maisha ya Maswahaba	Shekhe		
26	10:55-11:00	Matangazo	Kutoka Studio		
27	11:00-11:15	Taarifa Ya Habari	Mtangazaji		
28	11:15-11:20	Matangazo	Kutoka Studio		
29	11:20-12:20	Darasa Duwara	Ustadhi Ally Ajirani		
30	12:20-12:30	Dua	Shekh Mohamad Jibrilu		
31	12:30-12:35	Adhana Ya Magharibi	Kutoka Studio		
32	12:35-12:45	Swala Ya Magharibi	Live Kutoka Masjdi Haq		
33	12:45-01:00	Dua	Shekh		
		USIKU TUIVU			
35	01:00-01:45	Mafundisho ya Twahara	Shekh Abdurahaman Muina		
36	01:45-01:50	Adhana Ya Ishaa	Kutoka Studio		
37	01:50-02:00	Soma Ratiba	Mtangazaji		
38	02:00-02:15	Swala Ya Ishaa	Live Kutoka Studio		
39	02:15-03:00	Yaliojiri	Mtangazaji		
40	03:00-03:15	Taarifa Ya Habari	Mtangazaji		
41	03:15-04:15	Uislaam na Tiba	Shekh Nduli		
42	04:15-05:30	Ulimwengu wa Kiislaam (Marudio)	Gualana		
		USIKU WA QURANI			
44	05:30-06:00	Familia	Abdrahaman Muhina		
45	06:00-06:10	Dua	Shekh		
46	06:10-11:00	Quran Tkufu	Shekh		
47	11:00-11:05	Soma Ratiba	Mohamed Iyombe		
48	11:05-11:10	Adhana Ya Alfajiri	Kutoka Studio		
49	11:10-11:40	Adhkari za Asubuhi	Ustadh Ally Ajirani		
50	11:40-12:00	Nyiradi Za Asubuhi	Shekh Ibrahim Twaha		
51	12:00-12:30	Nasaha Za Asubuhi	Shekhe		
52	12:55-01:00	Matangazo	Kutoka Studio		

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RADIO IMAAN FM—MOROGORO

RATIBA YA ALHAMISI

No	MUDA WA KIPINDI	JINA LA KIPINDI	MUHUSIKA	TRACK	CD NO
ASUBUHI NJEMA					
1	12:58-01:00	Tangazo	Kutoka Studio		
2	01:00-01:12	Taarifa kamili ya habari	Mtangazaji		
3	01:12-01:15	Tangazo	Kutoka Studio		
4	01:15-02:00	Radio Imaan na Magazeti	Mtangazaji		
5	02:00-02:10	Matangazo	Kutoka Studio		
6	02:10-02:55	Kidokezo	Watangazaji		
7	02:55-03:00	Matangazo	Kutoka Studio		
8	03:00-03:50	Tafsiri ya Qurani.	Shekhe Mselem Ally		
9	03:50-04:00	Matangazo	Kutoka Studio		
10	04:00-05:00	Salam za Asubuhi	Mtangazaji		
ADHURI TULIVU					
11	05:00-05:05	Habari kwa ufupi	Mtangazaji		
12	05:05-05:10	Soma Ratiba	Mtangazaji		
13	05:10-6:00	Afya ya Jamii marudio	Jafari Mponda		
14	06:00-06:45	Radio Imaan na Tiba (Marudio)	Shekhe Nduli		
15	06:45-06:50	Adhana A dhuhuri	Kutoka Studio		
16	06:50-07:00	Dua	Moahamed Jibrilu		
17	07:00-07:20	Qurani Translation	Abdulbaasit na Marmaduke		
18	07:20-08:00	Salaamu za Adhuhuri	Mtangazaji		
19	08:00-09:00	Mawaidha	Nasoro Bacho		
20	09:00-09:15	Taarifa ya habari	Mtangazaji		
JIONI MARIDHAAWA					
22	09:15-09:45	Sira ya Mtume	Shekh		
23	09:45-09:50	Adhana ya Alasiri	Kutoka Studio		
24	09:50-10:00	Ujumbe	Kutoka Studio		
25	10:00-10:20	Qurani Translation	Abdul Baasit		
25	10:20-10:58	Adhauq wa shaaku	Mubarak waziri na Kihemba		
27	10:58-11:00	Matangazo	Kutoka Studio		
28	11:00-11:15	Taarifa ya habari	Mtangazaji		
29	11:15-11:20	Matangazo	Afrika Muslimu Agency		
30	11:20-11:40	Adhauku wa Shauq sehem ya pili	Mubarak waziri na Kihemba		
31	11:40-12:00	Ujumbe	Kutoka Studio		
32	12:30-12:35	Adhana ya Magharibi	Kutoka Studio		
33	12:35-12:45	Swala ya magharibi	Live kutoka Masjidi Haq		
34	12:45-01:00	Dua na Matangazo	Kutoka Studio		
USIKU TULIVU					
36	01:00-01:45	Ijue Sheria (Live)	Hashim Gulana		
37	01:45-01:50	Adhana ya Ishaa	Live kutoka Studio		
38	01:50-02:00	Ijue Sharia sehemu ya pili	Hashim Gulana		
39	02:00-02:15	Swala ya Ishaa	Kutoka Masjid Haq Live		
40	02:15-03:00	Salam za Usiku	Mtangazaji		
41	03:00-03:15	Taarifa ya habari	Mtangazaji		
42	03:15-04:00	Tafsiri ya Quani	Shekh Mselem Ally		
43	04:00-05:00	Sharia ya Kiislaam	Shekh Maduga		
USIKU WA QURANI					
45	05:00-05:50	Familia	Abdrahamani Muhina		
46	05:50-06:00	Dua	Shekh Idrisa		
47	06:00-11:00	Qurani tukufu	Shekh		
48	11:00-11:05	Soma Ratiba	Mtangazaji		
49	11:05-11:10	Adhana ya alfajiri	Mtangazaji		
50	11:10-11:40	Adhkari za Asubuhi	Ustadhi Ally Ajirani		
51	11:40-12:00	Nyiradi za Asubuhi	Shekh Ibrahimu Twaha		
52	12:00-12:58	Nasaha za Asubuhi	Shekh Twalib Ahmad.		

