



**Ujamaa Theology and Human Sexuality in Tanzania:
A Socio-Historical and Hermeneutical Analysis of Ujamaa Literature
in the Context of Same-Sex Sexuality**

Submitted by

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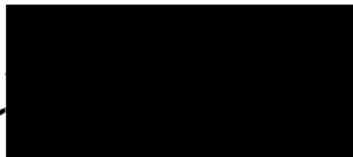
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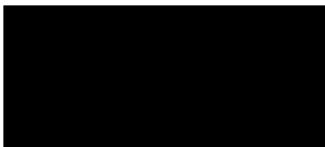
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Mote P Magomba

November 2024



Prof Gerald O. West



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Abstract

This thesis explores Ujamaa theology in the context of human sexuality, focusing on a socio-historical and hermeneutical analysis of Ujamaa literature to uncover theological and biblical conceptual resources that could be employed in engagement with contemporary contestation over issues of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania.

For a broader understanding of Ujamaa and its socio-historical setting, this study interrogates the pre-colonial history of the land that became Tanzania, spanning back several millennia, which is vital for a better understanding of Tanzanian peoples and their intimate ways of life, colonization and Christianization, the spirit of the Ujamaa movement and the need for liberation from colonization and its aftermath.

The study examines same-sex sexuality and explores how eroticism and sexual relationships have been experienced and practiced in Tanzania across time and space. It aims to shed light on aspects of life that were suppressed and silenced by colonial influences and have been neglected by mainstream biblical and theological studies in Tanzania. This study draws from historical texts as well as works by anthropologists, sociologists, medical scientists, and human rights advocates. On one level, it addresses the terminology, concepts, existence, prevalence, socio-cultural attitudes, and representations of same-sex-oriented individuals. On another, it investigates the politics and policies related to same-sex practices, along with religious and cultural discourses surrounding same-sex sexuality in Tanzania

There has been a deliberate crackdown on LGBTIQ persons, and countless people with perceived or assumed same-sex sexuality, LGBTIQ activists and allies whose names and stories are unknown, have suffered brutal physical, verbal and spiritual violence in the hands of some religious leaders, families, politicians and the public in Tanzania. The growing intolerance and violence against same-sex sexuality is foreign to the Tanzanian society of Ujamaa. Equally, denouncement of same-sex sexuality, or even the silence of theologians, is a matter of theological concern that requires interrogation.

Hence, this thesis aims, first, to investigate the concept of Ujamaa and analyze its biblical-theological elements that could inform contemporary discourse on same-sex sexuality. Second, to examine an Ujamaa interpretive approach to scripture and consider its application in the current Tanzanian context regarding same-sex sexuality. Third, to address issues related to same-sex sexuality, especially violence against LGBTIQ individuals, by utilizing theological insights from Ujamaa theology; and fourth, bring Ujamaa liberation theology into dialogue with present-day concerns surrounding same-sex sexuality, contributing academically to the theologically under-researched field of human sexuality in Tanzania.

Lastly, the study proposes Contextual Bible Study (CBS) on Genesis 18-19 and Galatians 3:26-28 respectively, as theological praxis for an inclusive Ujamaa theology that integrates issues of same-sex sexuality through the CBS process, fostering a transformative and prophetic public theology that practically engages with the lived realities of LGBTIQ individuals in Tanzania.

Acronyms

ACT	– Anglican Church of Tanzania
AD	– Anno Domino
AIC	– African Initiated Churches
AIDS	– acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
BC	– Before Christ
BCE	– Before Common Era
CBS	– Contextual Bible Study
CE	– Common Era
CEBI	– <i>Centro de Estudos Biblicos</i> [in English, ‘Centre for Biblical Studies’]
CEBS	– <i>Comunidad(e) Eclesial de Bases</i> (in English, Basic Church Communities)
CMS	– Church Mission Society
DOAZ	– <i>Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung</i> [in English, ‘German East African Newspaper’ published weekly in Dar es Salaam between 1899 and 1916]
DRC	– Democratic Republic of Congo
EATWOT	– Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians
ELCT	– Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania
GAFCON	– Global Anglican Future Conference
HIV	– Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HRC	– Human Rights Commission
IGLHRC	– International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission
LGBTIQ	– Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex and Queer or Questioning
LMS	– London Missionary Society
MARPs	– Most-at- Risk Populations
MFHM	– Marian Faith Healing Ministry
MOH	– Ministry of Health
MSM	– Men who have Sex with Men
Mwl.	– <i>Mwalimu</i> in Swahili, meaning ‘Teacher’, a title used by JK Nyerere.
NACP	– National AIDS Control Programme
NGO	– Non-Governmental Organization

NRSV	– New Revised Standard Version
OUT	– Oxford University Press
RSV	– Revised Standard Version
SCC	– Small Christian Community
SCCs	– Small Christian Communities
SUV	– Swahili Union Version [of the Bible]
TAA	– Tanganyika African Association
TANU	– Tanganyika African National Union
TCRC	– Tanzania Communication Regulatory Authority
TNBS	– Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics
TUKI	– Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili (in English, ‘Institute of Kiswahili Research’)
TYGEO	– Tanzania Youth Gender Empowerment Organization
UMCA	– Universities’ Mission to Central Africa
UN-ICCPR	– United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
UNGASS	– United Nations General Assembly Special Session
USA	– United States of America
WSW	– Women who have Sex with Women
ZSYDO	– Zanzibar Strategic Youth Development Organization

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Chapter 1

1 General Introduction

1.1 Background to and Motivation for the Study

First, to begin, I will pose an exploratory question regarding the reasons behind undertaking this research within the context of Tanzania: why have I undertaken this research? This research has been a journey of faith and theological growth that began in 2011, when I was invited by the Ujamaa Centre to attend a CBS workshop on gender and human sexuality in Durban, South Africa. The workshop, organized by the Ujamaa Centre in collaboration with the Chicago Consultation, provided me with a unique opportunity to reconnect with Prof. Gerald West and fellow Ujamaa colleagues, as well as to engage with members of the Chicago Consultation and numerous participants from South Africa, Africa, Europe, and the USA. For the first time, I had the chance to engage with queer theologians and LGBTIQ individuals from across these regions. My experience at the Durban workshop was both spiritually and theologically transformative, as it opened my eyes to the extent to which LGBTIQ individuals are demonized, discriminated against, and excluded from full participation in both church life and society worldwide. As a result, this research, titled “Ujamaa Theology and Human Sexuality in Tanzania: A Socio-Historical and Hermeneutical Analysis of Ujamaa Literature in the Context of Same-Sex Sexuality”, is undertaken to address the urgent issues surrounding same-sex sexuality in Tanzania, within the framework of Ujamaa theology.

1.2 From a Philosophy to Ujamaa Theology

From 1962 Nyerere took the African indigenous Ujamaa concept from Tanzania as a model for his Ujamaa philosophy that united all ethnic groups and religions in their struggle for liberation (Nyerere 1973:137). From 1970, through Nyerere’s works, Ujamaa political social milieu became an Ujamaa theological context for the new wave of struggle for liberation from neo-colonial oppressive forces (Ludwig 1999:104-5). In the context of Ujamaa theology, the experiences of the poor align with the concept of God, symbolizing harmony and equality. Ujamaa theology concentrates on humanity, rejecting all injustices.

Tanzania, with its rich history of Ujamaa, provides a unique context for exploring how liberation theology can be extended to include the lived experiences and struggles of LGBTIQ individuals. The socio-cultural, religious, and political landscape of Tanzania has been shaped by Ujamaa principles, which emphasize community, equality, and social justice. However, despite these principles, LGBTIQ persons in Tanzania continue to face significant marginalization, discrimination, and violence.

This research integrates aspects of Ujamaa theology with issues of same-sex sexuality to develop an inclusive theological framework that promotes justice, dignity, and inclusion for all individuals, regardless of their gender identity and sexual orientation. Ujamaa theology already exists and has a long history, but this thesis investigates its capacity to engage with human sexuality in Tanzania.

Inspired by Nyerere's Ujamaa theology of liberation, the Ujamaa Centre for Community Development and Research (Ujamaa Centre), located at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa, was established in 1989 to build a society in which religion enables a just, inclusive, and democratic life for all. The centre uses CBS as a theological method (West *et al.* 2023:150).

By employing Contextual Bible Study (CBS) as a theological method, this study has sought to foster a deeper understanding of human sexuality within the Ujamaa context, challenging oppressive interpretations of biblical texts and dominant narratives that marginalize LGBTIQ persons.

Equally, this research is motivated by the need to address the gap in mainstream Church theologies in Tanzania, which often ignore or condemn same-sex sexualities. Through CBS workshops with organized community groups inclusive of LGBTIQ persons, this research would provide a platform for more incipient voices of LGBTIQ individuals to be heard and their experiences to be recognized within the broader theological discourse in the Church and society. By doing so, the research seeks to contribute to transformative social and theological change in Tanzania, ensuring that the principles of Ujamaa, which are community, equality, and social justice, are fully realized for all members of society regardless of their human sexualities.

Second, what have I done to respond to LGBTIQ issues as my contribution? This research responds to issues affecting LGBTIQ individuals in Tanzania by integrating Ujamaa theology with the lived experiences and struggles of these oppressed and marginalized communities, through the following key contributions: socio-historical analysis, integration of Ujamaa theology and human sexuality, Contextual Bible Study (CBS) resources, development of people's theology, a proposed CBS action plan as well as theological and social change. In this study, socio-historical analysis situates the struggles of LGBTIQ individuals within the broader historical and cultural framework of Tanzania. Similarly, the integration of Ujamaa theology and human sexuality broadens the scope of Ujamaa theology to include the experiences and struggles of LGBTIQ individuals, and thereby promoting an inclusive theological framework that emphasizes justice, dignity, and inclusion for all.

The research proposes a re-reading of biblical texts such as Genesis 18-19 and Galatians 3:26-28, through the CBS method of See-Judge-Act, which would challenge oppressive interpretations and dominant narratives that marginalize LGBTIQ persons in Tanzania. In this thesis, CBS provides a collaborative approach to biblical interpretation, which has the capacity to foster a deeper understanding of same-sex sexuality within the Ujamaa theological context of Tanzania.

This research emphasizes the development of people's theology, which emerges organically through the lived experiences and struggles of LGBTIQ individuals, and their encounters with the biblical texts. Hence, I argue in this thesis that Ujamaa theology has the potential to serve as a more inclusive voice in the context of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania.

Therefore, this study proposes a CBS action plan that outlines a practical implementation plan for Ujamaa CBS workshops with organized community groups in Tanzania. This plan aims to foster a prophetic and inclusive Ujamaa theology of human sexuality through collaborative theological reflection and action grounded in the lived experiences of LGBTIQ individuals.

This research contributes to transformative theological and social change in Tanzania by promoting an inclusive Ujamaa theology that addresses the intersectionality of liberation theology and human sexualities. By challenging oppressive systems and structures, the research aims to

ensure that the principles of Ujamaa, which are community, equality, and social justice, are fully realized for all members of society, including LGBTIQ individuals.

1.3 Research Questions, Objectives and Design

Third, how have I responded to issues of same-sex sexuality in relation to the research questions, objectives, design, methodology and theory? This research is designed to address contemporary issues of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania, specifically focusing on how Ujamaa theology can be used to engage with these issues, particularly in light of the violence and marginalization experienced by LGBTIQ individuals in Tanzania. The study is structured around clearly defined research questions and objectives, with a comprehensive and multidisciplinary methodology that draws on several theoretical frameworks.

What conceptual resources does Ujamaa theology offer to engage with current issues of same-sex sexuality in contemporary Tanzania? This is a primary question of the research, through which I explore the theological and hermeneutical resources that Ujamaa theology can offer to address issues of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania. This question is designed to explore the relevance of Ujamaa theology in responding to issues related to same-sex sexuality, focusing on the intersection of theology, politics, religion, culture and social justice in the Tanzanian context, as delineated in this thesis.

Hence, the research objectives are aimed at both exploring the theological concepts behind Ujamaa and thereby addressing contemporary issues of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania. In these objectives, this study (1) explores Nyerere's concept of Ujamaa and examines its biblical theological elements that could be relevant in engaging with issues of same-sex sexuality today, as examine in chapter three and five; (2) it analyzes Nyerere's hermeneutical approach to liberation and investigates how this can be used to interpret biblical texts in the context of contemporary debates on same-sex sexuality, as delineated in chapter six; (3) it applies Ujamaa theology in addressing issues of violence against LGBTI persons in Tanzania; and, (4) it makes a theological contribution to the debate on human sexuality in Tanzania, especially given the lack of extensive research in this area within the theological context of Tanzania, as discussed in chapter seven. Thus, the study seeks to

integrate Ujamaa theological reflection with practical and social engagement in the context of human sexuality.

The research adopts a transdisciplinary research design, which means it combines multiple perspectives and disciplines to address the complexity of issues surrounding same-sex sexuality in Tanzania. This design is especially important given the sensitive nature of the research topic and the need for a multi-faceted approach, which is issue-centred, flexible and open-ended, as well as holistic. The research design is strictly centred on issues of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania and how Ujamaa theology conceptual resources would respond to the complexity of the issues in an open and flexible way, allowing new theological and biblical insights to emerge in the current context. Similarly, the study attempts to holistically integrate socio-cultural, political, religious, and theological perspectives in understanding the issues of same-sex sexuality in the current context of Tanzania.

1.4 Research Methodology and Theory

In line with its research design, this research employs a qualitative, transdisciplinary methodology that integrates several approaches, which are liberation theology, queer theory, post-colonial theory, as well as socio-historical and hermeneutical analysis. In this thesis, a liberation theology approach emphasizes theological reflection from the perspective of the oppressed, and interprets biblical texts and theological concepts through that lens.

In this study, given the focus on same-sex sexuality, queer theory is used to challenge the traditional binaries of heterosexuality and homosexuality; it deconstructs the heteronormative assumptions and norms regarding human sexuality within traditional theologies, and highlights the marginalized position of same-sex sexualities in Tanzania.

Again, in this thesis, postcolonial theory examines the colonial roots of cultural, social, and religious attitudes toward sexuality in Africa, and in this case in Tanzania, as exhibited in chapter four. Hence, in this study, postcolonial theory focuses on how colonial legacies have shaped attitudes toward LGBTIQ individuals and how postcolonial societies like Tanzania continue to struggle with these legacies. In this thesis, postcolonial theory also interrogates how Western

ideologies of sexuality have influenced local perceptions of same-sex sexualities, as discussed in chapter four.

The study also employs socio-historical analysis to examine how Ujamaa emerged in the context of colonialism and postcolonial struggles, as I explore in chapter three. This is coupled with a hermeneutical analysis of biblical texts used by Nyerere to explore his approach to liberation, and how these can be applied to the current context of same-sex sexuality, as delineated in chapter five. Likewise, drawing on socio-historical and hermeneutical analysis approach, this thesis also integrates data from secondary sources, such as the writings of Nyerere and Ujamaa theologians, historical documents, and resources from human rights activists and social scientists engaging with issues of human sexuality in Tanzania as outlined in chapters three, four and five. Therefore, in the transdisciplinary methodology of this study, liberation theology provides a framework for action and reflection, where social action informs theological reflection and vice versa.

Consequently, this research is constructed upon liberation theology theoretical framework that incorporates two other main approaches, namely, queer and postcolonial theories to critically engage with issues of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania, as delineated in chapter two. In this research, liberation theology itself focuses on a biblical hermeneutics of liberation for the oppressed and marginalized, and in this case, LGBTIQ individuals as extrapolated in this thesis, especially in chapter six. Also, in this research, queer theory provides a critical framework for analyzing sexual identities and heteronormativity in religious and cultural contexts, challenging traditional binary conceptions of sexuality, as I discuss in chapter two and seven. Again, using postcolonial theory, I explore the legacy of colonialism in shaping attitudes toward same-sex sexuality and its ongoing impact on identity formation, violence, and exclusion in postcolonial societies like Tanzania.

By integrating these approaches, the research situates Ujamaa theology within a broader framework of liberation theology and social justice, allowing it to critique and recontextualize traditional theological norms regarding human sexuality and human dignity in the current context of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania. The study is rooted in Ujamaa theology but employs these diverse frameworks to propose new theological insights that can inform both biblical interpretation and practical responses to the violence and marginalization faced by LGBTIQ individuals in

Tanzania. The methodology is qualitative, drawing on a holistic, contextual analysis of scripture, social realities, and theological discourse to address a complex, multi-dimensional issue of same-sex sexuality in the Tanzanian context.

In summary, this thesis provides a comprehensive study that combines Ujamaa theology with the issues surrounding same-sex sexuality to promote theological and social change, which would challenge oppressive structures and advocate for an inclusive Ujamaa theology that fully realizes Ujamaa principles of community, equality, dignity and social justice for LGBTIQ individuals in Tanzania. Hence, the study aims to contribute to the broader discourse on human sexuality in Tanzania, where such issues are often neglected or condemned by mainstream Church theologies in the country. Likewise, by drawing on multiple theoretical frameworks and employing Contextual Bible Study (CBS) collaborative method of See-Judge-Act in chapters six and seven, this research attempts to contribute towards transformation of social and theological perspectives, through Ujamaa theology conceptual resources for engaging with LGBTIQ individuals within the context of Tanzania.

Chapter 2

2 Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

This thesis is constructed using a liberation theology epistemological paradigm as articulated by both Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians (EATWOT) and liberation hermeneutics scholars (West 1999:12ff; Frostin 1988:2ff). This chapter discusses notions of liberation theology, developments of liberation theology and hermeneutics, black liberation theology, Ujamaa liberation theology, feminist hermeneutics, and Ujamaa Contextual Bible Study (CBS). These liberation modes of theology and interpretation are presented in relation to both the present Tanzanian context and the biblical context. This chapter also examines the potentials and limitations of liberation theology, acknowledging its initial neglect of gender and sexuality issues, which feminist theology later addressed. Integrating human sexuality into liberation theology here represents an essential broadening of its theoretical framework to engage with current issues surrounding same-sex sexuality, especially within the context of Ujamaa theology in Tanzania. Additionally, this chapter highlights the dynamic and adaptive nature of liberation theology, which is rooted in the lived experiences of the poor and marginalized. It calls for ongoing theological reflection and practice that responds to emerging social realities, including human sexuality, to promote justice, dignity, and liberation for all.

2.2 Liberation Theology

The blooming of liberation theology, as a new approach to theology and biblical hermeneutics whose central emphasis is human justice, has been one of astonishing and yet lasting phenomena of the second half of the twentieth century. It emerged as a new theological methodology in the 1960s that criticises repressive ideologies; it unmasks oppressive ideas and doctrines in both Christian churches and society for the liberation of the poor and oppressed. Liberation theology is a theology of the poor and oppressed, and it is profoundly rooted in the world of the poor and oppressed. Liberation theology perceives the world “from the underside of the poor and suffering” and as such responds to the vision by pursuing effective ways to change the “structures of sin”,

which are the original causes of human suffering and misery (Hennelly 1990:xv). Hence liberation theology is both a continuation and departure from dominant Christian theology. As a continuation, it is representative of “a radical engagement of Christianity with the world, with the intent to represent human freedom and God’s gratuitous activity in the questions and issues of the day” (Chopp 1986:153). However, liberation theology is representative of a radical theological reflection “that is identified with those who suffer, that represents a freedom of transformation, and that proclaims a God whose love frees us for justice and faith” (Chopp 1986:153). Thus, liberation theology becomes an epistemological paradigm that departs from dominant Christian theology, as it is evident in the development of liberation theology itself, which is the focus of the next section.

2.3 Development of Liberation Theology

The first epoch of what might be considered ‘liberation theology’ started with prophetic theology from 1511 to 1553. In November 1511, the Dominican Antonio de Montesinos preached a powerful sermon to attack the oppressive rule of the Spaniards and defended the rights of the people. As a result, Bartholome de la Casas converted and spent his entire life writing enormously defending the rights of the Amerindians. The conversion of Bartholome, who would become profoundly prolific and practical in his writings, could be considered the beginning of prophetic theology that became an essential groundwork for the development of theology of liberation in Latin America. However, the second epoch, from 1553 to 1808, began as a reaction to the prophetic movement in the New World, with the founding of the first universities, which became instrumental in the development of “the theology of colonial Christendom” (Hennelly 1990:xvii). The resultant academic theology failed to denounce the continuing crimes against the Amerindians, and eventually created a “sacred canopy” that provided an ideological justification for the oppression of the people (Hennelly 1990:xvii).

The third epoch, from 1808 to 1831, comprised years of struggle for independence throughout Latin America, which, unlike the second epoch, produced another genuine theology, namely, “a political theology of emancipation” (Hennelly 1990:xvii). This theological movement was not obviously academic, but it reflected the collective efforts of leaders who provided a theological

rationale for the struggle for independence and religious reasoning to inspire people to participate in the struggle. Adversely, the fourth epoch, from 1831 to 1930, was characterised by a conservative neo-colonial theology; but a moderately progressive new Christendom mentality evolved in the fifth epoch from 1930 to 1962. This epoch was marked by key components in theological developments, as discussed in the next section, which became foundational for a truly liberation theology (Hennely 1990:xviii), which inspired developments of feminist theology, black theology in South Africa, EATWOT, and Ujamaa theology in Tanzania.

2.4 Key Components in the Development of Liberation Theology

Three key components were instrumental in the emergence of liberation theology in Latin America, namely, basic ecclesial communities, a pedagogical approach of conscientisation, and early indigenous theological reflection and the growing awareness of injustices.

2.4.1 Basic Ecclesial Communities

As I have mentioned above, the first key component was formation of basic ecclesial communities, which are commonly known as CEBS in both Spanish and Portuguese. According to the Dutch missionary and scripture scholar, Carlos Mesters, the use of the Bible was central to the basic Christian communities of the common people whenever they gathered; the Bible initiated the discussion but not as the steering wheel (1990:14). There were three situations in which basic ecclesia communities could come together: in the first situation, an ecclesial community group gathered around the Bible to read it, with songs, stories, pictures and short plays, on the level of a spiritual exercise, without any commitment to their real community context; in the second situation, the ecclesia community group came together around the Bible to read it on the level of their community life, but without engaging with their political, economic and social concerns. In the third situation, the ecclesial community group met around the Bible on the level of their social, economic and political struggles as a people. The situation of their concrete realities of life were injected into their Bible discussion (1990:15-16). These three situations characterise the use of the Bible by the people at the grassroots level and reveal the complexities involved in the interpretation of the biblical texts. The three situations could be a single ongoing interpretative process in

successive phases that culminated in community engagement. Basic ecclesial communities that closed themselves in the letter of the biblical text, ignoring the people's struggles, had no future, and they eventually died quite early in the process of liberation (Mesters 1990:17-18).

Mesters observes five obstacles that emerged in the people's use of the Bible, and how the people overcame the obstacles. First, many members of the basic ecclesial communities did not know how to read; but to overcome this, they made use of songs, stories, pictures and short plays to retell biblical texts, thus making up their own version of the "Bible of the Poor" (1990:18). They listened to their shared sense of community, asking themselves about what God was telling them in their own days through the biblical texts. Also, first and foremost, the people needed to know about God's concern.

A second obstacle was slavish literalism or slavery to the letter in which the Bible was read, in ways that dissociated it from the concrete situation of the people and real-life community. This way of reading the Bible, which literally treated the Bible as a finished monument, closed the process of interpretation and the biblical text became another oppressive force. They overcame this obstacle by breaking through the slavery to the letter, through the continuous action of any local church taking sides with the poor and oppressed. Joining the poor and oppressed in their fight for justice was significant for the local church to correctly channel the people's interpretation of the biblical texts (1990:18-19).

A third obstacle was the ambiguity of the Bible. Mesters writes, "The Bible is ambiguous. It can be a force for liberation or a force for oppression", if it is taken literally as it is (1990:18). This obstacle was overcome by the realisation that the biblical text could not be taken literally, that the Bible is full of symbols and literary images, and that symbolism is an essential part of human language. As their first step toward liberation, the people discovered that "the letter kills, the spirit gives life", and this unlocked the lid and let a new creativity out (Mesters 1990:19). The people recognised the ambiguous position of the text, that it does not speak with one voice, but multiple voices.

A fourth obstacle was the conception of time in relation to events in the Bible, such as creation, the fall of humankind, the tower of Babel, the great floods in Noah's era, and the destruction of cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, etc. To overcome this obstacle, people within the ecclesial community helped each other to discover their own journeys in their own lives, as well as to recover their own histories of lost and forgotten struggles. They began to count their own histories of struggles. By beginning with their experiences, they realized that the Bible derived from narrative accounts and stories people told others about their histories, and "that the Bible was the collective memory that gave a people its identity" (Mesters 1990:19).

A fifth obstacle was dependence on learned biblical and theological experts. Initially people tended to say that they did not know anything; it was only the priest, or the father, who had to do the talking. This is because the history of Christianity and the way the clergy expropriated the Bible and monopolized its interpretation. But through the ongoing process of basic ecclesial communities' interpretation, the people wrestled the Bible from the hands of the experts, and began to interpret it using their own lives, experiences and struggles as their only interpretative tools. They interpreted the Bible by association of ideas; they saw themselves in the history of the Bible, and it became a mirror for them (Mesters 1990:20).

A sixth obstacle was that pastoral agents lacked appropriate tact in dealing with the new movement of basic ecclesia communities; they did not recognise the people's engagement with the texts and employed abstruse language. However, socially engaged pastoral agents, theologians and scholars encouraged deep respect and a delicate touch when dealing with basic ecclesial communities. They argued that "the people should be allowed to grow from the soil of their own faith and their own character", and they must never be dragged along by belligerent interrogations of pastoral agents and Bible experts (Mesters 1990:21). Pastoral agents were called upon not to meddle with the faith of the people, because abstruse words could be an obstacle in their journey of faith and liberation.

A seventh obstacle identified was confrontational "fundamentalist groups" on the grassroots level, which entered people's homes with Bibles in their hands and claimed that they had the right answer to the questions of the Bible. Mesters argues that it was hard to foster any ecumenical and liberative

approach around the Bible in such a confrontational atmosphere; but as practical ecumenical biblical interpretation of the Bible continued to grow from liberation starting points, sectarian approaches to the Bible took a back seat to practical and liberative reading of texts, characterised by a pedagogical approach of conscientisation (1990:21).

2.4.2 Pedagogical Approach of Conscientisation

A second key component in the emergence of liberation theology was the development of the pedagogical approach of conscientisation by the Brazilian Paulo Freire, which began in the 1950s. Conscientisation was developed as a method of teaching literacy, but later it was adapted by liberation theological discourse and the church (1990:5-13). Conscientisation, whose closest meaning is conscious-raising, was a pedagogical process of literacy for peasants, which was intended by Paulo Freire to make peasants aware of their own dignity and rights, of the causes of their oppression, and of the urgent need for them to become agents of their own liberation. Conscientisation starts with the knowledge of reality, a perception of reality that gives people a real, though limited, knowledge of reality. This is not yet conscientisation, though it is the beginning, for conscientisation goes beyond the spontaneous moment of recognition of the realities of life to a critical moment, where the realities become identifiable and knowable objects, where the people decisively take on an epistemological stance, and attempt to know and explore the environment of the realities. “The more persons conscientize themselves, the more they unveil reality and get at the phenomonic essence of the object they stand in front of, to analyse it.” (Freire 1990:7).

From this moment, people become aware of their experiences of poverty and oppression, they permanently make a historical commitment to effect changes, and they get involved in the process of liberation to transform the concrete oppressive realities to create and mould their own history. It is a permanent commitment and continuous dynamic involvement in the struggle for liberation. It is not merely a transfer of knowledge, but rather a seizing of reality; and for that reason, it is the continuous efforts of reshaping reality for change. Thus, the conscientisation process leads to acts of denouncing oppressing structures that dehumanizes the poor and oppressed, and announcing structures that humanizes them. In this way, conscientisation became a critical approach of

reshaping of realities, demythologising of myths that deceive and perpetuate oppressing structures and systems; conscientisation became a means of liberation for the poor and oppressed (Freire 1990:7-9).

Since colonization is an affront not only on people's history and their resources, but also on their culture, conscientisation involves cultural revolution; it is a cultural action of transformation, which implies that any static culture is an obstacle for liberation, a myth that mystifies people, domestication and dominating them. Conscientisation did not allow a culture to become static, but exposed the cultural myths that made people sit back and passively sigh that it was their culture and there was nothing they could do. Freire argued that in any revolution the myths from the previous government structure always carry over and continue to influence the new structure. Unless there is a cultural revolution, people will continue to think as they did before, even after the previous structure has been changed (1990:9-10). This critique of culture and history, and making people aware of the real causes of their plight, did not please oppressive governments, which obviously preferred the poor and oppressed to accept passively their situation of oppression. So, pastoral plans of the Brazilian Catholic bishops for new forms of community and Freire's pedagogical experiments and conscientisation provided a reasonable basis for the genesis of liberation theology (Hennelly 1990: xix). However, it is worth noting that liberation theology developed from the experience and reflection of the basic ecclesial communities' theology in practice, and consequently a growing awareness of injustices due to oppressive socio-economic systems affecting millions of the poorest and oppressed people.

2.4.3 Growing Awareness of Injustices

A third key component that precipitated the development of liberation theology was early indigenous theological reflection, and consequently a growing awareness in the universities of the ideologies used by both state and Church to legitimate injustice. Growing awareness of injustices was preceded by early indigenous theological reflection, for example by Juan Luis Segundo, even before the Vatican II, and even more than a decade before the use of the term "liberation theology" (Hennelly 1990:2-3). The early indigenous theologians reflected on the widespread experience of the poverty of millions of people due to domestic and foreign socio-economic systems; they

reflected on the deep insights of basic communities in their interpretation and re-appropriation of the biblical texts. So, from the insights of small communities of the poorest, oppressed and least literate people, and from the reflections of early theologians sprang a liberation movement which was to develop into liberation theology, as discussed in the following section.

2.5 Early Development of Liberation Theology

In the 1950s, one phenomenon of awareness in Latin America was gradually and painfully emerging into consciousness, the enormous poverty among millions of human beings. This phenomenon emerged as liberation theology in 1971 (Gutiérrez 1974). Drawing from lived experiences of the poor and oppressed, basic ecclesial communities, as well as pedagogical theory of literacy for peasants, Gustavo Gutiérrez (1974) developed what came to be known as liberation theology, which created an opportunity for the voice of the poor and oppressed to be heard loudly and clearly in the whole world as a voice of urgency and a challenge to the churches and its theologians. Although justice for the poor and oppressed is the central concern of the Bible, it was not a priority for the churches. Liberation theologians integrated widely and deeply the struggle for justice as a central feature of all methods, themes, and contexts of doing theology (Hennelly 1990:xiii). Along with the emphasis on justice as the central feature, liberation theology employed a “hermeneutic of suspicion” towards the ways churches preached a gospel of social justice, but actually, either consciously or unconsciously, justified ideas and policies that were oppressive, and consequently opposed to the biblical message of justice and the gospel of Jesus Christ (Hennelly 1990:xiv).

Liberation theologians identified themselves with the interests of the oppressed, and they undoubtedly came into conflict with the interests of the oppressors and their allies in sectors of society and the churches. In his *Spirituality of Liberation*, Jon Sobrino emphasised the virtue of fortitude for liberation theologians, which meant “the refusal not to abandon the poor [and oppressed] in their sufferings” because “by what they give and what they ask - inspire us with that fortitude and the strength to remain steadfast in persecution” (1988:97). Liberation theologians envisioned a society marked by love, justice and peace. Other concepts of liberation theology included the universality of God’s grace in the world, which is not limited to the various channels

of the Christian churches. There was a strong emphasis that the essence of Christianity consists in love. This is inextricably linked with the demands of social justice and with a praxis that insists actions in the struggle for justice (Hennelly 1990:xxi).

Liberation theology incorporated conscientisation theory, and hence reflected powerful historical consciousness, openness to social change and objection to static social structures and a fixed natural order. It critiqued unexamined oppressive ideologies, and considerably emphasised the nature of human existence as a social construction, which could be reconstructed to promote justice and participation of every person. Liberation theology turned to the social sciences for analysis of the social context and possible models for the transformation of societies which frustrate the liberty of their own members. Liberation theology critiqued capitalist structures, and instead engaged with Marxism to look for alternative analytic and strategic models for socio-economic transformation (Hennelly 1990:xx). Liberation theology emphasised authentic spiritual life, and spirituality was understood as the interior life of prayer, worship and union with God, combined with one's whole life.

As a direct consequence of this liberation theological development, the Church slowly arrived at a vital pastoral option which would have deep and extensive implication worldwide, which is the "preferential option for the poor" (Frostin 1988:11). Given that liberation theology, with its conceptual framework, to which we turn in the next section, is centred on the poor and oppressed, and recognizing their vast number of approximately 1.3 billion, liberation theology, in its various forms, continues to be one of the most influential forces within the global Church and society (Hennelly 1990:xv).

2.6 Liberation Theology's Conceptual Framework

Widespread poverty of millions of poor and oppressed persons formed the content and substance of liberation theology. In reaction to this widespread poverty, liberation theology placed great emphasis on such themes of liberation as the exodus in the Bible or Jesus' mission of bringing liberation to the captives. In liberation theology, sin was interpreted as not only personal but also structural; and that it is this world, not in some other spiritual realm, that every person is called

upon to act to advance God's kingdom. States that murder their own people were certainly considered to be further from God's kingdom than those who repudiated such activities (Hennelly 1990:xx-xxi).

Liberation theological method is defined as a critical reflection on praxis in the light of the word of God as a new way of doing theology. Hence, Christians, by virtue of their religious beliefs, are called to a praxis that involves tangible charity, action, and commitment to serve humankind indiscriminately. The praxis is further qualified as an attempt to eliminate the massive human suffering rampant in Latin America; so, theology as a second step is a reflection on a definite praxis (1990:xxi).

Juan Segundo's discussion on the hermeneutic circle adds clarity on liberation theology method. Segundo defines the hermeneutic circle as the continuous interaction between the biblical text and its interpretations in various historical periods and contexts (1976). This method involves "the continuous change in the interpretation of the Bible which is dictated by the continuing changes in our present-day reality, both individual and societal" (Segundo 1976:8). Segundo distinguishes four crucial steps within the hermeneutic circle: first, people's experience of reality makes them suspicious of underlying ideology; second, they apply their ideological suspicion to the general ideological superstructure and to theology. Thirdly, people's experience of theological reality changes, and they become suspicious of the dominant interpretation of the Bible, which does not consider significant aspects of biblical text. This third phase of engaging with the text naturally leads to the fourth stage, which is the emergence of a new hermeneutic, a new way of interpretation of the Bible that integrates newly discovered aspects of the biblical text and its context in relation to the contemporary context (Segundo 1976:9), and in our case, the context of African liberation, to which we now turn.

2.6.1 African Liberation Theology

The development of liberation theology should be understood "as a process formed by a dialectic between the experience of the oppressed and intellectual reflection" (Frostin 1988:14). However, especially in the early generations of theologians, the quest for identity is a prominent feature in

all varieties of African theology (Tutu 1975:56, 64). Per Frostin traces the development of African theology as early as 1950s, coinciding with the struggle against colonialism which led Ghana to gain independence in 1956 (1988:14). Ten years later, university departments of religious studies in Ibadan (Nigeria), Accra (Ghana) and Freetown (Sierra Leone) were headed by African professors. There emerged a great concern for pre-colonial African culture and its continuity with Christian belief. This theological movement was mainly English-speaking Protestant. In 1956, Catholic mainly French-speaking priests studying in Rome and Paris began developing African Catholic theology which was concerned with the question of cultural “roots”, “Bantu philosophy” (Hastings 1979:231).

By the 1960s, the two main streams of first generations of Protestant and Catholic African theology were already distinct. The Protestant theologians were more socially oriented, whereas Catholic theologians were more philosophical in their approach. This early phase of African theology has been criticised as being “a cultural resacralization” that served to hide social conflictual divisions in Africa, and thus legitimized “the privileged position” of the new elites in African countries; it lacked the critical analysis of African culture and ignored the social, economic, and political realities (Frostin 1988:15). In the 1970s, African theologians were becoming more conscious of the abject poverty in African villages and urban slums. There emerged a new wave of demand for liberation from cultural, socio-economic and post-independence political neo-colonialism which continued to impoverish the lives of African people. Ujamaa theology was part of this new radical movement of the struggle for “Africa’s second independence” from oppressive forces. The cultural aspect of oppression was still important, for instance in Ujamaa theology, but economic and political aspects became equally important as well (Nyerere 1969; Frostin 1988:15; Muzorewa 1985:89).

According to Frostin, political function is a distinguishing characteristic of liberation theology methodological identity; and the defining characteristic of liberation theology is “the preferential for the poor”, the lived experiences of specific people in their context (1988:11). However, liberation theology has been critiqued in three aspects: First, critics question liberation theology’s strong commitment to humanist concerns such as social welfare and economic justice, which

neglect transcendent dimensions of Christian faith. It has been argued that liberation theology has moved from proper theology to anthropocentrism as opposed to theocentrism.

Second, it has been argued that liberation theology is obsessed with conflictual divisions, and that over-emphasis on analysis of conflicts is incompatible with Christian love and reconciliation. This criticism raises two questions; do critics fail to see actual conflicts? Or are liberation theologians victims of Marxism, as an ideological bias? (Frostin 1988:12-13). Third, it is argued that liberation theology has relapsed into pre-critical and pre-Enlightenment thinking; this is a “re-sacralization” which neglects the irreversibility of secularisation and modern critical consciousness after the Enlightenment. Frostin rightly argues against this criticism that is important to study how EATWOT theologians relate in their new paradigm “to secularized persons and believers of other faiths in their own contexts” (1988:13).

2.6.2 EATWOT: Mapping Africa Theology

There was a growing awareness among EATWOT theologians that African theology had to spring from the context of African realities, culture, and African people’s creative attempts to forge a new and bright future, which is different from both the colonial and neo-colonial times (EATWOT II 1979:194; Pobe 1986:5). It should be a theology that emanates from and addresses African situations and challenges. As Zablon Nthamburi argues, African theology is a theology of liberation because it derives from African experiences, worldview and metaphysics; hence, African theology takes seriously the culture and experiences of the African peoples (Nthamburi 1980:233). For Mbiti, African theology is a “theological reflection and expression by African Christians” (1979:83; cf. Magesa 1978).

By 1970s, this aspect of the African context in doing theology was becoming even more prominent. African theology was moving more towards liberation trends. Thus, some African theologians would argue, for example, Nthamburi, that African theology is mostly a liberation theology (1980:233). Indeed, it is evident that all variations of African theology that took the African context seriously were doing forms of theology of liberation. In mapping the variations of African theology, Nyamiti proposes this scheme: first, the speculative school, which is the philosophical

French speaking school; second, the social and biblical English-speaking school; and third, the militant school, which refers to especially black theology in South Africa (1976:32-33). Nyamiti's proposed variations of African theology are based mainly on language (Frostin 1988:16). However, Justin Ukpong proposed another scheme: first, African inculturation theology; second, South African theology; and third, African liberation theology (1984:23-25). In 1977, the EATWOT conference in Accra, Ghana, in its mapping of African theology, the conference proposed a scheme, which is similar to the proposed schemes of Nyamiti and Ukpong, as follows: first, theology of indigenisation; second, "a critical theology, which comes from contact with the Bible, openness to African realities, and dialogue with non-African theologies"; and third, black theology in South Africa (EATWOT II 1977:192).

The option for the poor was not a concern in the indigenisation trend of African theology. However, the two other trends of African theology denoted the new paradigm of the emerging African theology of liberation. At the EATWOT Accra Conference, five sources characterise African liberation theology. The first source is the Bible and the Christian heritage. It was declared that the Bible is "the basic source of African theology", but it had to be re-read according to Third World social context; and, that "African Christianity is a part of a worldwide Christianity" (Frostin 1988:17). The second source is an African anthropology that is community-oriented based on an African view of humanity, which reflects that to be human is to be part of a community as opposed to autonomous individuals within a capitalist economy; for humanity is being-in-relation (Oduyoye 1979:110-111). As Mbiti writes, "I am, because we are and since we are, therefore I am" (1969:108-109).

The third source is African traditional religions; it was declared that pre-colonial religions could be used to enrich Christian theology, especially the concept of wholeness, which holds together "the sacred and the secular, the material and the spiritual, as well as the individual and the corporate" (Frostin 1988:17). The African concept of wholeness of life, based on creation narratives, is strongly held by Ukpong (1984:60; EATWOT II 1977:192). The fourth source of African liberation theology is African Initiated Churches (AICs), which have developed patterns rooted in African religions and culture. The EATWOT conference in Accra declared AICs as a significant source of the search for African identity and the development of African theology. The

fifth source is other African realities, arts and the struggle against social, political, economic and cultural oppressions.

All these five sources, as Frostin puts it, as formative factors give African liberation theology its own internal logic, which is distinct from its precursor, Latin American liberation theology. African liberation theology is also characterised by (1) “interaction between popular theology and academic reflection; (2) mutual exchange of theological ideas with EATWOT and all Third World theologies (Frostin 1988:18,19). This exhibits the unique African contribution to the liberation theology paradigm, especially through black liberation theology and Ujamaa liberation theology. The African contribution is also reflected in the five aspects and/or emphases of liberation theology conceptual framework, as discussed in the following section.