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RADIO IMAAN FM—MOROGORO

SIKU YA IJUMAA

No	MUDA WA KIPINDI	JINA LA KIPINDI	MUHUSIKA WA KIPINDI	TRAC	CD NO
		ASUBUHI NJEMA			
1	12:58-01:00	Matangazo	Kutoka Studio		
2	01:00-01:13	Taarifa ya habari Asubuhi	Mtangazaji		
3	01:13-01:15	Matangazo	Kutoka Studio		
4	01:15-02:00	Radio Imaan na Magazeti	Mtangazaji		
5	02:00-02:05	Matangazo	,Liverpoll		
6	02:05-02:50	Kidokezo	Mtangazaji		
7	02:50-02:55	Matangazo	Kutoka Studio		
8	02:55-03:00	Soma Ratiba	Mtangazaji		
9	03:00-04:00	Nasaha za Ijumaa	Shekh		
10	04:00-05:00	Qurani Tukufu Surat Kahafi	Abdulbaasit		
		ADHURI NJEMA			
11	05:00-05:05	Habari kwa ufupi	Mtangazaji		
12	05:05-05:10	Soma Ratiba	Mtangazaji		
13	05:10-06:00	Salaam za Ijumaa kwa simu	Mtangazaji		
14	06:00-06:30	Dua	Shekh Zaharani		
15	06:30-07:00	Swala ya Ijumaa	Mtangazaji		
16	07:00-07:10	Dua	Shekh Idris Abkar		
17	07:10-07:15	Ujumbe	Kutoka Studio		
18	07:20-08:00	Salaamu za Ijumaa	Mtangazaji		
19	08:00-09:00	Mawaidha	Shekh Kombo		
20	09:00-09:15	Taarifa ya habari	Mtangazaji		
		JIONI MARIDHAAWA			
22	09:15-09:45	Pongezi za Ijumaa	Mtangazaji		
23	09:45-09:50	Adhana	Kutoka Studio		
24	09:50-10:00	Soma Ratiba	Mtangazaji		
25	10:00-10:20	Qurani Translation	Abdul Baasit		
26	10:20-10:55	Madrasa zetu.	Mubarak waziri		
27	10:55-11:00	Matangazo	Kutoka Studio		
28	11:00-11:40	Ulimwengu Juma hili	Mtangazaji		
29	11:40-12:10	Swala ya Ijumaa Marudie	Kutoka Studio		
30	12:10-12:40	Ujumbe	Kutoka Studio		
31	12:40-12:50	Dua	Kutoka Studio		
32	12:50-12:58	Adhana ya Magharibi	Kutoka Studio		
33	12:58-01:15	Swala ya Mafgaribi	Kutoka Masjid Haq		
34	01:15-01:20	Dua na Matangazo	Bakharesa,		
		USIKU TUIVU			
36	01:20-02:00	Mafundisho ya Qurani	Ustadh Othaman Thabiti		
37	02:00-02:10	Adhana ya Ishaa	Kutoka Studio		
38	02:10-02:15	Soma Ratiba	Mtangazaji		
39	02:15-02:30	Swala ya Ishaa	Live kutoka masjid Haq		
40	02:30-03:00	Salama za Usiku	Mtangazaji		
41	03:00-03:15	Taarifa ya habari	Mtangazaji		
42	03:15-04:15	Radio Imaan ni jibu	Shekh Ibrahimu Twaha		
43	04:15-05:00	Kalima ya Kiarabu	Shekh		
		USIKU WA QURANI			
45	05:00-05:50	Familia	Abdarahaman Muhina		
46	05:50-06:00	Dua	Idriss Abkar		
47	06:00-11:00	Qurani Tukufu	Shekh		
48	11:00-11:05	Soma Ratiba	Mtangazaji		
49	11:05-11:10	Adhana ya alfajiri	Mtangazaji		
50	11:10-11:40	Adhkari za Asubuhi	Ustadh Ally Ajirani		
51	11:40-12:00	Nyiradi za Asubuhi	Shekh Ibrahimu Twaha		
52	12:00-12:58	Nasaha za Asubuhi	Shekhe Rusaganya		