2.6.3 Five Emphases in Liberation Theology Conceptual Framework

Liberation theology’s theoretical paradigm, Frostin argues, based on his analysis of EATWOT discussions, has five emphases, namely, the choice of the interlocutors of theology, the perception of God, the social analysis of conflict, the choice of theological tools, and the relationship between theology and praxis (Frostin 1988:6-11).

The choice of interlocutors of theology. The poor, the oppressed, the marginalised races, and the exploited classes are the chief interlocutors of liberation theology. Thus Sergio Torres writes in the Dar Es Salaam EATWOT report, “It is a theology that speaks with the voice of the poor and the marginalised in history” (1976:ix). Therefore, liberation theologians reflected from their own experiences as belonging to the oppressed human race, and they spoke from the depths of their lived experiences. In liberation theology, social relations are considered as the main crossroad in doing theology from the experiences and perspectives of the poor and oppressed, as opposed to doing theology based on abstract ideas, revelations, reasons, nature, or church doctrines, which are distinguishing characteristics in dominant church theology. The understanding of the lived experiences of the poor and oppressed is a compulsory prerequisite of liberation theological reflection (Frostin 1988:6). Liberation theology attempts to answer the questions of these

interlocutors. This emphasis on the interlocutors of theology is of particular importance among the five emphases, because it shapes each of the others (West 1999:13).

The perception of God. This is shaped by the choice of the interlocutor; and, the question is not whether God exists or not, but on which side God is. God is on the side of the poor; God has “a preferential option for the poor” because they are oppressed (Frostin 1988:6; cf. Appiah-Kubi 1979:viii; Boesak 1977:9). The central problem is not atheism, but “idolatrous submission to systems of oppression” (Frostin 1988:7; Richard 1983:1). The problem is idolatry, which is “deification of ideologies” that are “used to sacralise the structure of oppression ... and to make them appear to reflect the will of God” (EATWOT VI 1983:203; Frostin 1988:202). Hence theology and socio-economy are combined for the following theological task: first, “the struggle against mammon”, which is a critique against capitalism whose ultimate concern is maximum profit at the detriment of the poor and oppressed; this is the cult of mammon (EATWOT VI 190). Second, there is the need for a theological “anti-idolatrous discernment of the false gods”, the idols of death of oppressive global systems, which wage war against the true God of life (Richard 1983:1). The true God of life, justice, peace and love is not revealed among those in power and affluence, but among the poor and oppressed, the voiceless and downtrodden. So, according to Frostin, the search for the true God of life and the struggle against the idols of death become central tasks of liberation theological reflection (1988:7). Hennelly, similarly argues that justice, peace and love are marks of the kingdom of God; and the essence of Christianity consists in love (Hennelly 1990:xxi).

The analysis of conflicts. The option for the poor is based on an analysis of conflicts. Thus, liberation theology assumes a conflictual perception of social reality; that we live in world of conflicts, and since theological reflection is shaped by one’s context, the theological task can only be achieved within the framework of analysis of conflicts, reflected in economic, classist, sexist, geographic, ethnic, cultural layers of oppression. Considering that liberation theology has a character of being a theology in constant movement, the analysis of conflict was never considered by EATWOT theologians as exhaustive, nor a finished task of a multidimensional analysis of oppression, but rather a continuous theological task (Frostin 1988:8, 203).

In 1976, during the first EATWOT meeting in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, the rich and poor conflictual division was considered as the major phenomenon of our modern history (Frostin 1988:8); but since then, the analysis of conflictual worlds has grown complex to include male-female or gender conflictual divisions, among other divisions such as the sexual divisions of human sexualities, which are elaborated further in chapter four in this thesis. In this liberation framework, theology is a process of contrast experiences, social analysis, and theological reformulation (Frostin 1988:8, 197).

The choice of theological tools. In its scientific reflection with the poor, liberation theology dialogues with social sciences as theological tools to define the “faces” of poverty in economic spheres and power structures (1988:9ff). Because idolatry, according to liberation theology, is a legitimization of oppression and injustice, socio-economic analysis is a prerequisite element for liberation theology to discern between the God of life and “the idols of death” (Richard 1983:1ff). The social sciences are utilised for analysis of “the theologians social context” and possible models for social change of societies that frustrate their members’ liberty and well-being (Hennelly 1990:xx). The use of social sciences has had significant consequences for understanding liberation theology epistemological paradigm. Because of its use of social sciences, classical epistemology such as in Descartes or Kant, has been replaced by the sociology of knowledge (cf. Stark 1958:13-19; 1967:476), which insists on the poor and oppressed as the interlocutors of theology and the perception of God and idolatry in epistemological terms (Frostin 1988:9).

The dialectics of theology and praxis, which is perceived as the hermeneutical circulation of theological theory and praxis, is of epistemological relevance in doing liberation theology (Frostin 1988:10).¹ In this dialectics, action compels the theologian to reflect on theory and theory compels the theologian to reflect on action and the spiral begins over again. In this way, action shapes theology, and theology informs action. Action refocuses reflection, and theology becomes not just

¹ In liberation theology, epistemology refers to “questions related to the origin, structure, methods and validity of knowledge”; it defines the ground rules of scientific theological search for truth (Frostin 1988:3-4; West 1999:13).

abstract ideas but “a resource for real people on how to see themselves and their world, and therefore also on what to do. Theology guides action” (Harvey 1990:439). This is a dialectical way of knowing the truth in which the human mind is not confronted with a static world that only needs to be known; and knowledge is not just given for the mind to conform to it, but to immerse in it as a process of transforming and constructing a new world. In this process, the source of knowledge is action because the act of knowing illuminates the action process. In this case, theoretical ideas arise from praxis; and the focus is not on doctrinal orthodoxy but rather on orthopraxis. And theory must be examined in relation to its praxis.

Therefore, in social terms, a dialect between theory and praxis may be considered as “a dialectic between scientific reflection and the experience of the ‘culture of silence’ (Freire)” (Frostin 1988:10). In their lived experience of oppression, the poor and oppressed live in silence and tend to mimic their oppressors, who repeatedly claim that, “This is God’s will. And anyway, it will earn heaven for you” (Freire 1990:11). Liberation theologians, integrating theory and action in their doing of theology, endeavour to articulate the experience and the consciousness of the silenced poor and oppressed communities so that it is possible for them “to break this silence and create their own language” (Frostin 1988:10). Besides, in more recent theological reflection, liberation theologies, for example Ujamaa theology, recognise the agency of the poor, and equally recognise that the poor are not so silent in their bodies and invisibility through which they do have an incipient voice as they struggle for justice and abundant life (West 2009; 2018:84).

2.6.4 Ujamaa Theology

It is worthy of notice that the original part of this thesis is recognizing the application of Ujamaa theology to gender and sexuality as well as economics. The application to LGBTIQ could be seen as an extension of the role which Ujamaa had in challenging patriarchy. Ujamaa theology is part of the African liberation theology movement, and is interpreted within liberation theological context and theoretical concepts. Ujamaa as a theological context focusses on the socio-economic, political, and cultural context from a theological perspective. Different dimensions of conflict are relevant aspects in an analysis of Ujamaa as a theological context; this involves on one hand external, North-South, dominant-dominated relations that affect Tanzania national unity; on the

other hand power relations inside Tanzania between classes, the rich in the centre and marginalize poor, males and females (Frostin 1988:29), as well as between sexualities, all of which necessitates a quest for Ujamaa community values of unity, hospitality, love, justice, reconciliation, togetherness and wholeness.

In his analysis of African liberation theology, Frostin focuses on two cases: first, the black liberation theology of South Africa, which represents “the struggle against colonial or quasi-colonial oppression”; the second case, Ujamaa liberation theology, which represents the Tanzanian context of struggle against neo-colonialism and colonial legacy of people’s impoverishment (Frostin 1988:19). Frostin (1988:19) rightly concurs with these EATWOT theologians, Ukpong (1984:5), Torres (1976:viii), and Gutierrez (1983:222), on the significance of Tanzania for African liberation theology. Ukpong argues that Tanzania is an excellent theological reflection “take-off point” on the process of African liberation theology (1984:5). Similarly, for Torres, the Tanzania programme of Ujamaa “combines elements from both the Christian and the best African traditions” to combat underdevelopment; so Tanzania has been hailed for its model of Ujamaa in the struggle against neo-colonial domination, poverty and social injustice (1976:viii).

Tanzania became a symbol of Third World experience of poverty, colonial domination and oppression. As Gutierrez argues that, Tanzania, which was chosen as the first host of EATWOT meetings is significant, its people have endured the scars of a harsh past marked by colonial rule and racial discrimination. Yet, they have shown extraordinary courage and ingenuity in pursuing a journey toward liberation. By rediscovering and embracing their African heritage, Tanzanians have forged their own path toward building a just and humane society (1983:222). The poor and marginalised in their Tanzania history, under the leadership of Julius Nyerere, have creatively constructed “an Ujamaa theology” of liberation in their own context of an Ujamaa community ethic, togetherness in their life struggle (Soka 1977:30-31; Lyimo 1978:27-31). Tanzanians’ experience of poverty, the struggle against neo-colonial forces, and the struggle against self-reliance, and Ujamaa theological attempts to grapple with the realities of Tanzania context, all these aspects reflect an undeniable affinity to an EATWOT model of theology of liberation (cf. Frostin 1988:19). As it is in liberation theology, the starting point of Ujamaa theology is the real

context of people, the experiences and life realities of the poor and marginalised people including same-sex sexualities, who are the primary interlocutors.

This context of Ujamaa “is used in the same sense as in contextual theology” (Frostin 1988:20). It is an explicit theological reflection on a particular context, and in this thesis the particular context is the context of Ujamaa and human sexuality in Tanzania. Therefore, this study, which seeks to explore Ujamaa theological resources to engage with issues of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania, is constructed upon a liberation theoretical framework. Because issues of human sexuality were not considered before in Ujamaa liberation theology, to theologically and biblically dialogue with these issues in the current context of Tanzania requires biblical hermeneutics of liberation, which is the focus of the next discussion

2.6.5 Biblical Liberation Hermeneutics

Biblical hermeneutics has been central to the holistic theoretical paradigm of liberation theology since its inception, right from the basic ecclesia communities. Mesters identified three elements in the basic ecclesial communities’ interpretation of the Bible: the *con-text*, which is the community itself; the *pre-text*, which is the reality of the people’s life as well as the world around them; and the *text*, which is the Bible itself (1990:17). Mesters argues that for the people the word of God is not just the Bible, it is within their real-life situations, and with the help of the Bible they discover the word of God. And when one of the elements is missing, the interpretation of the Bible becomes incomplete, the Bible loses its function. When the three elements of interpretation are integrated, the word of God is reinforced for hope and courage to enable the people to overcome their fears for liberation. When the formation of the basic community is based on the realities of the lives of the people, then the discovery of the word of God within the Bible is a clear reinforcement. However, when the formation of the basic ecclesial community is based only on the reading of the Bible, and the group closes itself up in the biblical texts only, ignoring all the real struggles of the people, then as soon as the group moves on to social and political realities it is likely to face a crisis.

There are four characteristics of basic ecclesial communities' interpretation of the Bible. First, the scope of the biblical message, which means that the gospel message is broader than just the text itself; it encompasses the Bible, community and reality. The function of the Bible, when it is read in the context of a community, is meant to help the community to discover where God is calling them in the midst of realities of life. God speaks amid the noise of the real lives of the people. So, says Mesters, the people in basic communities were not trying to interpret the Bible but were interpreting life using the Bible as one of their resources; they were "shifting the axis of interpretation" (1990:22). Second, the unity of creation and salvation is recovered by the people; that the Bible begins with creation, not with Abraham who is only called to recover for all people the blessing lost by the sin of Adam. Third, in the re-appropriation of the Bible, the people began to link the Bible with their lives. The rediscovery of the Bible as their book gave rise to a sense of commitment and a militancy that could overcome the injustices of their world. Fourth, the people rediscovered that history functioned as a mirror; similarly, the Bible became not only history for the people, but also a mirror; they used it as a mirror to comprehend their own lives as a people (Mesters 1990:23).

Gutierrez spoke of these characteristics of the people's interpretation of the Bible as "the irruption of the poor", and the dislocation of standpoint in interpretation (1990:24); that the people on the ground entered the confines of biblical interpretation and they were causing much shifting and dislocation. They moved the Bible to the side of the poor and oppressed, and they began discovering resources in the Bible that biblical scholars could not see. In a certain sense, the word of God moved from biblical text to real life. The Bible became not the only history of salvation, but a "model of experience" because every people has their own "history of salvation" (Gutierrez 1990:25). Gutierrez concurs with Clement of Alexandria that "God saved the Jews in a Jewish way, the barbarians in a barbarian way", and in our modern times, "God saves the Brazilians in a Brazilian way, blacks in a black way ..." (1990:25). This means that each people have their own unique history within which they must discover the presence of God the Liberator who journeys by their side. This dislocation was significantly significant as it shifted the meaning of the biblical text from textual meaning in itself to meaning for the people reading it, from abstract understanding to a community sense, from neutrality to taking sides. The people eliminated the alleged notion that scholarly biblical interpretation is neutral, and reintroduced faith, community and historical

realities in the process of biblical interpretation. The people helped the scholars to realize that they could possibly discover the meaning of the ancient biblical text, only when the text is read in the modern context of faith, community and reality of life; they realized that overly spiritualized concepts such as grace, salvation, and sin have to do with concrete realities of life (1990:26). Life comes first, the Bible second because it is for life; it has enormous significance because it concerns life; it has relative value to life (Gutierrez 1990:27).

Juan Segundo developed a “hermeneutic cycle”, which shows the continuing interaction between biblical texts and their interpretations in various periods and contexts. This hermeneutic spiral shows how both individual and societal on-going changes in our present-day realities dictate continuous changes in the interpretation of the Bible, which lead to, what Segundo calls, “exegetic suspicion” (1976:8). In all forms of liberation theology, Latin American liberation theology, Feminist liberation theology, African liberation theology, biblical hermeneutics of liberation have particular epistemological significance.

In his *Biblical Hermeneutics of Liberation*, which is a guiding voice in hermeneutics of liberation theology in Africa, Gerald West (1991) explores biblical hermeneutics in the context of the South African struggle of the poor and oppressed for liberation from apartheid. Although West’s study focusses on South Africa, there is a continual dialogue with biblical interpretation in other contexts of liberation struggle such as Latin American liberation theology, North American black theology and feminist liberation theology. West’s study is located within the wider context of biblical studies and biblical hermeneutics, which includes literary and philosophical hermeneutics (1991:2). West primary aim is “to analyze and clarify the interpretative questions” that have emerged among those who interpret the Bible in the context of liberation struggle in South Africa (1991:3). First, the purpose of West’s study is to facilitate dialogue and suggest possible ways forward. Second, the study challenges the established methodology of First World biblical interpretation, thereby portraying the internal logic of biblical interpretation in contexts of liberation.

Probing a theoretical and historical analysis of the interpretative crisis in South Africa during apartheid, West vividly demonstrates that the crisis was not just a socio-historical crisis, but it was

an interpretative crisis with historical and methodological proportions. West questions “any mode of inquiry that tries to deny its own hermeneutic character and mask its own historicity so that it might claim ahistorical certainty”, and thus he further affirms “the historicity of all understanding, inquiry and interpretation” (1991:4). In Western theology and biblical studies, the privileged, educated and powerful are the primary interlocutors of theology, but, as West rightly argues, the primary interlocutors of liberation theologies are the underprivileged, the uneducated and the oppressed; and this is the defining characteristic of liberation hermeneutics. Hence hermeneutics of liberation are accountable to and in solidarity with the victims in the contexts of oppression, and this is essential, and indeed a challenge to the dominant epistemology (1991:5).

According to West, in the context of liberation, biblical hermeneutics have three modes of reading the Bible: *behind the text*, *on the text* and *in front of the text* modes of reading (1991:5ff). These modes are further elaborated in West’s discussion of the Cain and Abel story and two modes of reading this biblical text. One mode is reading *on the text*, which focusses on literary elements of the text, while the other is reading *behind the text*, which focuses on sociological elements of the text (1991:4, 5). The former is followed by Boesak (1979) and Phyllis Trible (1984), whereas the latter is followed by Mosala (1989), Norman Gottwald (1980), and Schussler Fiorenza (1983). Whereas Severino Croato (1987) follows an *in front of the text* mode of reading the Bible, which is a third, thematic mode of reading the Bible, focusing on “the linguistic symbolic post-critical canonical approach” because most ordinary readers read the Bible thematically in its final form as a single canonical text (West 1991:162).

Since most of the interpreters of the Bible are un-trained and ordinary readers, what is more critical here is the need for the Bible to speak to the poor and oppressed, un-trained and underprivileged. Hence the question of the relationship between the trained and the untrained biblical interpreter becomes a challenge to the discipline of biblical studies. The work of then the Institute of the Study of the Bible, currently the Ujamaa Centre, which arose out of the need for the Bible to speak into lives of the poor and oppressed in the South African context, offers insights into the interface of biblical scholarship and grassroots reading of the Bible. The Ujamaa Centre has practically attempted to resolve the question of the relationship between the trained and the untrained readers of the Bible, and has developed a contextual biblical hermeneutics of liberation through liberating

contextual Bible study (CBS) processes among ordinary readers of the Bible from the poor and oppressed communities (West 1991:201ff).

The relationship between the “biblical scholars and the ordinary poor and marginalized ‘readers’ of the Bible lies at the heart of liberation hermeneutics” (West 1999:12). Indeed, all liberation theologies in their various forms emerge from this interface between the scholar and ordinary Christian, and it is significantly important to know the contours of the interface. In this interface, the poor and marginalized are the primary dialogue partners in reading the Bible, interpreting it, and doing theology, because liberation hermeneutics starts with their realities, lived experiences, resources, questions, needs and interests. It is a hermeneutic that unapologetically makes an option for the poor and marginalized, that overtly recognizes the epistemological privilege of the poor and marginalized (West 1999:14-15). In this interface between the scholar and the ordinary poor and marginalized reader, the Bible plays a significant role as a sign of the presence of God of life and a resource in the struggle for survival and liberation (West 1999:9).

In liberation theology most of readers are the poor and oppressed and they are embedded in the community. According to West, the nature of the relationship between the reader and the community is crucial and indeed a characteristic of liberation hermeneutics (1991:5). Hence, the question of the embeddedness of the text and the status of the biblical tradition and the text in liberation hermeneutics. This question, West argues, arises from the increasing awareness of the ideological nature of biblical texts, which has forcefully been posed mainly by feminist hermeneutics of liberation (1991:5). All texts and interpretations in all languages as discourse have hidden, and even repressed, social and historical ideologies (West 1991:27), which continuously needs to be interrogated. To do this, one must face the actuality of ideologies within ourselves as well as in our own beloved biblical texts; one must listen to the narratives of others who are suffering otherness because of imposed interpretations of history and biblical texts (1991:27-28). There must be a “positive hermeneutic”, a hermeneutic of liberation, which “consists of a prophetic vision of resistance and hope” that is rooted “within an active and transformative solidarity with a particular community of the poor and oppressed” (West 1991:29).

To further elaborate a hermeneutics of liberation, West engages with *The Kairos Document* (1986), which during apartheid urged South Africans “to return to the Bible and to search the Word of God for a message that is relevant” to what they were experiencing (1986:17). *The Kairos Document* distinguished three theologies: first, State theology which was simply the theological justification of the status quo ..., it blesses the injustice, canonizes the will of the powerful and reduces the poor to passivity, obedience and apathy” (1986:3); second, Church theology which criticized apartheid “in a limited, guarded and cautious way” without any “in-depth analysis of the signs of the times”; it relied on a few ideas from Christian tradition and frequently applied them to the situation of apartheid (1986:9). Third, Prophetic theology, which “speaks to the particular circumstances of this crisis, a response that does not give the impression of sitting on the fence but is clearly and unambiguously taking a stand” (1986:18).

Most academic readings of the Bible fell under state and church theologies; but a hermeneutics of liberation theology, engaging with the lived experiences of the poor and oppressed communities, represented prophetic theology. In this theology, inspired by the reading of the Bible in poor communities, the Bible occupies a central position among the poor and oppressed, but it also has an ambiguous role; it is recognized as “both a problem and a solution, as both oppressor and a liberator” (West 1991:34, 164)). It was an ideological tool of colonization and oppression, and a religious and political tool of decolonization and termination of colonial oppression. The Bible is an instrument of both social control and social struggle (West 1991:35); but between the different modes of reading the Bible, for constructive hermeneutics of liberation to take place in any context of struggle, there needs to be an inclusion of the poor and oppressed, including sexually marginalized individuals. For all contexts of struggle for humanity converge in the conviction that “the primary function of biblical studies is to serve the community, particularly the community of the poor and oppressed” (West 1991:173), by promoting social justice and dignity, in people’s daily struggle for humanity.