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MOROGORO
RADIO
RATIBA YA JUMAMOSI

No	MUDA WA KIPINDI	JINA LA KIPINDI	MUHUSIKA	TRACK	CD NO
ASUBUHI NJEMA					
1	12:55-01:00	Matangazo			
2	01:00-01:13	Taarifa ya habari Asubuhi	Bakharesa		
3	01:13-01:15	Matangazo	Kasimu Limo		
4	01:15-02:00	Radio Imaan na Magazeti	Kutoka Studio		
5	02:00-02:05	Matangazo	Mtangazaji		
6	02:05-02:50	Kidokezo	Liverpoll		
7	02:50-02:55	Matangazo	Mtangazaji		
8	02:55-03:00	Soma Ratiba	Bakharesa,		
9	03:00-04:00	Tafsiri ya Quran	Mtangazaji		
10	04:00-05:00	Salam za Asubuhi	Shekh Mselem Ally		
11			Watangazaji		
ADHURI NJEMA					
12	05:00-05:05	Habari kwa ufupi	Mtangazaji		
13	05:05-05:10	Soma Ratiba	Mtangazaji		
14	05:20-06:00	Fatawa	Ustadhi		
15	06:00-06:45	Ijue Sharia	Ijue Sheria Marudio		
16	06:45-06:50	Adhana	Kutoka Studi		
17	06:50-07:00	Ujumbe	Kutoka studio		
18	07:00-07:20	Qurani Translation	Shekh		
19	07:20-08:00	Salaamu za Adhuhuri	Mtangazaji		
20	08:00-09:00	Mawaidha	Shekh Nasoro Bacho		
21	09:00-09:15	Taarifa ya habari	Is,haka kihemba		
22					
JIONI MARIDHAWA					
23	09:15-09:45	Jifunze kingereza marudio	Lungw'echa		
24	09:45-09:50	Adhana	Kutoka Studio		
25	09:50-10:00	Soma ratiba	Kutoka studio		
26	10:00-10:20	Qurani Translation	Abdul Baasit		
27	10:20-10:55	Tunawakumbuka (Live)	Gulana		
28	10:55-11:00	Matangazo	Liverpoll hotel,		
29	11:00-11:15	Taarifa ya habari	Mtangazaji		
30	11:15-11:20	Matangazo	Stambic alwastan		
31	11:20-12:00	Nasaha za washairi	Kasimu Lyimo live.		
32	12:00-12:30	Dua na matangazo	Idrisa Abkar		
33	12:30-12:35	Adhna ya Magharibi	Kutoka studio		
34	12:35-12:45	Swala ya mafgaribi	Kutoka Masjidi Haki		
35	12:45-01:00	Matangazo	Bakharesa, Afrika Muslimu		
36					
USIKU TULIVU					
37	01:00-01:45	Mafundisho ya Quran	Ustadh Othaman Thabiti		
38	01:45-01:50	Adhana ya Isha	Kutoka Studio		
39	01:50-02:00	Soma Ratiba	Mtangazaji		
40	02:00-02:15	Swala ya Isha	Kutoka masjidi Haq live		
41	02:15-03:00	Yahojiri Wikii hii	Mohamed Iyombe		
42	03:00-03:15	Taarifa ya habari	Mtangazaji		
43	03:15-04:00	Tafsiri ya Qur'ani	Shekh Mselem Ally		
44	04:00-05:00	The Islamic Call	Shekh		
45					
USIKU WA QURANI					
46	05:00-05:30	Familia	Abdrahman Muhina.		
47	05:30-06:00	Dua	Idrisaa Abkar		
48	06:00-11:00	Qurani tukufu	Shekh A		
49	11:00-11:05	Soma Ratiba	Mtangazaji		
50	11:05-11:10	Adhana ya alfajiri	Kutoka Studio		
51	11:10-11:40	Adhakari za Asubuhi	Ustadhi Ally Ajirani		
52	11:40-12:00	Nyiradi za Asubuhi	Shekh Ibrahimu Twaha		
53	12:00-12:55	Nasaha za Asubuhi	Shekh		