West’s study argues for the move away from “biblical studies as the pursuit of disinterested truth” to becoming “something more human and transformative, something which is shaped by self-critical solidarity with the victims of history” (West 1991:173). Hence, to move towards transformative biblical studies in solidarity with such victims of history as LGBTIQ individuals,

we need transdisciplinary approach that incorporates feminist theology, which has sought to critique patriarchal biblical concepts and shed lights on an alternative viewpoint within biblical texts that have otherwise been overlooked. The following section focuses on feminist theology and how it contributes to the overall liberation theoretical framework in engaging with gender and sexual issues as well as with patriarchal ideologies of the Bible.

2.6.6 Feminist Theology

Since 1960s and 1970s, second wave feminist theology has sought to deconstruct the patriarchal and androcentric concepts and so to rekindle an awareness of female aspects of the divine which have so far been suppressed (Ruether 1996:26). For feminist theology, the invisibility of women, their subjugation and their enforced domination by men mark the entire history of Judeo-Christian tradition. Even the Bible is patriarchal and androcentric. The Bible is patriarchal in that most of power and authority are in male hands. It is androcentric in that it portrays a worldview where men are attributed with all dignity, moral superiority, and authority, while women are regarded as morally inferior and less capable (Grenz & Olson 1992:228).

Feminist theology looks at the Bible positively and negatively; that there is an alternative viewpoint within the scriptures which is normally neglected. In Genesis 1-2 there are two creation stories. One shows that male and female were created equal in the image of God (Gen 1). In the other we find that the man is created first and then the woman (Gen 2). This latter story has been emphasised at the expense of the former that stresses the equality of men and women in their human createdness. Also, Psalm 22: 9-10 portrays God as female. God is spoken of as mother. All these stories are overlooked by those who look at the Bible through patriarchal glasses. Throughout the Old Testament deterioration of male-female relationship is evident; women become increasingly subordinated until they have a status no more than that of slaves in the intertestamental period (Achtmeier 1988:5). With the coming of Christ, women are freed for a life of discipleship fully equivalent to that of men.

In spite of Jesus egalitarian movement, already by the end of the first century a patriarchal pattern of leadership that excluded women had started (cf. 1Tim 3:1-7; Eph 5:23). By the fourth century the earliest Christian ethics that affirmed women's equality with men was transformed into a patriarchal

ethics which reaffirmed “women's subordination” (Ruether 1996:26). So just as the logos of God governed the political universe, masters governed slaves and men governed women. According to Christian feminists, throughout Church history patriarchy and androcentrism are manifested in the suppression of the roles of women in the Church and in identification of sin with femaleness (Grenz 1992:228).

Women have been considered as unable to represent Christ. Thomas Aquinas used Aristotelian anthropology to argue that in order to present the full human nature Christ had to be male - literally. Aquinas regarded females as “misbegotten” males (Nasimiyu Wasike 1998:129). Augustine associated maleness with the image of God. Tertullian called women “the devils gateway”. A change of the status of women in the Church was no part of the agenda of the Reformers. Despite the rationalism of Enlightenment, patriarchal Christian ethics, with its pyramidal arrangement of God-male-female-creatures, have remained to this day (Ruether 1983:94-96). As Nasimiyu-Wasike argues, even Karl Barth regarded women as second to men in the covenants of nature and grace (1991:149).

Therefore, feminist liberation theology developed a “hermeneutic of suspicion” towards biblical texts “and the way traditions and church history have been developed around androcentric worldviews”, as well as “the way that Christianity has understood God” (Althaus-Reid 2004:3). Feminist theology, focusing on gender, exposed patriarchal ideologies in biblical and theological themes that were once unrecognised. It is a theology from below, as with other liberation theologies, with women’s experiences as the starting point. Feminist theology has sought to reinterpret biblical texts that have been traditionally used to support women's subordination (Sakenfeld 1988:10). It challenges the way the Bible has been used to humiliate women. Jesus’ designation of God as Abba (cf. Mt 23:9-12) which emphasized intimacy and mutuality of relationship, challenges the domination of patriarchy (Green 1997:8).

Feminist theology argues against how God's name, or “Christian name”, has been used to perpetuate violence, alienation or patriarchal subjugation. God as Abba represents God as a loving heavenly Father rather than an androcentric and oppressive one (Green 1997:8). Hence, Mary Evans argues, “God is complete, whole and therefore above sexuality” (1992:22). Similarly, Rosemary Radford

Ruether contends that the “prophetic principles” of the Bible “imply a rejection of every elevation of one social group against others as image and agent of God, every use of God to justify social domination and subjugation” (1983:23). Feminist theology’s hermeneutic of suspicion has potentially contributed to liberation theology in engaging with gender issues and with the ideologies of the Bible, which were not considered in the earliest days of the liberation theology movement because of its limitations. Yet, liberation theology, in its Ujamaa theology trajectory, has potentials to engage with issues of same-sex sexuality, as discussed in the next section.

2.7 Limitation and Potentials of Liberation Theology

Liberation theology is limited in that from its beginning it did not discern the social constructions of sexualities, gender relations, and gender roles. In the 1970s feminist theology problematised issues of unequal gender relations in private and public spheres, in church and society as well as in the theological fraternities (Althaus-Reid 2000:37,40). Liberation theology did not develop a Christian ethic of sexuality, it had a progressive Marxist analysis of ideological formation of class issues and struggles. Similarly, even when second wave feminist theology engaged with human sexuality, it mostly focussed on sexual issues as on gender issues, and rarely on sexual issues as sexual orientations, sexual activity, lust, intercourse, arousal and men having sex with men or women having sex with women (Althaus-Reid 2000:87). Liberation theology upheld an unchanging pre-conciliar position concerning issues of gender and human sexuality; it did not occur to liberationists to look equally at constructions of sexuality and gender codes prior to the arrival of Christianity, codes which are marginalized, though they still survive and are influential in everyday lives of the people (Althaus-Reid 2004:13).

The potential of liberation theology is based on its five essential aspects: first, *the choice of interlocutors* of theology, who are the poor and marginalized; second, *the perception of God*, which is God’s “preferential option” for the poor and oppressed. Third, the multidimensional *analysis of conflicts* in economic, classist, sexist, geographic, ethnic, cultural layers of oppression. This analysis was never considered exhaustive, since liberation theology is characteristically a continuous hermeneutic spiral of praxis of action, reflection and action. Fourth, in its *choice of theological tools*, liberation theology utilizes the social sciences for analysis of the social context

and development of possible models for social transformation. The dialectics of theology and praxis is a theological hermeneutical spiral of theory and praxis, in which action leads to reflection on theory, and theory leads to reflection on action, and the spiral begins over again (West 1999:13).

Apart from these five aspects, a feminist hermeneutic of suspicion, and its incorporation of intersectionality of race, class, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity and others “as a consequence of post-colonial, post-structuralist and post-modern feminist critiques” (Gouws 2010:13) is another significant aspect that contributes to the potentiality of liberation theology. Based on these focal aspects of “people’s theology” (Althaus-Reid 2004:14), drawn from experiences of millions of the poor and marginalized peoples of the world, liberation theology from its onset fulfilled “the prophetic task of unmasking structures of oppression” (Althaus-Reid 2000:40). Therefore, all these hermeneutic aspects make liberation theology a potentially dynamic theoretical framework to engage with emerging theological issues, and in this case issues of human sexuality in Tanzania. Thus, the next section focuses on the interface between liberation theology and human sexuality as a significant theological development in the current contestation over same-sex sexuality in Tanzania.

2.8 Liberation Theology and Human Sexuality

What has liberation theology do with human sexuality? What can our human sexualities, sexual orientations, sexual stories and experiences tell us about our relationship with God? “All theology is sexual theology”, writes Althaus-Reid (2000:i). In her *Indecent Theology: Theological Perversions in Sex, Gender and Politics* (2000), Althaus-Reid, brings together aspects of liberation theology and human sexuality to develop “indecent theology”, which is “a sexually explicit liberation theology ... a continuation of liberation theology in all its transgression and agency” (2000:4,61ff). This development of liberation theology that fully incorporates human sexuality is necessary because liberation theology is “a ‘walk’ (*caminata*)” and not only as a review of socio-historical accounts, but as a dynamic continuous theological reflection (Althaus-Reid 2004). Thus, in its “discourse of gender”, feminist liberation theology persistently continued, and continues, to threaten “the core of patriarchally constructed religious representations and their production of sacred meaning” (2004:4). This continuous threatening and challenging of the patriarchal ideology

opened up the possibility of discovering God anew in our own human sexuality, because political and economic structures of oppression are basically founded on sexually ideologies (Isherwood 2000:161).

Althaus-Reid concurs with Isherwood (2000), but she further argues that liberation theology that explicitly incorporates human sexuality “is a path from the margins of sexual and economic exclusion towards an understanding of a larger Jesus, a greater God and an infinitely wider Christianity ...” (2004:4). Although sexuality was not initially considered in liberation theology, this interface between liberation theology and sexuality is not an unnatural one, because human beings are sexual beings and hence all theologies are inherently sexual theologies because theological concepts are never truly neutral, they often reflect underlying assumptions about gender, sexuality and social power dynamics that influence religious thought.

The incorporation of human sexuality into Christian liberation theology represents, in Althaus-Reid’s words, “an authentic conversion, a turning away from the structures of patriarchal sin” (2004:4) as well as a re-reading of the biblical texts in other ways, which brings life rather than death to those who are sexually other. Incorporating liberation and sexuality broadens the liberation theoretical framework in ways that enables the unmasking of hetero-patriarchal “ideologies of death”; this means turning away from all sinful “ideological symbolic order[s]”, systems and structures (2004:4). Poor and marginalized Christians are sexual beings, yet sexuality is the great taboo in Christian theology. So, according to Althaus-Red, incorporating aspects of human sexuality into liberation theology is a theologically creative path of praxis, of action and reflection about the presence of God in our sexual lives, which opens new theological pathways to explore new theological grounds, and only taking the old theological routes when necessary (2004:12).

From the onset liberation theology was a biblical theology; this means new liberation theological pathways, for example feminist theology, have been biblical ones. Feminist theology required fresh biblical engagement, new questions about the sinful patriarchal structure to be unveiled through the re-reading of biblical texts. For example, the killings of the innocents in the Gospels might show how domestic violence relates to the coming of the Messiah. Messiah’s birth was

resisted by patriarchal ideologies of power, and thus has little to do with the narrative of Jesus being born in a story characterised by submission and acceptance (Althaus-Reid 2004:13).

In this process of developing new theological pathways, the lived experience of the poor and marginalized is critical, and must be a starting point of “dialogical methodology in theology”; to dialogue with women and all the oppressed as equals, because they do not need a “Christ-Emperor to instruct them” but “Christ of the Gospels, who entered into dialogue with friends and neighbours” and all persons indiscriminately (Althaus-Reid 2004:14). As Althaus-Reid rightly argues, it is always the context, the stories of people’s everyday lives that provide “a starting point for a process of doing a contextual theology without exclusions, in this case without the exclusion of sexuality struggling in the midst of misery”; and in the case of the present study, without the exclusion of same-sex sexuality in the current context of Tanzania (2004:4), as extrapolated in the subsequent section.

2.9 Liberation theology and Tanzania Context in the Present Study

In the present study, the Tanzanian context in the past and present is the starting point for a study of the interface of Ujamaa liberation theology and human sexuality, and what Ujamaa theology has to offer in the contestation over issues of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania.

Therefore, socio-historical situations, contestation over same-sex sexualities in the past and present times as well as the lived experiences of the various ethnic people of Tanzania in their Ujamaa villages and towns, provide the socio-historical setting for the current theological and hermeneutic inquiry. This socio-historical background will shed light into the nature of present contestation over same-sex sexualities in Tanzania, and lead into possible models of Ujamaa theology and hermeneutics that can facilitate liberative re-reading of biblical texts in this context of contestation over same-sex sexuality. Therefore, issues of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania form the context of theological and hermeneutic analysis in this current study.

2.10 Summary

This chapter has explored the theoretical framework of liberation theology, tracing its historical development, key components, and various forms, including black liberation theology, Ujamaa liberation theology, feminist hermeneutics, and Ujamaa Contextual Bible Study (CBS). Liberation theology emerged as a response to widespread poverty and oppression, emphasizing human justice and critiquing repressive ideologies within both the church and society. It has evolved through different epochs, each contributing to its foundational principles and methodologies.

I have highlighted the significant role of basic ecclesial communities, the pedagogical approach of conscientization, and the growing awareness of injustices as instrumental in the development of liberation theology. I have also examined the unique contributions of African liberation theology, particularly through the lens of Ujamaa theology in Tanzania, which integrates socio-economic, political, and cultural contexts into its theological reflection and action.

Furthermore, I have discussed the limitations and potentials of liberation theology, noting its initial oversight of gender and sexuality issues, which feminist theology later addressed. The incorporation of human sexuality into liberation theology represents a necessary expansion of the theoretical framework of liberation theology to address contemporary issues of same-sex sexualities, especially in the context of Ujamaa theology in Tanzania.

In the end, this chapter underscores the dynamic and evolving nature of liberation theology, rooted in the lived experiences of the poor and marginalized. It calls for continuous theological reflection and praxis that engage with emerging social realities, including issues of human sexuality, to promote justice, dignity, and liberation for all. The Tanzanian context, with its rich history of Ujamaa and ongoing struggles, to which we turn in chapter three, provides a fertile ground for further theological inquiry and liberative re-reading of biblical texts in addressing issues of same-sex sexuality.

Chapter 3

3 A Socio-Historical Analysis of Tanzania

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I have explored the theoretical framework of liberation theology, which emerged as a response to widespread poverty and oppression, emphasizing human justice and critiquing repressive ideologies within both the church and society. I have also highlighted the unique contribution of Ujamaa theology in Tanzania, which integrates socio-economic, political, and cultural contexts into its theological reflection and action. Hence, this chapter provides a socio-historical analysis of Tanzania, from pre-colonial times through colonial and post-colonial periods, and culminating in the Ujamaa movement. It explores Tanzania as a home to 126 ethnic groups with diverse languages and cultures, and its complex interplay of historical and political factors that has shaped Tanzania's socio-historical landscape. It highlights the enduring impact of pre-colonial traditions in shaping the nation's identity and socio-political ethos. I discuss how the spirit of Ujamaa emphasized unity across ethnic people, culminating in Tanzania's independence in 1961.

In post-independence, I discuss how Nyerere introduced Ujamaa as a political philosophy rooted in traditional African values of community and solidarity. I also explore how the decline of Ujamaa as a central political philosophy post-Nyerere era saw a resurgence of tribalism, religious tensions, economic disparity and social intolerance, especially towards same-sex sexualities. Hence, this chapter attempts to explore how pre-colonial history of Tanzania is significantly important for a better understanding of Tanzanian peoples and their intimate ways of life, their sexualities, colonization and Christianization, the spirit of the Ujamaa movement and the need for liberation from colonization and its aftermath. In this chapter, I engage with pre-colonial roots of Ujamaa, which are precursors of the later Ujamaa concept of Nyerere. Similarly, this chapter engages with pre-colonial notions of human sexualities in tribal societies that have relevance to the present discourse on human sexuality in Tanzania. Thus, this chapter functions as a background to the discussion on same-sex sexuality in Tanzania in chapter four. This chapter argues that the spirit of pre-colonial Ujamaa that united all tribal societies to become one people against colonial

oppression, still has the capacity to unite the present Tanzanians, regardless of individuals' human sexualities as they struggle for the fullness of life.

3.2 Pre-colonial Societies of Tanzania

Tanzania consists of 126 ethnic groups, with their distinct languages, most of which come from Bantu, Nilotic, and Cushitic, as well as Bush hunter-gathers origins, such as Sandawe and Hadzabe whose languages have clicks (Simons 2018:1-15). In Tanzania, the history of the ethnic groups begins with the Bush hunter-gatherers, who are the ancestors of Hadzabe and Sandawe, who once occupied most of the north-east and central regions of Tanzania until the successive waves of migration of the Cushitic and Nilotic from north-east Africa, as well as the Bantu from central Africa from the 3rd millennium BCE onwards (Tishkoff 2009:1041). The bush hunter-gatherers lived in small egalitarian communities of about 20 each in rock shelters and depended for their food supplies on the rich and varied flora and fauna of ancient Tanzania. Existing rock paintings on ancient rock shelters depict their prey as eland, kudu, impala, bushbuck, and even giraffes (Oliver and Fagan 1975:22-23).

Most Hadzabe still rely on hunting and food-collecting from forests, whereas the Sandawe are mostly pastoral; they both live in the regions between Lake Eyasi and Kondoa in central Tanzania (Cole 1963:55). Red ochre paintings of animals and human figures on the rock shelters at Cheke and Kisese in Kondoa, dating at least several millennia are commonly associated with the ancestors of Hadzabe and Sandawe peoples.

Unlike the Bush hunter-gatherers, the Cushitic, namely, the Aasax, Alagwa, Burunge, Gorowa, Iraqw, Kw'adza and the Mbugu, and the Nilotic, namely, the Akie, Datooga, Kisankasa, Luo, Maasai, Mediak, Mosiro and the Ngasa, were mostly nomadic pastoralists keeping herds of cattle, goat and sheep in the north and central regions of the country. Over time, the Cushitic ethnic groups settled in Manyara, Arusha, Singida, and Dodoma regions, and they were partly agricultural, growing sorghum and millet. Also, the Nilotic settled in Arusha, Kilimanjaro, Manyara, Singida and Mara regions as well as around the Serengeti game reserve. These initial human settlements of the Bush hunter-gathers Hadzabe and Sandawe, Cushitic agro-pastoralists and Nilotic nomadic

pastoralists were of small and less populated communities, residing apart each other near rivers and forests. Evidences from such historical sites, such as Engaruka in Arusha, Kisese in Kondo, as well as Isimila and Igeleke in Iringa, attest to this fact (Sassoon 1967:201; Masao 1978:15-20; Ndee 2010:780). Similarly, same evidences from historical sites, at least in rock paintings, provides us with some understanding of human sexuality in these pre-colonial tribal societies, as we will see in this chapter on the discussion about migration, inter-ethnic relations, their politics, religion and culture. We will also see how notions of human sexualities existed within pre-colonial *ujamaa* communities.

3.3 Migration and Inter-Ethnic Relations

By 1000 BCE a stream of Bantu migration was establishing population centres near the great lakes of Tanganyika and Nyanza (now Victoria); some Bantu groups were moving from the lakes towards east and southeast creating widely dispersed settlements near rivers as well as the coastal regions. By the later part of the 1st millennium CE, the successive migratory waves of the Bantu hunters and farmers had changed the demographic feature of the land that became Tanzania (Masao 1978:18). With their iron spears, arrows and bows, the Bantu became successful hunters, but also, they conquered the land and absorbed its people, or pushed them into defensible environments in dense forests, hills and mountains. Since they were hunters and farmers, they came into direct and bitter conflict with most Bush hunter-gatherers and nomadic pastoralists, for example the Hadzabe and Sandawe as well as the Maasai and Barbaig, who could not be absorbed into Bantu cultures. For centuries, agriculturalists and nomadic pastoralists have been in constant conflicts, and at the same time, especially more recently, have developed relationships, ranging from ritual interactions to some rare marriages amongst them (Masao 1978:20).

The Bantu became widely dispersed and dominant throughout Tanganyika for the fact that they were not only agriculturalists, but also specialized hunters with iron-spears, who became suppliers of meat, attracting new adherents from the people they conquered and imposing their culture, and thus throwing off new Bantu migratory waves until the whole of the country became iron-using and Bantu-speaking; even the ethnic people that resisted change, like the Hadzabe, Sandawe, Maasai, Barbaig and others, had to acquire some understanding of the languages of the Bantu to

survive (Oliver 1966:362). During their guarded interactions with the Cushitic and Nilotic, the Bantu obtained pastoral skills and began to keep herds of cattle; this increased tensions and protracted conflicts with the Cushitic and Nilotic pastoralists. In the next section, I explore the pre-colonial social organization of the Bantu, Cushitic and Nilotic peoples of Tanzania.

3.4 Social Organization: Politics, Religion and Culture

As they continued to settle, the Bantu *ujamaa* and *koo*, meaning families and clans, developed into over 100 distinct ethnic groups, which fought amongst themselves for agricultural lands, cattle grazing areas, and hunting territories. Some Bantu ethnic groups, for example, some of the Zigua, Bondei, Taita, Pare and Mbugu, united to become Shambaa kingdom which continued until the times of colonization and Christianization (Feierman 1974:72). Similarly, in the southern highlands of Iringa, on the great Ruaha river basin, Udzungwa mountain ranges, and Nyang'oro mountains, clans of Vanyandewelwa, Vadongwi, Vanyigongo, Vanyasolwa were united as Hehe ethnic group under one chief Mkwavinyika Mwamyinga until his chiefdom was destroyed by German soldiers on 19 July 1898 (Iliffe 1979:115). Other chiefdoms developed, such as Nyamwezi, Chagga, Sangu, Nyakyusa, Gogo and Kaguru chiefdoms. Each chiefdom was strict about its borders, and fighting was triggered once members of one ethnic group crossed the borders, whether for hunting, herding or farming. Another serious offense among ethnic people was cattle raids; this has been a reason for prolonged fighting between the Kaguru and Baraguyu-Maasai until recent decades (Beidelman 1961:534,538). However, from ancient times, no ethnic people existed in isolation, they traded with each other and depended on each other for livelihoods; yet, there was always inter-ethnic tensions, cattle raids and fighting.

Existing sites of ancient rock shelters, which have high artistic value, reflect the people's socio-cultural life, communal experiences, changes of their socio-history and socio-economic base from hunter-gatherer to agro-pastoralist, their ideas, concepts, legends, beliefs, sexualities, rituals and cosmological worldview.

Rock paintings of the rock art communities, which mostly do not show age, status, rank or even sex, reflect communal ideals of equality, unity and mobility. When the distinction between men

and women is obvious in the paintings, men are linked to cultural goods whereas women are depicted in communication, communal rites and cultural ceremonies, such as wedding and cultural dances. Also, when sex organs are depicted in the painting, the human head is not painted. When the Bantu and Nilotic ethnic groups migrated in the area, especially the Gogo, Nyaturu and Maasai, intermarried with Sandawe, mostly the Tehla Sandawe; however, the Bisa Sandawe did not succumb to Cushitic and Bantu ethnic groups, and has survived as a distinct indigenous ethnic group to the present.

Archeologists have attempted to understand this ancient Tanzanian community by looking at the present principal bearers of ancient Sandawe culture, the Bisa Sandawe, who are less influenced by the major religions, Islam and Christianity, and their modern cultural spheres that they represent in Tanzania (Raa 1970:151-52). They are in small groups of clans of about 20 each, living in the outlying rocky hills surrounded by uninhabited bushlands, and considered by their neighbours as people with “uncouth” manners (Raa 1970:127). Bisa Sandawe are mostly hunters, with minimal cultivations and basic housing of flat mud roof; their women still gather wild vegetables and fruits from forests. They still associate themselves with their ancestors of the rock art through communal rites and cultural rituals, such as the ritual of *simbo*, that they perform in ancient rock sites and shelters (Grzelczyk 2016:3).

Simbo ritual is performed whenever needs arise, and when it is deemed necessary by a local shaman-sage to perform *simbo*. It could be a health reason, to cast out evil spirits or to invite good spirits for good rains, fertility, successes or protection from natural disasters; *simbo* is a ritual dance in which participants, both men and women, except menstruating and pregnant women, drink *choya*, a local beer made of honey, hibiscus leaves and *meraa*, a plant with hallucinogenic properties. After the dancers drink *choya* and sprinkled with *choya* using twigs of *meraa*, they enter a trance state and draw near to the cottage of the shaman-sage for healing, protection, control of evil spirits and invoke good spirits (Grzelczyk 2016:3-4).

Iyari is another ritual which is for protection of new born twins, prayers for fertility, invocation of the rain, without which there are no crops, wild vegetables and fruits, and diminished human fertility. *Iyari* ritual, which involves slaughtering a goat, painting faces with soot and white

colours, uses various colours to symbolize the rock art. Black symbolizes the twins and the parents, red is a symbol of fertility, by associating it with mother's blood, rains and rainbows; white symbolizes heavens that bring rains, mother's milk, male sperm as well as fertility. Also, the rock shelter on which paintings with black, red and white colours are found, symbolizes the womb from which the human being originally emerged, as they believe that *Barase*, the Great God, brought out of the womb of the rock shelter (alternatively, the baobab tree), the first woman, the man and all animals (Raa 2010: 319-324).

Matters of human sexuality are openly spoken about by community members of the Bisa Sandawe. They speak openly when they refer to sex, sex organs, marital affairs, and pregnancy. They speak of an initiate as *tháso*, 'testicle'; or a parent could ask in front of others her or his long un-married daughter, *Hó labá sipoi tháso?* Meaning 'who will give you his testicles?' In Bisa Sandawe, they speak openly about *thámetsva/ùwe*, meaning 'sleeping with a woman'; or about *//'áie*, meaning 'clitorises'. Once a father inspected his testicles in front of children and adults and said, *tsináa !'i'é*, meaning, 'my scrotum is red' (Raa 1970:149-150). When someone is standing in the middle, they have a common saying, which could be said before men, women and children, *Hós'pi n//ooko //'áéē xe' katé' iye?* Meaning, 'why do you stay in the middle like a child's cut-off clitoris?'

The Bisa Sandawe initiate their daughters and sons into adulthood through clitoridectomy for the former and circumcision for the latter. In their respective initiations, girls and boys are taught traditions and culture, and from there they learn to be even more open about their human sexuality. Nudity and sexual organs are not considered shameful and could be discussed in public (Raa 1970:150). This understanding of human sexuality is linked to the Sandawe concepts of what is sacred and/or profane.

Due to its features and purpose, a sacred space has an essential religious role in the life of the Sandawe. Rock shelters, rock paintings, old baobab trees with caves and other giant trees symbolize sacred spaces among the Sandawe. However, there is no "clear distinction between the world[s] of the sacred and the profane" (Grzelczyk 2016:2). These two worlds are intertwining, and the boundary appears less noticeable, because it only depends on the ritual to be performed on that space. The ritual is "religion in action" (Wallace 1966:102), and religion in general signifies

“relationship between a person and superhuman power in which he [/she] believes and from which he [/she] feels dependent” (Tiele 2013:99). So, in the Sandawe culture, even if the place, objects, behaviours or other elements and aspects of culture are determined sacred, this does not mean that there is no possibility of perceiving them as profane. Again, determination of any culture elements as profane does not exclude the possibility of perceiving them as sacred at another time (Grzelczyk 2016:2-3).

There are many rock shelters in Sandawe region, but only those with paintings that are associated with their ancestors are determined as sacred spaces and hence people approach them only accompanied by a local sage who pours water on the rock to pay respect to the ancestors before the people could enter the rock shelters to see the paintings or pray. However, the rituals performed, whether for sacred and/or profane purposes, depend on the needs of the one who is performing. Overall, the rituals of the current Sandawe connect them with the past and their ancestors, the creators of the ancient rock paintings (Raa 2001: 319-325). Sandawe people shed light on socio-cultural life and community experiences of the peoples of Tanzania from the ancient to the present.

Another ethnic group which further provides much light on our understanding of pre-colonial socio-historical condition of the peoples of Tanzania, and their transition through colonial and post-colonial periods, is the Kaguru people of central Tanzania. The Kaguru are a matrilineal ethnic group, like the Nyakyusa, Zaramo, Lugulu, Kwere, Sagalla, Kutu, Vidunda, and Nguu.

The Kaguru came to settle in east-central Tanzania, on the highlands of Itumba mountains, 4,500-7,000 ft., as well as on the lowlands, under 2,000 ft, towards Mpwapwa in central Tanzania and the coastal savannah plain of Kilosa that stretches westward from the Indian ocean. In these areas the Kaguru established a chiefdom that covered 9,324 sq.km. The Kaguru chiefdom comprised of the Bantu Kaguru, Gogo, Kamba, Nguu, and the Nilotic Baraguyu; however, 90 per cent of the inhabitants of Kaguru chiefdom were Kaguru in pre-colonial times (Beidelman 1961:534-35). Although from time to time cattle-thefts have triggered intertribal tensions and conflicts, these ethnic people have co-existed and depended on each other for centuries, and overtime developed intertribal relations based on barter trades, beer-drinking clubs, marriages and even coalitions in

combating external cattle raids from the Masaai, Nguu, and Hehe who became serious threats in cattle-raiding in the Kaguru chiefdom (Beidelman 1961:534, 538, 542).

As sedentary hoe cultivators, the Kaguru depend for their food and income mainly on such crops as sorghum, millet, maize, potatoes, beans, vegetables, and castor. Some Kaguru own cattle, especially those living on parts of the Itumba mountains and the north-western plateau. Those who own cattle pool their holdings in herds of about 40 cattle, which are then held by a few Kaguru elders.

The Kaguru were divided into over 100 matrilineal clans that form basic units of society, and from which posts of clan leaders are determined. Although they did not have a strict hierarchy of leaders, most Kaguru lived in hamlets of 3 to 20 huts, whereas some lived in homesteads separated by small farms and rivers in between (Beidelman 1971:539). Hamlets were evenly thickly dispersed in river valleys, but larger individual settlements were widely scattered in mountains and hills than in the river valleys. But most Kaguru from river valleys and mountains were able to come together during social and cultural events such as weddings, initiation rites, community meetings, funerals, communal dance events after harvest seasons, beer brewing and beer drinking. Some Kaguru women brew beer from their agricultural products and sold the beer to their Kaguru people as well as to neighbouring ethnic groups such as the Maasai who did not cultivate and depended on the Kaguru people for their beer, agricultural products and craft good. From December to June, months of cultivation, local beer was only sold on weekends in specific houses. After harvest, 3 to 20 women sat together to sell portions of beer out of big clay pots in designated open space at the edge of their local settlement. These local beer open space clubs, which happened after harvest seasons, attracted large crowds of several hundred people, even from different ethnic groups apart from the Kaguru matrilineal clans themselves (Beidelman 1971:542).

3.5 Matrilineal Clans of the Kaguru

The Kaguru call their clans, *makungugo* (sing. *ikungugo*), which also meant an ethnic group. According to ancient Kaguru oral history, they migrated into their land in East central Tanzania as one clan long ago and over centuries they gradually divided into over 100 clans and became

Kaguru society. The Kaguru usually speak of their society as *wahnu we ikungugo dimwedu*, meaning ‘people of only one [large] clan’ founded by an ancestress but subdivided into small clans which they call *sigholo* (sing. *Ikolo*), literally meaning ‘herds of sheep’, or singular ‘sheep’. Similarly, *mundewa* means a clan leader, or simply a herdsman. *Sigholo* were divided into ‘houses’, *milyango*, which meant families. One could speak of *sigholo sangu*, meaning both ‘my sheep’ and also ‘my matrilineal clan people’ (1971:375-76).

According to Beidelman (1971:375-76), among the Kaguru matrilineal clans had several key attributes: (1) members trace their descent from a common ancestress, identified by a shared matrilineal clan name; (2) clans are exogamous, prohibiting marriage and sexual relations between members of the same clan; (3) each clan owns specific land (*iisi*) with clearly defined boundaries (*mulaga*) and landmarks (*filaga*), and holds political control over it. Clan members are mystically connected to the land, responsible for rites of purification and fertility, with their behavior impacting the land's overall wellbeing (Beidelman 1971:376).

These basic attributes of the Kaguru matrilineal clans were associated with the Kaguru beliefs and customs supported by Kaguru *lusimo*, meaning oral history. According to Kaguru *lusimo*, the Kaguru matrilineal clans originated from the people who migrated under women leadership from Kondoia Iranga in central Tanzania (Beidelman 1971:376). This is the homeland of the Sandawe and Hadzabe, and where most ancient rock shelters and rock paintings are located (Grzelczyk 2016:1). When the Kaguru people reached the Itumba mountains they subdivided into clans and mixed with other neighbouring matrilineal clans, but each clan maintained their respective clan names. Villages were built according to clan membership based on matrilineal core. When sons married they moved out of their settlements, which were built around a matrilineal core, and went to live with their wives in another settlement.

In most cases, women remained in their matrilineal settlements, because men who married them had to join the matrilineal clan settlement, or village. As Beidelman writes, “obviously the principle of exogamy forced some Kaguru [men] out of every group and into residence outside their [matrilineal] clan areas” (1971:377). The Kaguru spoke of *lukolo lwe ng’ina*, ‘a clan of the mother’; but they said, *ulwandi lwe baba-munhu*, ‘the side of a person’s father’. The Kaguru

believe that through blood children were closely related to their mothers but only through bone they were related to their fathers. Ties of blood are closer than ties of bone, as they flow perpetually through time, and they link all matrilineal clan members of all times, past, present and future (Beidelman 1971:378).

Among the Kaguru, matrilineal relations are primary, and paternal ones are only secondary; for real posterity of men lies through their sisters' children in space and time, and through all the members of the matrilineal clan, women's blood provides warmth, vitality, life-giving flows, liquid and undistinguishable form, which can only be disturbed by incest and other sexual acts against the matrilineal clan. A person's father's clan was called *welekwa*, which means, 'to be borne'; *welekwa* did not refer to a person's own clan, but a clan to which the person was fathered. Children belong to the matrilineal clan, and have matrilineal names, but they were addressed by the names of their *welekwa*; for example, men whose fathers are of the *wagomba*, *wamlali*, *wahumba*, *wakami* and *wahehe* clans, were addressed as *semgomba*, *mulali*, *muhumba*, *mukami* and *muhehe*; and such women as *mamgomba*, *mamlali*, *mabene*, *mamkami*, and *manduli*. Likewise, a man whose father is of *webela* [calabash] was addressed as *mwibela*, a woman as *machigao* [calabash cup] or *madiyungu* [calabash plant] (Beidelman 1971:380).

Initiation for boys and girls, and later heterosexual marriage, were all perquisites among the Kaguru clans for the continuation of the life-giving flow of the matrilineal blood. Sexual relations and intermarriages between persons of the same clan were strictly prohibited, and if it did occur there were rites of purification for the persons involved. However, there were persons who did not conform to the heterosexual norm as they were sexually different and oriented to the persons of their same gender. They were not able to marry women or men as their peers did; they were known to exist in liminal spaces, and they experienced some degrees of tolerance in their spaces within their clans and society. In his field research, Beidelman found that some Kaguru men enjoyed "homosexual relations" in secret spaces, and it was considered an unusual and supernatural sexual pattern (1997:273). Although sexual acts between adult males were perceived unusual, Beidelman writes that:

[he] did not find any court cases of homosexuality Certainly, it does not seem that such acts between adult Kaguru males would fit the Kaguru concept of trespass, since adult males are all considered sexually free agents in a way that women are not (1961:14; cf. Moen 2014:1066).

Issues of sexuality were essential in child rearing, rites of passage, initiation songs and ritual, though males and females were sexually socialized in different ways. As rightly stated, “from the most primitive species up to the most evolved man, sexuality is the pole around which all impressions, all feelings, all thoughts entwine, these drives are infinitely plastic and subject to sociocultural modifications” (Beidelman 1997:26).

Concepts of sex and gender are not natural and obvious; an intersectional approach is essential in linking issues of sexuality and Kaguru rites of passages and their aspects of sexuality to other such transitions as calendrical ceremonies, rites of purification, sacrifices to the ancestors and the daily Kaguru routine. In all these cultural rituals, women’s gender identity and expressions become inextricable to men’s. Similarly, there are ritual connections among birth rites, naming ceremonies, initiation rites, marriage, funerals and ancestral sacrifices, calendrical purification, construction of ethnic identity, social space, social history and even quotidian life (Beidelman 1997:26).

The Kaguru employ rituals that reflect themes such as movements in and out of domestic and public spaces, shedding blood, cooking, consuming food, demarcating zones of social and wild habitation. Through rituals, “participants discover who they are in the world”, and this creates knowledge and transmits traditions (Beidelman 1997:27). Kaguru symbols and rituals construct a cosmology, beliefs which mystify and explain the world. Participants constantly negotiate the meanings of sexual symbols while conserving their traditions; diverse persons, men, women and other engage in reflection that stimulates the imaginative creativity of members of the society as it links the social and natural realms together (Beidelman 1997:27).

In rituals and festivals there were no clear patterns of sexuality and gender expressions; through festival and ritual dances, sexual relations evoked profound ambiguity; men and women openly flaunt their grooming to appeal seductive; they flirt and make assignations, for example in the

msunyunho dance where men could put on women's wraps, "it was time out of time, space beyond space" (Beidelman 1997:87, 88). But, what does the Kaguru concept of space imply, and how does it relate to issues of gender and sexuality among the Kaguru? To this question we now turn.

3.5.1 Concept of Spaces of the Society and the Wilderness

To understand Kaguru concepts of gender and sexuality one must also grasp the Kaguru concept of space. The Kaguru make differences between the society and the wilderness, and different terms of space, domestic, communal and wild, represent different moral valences. Also, these differences of spaces, their complexities and subtleties are illuminated by Kaguru rites of passage through ritual movement and comportment in different space grounds. The differences implied what society was not meant to be, yet it appeared to be the social reality. The ritual movements between spaces represented a range of both social order and disorder, but these complemented each other for social transformation and stability (Beidelman 1997:235).

Concepts of the society and the wilderness were the core of Kaguru ethnic memory and identity. The distinctions between society and wilderness were associated with gender and sexuality; women associated with social stability, the heart of the home, the hearth, and alimentation, whereas men were associated with the mastery of the wilderness and creatures in it through hunting, social protection, cleaning of overgrowth, drawing of medicines and magic from wild plants, animals and stones; men embodied the constructive and distinctive powers of the wilderness (Beidelman 1997:235). Those other, who were less masculine, belonged to the bush space between the domestic and the wilderness, somewhere in the community and the bush; yet it was the bush and the wilderness spaces where both highly social moral, public and individualistic amoral, immoral and private acts did occur, and their wilderness represented the libidinous desires, and defined what the Kaguru thought they were not. Conjugal sex was associated with domestic private spaces, but sex in the bush was associated with adultery, witchcraft orgies, and rituals; sexual encounters and ritual sexual acts in the bush were also considered as a source of powerful sorcery, magical and medicinal substances (Beidelman 1997:88). Sexual encounters between adult males happened in the space of the wilderness, in the bushes, by the river banks, in caves, and forests; there were hidden powers of sex in the wilderness (Beidelman 1997:89).

All Kaguru men interviewed by Beidelman admitted that they were keen to copulate with women whenever and wherever they could; some men admitted that there existed men who were impotent, and that there were “a few men who were homosexual” (Beidelman 1997:273). Also, Beidelman’s informants admitted that “a few Kaguru men enjoyed homosexual relations, but this was considered an unusual and secret pattern” (Beidelman 1997:273). However, being homosexual would not deter such men from marrying or fathering children; for a such man “his wife would still be able to become pregnant by others” in his community (Beidelman 1997:273). Because of a cultural secrecy code about women’s sexuality, there is scant information about sex between women; but it was, and still is, a common knowledge that during girls’ initiation, women taught initiates how to copulate by stimulating each other, though some girls could have started this practice long before their initiation days, when they fetched water at the river, collected firewood in the bushes, or gathered wild vegetables and fruits in the forests (Beidelman 1997:273).

Kudinha, masturbation, was common and frequently practiced in this space by young people before initiations, after which they were free to have sex with the opposite gender. Similarly, the Kaguru considered sexual relations among young girls and boys as desirable as they hasten the maturation of the youth (Beidelman 1997:128). This does not mean sexual matters only belonged to the space of the bushes and wilderness, but in domestic and formal community spaces one had to be discreet about sexual matters and actions. It was wrong to mention sexual matters in front of children, or when men and women congregated together; but otherwise, the Kaguru did not mind discussing sexual issues or sexual jokes at dances, beer-drinking events and parties, or when men and women congregated alone at celebrations and rites of passage; there were many spaces and times when there were open talks and references to sexual issues (Beidelman 1997:128). Existence of functioning matrilineages among matrilineal and bilateral societies, like the Kaguru, Luguru, Nguu, Zaramo, Kwere, Sagalla, Vidunda, Zigua and Nyakyusa, afforded women, children, and even persons who were sexually different, considerable social, ritual and political status. Directly or indirectly women played a significant role in both private and public spheres for the wellbeing of the people and land (Prins 1994:194-195).

However, the process of searching for animals required specific knowledge and skills that, in their many Kaguru historical contexts, were primarily associated with men. This specialization in tasks

often became a basis for men to assert moral and social dominance over women, slowly leading to the reinforcement of patrilineal structures. These structures not only attempted to grant men greater authority but also started to contribute to the unequal distribution of power and resources between genders. Such dynamics began to foster a system of hegemonic control that slowly began perpetuate social inequalities, which led to limitation of women's participation in decision-making processes. Equally, this slightly led to the establishment of hegemonic and unjust power impositions by men over women that have persisted across generations. Thus, gender roles subtly began to betray egalitarian matrilineal cultural understanding of *umoto*, gender and sexuality among Kaguru (Beidelman 1997:86-87).

3.5.2 *Umoto*, Sexuality and Gender

The Kaguru, like their neighbours the Gogo, Hehe, Sagalla, Kimbu, called their culture *umoto*, meaning ‘the fire’; they used fire, *moto*, as a symbol of culture; hence they called culture, *umoto*. *Umoto*, fire, became a privileged phenomenon that could describe the multifaceted reality of socio-cultural life; *umoto* became indeed the only phenomenon to which the Kaguru and their neighbours attributed both opposing values of good and evil (Beidelman 1997:242).