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RADIO IMAAN FM --MOROGORO

RATIBA YA JUMAPILI

No	MUDA WA KIPINDI	JINA LA KIPINDI ASUBUHI NJEMA	JINA LA MUHUSIKA	TRAC
1	12:55-01:00	Tangazaji	Kutoka Studio	
2	01:00-01:15	Taarifa kamili ya Habari	Mtangazaji	
3	01:15-01:20	Tangazo	Kutoka Studio	
4	01:20-02:00	Radio Imaan na Magazeti	Mtangazaji	
5	02:00-02:05	Tangazo	Kutoka Studio	
6	02:05-03:00	Mwangaza wa Jamii (Live)	Mohamed Iyombe	
7	03:00-03:40	Maswali na Majibu	Mohamed Iyombe	
8	03:40-03:50	Tangazo	Kutoka Studio	
9	03:30-04:30	Tafsiri ya Quarani	Shekh Mselem Ally	
10	04:30-05:00	Salam za Asubuhi	Watangazaji	
ADHURI NJEMA				
17	05:00-05:05	Habari kwa ufupi	Isi, Haka Kihemba	
18	05:05-05:10	Soma Ratiba	Mtangazaji	
19	05:10-05:45	Radio Imaan na watoto	Mtangazaji	
20	05:45-06:45	Radio Imaan ni Jibu	Shekh Ibrahim Twaha	
21	06:45-06:50	Adhana	Kutoka Studio	
22	06:50-07:00	Ujumbe	Mtangazaji	
23	07:00-07:20	Qurani Translation	Shekh	
24	07:20-08:00	Salaamu za Adhuhuri	Mtangazaji	
25	08:00-09:00	Mawaidha	Nasoro Bachu	
26	09:00-09:15	Taarifa ya habari	Mtangazaji	
JIONI MARDHAAWA				
28	09:15-09:45	Harakati ndani ya Jamii	Mtangazaji	
29	09:45-09:50	Adhana	Kutoka Studio	
30	09:50-10:00	Soma Ratiba	Kutoka Studio	
31	10:00-10:20	Qurani Translation	Shekh	
32	10:20-11:00	Madrassa zetu Marudio	Mubarak Waziri	
33	10:55-11:00	Matangazo	Kutoka Studio	
34	11:00-11:15	Taarifa ya habari	Mtangazaji	
35	11:15-11:20	Matangazo	Kutoka Studio	
36	11:20-12:00	Lisanaul-arabi (Live)	Gulana na Iyombe	
37	12:00-12:30	Dua na matangazo	Kutoka Studio	
38	12:30-12:35	Adhna ya Magharibi	Kutoka Studio	
39	12:35-12:45	Swala ya magharibi	Kutoka Masjid Haq	
40	12:45-01:00	Dua na Matangazo	Albiri, Tawheed Na Atanbic	
USIKU TUIVU				
42	01:00-01:45	Mafundisho ya Qurani	Shekh Othaman Thabit	
43	01:45-01:50	Adhana ya Ishaa	Kutoka Studio	
44	01:50-02:00	Soma Ratiba	Mtangazaji	
45	02:00-02:15	Swala ya Ishaa	Kutoka Masjid Haq	
46	02:15-03:00	Yaliojiri	Mtangazaji	
47	03:00-03:15	Taarifa ya habari	Mtangazaji	
48	03:15-04:00	Afya ya Jamii (Live)	Dokta Abdulkarim	
49	04:00-05:00	Darsa Duwara(Kipindi)	Shekh Ally Ajirani	
USIKU WA QURANI				
51	05:00-05:50	Familia	Abdrhaman Mhina	
52	06:00-11:00	Qurani tukufu	Shekh	
53	11:00-11:05	Adhana ya alfajiri	Kutoka Studio	
54	11:05-11:10	Soma Ratiba	Kutoka Studio	
55	11:10-11:40	Adhakar za Asubuhi	Ustadh Ally Ajirani	
56	11:40-12:00	Nyiradi za Asubuhi	Shekh Ibrahim Twaha	
57	12:00-12:30	Nasaha za Asubuhi	Shekh Mohamed Said Ansi	
58	12:30-12:58	Yaliojiri Marudio	Mtangazaji	

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Appendix 3 Questionnaires

Working Title: Influence Assessment on Audiences of Religious Radio Broadcasts in Tanzania.

Religious Radio Broadcasts- Consumption Questionnaire.

Code: GOR_____

NGE_____

Dear Respondent,

I am Francis Xavier Ng'atigwa, a doctoral student at Bayreuth University (Germany) researching on "Influence Assessment on Audiences of Religious Radio Broadcasts in Tanzania". This study will focus on Radio Imaan FM (Morogoro) and Radio Maria FM (Dar-es-Salaam), and the locations of the research are Morogoro municipal and Mwanza city.

This is an academic project intended for my PhD award. Information provided will be confidentially treated. Thanks for your co-operation. Please, DO NOT write your names, address or phone number on the Questionnaire paper.

Instructions: (a) Tick in the space that best represents your opinion; (b) where the question requires your writing out your answer, please answer accordingly.

Section A

1. Sex (a) Male []

(b) Female []

2. Age: 15-20 []

21-25 []

26-30 []

31-35 []

36-40 []

41-45 []

46-50 []

51-above []

3. Highest level of education

Primary []

Secondary []

Diploma / Adv. Diploma []

B.Sc./B.A/ PGD Diploma []

M.Sc./MA []

Ph.D []

4. Religious Affiliation

Muslim 1.Sunni [] 2. Ahamadya [] 3. Shia []

Christian 1.Catholic [] 2.Lutheran [] 3. Anglican [] 4. Protestant []
 Traditional religion []
 None []

5. Occupation: (a) Civil servant []
 (b) Lawyer []
 (c) Medical practitioner []
 (d) Lecturer []
 (e)Teacher []
 (f) Self-employed []
 (g) Student []
 (h)Un-employed []
 (i) Other (Specify)

6. Monthly income range
 5,000,000.00 and above []
 Tshs. 2,500,000.00 – 5,000,000.00 []
 Tshs. 1,500,000.00- 2,000,000.00 []
 Tshs. 1,000,000.00-1,400,000.00 []
 Tshs. 500,000.00- 700,000.00 []
 TShs. 100,000.00- 400,000.00 []

Section B

7. Do you listen to radio broadcasts? Yes [] No [] (If no, please go to question no.31).

8. If yes, what type of radio station interests you most?

- (a) Religious radio stations
- (b) Government radio stations
- (c) Private/commercial radio stations.

9. Why do you choose to listen to this type of Radio station?

- (a) It provides good entertainment. []
- (b) I trust their news and information []
- (c) They help in my spiritual growth. []
- (d) To seek religious knowledge, value and truth. []
- (e) Out of curiosity and habit. []
- (f) My religious leaders recommended it. []
- (g) It is escape from boredom []
- (h) My friends listen to this radio station too. []
- (h) Others, specify.....

10. How often do you listen to the type of radio station you have chosen in question number 9 above?

- (a) Every day []
- (b) Occasionally []
- (c) Rarely []

11. How many hours do you listen to the programmes.....

12. Where do you listen to radio programmes?

- (a) In my house []
- (b) Bus stand/ commercial centre/in bars []
- (c) At friend's house []
- (e) In your car []
- (f) Others, specify.....

Section C

13. Do you listen to Religious Programmes on Radio? Yes [] No []

(If no, please go to question 32).

13(a) Do you listen to Radio Imaan? Yes [] No []

13(b) Do you listen to Radio Maria? Yes [] No []

13(c) If you answered yes in 13(a) and /or 13(b) above where do you listen to?

(a) At home []

(b) At a friend's house []

(c) In Commercial centre []

(d) In your car []

(e) Others, specify.....

13(d) If you listen to religious programmes but NOT on either Radio Imaan or Radio Maria, state on which station do you listen.....

14. What values do Religious programmes have to you?

(a) Entertainment []

(b) To bid time []

(c) To deepen my faith []

(d) Peace and order []

(e) Prevents bad influence []

(f) No value []

(g) Others, specify.....

15. Do you participate in call-in programmes/ voucher programmes aired by religious radio stations?

Yes [] No []

16. If yes, about how much money do you spend on call-in/vouchers programmes?

(a) Tshs. 500.00-1,000.00 []

(b) Tshs. 1,500.00- 2,000.00 []

(c) Tshs. 2,500.00-3,000.00 []

(d) Tshs. 3,500.00- 4,000.00 []

(e) Tshs. 4,500.00-5,000.00 []

(f) Tshs. 5,500.00 and above []

17. If you do not spend money on call-in and voucher programmes aired by religious radio stations, why?

(a) Cannot afford the money []

(b) It is waste of money []

(c) Others, specify.....

18. To what extent has your listening to Religious programmes positively influenced your religious life?

(a) Great Extent []

(b) Little Extent []

(c) Very Little Extent []

(d) No Extent []

(e) Can not say []

19. How often do you attend Para-religious activities such as Small Christian Communities, prayer vigils, charitable activities, volunteer contributions, Islamic brotherhood, Sufi brotherhood, associations and foundations?