The inclusive capacity of fire does not come from the inherent attributes of fire but from its infinite usefulness and its potential for good or evil. *Umoto* could eventually contradict itself. *Umoto* was understood not as a natural symbol but rather a social reality, and an interaction of the natural and the social. Therefore, social and ritual usages of *umoto* provided a rich, and yet “pervasive, ambiguous and ambivalent field for Kaguru social imagination, repeatedly featured in their educative work” through early child teachings and rites of initiations (Beidelman 1997:12). The rich lore of stories fills the evenings of most Kaguru children; uninitiated children were encouraged to sharpen their wits with riddles, which they learn from older children and adults. Evening stories and riddles gradually disclosed the secrets of life; there were entrusted secrets, e.g., initiation, “free secrets”, strategic secrets involving skills, inside secrets separating knowers from outsiders (initiates and non-initiates), and dark secrets, e.g., women’s initiation details which were unknown to men, though men’s initiation details were known to women.

So, secrecy was a complex concept among the Kaguru, other matrilineal ethnic groups and most pre-colonial societies. Everyday affairs were part of experiential continuum, and the initiation completed the process of disclosure that continued over many years and occurred in many fewer formal contexts. However, some secrets regarding matters that were considered unfathomable at some deeper level, such as matters of gender, sexuality, birth, the human body were not completely disclosed as they were considered issues that could not be given adequate answers; provision of answers to such matters could only deepen the mystery. So, such matters as sexuality, gender, and birth were in some ways considered as mysteries, symbolized in human body (Beidelman 1997:14-15).

First, rituals of initiation involved the ways moral beliefs and values were taught to the youth to equip them for the complexities of life; second, they involved the ways the social person was defined and constructed, mainly about the forming of personhood around concepts of sexuality and gender, which were not detached from concepts of age, time and space. These concepts, in turn, related to marriage and kinship; and all these knitted together and perpetuated Kaguru clans, communities and society in general. Initiation is part of Kaguru education system; education, personhood, gender, sexuality, age, kinship and ethnicity were crucial concepts (Beidelman 1997:3). Young people become full members of the Kaguru society only at puberty because at this stage of full sexuality the sexual passions and essential gender differences were realized. Through initiation rites of the youth, sexual passions were triggered and connected all feelings and motives of the person (Beidelman 1997:4).

Initiation rituals of male circumcision intimately connected together pain, fear, and morality; yet after the ritual act of circumcision, initiation teachings through songs and aphorisms contained playful, reflective and imaginative aspects of Kaguru education, which encouraged ambiguous expressions rooted in manifold complex social relations. The goal of education is knowledge and skills, but matters of sexuality and gender occupied most of the teaching, which involved wit in language usage in such matters. This education involved comprehending the other and their overarching worlds, meaning congeries of meaningful people. During initiation, Kaguru were made intensely mindful of others and their thoughts through being encouraged to reflect on words and meaning. This process began at an early age through children's stories (Beidelman 1997: 4, 8-

10). The ambiguous imagery of culture as *umoto* educated the youth by emphasizing a greater awareness of the moral complexities of social life and relations (Beidelman 1997:12-13). Through *umoto*, the house, the settlement, the clan, and the ethnic domain converted space into social space, by linking feasts to rites of passage through which harvest and consumption of crops are tied to the development of the person, surrounded in group of friendliness and hospitality (Beidelman 1997:13).

Through initiation, and its education about the body and its appetites, social beings were produced and reproduced in the Kaguru society. Using rituals and symbols, the Kaguru annually engaged with matters of sexuality, gender, birth and other mysteries of life through the representation of the human body in the initiation rite. The body's sexuality and senses were organized through language and rituals so as to conform to the social needs, and it is through bodily needs that each member of society was bound to others (Beidelman 1997:15). Through this aspect of *umoto*, the initiation rite, a person become "a social construct expressing the community"; an individual experienced the self through others who objectified this by communicating to the individual (Beidelman 1997:15). The person continued to be social-culturally constructed throughout a lifetime. But key to social cultural construction of personhood occurred during initiation rites, then through parenthood and death, where the person becomes supraperson, an ancestral spirit commemorated through ancestral rites and cycled child naming through generations (Beidelman 1997:15).

The Kaguru education involved memorizing knowledge that perpetuated the collective memory of *umoto*. Initiation attached immense value to community values, humanity, respect, peace, unity, solidarity, acceptance, hospitality, to name a few; in their initiation the Kaguru imagined a person as an individual different from others, and yet a community being. Construction of the self was imbedded in feelings as well as in things. As Beidelman writes, "the development of our imagination, through verbal and other skills, allows us to assert ourselves as owners of our feelings in order to try to dominate them, to evoke them and play with them as we need" (1997:16).

So, the power and usefulness of concepts about sexuality depended on the emotional and ambiguous qualities with which they were endowed. Kaguru ideas of gender and sexuality

involved subtlety, connective complexity and some powerful verbal imprecision. Among the Kaguru, meanings about sex and gender were diverse and full of powerful symbols (Beidelman 1997:17; 1986:207-10). In symbols, there are concealments as well as revelations. The existence of secrets and their concealments reinforced the idea that there are alternative versions of gender and sexual realities (Beidelman 1997:13). One could only appreciate how gender and sexuality work for the Kaguru by recognizing that sex and gender in the Kaguru *umoto*, as well as in other pre-colonial societies, was considered ambiguous and complex (Beidelman 1997:20).

According to Kaguru *lusimo*, the Kaguru thoughts and customs derive from their ancestresses and ancestors. The initiation of boys and girls into adulthood epitomized Kaguru social memory. Kaguru initiation and ceremonies provided a means to comprehend Kaguru society, and as such they inform us about “rituals and symbols and how these influence knowledge, values, feelings and beliefs” (Beidelman 1997:234). Different Kaguru could still provide different cultural details and interpretation of rituals and symbols; these, in the context of their customs, articulated and confirmed tribal tradition and ethnicity, though they held manifold meanings associated with *lusimo*, oral literature, rituals and symbols reflecting the daily life of the people (Beidelman 1997:239).

Therefore, initiation, first, continued earlier childhood training through stories that stimulated socio-cultural imagination and “a sense of alternative possibilities in individual conduct and strategies for survival and success” (Beidelman 1997:239). Second, it offered orientation about other rites and ceremonies of birth, naming, marriage, funerals, ancestral veneration; third, it offered a unifying and dynamic life-long ethnic vision for Kaguru society; fourth, it allowed the Kaguru to incorporate multiple perspectives and interpretation within that Kaguru cultural vision. This multiplex feature of Kaguru initiation was based on multi rites and manifold cultural experiences and activities of the quotidian life of the Kaguru society (Beidelman 1997:239). Despite the broad spectrum of the Kaguru initiation, the main theme was sexuality and gender.

Although their initiation sexual messages were “complex, ambiguous and paradoxical”, they were rooted in a hierarchical view of society in which sexuality and gender reproduced different moral modes of being. Ideas and values about sexuality were interconnected with other cultural spheres

of life and everyday experiences; and the manifold details of everyday life enhanced Kaguru imagination of sexuality and gender. Kaguru initiation was concerned about sexuality as a secret that the initiates needed to discover and then control it. Because sex and gender were understood as interrelated, so they talked about gender as well though in a complex and ambiguous manner (Beidelman 1997:240).

The Kaguru considered their culture and society as grounded in inevitable natural realities of life in cosmos. But they recognized the possibility and ability of their culture to develop and exploit the normal capacities of sexuality and gender. So, even if the Kaguru associated domineering authority with men and nurturance with women, Kaguru men assumed nurturing roles during periods of male initiation, whereas women assumed domineering roles during female initiation. There were certain times and spaces where both men and women never maintained any gender differences. The Kaguru, in many instances, did not assume any firm social dichotomies (Beidelman 1997:240).

Kaguru constructed a mystique of feminine altruism and supportiveness that held women as mothers, in the sense of life-giving and nurturing, a fact which is reflected in Kaguru initiation songs (Beidelman 1997:238). Hence, initiation sexual messages were complex and ambiguous to avoid leaving any neat dichotomies on sexuality and gender. However, since initiation involved men's and women's bodies, the initiation sexual messages involved aspects of power in terms of the different labeling and judgements of the women's and men's bodies respectively. Thus, initiation represented order and disorder, "disjunctive violence" and "transformation", destructive as well as constructive rituals (Beidelman 1997:241).

In humanity, the only wholeness that can be grasped is the body, the self. Repeatedly, Kaguru rituals demonstrated the human body being projected into the world, and the world introjected into the human body; and from the properties of the human bodies, through rituals, words were carried over "to signify the institutions of the mind and spirit" (Beidelman 1997:244). Everywhere in Kaguru rites of passage, which focused to modulate and define the embodied personhood as it changes through life, symbols were rooted in the bodily senses and body imagery. So, the body became a source of symbols, and it required symbolic work for its social existence, though it was

constantly experiencing change through growth, maturity, aging and its movements. The boundaries of the body and its symbols were expected to change as it alters through life (Beidelman 1997:244).

Kaguru ritual symbols concerning the body arose from the need for social control; however, the repression of some forms of sexuality provided “a repertoire of libidinous Kaguru symbols” that are utilized to express sexy or anti-social motives, through jokes, seduction, insult, sorcery and witchcraft (Beidelman 1997:245). Indeed, those forms of sexuality provided the order of the ordinary, the seductive repetition of daily routines, inform words, symbols, and gestures that were sometimes marshaled for special occasions. The evocative power of symbols derived from everyday affairs to seeming trivial of ordinary living. In everyday life, Kaguru activities such as hunting, cooking, dancing, sweeping, fire making, beer brewing, or sexual encounters were elevated in a ritual context (Beidelman 1997:245-46). In this context, in Bryan Turner’s words, “The body is at once the most solid, the most elusive, illusory, concrete, metaphorical, ever present and ever distant thing – a site, an instrument, an environment, a singularity and a multiplicity” (1984:8).

The cutting at the boys’ initiation was accompanied by days of supportive sexual teachings, nurturing and healing. So, initiation connects both the positive and negative sanctions of a dominant social system (Beidelman 1997:241). Beidelman writes that Kaguru’s initiation teaching included teaching about the anus and vagina, and how initiation novices were taught to insert their *ndoboya*, penis, into vagina and avoid the anus (1997:204). The fact that at initiation the novices were explicitly instructed on vaginal penetration is evidence that anal intercourse was practiced by some novices, who might as well have continued with the practice thereafter their rites of initiation.

Kaguru rites provided varying, and even contested interpretations and meanings of Kaguru culture and what it means to be Kaguru. Rituals allowed different and changing interpretations, because such rites were enacted in varying spatial arenas as Kaguru novices were separated into camps and teaching houses which created for those actors a ritual participation different from that of the people they left in the village. Then later the novices returned to the villagers who became their audience in their final dances after the novices’ recovery. After the final dance, the novices and

the village audience merged as they repeatedly sang, danced, and saluted each other as one community. They began in their camps as serenading beggars, then they entered their village as proud performers, and finally they became dancers in the village centre. Beidelman argues, “These processes convey a unity of shifting perspectives and motives, rituals, initiation, rites, language, domestic etiquette, [and] sexual rules ...” (Beidelman 1997:244).

Kaguru rituals provided an important opportunity for persons to develop their imaginative and reflective capacities about many facets of their culture and society, developing flexible thinking and mental promiscuity (Beidelman 1997:246). As Unamuno writes, “We live in memory and by memory and our spiritual life is at bottom simply the effort of our memory to persist, to transform itself into hope, the effort of our past to transform itself into our future” (1954:8-9).

For Kaguru, the initiation of young people was the means by which they remembered who they were and where they came from, and it was the means by which they celebrated their language, customs, and beliefs to transform their past into the future (Beidelman 1997:250-251).

Through the theme of sexuality, the Kaguru played out their primary expression of their memory and identity; sexuality was a central theme for Kaguru society itself. Sexuality is deeply implicated in kinship and permeates most feature of Kaguru life as a primary mode for interacting with one another. Thus, the body provided a powerful tool for their imaginative thought. Hence, the body is an object of cultural attention and a means of communication. However, Kaguru initiation did not provide a comprehensive credo of values and thoughts. Sexuality was not just about words, images, rituals and fantasies, but also about the human body, how they imagined sex, and how this fashioned their sexual lives (Beidelman 1997:251).

Initiation stirred Kaguru moral imagination; it did not provide clear and definitive answers, but a complexity of rules and relations. They were taught the skills of feeling and thinking about what they know (Beidelman 1997:251), to define themselves as well as to perceive and define others. Sexuality was considered a primary resource and at the same time a constant challenge to social order. Hence, they were trained to reflect on their bodies and sexualities as well as being open to the possibility of new understanding of themselves within their community as individuals. Thus,

the next section focuses on the interrelatedness of the individual and the community among the Kaguru people.

3.5.3 The Individual and Community

All *umoto* sexuality provided the individual Kaguru with a sense of community relatedness and continuity. In the egalitarian matrilineal communities of the Kaguru and other neighbouring societies, the individual and the community were interconnected and interrelated; the community did not pre-exist the individuals, but it was constituted by autonomous individuals. The communal ethos of pre-colonial culture placed great value on commonality, which necessitated consensus achieved not coercively but through prolonged deliberations in which the elders sat under the big tree, discussed until they agree, or agree to disagree about the ideal of consensus in favour of unity in diversity. In the lengthy process of deliberations, individual elders and community members encountered and experienced the other in their own contexts, they edified one another until such moment that they reached “a cliché of consciousness” (Beidelman 1997:241). This encounter and experience of the other informed and enriched one’s perspective, made them open minded and freed them from rigidity and hasty judgement of the other (Beidelman 1997:241ff).

However, there were other pre-colonial communities and societies who exercised absolute consensus, which could neither accommodate individual autonomy nor alterity, that obscured and suppressed core values of individual human identity. But the *umoto* of the matrilineal societies and most pre-colonial societies was more accommodating, as the focus was not so much on what duty is right or wrong but on the humanity of the individual in relation to the community: “who I am”, and what contribution “I” make to the “community” and vice versa. This pre-colonial community aspect of *umoto* came to be known as ‘Ujamaa’, which derived from the concept of *ujamaa*, family, and in its broader sense it meant the whole community as a family. *Jamaa*, in Ayisi's words, “forms the *raison d'être* of all social cooperation and responsibility. It acts as a social security for the members of the group” (1992:16). In *ujamaa*, every member is cared for; and a fair distribution of what is produced is ensured. Nobody can starve, from lack of food or lose human dignity, while others have plenty. Anybody who lacks personal wealth can depend on the wealth possessed by the community of which they are a member (Nyerere 1968b:3, 4).

Therefore, the philosophy behind Ujamaa, as Mbiti rightly writes, “I am because we are; and since we are, therefore I am” (Mbiti 1969:127). The being of an individual person could best be understood within the community to which they belonged. The Kaguru, Sandawe, Hehe, Gogo and most ethnic people of Tanzania took the family community as the model for community love, justice and cooperation at all levels of life. Just as one member in the family community cares about another member, so every family, in an ethnic group, cares about another family within the ethnic group. If the ethnic group prospers, all the members of the ethnic group shared its prosperity (Gitari 1996:9, 74), as *inhambusi*, hospitality and mutual support were beacons of the pre-colonial Kaguru communities.

3.5.4 *Inhambusi*, Hospitality and Mutual Support

Ujamaa meant familial affection, other-centred love, justice, spirit of cooperation, a sense of community relatedness, compassion and care for the common good. This meant solidarity, which provided a feeling that they were one community and one people; this unity created a sense of security and opportunities to participate in communal existence. In this way, individual subjectivities were fostered, and through the ripples of these different autonomous individuals, a community developed and flourished. Autonomous individuals created the community, and the community in turn fostered different individuals; the identity of the individual and the community were mutually constitutive. This is what Ujamaa meant, it was familial love; it is an attitude of mind that resulted in a practical way of life of mutual respect and sharing of greetings, which is *inhambusi* in Kaguru, or *salaam* in Swahili, also hospitality, mutual support and reciprocal help (Gitari 1996:9).

Inhambusi was a demonstration of Ujamaa, and the first act of community spirit. The Kaguru have a saying, *Uwanhu wakokalalila inhambusi*, meaning, ‘if you do not greet people, they will be upset.’ This philosophy is taught to children so that they start learning right from their childhood about the importance of *inhambusi*, greetings. Similarly, helping one another in times of funerals, weddings, initiation rites, and other events is the Ujamaa way of life; as this Kaguru saying shows: *Imunduguso wecheweluchewelu yekukutasa ichigele cha ishida*, meaning, “Your true brother/sister is the one who helps you in [times of] need [or trouble]”. This is equivalent to the

Swahili saying, *akufaaye kwa dhiki ndiye rafiki*, or in English, 'a friend in need is a friend indeed'. Helping one another in seasons of droughts and rains, and in times of joys and sorrows, is an expression of Ujamaa. Any person who has plenty of food, cows, goats and other resources, but still does not help his ethnic group's members who are in need, lacks the spirit of togetherness. Pre-colonial societies believed in loving relationships, mutual support and sharing. They believed in the power of unity and community relatedness. The Hehe people of Tanzania have this saying, 'One hand does not cultivate a field'; there is a similar proverb in the Swahili language, 'Unity is strength, division is weakness'. Also, as this Maasai proverb from Tanzania goes, 'One finger does not kill a flea'. On this proverb Mbiti has this to comment:

On the surface this is a simple statement coming out of living experience However, this proverb is used to refer to more serious matters of working together, joining hands so as to accomplish tasks or objectives which cannot be done by one person. It points to mutuality and helpfulness. Trivial terms are used here symbolically to handle deeper issues of people's character and working relationships (1992:1).

The proverb focuses on the value of community, co-operation and unity (Healey and Sybertz, 1994:114). Hence, the Kaguru and most ethnic people of pre-colonial Tanzania set a high standard of hospitality and generosity in their communities. As Nyerere writes, "Those of us who talk about the African way of life and, quite rightly, take pride in maintaining the tradition of hospitality which is so great a part of it ..." (1968:5). This African way of hospitality and generosity springs from the indigenous perception of God as the creator and just benevolent, as I argue in the subsequent section below.

3.5.5 God as the Creator and Just Benevolent

The spirit of Ujamaa came from the indigenous religious understanding of God as the creator and just benevolent of all blessings to all human beings indiscriminately. The Kaguru speak of God as *Magava*, the Giver of all; the Masai call upon *Engai*, meaning, God, the Creator; the Hehe pray to *Nguluvi imagava*, God the provider; and the Gogo call upon *Mulungu mudahu vyose*, meaning,

God the creator of all; also, *malunga*, the one who reconciles. Because God is the Creator and “Giver of all” in Kaguru *magava*, every ethnic group’s member has an obligation to share, first, with his family; second, with other members of the ethnic group; and third, with guests. Doing good to parents, relatives and other people brings about blessings on the doer, but doing injustices attracts misfortunes; and the only way out of tragedies was reconciliation through sacrificial offerings of cows, goats, sheep or chicken depending on the nature of misfortune or tragedy. For example, if a Kaguru has behaved indecently towards his or her parents, he or she is supposed to bring a white sheep before the parents and slaughter it. The blood will be put into a calabash and some water will be added. Then the blood will be sprinkled on the offender as a sign of reconciliation. Although among the ethnic people there were differences of how the sacrifice was offered, there was a common view that a sacrifice was a means of reconciliation. The concept of animal sacrifice was also common in most pre-colonial Tanzania societies (Mbiti 1969:103). The Kaguru people believed that the sacrifice took calamities away from the offender. And the white sheep symbolised peace. So, in the Kaguru tradition, all people at the reconciliation council shared in the eating of meat as a sign of restoring love and relationship. All this was done to make sure that the spirit of Ujamaa was maintained and continued from one generation to another. Yet, pre-colonial roots of Ujamaa and notions of human sexuality were later to be shaken and shaped by the arrival of the Bible, Christianization and colonization processes, which is discussed in the following section.

3.6 The Bible, Christianization and Colonization

3.6.1 Arabs and Slave Trade

The introduction of the Bible and Christianity coincided with the period of the slave trade and the early stages of European colonization in Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Starting in the 1st century CE, Arab slave traders from Yemen, Oman, and the Persian Gulf, along with merchants from Greece and Egypt, began arriving seasonally on the East African coast and Zanzibar. Their primary goal was to trade for goods such as gold, ivory, leopard skins, rhinoceros’ horns, turtle shells, aromatic gums, ambergris, palm oil, and slaves (Odhiambo *et al.* 1977:15-16). Although the slave trade was not a dominant factor at first, there was still a steady supply of slaves from the Horn of Africa to Arabia and regions along the Persian Gulf (Odhiambo *et al.* 1977:20). As the trade expanded, local

rulers began to claim descent from Arabic families, proclaiming themselves sheikhs or sultans. These rulers established a structured government, appointing a council of advisers, including the *kadhi* to oversee courts and enforce Sharia law, the *muhtasib* to head the police, and the *wazir* to manage state administration.