Very often []

Often []

Sometimes []

Rarely []

Not at all []

20. How often do you read/ watch/ use/ listen to the following?

S/n	Statements	Very Often	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Not at all
1	Religious music					
2	Religious Home Video					
3	Religious Dramas					
4	Religious Books					
5	Religious Bulletin					
6	Religious Programmes in TV/Radio					
7	Other religion programmes					
8	Leaflets					
9	Religious magazine/newspapers					
10	Religious websites					
11	Putting religious stickers in cars, religious tones in mobile phone.					

Section D

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements.

S/n	Statements	Strongly Agree	Agreed	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Can't Say
21	Religious Radio Broadcasts are good					
22	I have stopped some nasty habits as a result of some Religious programmes I have listened to.					
23	Religious programmes are not as good as the secular programmes					
24	The introduction of religious radio stations is a way of making					

	money through religion					
25	Religious radio stations are quest for cheap popularity					
26	Religious programmes are nothing more than entertainment					
27	Listening to religious programmes should be encouraged.					
28	Financial support for religious programmes is a waste of money					
29	The introduction of religious radio stations is the right type of communication for religious activities in this present age					
30	Religious radio stations and religious programmes have trivialized the faith					

31. If you do not listen to radio programmes, why?

Do not have radio receiver at home []

No time []

Do not like listening to radio broadcasts generally []

Do not like Tanzanian radio broadcasts

Others, specify.....

.....

32. If you do not like to listen to religious radio programmes why.....

.....

Appendix 4: Respondents' religious affiliations

Religious affiliation	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Islam	32	33
Catholic	39	40
Lutheran	13	14
Anglican	6	6
Pentecostal	7	7
Total	97	100

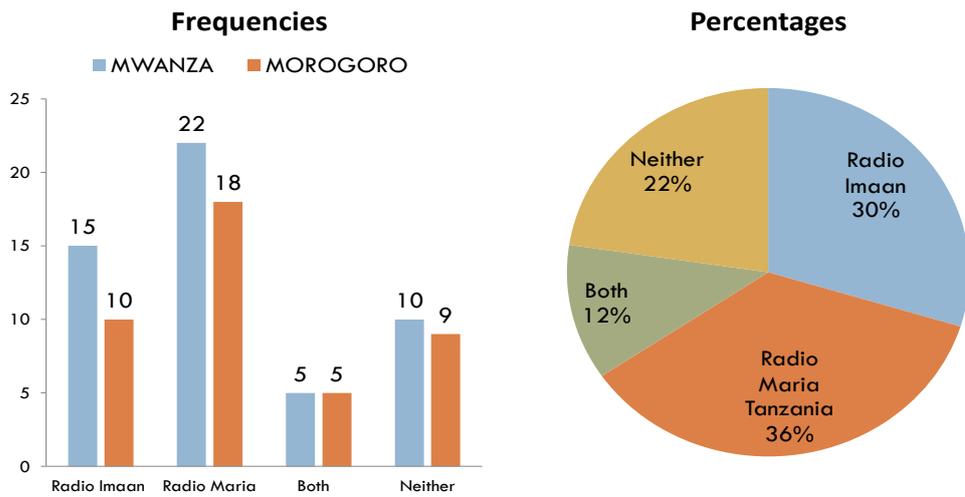
Source: Research Fieldwork 2010

Appendix 5: Respondents' levels of education.

Levels of Education	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Primary	13	13
Secondary	30	31
Diploma	19	20
Bachelor	27	28
Master	8	8
PhD	0	0
Total	97	100

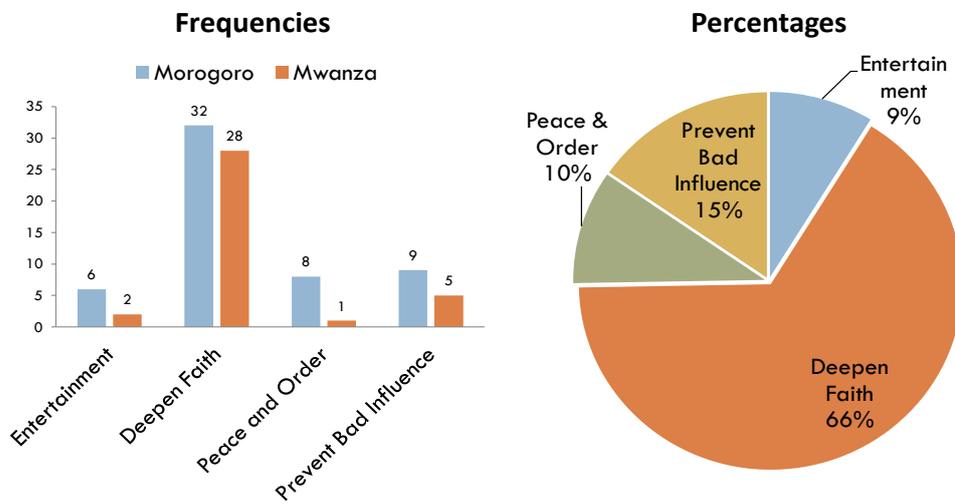
Source: Research Fieldwork 2010

Appendix 6: Listenership of Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan: Mwanza and Morogoro



Source: Research Fieldwork 2010

Appendix 7: Respondents' reasons for listening to Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan



Source: Research Fieldwork 2010

Appendix 8: Respondents' age groups

Age group	Frequency	Percentage (%)
15-20	17	18
21-25	25	26
26-30	25	26
31-35	15	15
36-40	5	5
41-45	6	6
46-50	2	2
50+	2	2
Total	97	100

Source: Research Fieldwork 2010

Appendix 9: Interview guide for the owners of Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan

1. Brief history of the radio station
2. The mission, vision and objectives
3. Policy guiding the broadcasting activities
3. Challenges and Successes
4. Any other useful information.

**Appendix 10: Interview guide for Broadcasters /Journalists of Radio Maria Tanzania
and Radio Imaan**

1. What informs the packaging of programmes?
2. Number of programmes
3. Contents of programmes
3. Patterns of production of programmes
4. Success and problems

Appendix 11: Interview guide for religious leaders in Tanzania

1. The integration of radio technology in religious activities.
2. Impact of religious radio stations on their daily religious activities
3. Impact of the use of radio technology in the religious lives of believers of religions
4. The mushrooming of religious radio stations and unity among religions and religious denominations /groups
5. Changes in the practices of religion caused by religious radio stations

Appendix 12: Interview guide for radio broadcasting experts

1. The emergence of religious radio stations in Tanzania
2. Challenges in the media industry
3. Professionalism
4. Quality of programmes
5. Contents
5. Press freedom and freedom of religion.
6. Impact of the mushrooming of religious radio stations on the socio-religious sphere in Tanzania

**Appendix 13: Interview guide for Tanzania Communications Regulatory Authority
(TCRA)**

1. Radio broadcasting policy/ regulations
2. Number of radio stations in Tanzania
3. Number of religious radio stations in Tanzania
4. Regulations on religious radio broadcasts
5. The role of religious radio stations in Tanzania
6. Challenges of religious radio broadcasts in Tanzania.

Appendix 14: Interview guide for audiences of Radio Maria Tanzania and Radio Imaan

1. Implicit and explicit reasons for listening to the radio station(s).
2. Place of the two radio stations in your daily life
3. Individual preferences on the aired programmes of the two radio stations
4. Impact of the two radio stations on the socio-religious spheres
5. The changes the two religious radio stations have recorded in Tanzania
6. Views on the religious activities of an electronic church and mosque vis-a-vis the physical church and mosque

Appendix 15: List of the interviewees

1. Sofia Sabini, Mkambarani -Morogoro, 15 February 2011
2. Innocent Makalla, Mkambarani-Morogoro, 15 February 2011
3. Jessica Daniel, Mkambarani -Morogoro, 15 February 2011
4. Emmanuel Zacharias, Mkambarani-Morogoro, 15 February 2011
5. Pastor Lucian Ambrose, Morogoro, 18 February 2011
6. Hussein Kingamkono, Morogoro, 23 February 2011
7. Al-Hajj Hassan Nassoro, Morogoro, 23 February 2011
8. Sheikh Omari Jumbe, Morogoro, 24 February 2012
9. Zuberi Zongo, Morogoro, 01 March 2011
10. Grace Maria, Morogoro, 15 March 2011
11. Tatu Mkude, Morogoro, 20 March 2011
12. Hamisi Mchapamali, Morogoro, 20 March 2011
13. Meshack Badru, Morogoro, 21 March 2011
14. Programme Producer of RI, Morogoro, 22 March 2011
15. Broadcaster of RI, Morogoro, 22 March 2011
16. Official of RI (1), Morogoro, 23 March 2011
17. Official of RI (2), Morogoro, 24 March 2011
18. Mustapha Seif, Morogoro, 01 April 2011
19. Alex Minja, Mwanza, 10 April 2011
20. Veronica Peter, Mwanza, 11 April 2011
21. Victoria Moris, Mwanza, 11 April 2011
22. Godfrey Mahonge, Mwanza, 11 April 2011
23. Mwanasha Juma, Mwanza, 12 April 2011
24. Pastor Elibariki Mabula, Mwanza, 12 April 2011
25. Ally Yusuph, Mwanza, 14 April 2011
26. Hamida Selemani, Mwanza, 18 April 2011
27. Father John Bosco Nguah, Dar-es-Salaam, 01 May 2011
28. Agnes Shayo Hiza, Dar-es-Salaam, 02 May 2011