The socio-political structure along the coast facilitated the emergence of early slave trade centres and towns in both Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Arab rulers, merchants, and local elites shared mutual interests in trade and religion, which strengthened Arab influence in the region. This influence extended inland along the slave trade routes from the coast to central Tanganyika and areas around Lake Tanganyika. However, the initial spread of Arab influence into the interior was disrupted by the arrival of the Portuguese in the 15th century (Odhiambo, et al 1977:81), as I explore in the next section.

3.6.2 The Arrivals of the Portuguese

The Portuguese were the first European power to establish a sea route to India for commercial purposes, which also became a conduit for the spread of the Bible and Christianity. However, their voyages required supply stations for their ships, leading to the occupation of the East African coast. In 1497, the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama navigated along the East African coast, and during his second voyage in 1509, he invaded Zanzibar and Kilwa in Tanganyika. Accompanied by Franciscan priests, da Gama landed in Kilwa carrying a cross, which they placed on the shore as they prayed. Following this, they plundered the town's goods and supplies (Odhiambo *et al.* 1977:83). The Portuguese forcibly imposed their religion on the local population and Arabs, brutally suppressing any resistance, which earned them the lasting hostility of the coastal inhabitants.

In 1587, the Zimba, known for their cannibalism, and the warlike Segeju ethnic group reorganized and threatened the Portuguese. That same year, a Turkish naval fleet led by Captain Ali Bey arrived on the East African coast, claiming to free Muslims from Christian rule. Later, the Omani Arabs launched attacks on the Portuguese in 1652 and 1687, ultimately expelling them from Tanganyika

and Zanzibar by 1729 (Odhiambo *et al.* 1977:84-88). Thus, the Oman Arabs re-captured and significantly extended the slave trade, as explored in the section below.

3.6.3 Sultan of Zanzibar and the Slave Trade

In 1806, Sultan Seyyid Said (1790-1856) of Oman transferred his capital to Zanzibar to strengthen his colonies in East Africa and re-conquer those which were lost to the Mazrui dynasties of Mombasa. So Seyyid became the Sultan of Zanzibar, and by 1840s had secured control over all trade centres and routes in Zanzibar and the whole of Tanganyika. He initiated clove and coconut production and greatly expanded the slave trade in Tanganyika and Zanzibar, with his renowned Swahili-Zanzibari slave trader Tippu Tip, who is notoriously remembered for his “great cruelty and ruthlessness” (Odhiambo, *et al* 1977:93). The indigenous were enslaved to work in clove and coconut plantations in Zanzibar. Again, as the supply of enslaved people diminished from West Africa, enslaved indigenous people in East Africa were transported from Zanzibar to Reunion and Mauritius islands to work on French sugar plantations, as well as to Brazil to work on Portuguese plantations.

By 1839 it is estimated that about 45,000 enslaved indigenous people were sold at the slave market in Zanzibar per year, but more were killed in the process of being captured as slaves. Those who attempted to escape were shot, houses were destroyed, and families lost their relatives. Indigenous chiefs who could not be co-opted were deposed. People lost confidence in their traditional powers and religion; fear and suspicion grew. Economically, slave raids led to famine, poverty and destitution among the indigenous people, as villages and fields were laid waste (Odhiambo, *et al* 1977:96). The early encounters with the Bible and Christianity, to which I turn in the next section, took place in this context of despair, fear and suspicion as a result of the slave trade.

3.6.4 Early Encounters with the Bible and Christianity

It was in this context of slavery, foreign oppression and exploitation, that the first CMS missionaries to East Africa, Johann Ludwig Krapf (1810-1881), his wife Rosine Dietrich (d. 1844) from Switzerland, and Johannes Rebmann (1820-1876) brought the Bible into East Africa. It was in this same context in which the early encounter with the bible began among the Shambala people

of Usambara Mountains, the Chagga of Kilimanjaro, as well as among the Gogo and the Kaguru of Central Tanzania

Krapf and Rebmann originally came from Germany at a time when religious scruples exempted one from military service. They trained at Basel Mission Seminary in Switzerland, which was an Evangelical Protestant and non-denominational, built in 1816 to train Evangelical Dutch and British missionaries. The Basel Mission partnered with CMS, which was started in London by a group of Evangelicals within the Anglican Church on 12th April 1799. CMS had more places for work than they could instantly staff from within Britain. For fifty years, from its inception, CMS recruited missionaries from the like-minded pietistic mission seminary of Basel (Stock 1899:56). For this reason, most of the pioneer CMS missionaries were German Lutherans. So, Krapf and Rebmann were recruited by CMS from Germany and sent out to East Africa. Krapf arrived in Zanzibar on January 7, 1844. He met Seyyid Said, the Sultan of Zanzibar to discuss his mission of preaching the gospel to the local people (CMS 1845:49-51). The Sultan of Oman and Zanzibar granted Krapf permission, and wrote a letter with these words:

This comes from Seyyid Said; greetings to all our subjects, friends and governors.
This letter is written on behalf of Dr. Krapf, a good man who desires to convert the world to God (Sahlberg 1997:53).

For four months, from 7th January to 11th May, 1844, Krapf stayed on the Island of Zanzibar, preaching the gospel to Africans, Europeans and Indians (CMS 1845:49-51). These Europeans and Indians, together with Arabs, were traders, exporting ivory, rubber, hides, cloves, aloe, cashew, and slaves to Asia, Europe and America. Also, they were importing into Zanzibar beads, necklaces, firearms, bullets, clothes, telescopes, looking mirrors, combs, etc. The arrival of Krapf introduced another foreign object among the natives: the bible. Krapf brought the bible and started translating it into Swahili for indigenous people. From Zanzibar, Krapf went to Pemba, Tanga, and then he proceeded to Rabai (near Mombasa) where he established a mission base. In 1846, a German fellow missionary, Johannes Rebmann joined Krapf at Rabai (CMS 1845:50). Rebmann wanted to see Christianity spreading. From April 27 to June 11, 1848, he visited the people around the Kilimanjaro areas. In April 1849, Rebmann proceeded further, and reached Machame areas, to the

southwestern part of Mt. Kilimanjaro, where, after several days, he met chief Mamkinga and began their protracted conversations on the bible and Christianity (Mojola 1999:81).

Rebmann reached the court of the Chagga, Mamkinga, on May 13, 1849. He reported that the country was surrounded by a trench, fortified and guarded by *Wasoro*, native soldiers, so he had to wait until the chief was informed of his arrival (CMS 1850:ixxxxix). After one hour he was taken to the chief for a short introduction. On the next day, May 14, one of the chief's servants brought him *mawari*, which is a beverage prepared of bananas (CMS 1850:ixxxxix), and then he was asked to explain the purpose of his journey. Rebmann declared that he had come to tell them about the will of God. He emphasized his point by alluding to the bible stories about creation, the fall, and how Christ came into the world to save sinners. The work of these early missionaries, Krapf and Rebmann, preceded European occupation and indigenous resistance, as I extrapolate in the subsequent section of this discussion.

3.6.5 European Occupation and Indigenous Resistance

Explorers and travelers from European countries preceded the occupation of Tanzania, mainly for the purpose of scientific and geographical exploration to provide information for their governments, corporate businesses and missionary societies. Early travelers and missionaries such as Krapf provided news about great inland seas, snow-caped mountains in East Africa, which further motivated such explorers as David Livingstone to make trans-Africa expedition from 1853 to 1856 (Anderson 1981:5). During his famous speech at Cambridge University in 1857, David Livingstone made the following statement:

I beg to direct your attention to Africa. I know that in a few years I shall be cut off in that country, which is now open; do not let it be shut again. I go back to Africa to make an open path for commerce and Christianity; do you carry out the work which I have begun. I leave it with you (Odhiambo, *et al*, 1977:102.)

Livingstone's speech combined commercial and religious interests and thus stirred both the British government and the Church. As a result of Livingstone's speech, The Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) was formed, and the first missionaries were sent out in 1861 and reached

Zanzibar in 1864 (Mojola 1999:64-65). Also, in 1856 the Royal Geographical Society of Britain sent two army officers, Sr. Richard Burton and John Hanning Speke, on an expedition from Zanzibar to the Lake Tanganyika through central Tanzania. After his stint with Chief Magomba of central Tanganyika, Burton commented that the people were welcoming and hospitable. Speke proceeded to Lake Nyanza and named it after Queen Victoria. So the expeditions involved the process of naming places and even peoples; the Lake Nyanza/Ngwanza became Victoria, Cisokwe suburb in Mpwapwa town became Chamuhawi, meaning “a place of witches”, Masalakulangwa became Charles, and Manyesela became Richard (Dodoma Regional Office 2000:1).

After Burton and Speke more explorers and travellers such as Commander Cameron in 1873, Master Mariner Hore in 1882/83, entered Tanzania to campaign for foreign occupation. In 1876 CMS missionaries passed through central Tanzania on their way to Uganda and they established a mission base in Mpwapwa town and little later in Berega among the Gogo and Kaguru peoples. By 1880s, when Germans sought to secure “a place in the Sun” in East Africa, the British influence had become powerful (Westgate 1987:29). In 1884, Germany discreetly dispatched Carl Peters, along with two other representatives, to Tanganyika to negotiate treaties with local chiefs and raise German flags in their territories. The first treaty was signed with the chief of Uzigua on November 19, 1884, where the German flag was raised. Additional treaties were secured with chiefs from Ukaguru, Usagara, Ukami, and other regions, placing approximately 60,000 square miles under German control. Peters then returned to Germany for the Berlin Conference, and on 12th February, 1885, he handed over his treaty rights to the German East Africa Company, which he had established (Westgate 1987:29ff).

While some chiefs accepted the German colonial expansion, others fiercely resisted the German occupation through armed conflict; this became the precursor of the Ujamaa movement and its subsequent liberation process, as I explore in the following sections.

3.6.5.1 The Germans Scramble for Tanganyika

On 27th February, 1885, Tanzania was placed under the ‘protection’ of the German Emperor, and British representatives were instructed to support Germany. The Sultan of Zanzibar's rule was then

limited to a coastal strip. However, when the German East Africa Company assumed control of mainland Tanzania (then Tanganyika) on 16th August, 1888, the Sultan's authority was further restricted to the island of Zanzibar. In 1889, Arab forces led by Bushiri rebelled against European influence, targeting missionaries and other foreigners. The unrest extended to Gogo land, where the first church in Mpwapwa was burned, and missionaries narrowly escaped death (Westgate 1987:30).

After the Arab rebellion, the Germans faced strong resistance from various ethnic people that had developed centralized military power. Machemba, the leader of the Makonde people, successfully defeated several German forces before being captured in 1899. In Tabora, Chief Isike fought against the German troops attempting to seize the city, and when they tried to capture him, Isike chose to die by blowing himself up with his powder magazine. In 1891, Mkwawa, chief of the Wahehe people in Iringa, led his warriors in ambushing and killing 290 German soldiers. Mkwawa managed to resist German control for three years until his capital, Kalenga, was stormed on 30th October, 1894. After escaping, he fought a guerrilla war for another four years. In June 1898, seeing a German patrol closing in on his hideout, Mkwawa took his own life. The defeat of Mkwawa, one of Tanganyika's strongest leaders, allowed the Germans to extend their control over the country. However, this did not mark the end of resistance, as the *Maji Maji* Rebellion would follow later (Odhiambo *et al.* 1977:137), as discussed in the section below.

3.6.5.2 Maji-Maji War

The purpose of the Germans to occupy Tanzania was “to find raw materials and create markets for German trade and German industry” (Odhiambo *et al.* 1977:30). To achieve this goal, they established sisal, cotton and coffee plantations in such areas as Kilimanjaro, Meru, Usambara and Matumbi in Tanzania. The Germans forcefully obtained labourers from all over Tanzania to work in the plantations “for five cents a day under harsh discipline and to the detriment of their fields” in their home villages (Odhiambo *et al.* 1977:168). The people hated this forced labour and cruelty of the Germans and hence in 1904, a *mganga*, meaning a traditional healer, named Kinjeketile Ngwale from Ngalambe village, to the south of the Rufiji River, declared Maji-Maji war against the Germans. In late 1904, Kinjeketile declared that he had found some herbs that he mixed with

water for protection against bullets; he built a shrine to the deity Bokelo and summoned fighters to drink and sprinkle the water, in Swahili *maji*, hence *maji-maji* war.

During the night of 31st July 1905, people working at the Matumbi plantations launched the Maji Maji war by spearing all German officials, missionaries, planters and traders (Illiffe 1972:10). Thereafter, other Matumbi people as well as the Kichi, Mbunga, Ngindo, and other ethnic people in the country joined the war; as fighters went around various places singing *maji maji!* Homa Homa! The Germans! In the Matumbi, as well as Cigogo and Kaguru languages, *homa* means ‘stab’; so, the song meant, ‘water, water, stab, stab, the Germans’. Several weeks later, burning villages could be seen a few miles south of Dar es Salaam, which was the capital of the colony, followed by a report that five missionaries had been speared in the Ngindo area. In his report to Berlin which aimed to seek support from Germany to suppress the war, the governor stated, “Fear [was] bordering panic” (Illiffe 1979:170). With military support from Berlin, German soldiers went around all the villages and towns where the war had spread, fired bullets when entering the places, searched the fighters and ruthlessly killed them, and burned the farms in the villages, leaving about 250,000 people dead and many wounded.

Although Kinjeketile was captured by German troops and executed for treason on 4th August 1905, the herbal water instilled confidence in the people who were fighting and the *Maji Maji* war continued until January 1907, when the Ngoni fighters, led by Abdallah Mapande, were eventually suppressed. After the war came severe famine when people ate insects and wild berries; and more people died of the famine than the war, especially in the regions of the Ngindo where the people were almost wiped out, forests began to take over the villages and wild animals moving into the new forests. As Pakenham writes, “In due course the hills of Ungindo [the Ngindo area], once teeming with people, became the largest game park in the world” (1991:622).

The Maji Maji reshaped the social-history terrain of Tanzania culturally, religiously and politically. It marked the end of the indigenous physical resistance as well as increased German occupation of the country; but it created dissatisfaction with their indigenous religion and some spiritual void that enkindled a desire for the power and ability of that new religion of the conqueror, through obtaining the knowledge of the Book, the bible. The widespread acceptance of the Bible,

and a great desire to read it, that began after the *Maji Maji* war was a new strategy for survival, socially, culturally and politically. After the *Maji Maji* war, there was general feeling that though indigenous religion provided means to counter evil and its function, it was becoming inadequate to explain the larger colonial world, which further provided motives for religious innovation (Ilfie 1979:203). So there emerged an increased desire to embrace Christianity, read the bible and acquire western education through mission schools. Mission societies such as CMS, UMCA, LMS, Berlin Mission, and Africa Inland Mission built networks of schools and catechists, converting the indigenous and encouraging them to abandon their old beliefs (Ilfie 1979:217).

The *Maji Maji* war, and previous multi-tribal uprisings, had inculcated a nationalist spirit, an Ujamaa spirit that extended beyond one ethnic group (Ilfie 1979:204). For the first time during the *Maji Maji* war almost all ethnic groups came together and fought as one family, one people; the seed of community unity and togetherness across ethnic groups was planted. The spirit of tribalism was diminished, and most ethnic groups desired to cooperate to seek new ways of life, new ways of survival, which would later lead to their liberation movement, victory, independence and self-identity. So, the *Maji Maji* war, inspired by indigenous religious beliefs, became a unifying social factor, and Christianity and the reading of the bible as means for socio-political success; and when the British occupation began, which I present in the next section, the people succumbed to the new colonial power without any military resistance.

3.6.5.3 British Colonization

On 30th July 1914, only seven years after the *Maji Maji* war, when the news of the European crisis reached East Africa, German began to organize themselves to protect their Tanganyika territory. For Britain, East Africa ports were outposts of their Indian empire, and they wanted to prevent the ports from being used as bases for German forces in the Indian Ocean; so, Britain installed a wireless station near Dar es Salaam. The German Defense Force Commander of Tanganyika, Colonel Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck, declared the installation of the wireless station as an “act of treason”, concentrated his forces around Kilimanjaro from which he attacked British territory of Kenya and seized Taveta on 15th August 1914. The British fought back and seized the East African lakes, and on 16th October 1914 the British ordered “to bring the whole of German East Africa

under the British authority” (Iliffe 1979:242). Hence, the military campaigns between the British and Germans continued in Tanga, Kilimanjaro, Tabora, Dodoma, Mahenge, Kilwa, Matumbi, Rufiji, Kilombero, Mgeta, Iringa, Njombe and Ruvuma until 25th November 1917 when the British forces pushed the German forces southwards into Mozambique (Iliffe 1979:247).

In July 1918, British forces crossed into Mozambique to pursue Lettow-Vorbeck and his forces and defend the Mozambique coastline; Lettow-Vorbeck and his German forces surrendered on 25th November 1918. In January 1919, there was a Peace Conference through which Tanganyika became a mandated territory of the British; and on 1 February 1920 it was officially named “The Tanganyika Protectorate” under the British Empire. On 20 July 1922, the British Mandate gave Britain “full powers of legislation and administration” to promote “the material and moral well-being and the social progress of [the] inhabitants”; to ban slavery, which ended in 1909, forced labour, arms and liquor trades and abuse of indigenous land rights (Iliffe 1979:247).

So, the First World War and the British colonization of Tanganyika culminated colonial occupation and marked the beginning of political consciousness and liberation movement. People suffered greatly during the war; control over the people was tightened and demands upon them were increased. However, the increased controls and demands during the wars created opportunities; the transition from German to British colonial control provided the indigenous the opportunity to reshape the colonial relationship as the indigenous soldiers who fought in the war acquired new organization skills. Abandoned mission stations and schools created opportunities for African Christians, Muslims, and indigenous religious adherents. The war caused great suffering, famine and diseases, but yet an opportunity that stimulated political consciousness and social organization amongst the colonized, which became seeds for later social movements and liberation struggles such as the Ujamaa movement, to which we now turn.

3.7 The Liberation Movement

In pre-colonial Tanzania, an individual belonged not so much to an ethnic group, but rather to a *ujamaa* and/or Ujamaa, which meant an extended family, lineage, clan, and/or community at large. Successful warfare stimulated such tribal identities as the Hehe, Nyamwezi, Kaguru and others.

Yet tribal identities remained rather amorphous until colonial periods, which culminated with the British colonization with their indirect rule. With colonization, each people began to emphasize tribal identity alongside religious identities such as Muslims or Christians, Catholics or Protestants, workers or peasants. In each region, people were devoted to consolidating tribal identities as a result of socio-cultural upheavals and government policy of indirect rule, which was the integration of indigenous political systems of chiefdoms into the colonial government so that there was a single government (Iliffe 1979:318). In indirect rule, a native administration comprised a native legislature, treasury and authorities.

The British were convinced that the Germans had attempted to destroy existing indigenous social systems; and so, the British wanted to revive local socio-political organizations through indirect rule. They assumed that every African belonged to an ethnic group, just as every European belonged to a nation (Iliffe 1979:319-20, 323). On the other hand, other British district officers emphasized that “the mind of the native” needed inculcation of “a certain amount of ‘mind cleansing’” to minimize political disruption (Iliffe 1979:376). By 1925, indirect rule was already well entrenched in Tanzania and further fostered tribal divisions. Even among educated Tanganyikans, associations were created based on ethnic groups, Hehe, Gogo, Nyakyusa, and others (Iliffe 1979:320). However, in the spirit of Ujamaa, some African chiefs and their educated people began to develop socio-political consciousness and to see the need for *umoja wa watu wa Afrika*, “the unity of the African people”, across the ethnic groups.

In 1929, educated Africans, civil servants, business people, and urban workers, formed the African Association in Dar es Salaam and later began developing branches throughout the country, bringing together people from different regions, towns and villages as well as from social groups, clans, ethnic groups, classes, races, men and women. The colonial crisis, nineteenth century socio-cultural and economic upheavals, as well as the character of pre-colonial societies gave birth to diverse ideas that were woven into a unitary nationalist movement (Iliffe 1979:405) to guard the interests of Africans regardless of ethnic group, religion or regional origin (Iliffe 1979:406). The Association’s first president was Cecil Matola, a senior teacher at the government school in Dar es Salaam; Kleist Sykes, the Association’s secretary and Effendi Plantan, its treasurer. Other early members included Mdachi Sharifu, a teacher, Akida Mambo, Ibrahim Hamisi, Mzee Sudi, Ali

Saidi, Zibe Kidasi and Ramadhani Ali, all of them were educated in government and Christian mission schools during the German and British colonial times.