29. Leonia Odilo Bishoge, Dar-es-Salaam, 02 May 2011
30. Fr. Ricardo Maria, Morogoro, 03 May 2011
31. Salehe Jongo, Morogoro, 10 May 2011
32. Zubeda Mohammed, Morogoro, 11 May 2011
33. Aziz Mwinyimkuu, Morogoro, 11 May 2011
34. Abdul Kibwana, Morogoro 12 May 2011
35. Liberatus Anthony, Morogoro, 12 May 2011
36. Salehe Othman, Morogoro, 19 May 2011
37. TCRA Officer (1), Dar-es-Salaam, 01 June 2011
38. TCRA Officer (2), Dar-es-Salaam, 06 June 2011
39. Gallus Gasper, Morogoro, 03 July 2011
40. Bishop John Makello, Morogoro, 06 July 2011
41. Lucy Ulomi, Morogoro, 25 June 2011.
42. Dr. Joseph Matumaini, Dar-es-Salaam, 26 June 2011
43. Mabrouk Ally, Mwanza, 23 January 2012
44. Sr. Maria Stella, Pemba (Zanzibar)/Bayreuth 26 June 2012
45. Yohane Lucas, Morogoro/ Bayreuth, 20 January 2013

Appendix 16: Demonstration of a group of Muslim students in Dar-es-Salaam: 20 January 2013.



Photo: A group of Muslim students at Kidongo Chekundu in Dar-es-Salaam with posters demonstrating their views against the suspension of 20 Muslim students in Ndanda High School which is viewed as implementation of *mfumokristo*. (Photo: Courtesy of Issamichuzi.blogspot.).

The English translation of the poster in the left is “For how long is the Catholic Church lead us? TAMSAYA cannot be cheated” In English the poster on the right reads “Stop violence against Muslims in Schools”

Appendix 17: Demonstration of a group of Muslims in Dar-es-Salaam: 6 September 2012.



Photo: Group of Muslims celebrating in front the gates of the Ministry of Home Affairs following the decision of the government to release the “victims” of Population and Housing census in 2012. (Photo: Courtesy of Jamii Forums)

Appendix 18: A victim of socio-religious violence in Buseresere village on 10 February 2013.



Photo: Sadick Yahaya, (presumably a Muslim as his names suggest), one among the victims of socio-religious clash occurred on 10 February 2013 in Buseresere ward. (Photo: Courtesy of Jamii Forums)

Appendix 19: A Christian meat shop (butcher) in Lake Zone -Tanzania



Appendix 20: A poster of *Halal Bureau-Tanzania*.

Enyi watu! Kuleni vilivyomo katika ardhi, halali na vizuri... Qur'an 2:168



يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ كُلُوا مِمَّا فِي الْأَرْضِ حَلَالًا طَيِّبًا

Je, Unakula Vilivyo Halal na Vizuri?



Halal Bureau - Tanzania ni Mamlaka ya Halal iliyoanzishwa kwa haja ya kuelimisha vigezo vya Halal kwa Vyakula na Vinywaji na Vipodozi kwa mujibu wa Sheria na Sharia kwa ajili ya kulinda Afya ya Mlaji, haki za wanyama katika uchinjaji na Ustawi wa Jamii kwa Ujumla.

HALAL KWA WOTE!

S.L.P. 10993 Dar es Salaam, Tanzania
Simu: +255 784953981/+255 754362264
Email: halal@barazakuutanzania.org
Website: www.barazakuutanzania.org



BARAZA KUU Tanzania

A Poster showing the “Halal” foods for Muslims in Tanzania. (Photo: Courtesy of An-Nuur Newspaper).
“Enyi watu! Kuleni vilivyomo katika ardhi na vizuri... Quran 2:168” (Kiswahili: O mankind! Eat of that which is lawful and wholesome in the earth...Quran 2:168).
“Halal Bureau-Tanzania ni Mamlaka ya halali iliyoanzishwa kwa haja ya kuelimisha vigezo vya Halal kwa vyakula na vinywaji na vipodozi kwa mujibu wa Sheria na Sharia kwa ajili ya kulinda Afya ya mlaji, haki za wanyama katika uchinjaji na ustawi wa jamii kwa ujumla”(Kiswahili: Halal Bureau-Tanzania is a legitimate authority established to educate the standards for Halal foods, beverages and cosmetics in accordance with Sharia law for the protection of consumer’s health, the rights of animals at slaughter and the welfare of society.