After the first world war, Britain was committed “to guide colonial peoples along the road to self-government within the framework of the British Empire” (Goldworthy 1971:12), but the second world war created a “second colonial occupation” in Tanganyika, embodied in development schemes as Britain needed more resources after post-war diminished colonial economy and massive debts (Iliffe 1979:436). There was increased imperial control over the people to expand cash-crops and other agricultural schemes, educational progress, constitutional changes as well as local government reforms (Iliffe 1979:436). The war and the economic depression thereafter created an atmosphere of widening social, economic, educational and political interests and aspirations which resulted into the complex of local associations and the complex of nationalism. It is worth noting that after the second world war, the mandate came from the United Nations. Yet in the midst of increased colonial controls, internalization of colonial values among Africans was taking place, while at another level there was changing relationships between Africans and the colonial administration. There was setback in the African Association during the second world war, but after the war it began to regain its political momentum.

As political consciousness increased, the British colonial government had to gradually reform its two key colonial institutions: The Executive Council, which was cabinet of officials in Tanganyika established in 1920; and the Legislative Council established in 1926. In 1939, three settler Europeans and one Asian were nominated into the Executive Council; and the first African was nominated in 1951. From 1948, Executive Councilors headed particular colonial government departments. Chief Abdiel Changali of Machame and Chief Kidaha Makwaiya of Busiha were the first two Africans to be nominated to legislative Council (Iliffe 1979:475). In June 1947 and April 1948 two more Africans, first Chief Adam Sapi Mkwawa of Uhehe-Iringa, and then a Muslim teacher Mwl. Juma Mwindadi of Dar es Salaam were added to the Legislative Council, which made an unofficial representation of four Africans, three Asians and seven Europeans, with fifteen Europeans officials.

In February 1946, a European Union of Tanganyika was formed, and had great support from the colonial government, it expanded into other provinces and enlarged into Tanganyika European Council in 1949. In June 1949, a Tanganyika Electoral Association was formed by Africans to advocate elections to the Legislative Council, but it attracted more suspicion from the colonial rule than support (Ilfiffe 1979:476). Tribal and race division were becoming more evident in late 1940s and early 1950s. Nyerere and other educated young Africans representing Tanganyika African Association (TAA) drafted a memorandum, which they persuaded TAA headquarters to adopt, to reject “any policy designated to develop this [Tanganyika] territory constitutionally on racial lines” and insisted that elected Africans should be the majority in all local governments and the Legislative Council (Ilfiffe 1979:480). The British governor of Tanganyika accepted the proposal to build a community in which meritocracy is the criterion, but not colour or ethnic group. Since the focus was on political and economic liberation, issues of gender and human sexuality were not part of the agenda in these years.

Although the Association promoted equality, in the initial years of the Association women were excluded, until in 1954 after the Transformation of TAA into TANU, when boundaries were expanded to include women. Bibi Titi Mohamed, Mwaliyat Mohamed, Fatma Abdulhabib Ferej and Sophia Kawawa were among first women to establish the women’s wing of the Association. The African Association’s significant advance in political consciousness was marked by Julius Nyerere’s entry into territorial politics from Tabora region at the Association’s conference in Dar es Salaam in 1946 (Ilfiffe 1979:431-32).

Nyerere, son of a Zanaki Chief near Lake Victoria, was educated in a Catholic mission school in Tabora and went to Makerere university in Uganda where he graduated in 1945 and began his teaching career at St. Mary’s secondary school in Dar es Salaam in the same year. Nyerere’s first contribution to the Association was a memorandum in which he proposed the Association conference to urge that Tanganyika must be placed “under trusteeship” with Britain undertaking to develop it quickly “until the Africans reach the point where they can manage their own affairs”; the conference also added that “the Trustee power should grant them their independence without unnecessary delay” (Ilfiffe 1979:432)

Then came the Association's Zanzibar conference in 1947, which was attended by, among others, Benjamin Boyd and George Masud, chairman and secretary; others were Maalim Kihere, Shaban Robert, Juma Nyagarika, Hassan Suleiman and Joseph Kimalando. Early in 1948, the Zanzibar branch broke away; however, by 1947, although the Association lacked the determination, the techniques and the popularity support, but it possessed all the elements of a nationalist spirit of Ujamaa (Iliffe 1979:434). In August 1948, The African Association was named the TAA. To encourage the people, Seleman Mahugi wrote to all citizens:

TAA is to bring unity, to speak out about our problems, to seek our rights. TAA is not for two days only or for two years. Those who come after us, being more knowledgeable, will build TAA better than we. Do not be discouraged even if the road is long and difficult. Let us begin now to fashion a path for our children (Iliffe 1979:435).

During 1954 and 1955, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) was created out of TAA, to usurp central control of Tanganyika and create an independent nation. TANU's formation was a short-term response to colonial government, and people's move towards socio-economic change and popular action. In the process of the liberation movement, it was becoming evident that no colonial power creates a nation but only subjects who through political consciousness reclaim their freedom and create their own nation, bringing into the process their whole historical memories and experiences. So, aggregations of ethnic groups and nationalism was a response to imposed colonial administration, which led to nation creation. As Nyerere reflected later, prior colonization there was no such unified 'nation' as Tanzania; instead, various laws governed the different ethnic groups of Tanganyika, leading to frequent conflicts among them. It was the colonial powers that enforced a common legal framework, maintained through force. This legal unity remained until the rise of the spirit of Ujamaa in the liberation movement, which infused emotional cohesion into the previously imposed legal structure (Nyerere 1966:271), as demonstrated in the next section.

3.7.1 Ujamaa Spirit in the Liberation Movement

Since the Western colonial powers began to “scramble for Africa”, especially after the Berlin conference in 1885, there have been different kinds of resistance against foreign domination in Tanzania, such as *Maji Maji* resistance in 1905-1907, and the 1950 Meru Land Case in which peasants fought against their resettlement and the change of their land into large-scale plantations for settlers. The Meru peasants’ resistance, like the *Maji Maji*, failed and the land was taken; however, their struggle in the spirit of Ujamaa, as a community of peasants, contributed to the process of liberation in the 1950s (Frostin 1988:32). Similarly, the formation of TAA and its transition into TANU in July 1954 under Julius Nyerere was part of the process of liberation fused with pre-colonial socio-cultural concepts of Ujamaa (Yeager 1982:10). All the struggles and resistance movements against colonial occupation were part of the liberation process in the spirit of Ujamaa, which led to the eventual freedom of the people of Tanganyika. Nyerere and early leaders of the liberation movement went through harassments and suffering until in 1961, Tanganyika (later Tanzania) obtained its *uhuru*, independence, from the British colonial regime (Frostin 1988:33).

As explored earlier on this chapter, the German military action during the *Maji Maji* war included a scorched earth campaign in which thousands of houses and farms were burned, and over 75 thousand people died from military attacks, disease and hunger in two years of the German military violence (Yeager 1982:10). In his book, *Freedom and Unity*, Nyerere writes about the *Maji Maji* war as a symbol for the people’s struggle for freedom from foreign domination; similarly, he refers to the armed conflict between the Hehe and the Germans, which occurred in 1891-1898, as part of the struggle against colonial oppression that was never to be forgotten. Hence, Nyerere writes, “Memories of the Hehe and Maji Maji wars against the German colonialists, and of their bloody suppression, were deeply ingrained in the minds of our people” (1966:2).

The leader of the *Maji Maji* war, Kinjeketile Ngwale, who was a *mganga*, a traditional healer, taught that “all Africans were one” and that all who partook of the *maji*, water, the war medicine, would be immune to European bullets. He also taught the freedom fighters that the war was commanded by God, and that the ancestors would assist the fighters (Westerlund 1980:34-35; Illife

1979:168-202). Drawing from these initial struggles of the Ujamaa movement against colonial occupation and its subsequent colonization, Nyerere vehemently articulates:

We have been oppressed a great deal, we have been exploited a great deal and we have been disregarded a great deal. It is our weakness that has led to our being oppressed, exploited and disregarded. Now we want a revolution – a revolution which brings to an end our weakness, so that we are never again exploited, oppressed or humiliated (Nyerere 1968:235)

In analyzing the process of liberation since 1950s, Nyerere wrote that he himself and the people were never mistaken to demand their freedom, but the mistake was the assumption that “real freedom – would necessarily and with little trouble follow liberation from alien rule” (Nyerere 1981:246-247). So, for Nyerere liberation is a complex process that should be understood as a long process, which involves four aspects of liberation: first, freedom from colonialists and racism; second, freedom from external economic domination; third, freedom from poverty, injustice and oppression imposed on Africans by their fellow Africans; and fourth, mental freedom from colonial mentality. Hence, Frostin correctly argues that Nyerere’s philosophy of Ujamaa is part of the same process as the struggle against colonialism (1988:34), as I discuss in the subsequent section below.

3.7.2 Mwl. Julius K. Nyerere’s Ujamaa Philosophy

In 1962 Julius Nyerere began to introduce the term Ujamaa as a label of Tanzania political philosophy and his theological concept. This was only one year after *uhuru*, independence, and yet there was a need for Ujamaa. Frostin argues that to understand the rationale for Ujamaa and thereby the context of Tanzania theology, it is important to understand the interrelation of politics, economy and culture (1988:200). After political independence, economic and cultural liberation were still needed. Consequently, according to Nyerere, the initial step after political independence must be to re-educate ourselves and reclaim our previous mindset. In traditional African society, all people indiscriminately were individuals within a community, where mutual care was a priority.

Individuals looked after the community, and the community looked after individuals. Exploiting one another in any way was neither necessary nor desired (1966:166).

Nyerere uses Ujamaa to critique “the capitalist attitude of mind” and the capitalist methods of economy “which colonialism brought into Africa”. He rejects all those who would like to use, exploit, community members for the purpose of building up their own personal power and prestige (1966:166). According to Nyerere, Ujamaa is an alternative to capitalism and individualism as the whole society is considered as a family based on community ethic; thus, Ujamaa refers to the way of life shared by family members, father, mother, children, and close relatives, where wealth was collectively owned by the family, and each member had the right to use family resources. Wealth was never used to exert power over others. This is the model the people of Tanzania were called upon to aspire to as a nation, where the entire country functions as one family. This was the essence of Ujamaa socialism in Tanzania (1966:137).

An analysis of Nyerere’s Ujamaa documents reveals that Ujamaa is not only about political and economic dimensions, but also about other intersecting realities of life, including religious aspects. In Nyerere’s Ujamaa, there are essential concepts used to define Ujamaa that have religious connotations and theological significations (Nyerere 1968:231-250). In the Arusha Declaration, the concept of *imani*, which can be translated as belief, creed, attitude of mind and way of life, has a central significance. Similarly, the same word, *Imani*, means 'faith' and also creed in religious texts, the Swahili bible, the Quran, prayer books and hymn books. Ujamaa is *tabia*, meaning character; *moyo* meaning soul, heart and will. Also, Ujamaa is *mawazo*, meaning thoughts, reflections, also meditation, a deep inward searching of oneself (OUP 1939:528). Hence, Ujamaa is about one’s heart, faith, character, attitude of mind and mediation. Most of these dimensions, according to Frostin, are characteristics of western socialism, but they are more stressed in the Ujamaa concept of Nyerere (1988:31). Also, Frostin argues that in Western thought “the opposite of socialism is capitalism”; but by contrast it could be argued that the opposite of Ujamaa is *ubinafsi*, meaning both “selfishness and individualism” (1988:31). Then in Ujamaa *ubinafsi* is interrelated to *ubepari*, which in English is capitalism (TUKI 1981:291).

Frostin argues that First World students have criticized the concept of Ujamaa because of the failure to perceive that categories used in Tanzania are different from those of the First World; they categorize “socialism” as “a political ideology such as liberalism, conservatism or anarchism”. But when Ujamaa is defined as *imani*, *moyo*, *mawazo* and *tabia* a different framework is used which has certain affinity with theology, especially a holistic theology of liberation (Soka 1977:29). When Ujamaa is translated as ‘socialism’, that translation does not convey the full meaning of the Swahili concept of Ujamaa, especially its theological significations. Apart from being an economic and political theory, Ujamaa as a cultural aspect and community ethic is of primary importance if one is to determine the correlation between Ujamaa and theology in the context of Tanzania, because “cultural tradition” has been significant in African theology (Shorter 1975:5; Mosala 1986:91,98).

Since the aspect of cultural identity has been centrally significant in Ujamaa, it is vital to ask what is culture? It is a total pattern of life of a people, it is their all behaviour that is both learned and transmitted, which includes symbols, rites, artifacts, languages, verbal and non-verbal ways of communication, relationships, social norms, etc.; it is people’s worldview (Dyrness 1997:212). It is a design for living, which involves all behaviour, practices, values, beliefs and material objects that creates a people’s way of life; culture reconnects people to their past and guides them to the future. Culture entails both intangible world of ideas and tangible things that involves cultural practices by which members of a society act and think in their countless encounters of daily life in public and private spaces (Macionis and Plummer 2008:128). In this sense of culture, the EATWOT conference in New Delhi rightly defined it as,

the foundation of the creativity and way of life of a people. It is the basis and bond of their collective identity. It expresses their worldview, their existence and destiny, and their idea of God. It includes the historical manifestations of the people’s creativity, such as their language, arts, social organization, philosophy, religion, and theology itself (EATWOT V 1981:201; Frostin 1988:32).

Also, Mvengi, in his article, “A Cultural Perspective”, emphasizes that culture is fundamentally a framework for understanding humanity, the world, and God. It shapes the concepts and language

through which faith is expressed (1985:73). Culture is an imperative dimension of any struggle for liberation. Similarly, I concur with Frostin when he argues that Ujamaa represents an effort to reclaim cultural identity in the neo-colonial era by reviving values from pre-colonial traditions and culture, as these are perceived as a powerful tool of resistance against neo-colonial ideologies (1988:32). In the concept of Ujamaa, the image of the whole society of over 120 ethnic groups as one family is introduced as a critique of capitalism and individualism. Also, the society as a family denotes solidarity as a basis for genuine liberation from neo-colonialism and foreign dominance. Thus, I argue in the next section that Nyerere's Ujamaa philosophy is part of African socialism but characterized by values of community and solidarity from African traditions.

3.7.3 Ujamaa Philosophy and African Socialism

In his 1962 essay "Ujamaa – The Basis of African Socialism", which was published the year after national independence, *uhuru*, Nyerere understands Ujamaa as part of African socialism, characterized by African traditional values of community and solidarity. Nyerere argues that in our African traditional society all of us were individuals within a caring community in which individuals cared for the community and the community care for each and every individual equally (1966:166). Ujamaa denotes a kind of family life with parents, children and relatives, and Nyerere appeals to the whole nation to live as one family; familyhood must be the basis of Ujamaa philosophy in post-colonial Tanzania. Hence, Nyerere launches Ujamaa philosophy to call upon the people to struggle against dependence after 75 years of colonial rule in Tanganyika (Nyerere 1968a:137; 1966:162-171).

Nyerere's Ujamaa is understood as a philosophy from the perspective of "a system of motivating beliefs, concepts and principles" in intersecting spheres of life, politically, economically, socially and culturally (Frostin 1988:209). As Frostin rightly argues, Nyerere's rationale for Ujamaa derives from his understanding of the significance of the intersectionality of politics, economics, society, religion and culture (1988:30). This intersectionality is significant in order to understand the reasoning of Ujamaa as a political philosophy and/or ideology but also as a theological context and concept in Tanzania. The intersectionality of socio-politics, socio-economics, religion and

culture have been, still are, equally significant in context of Ujamaa theology of liberation in Tanzania.

Although, others have criticized African socialism “as the ideological legitimation of a new African elite” (Frostin 1988:34), African socialism is relevant in understanding African theology of liberation and Ujamaa in particular, which itself is an ethic of liberation. As Motshologane arguably proposes, there is an understanding of African socialism as a people’s determined effort to search for both a political and an economic ethic, which most likely could enable the people to regain human dignity, autonomy, “and freedom of choice in their basic struggle to emancipate themselves from dehumanizing effects of colonialism and imperialism” (1979:223).

In the theory of *négritude*, Léopold Sédar Senghor’s interpretation of African socialism is essential as a foil in the discussion of Ujamaa (Hastings 1979:11). As Frostin rightly argues that unlike Senghor (1970), the struggle for neo-colonialism is decisive for Nyerere (1988:34-36). Besides, Nyerere’s construction of political and economic institutions, that correspond to a socialistic attitude of mind, is creatively and concretely socially oriented. According to Nyerere, in today’s world, there are two fundamental systems of economic and social organization: capitalism and socialism. While variations exist within these categories, such as welfare capitalism or humanistic socialism, the core differences between the two remain. Thus, Nyerere challenged the people of Tanzania that after independence the first decision must be to choose between capitalism and socialism, and in this case, they were prompted to choose socialism but in the communalistic pattern based on the African extended familyhood as model (Nyerere 1974:381).

Nyerere’s Ujamaa is the renaissance of the values of the African traditional Ujamaa socialism, unlike socialism as the opposite of capitalism. However, the pre-colonial values of Ujamaa were not just transferred into Ujamaa philosophy; Nyerere was critical of primitive communalism, envisioning a classless Ujamaa nation; Nyerere argued that in the present Ujamaa there was no attempt to revive pre-colonial economy nor communalism (1974:381; Frostin 1988:36).

Issa Shivji, in “The Silent Class Struggle”, argues that in the current context of Tanzania the classes, and/or binaries, are there but suppressed, “silent” (1973:3). Although Shivji, like many

other critics of Ujamaa, tends to focus on the struggle for liberation primarily at the socioeconomic level, overlooking the issue of cultural identity, it is undeniable that a process of class formation has taken place, which the philosophy of Ujamaa in Tanzania has not fully addressed (Shivji 1973:3; Mbuende 1986:166; Freyhold 1979:55). Other studies have argued for the failure of Ujamaa philosophy in Ujamaa villages as an socioeconomic experiment for the poor masses, though they have not provided enough account of the political dynamics of the context of Ujamaa in Tanzania (Freyhold 1979:117; Boesen 1986); but for the purpose of this thesis, I have limited my discussion of Ujamaa theology, focusing especially on the struggle for liberation from colonialism and neo-colonialism for which Ujamaa analysis provided a distinctive answers. Consequently, in the following section, I provide Ujamaa analysis of neo-colonialism as a critique of post-colonial economic dynamics between the First and the Third world.

3.7.4 Ujamaa's Analysis of Neo-Colonialism

Regarding the poverty of the Third World countries including Tanzania was perceived by many as a result of internal causes like bureaucracy, cultural values that do not stimulate change, and the lack of economic incentive, but in Ujamaa's analysis of neo-colonialism the global economic system is the main cause of poverty in Africa and Tanzania in particular (Frostin 1988:38). Also, drawing on Frostin (1988), the development of an African critique of neo-colonialism began in 1950 with Kwame Nkrumah from Ghana, then Gold Coast. Nkrumah pioneered the struggle for national independence in Africa, and Ghana was the first to attain independence, but its euphoria was shattered by harsh economic realities as a result of post-colonial economic dynamics between the First and the Third world. Nkrumah championed Pan-Africanism and African solidarity to unite Africa as a key to struggle against neo-colonialism (Nkrumah 1963:179).

In Nyerere's writings, we also observe a connection between his Tanzania political experience and a critique of neo-colonialism. His increasing criticism of the First World's refusal to embrace justice as a fundamental principle in economic decision-making is coupled with a careful acceptance of conflict-based analysis (Nyerere 1982:6; Frostin 1988:39). The Third World should not allow itself to be divided from one another, otherwise they will be weakened and the injustices will continue unrestrained. Because of the First World unwillingness to accept the new world

order, Nyerere characterizes neo-colonialism as a real limitation on national sovereignty, because the state which is subject to neo-colonialism is in theory independent but in reality, its economic system is remotely directed from outside the independent state. Hence he advocates for economic cooperation of the poor countries (Nyerere 1982:6; 1981:257; Nkrumah 1965:ix). It is beyond the limitation of this thesis to deal with neo-colonialism theory in depth, but theologically it is significant to recognize the structural analysis of socio-political economics and poverty in the Ujamaa mode of analysis.

From a theological perspective, it is evident that since its inception Ujamaa has engaged with issues of neo-colonialism and economics, but these issues intersect with other socio-economic issues in society in the current context of human sexuality in Tanzania, as I will explore in later chapters in this thesis. In the current argument, Ujamaa social analysis is significant as it was employed in Ujamaa theology as we will see later in this thesis.

Since Ujamaa analysis utilized some aspects of Marxism, in the following section, I am going to explore the relationship between Ujamaa and Marxism and how Ujamaa made use of Marxist methodology, which also became relevant, at least in its influence, in Ujamaa theology of liberation in Tanzania.

3.8 Ujamaa Philosophy and its Interpretation of Marxism

In the context of Ujamaa theology of liberation in Tanzania, it is significant to understand how Nyerere, in Ujamaa philosophy, interprets Marxism. Nyerere argues that we can learn from Marx and Lenin's analytical method, especially in "the objective conditions of their time" and the praxis-orientation of their theories (1968a:15). However, Nyerere sees the difference between the conditions in which Marx and Lenin lived and those in Tanzania, and thus the "scientific socialism" of "Marxism-Leninism" analysis should not be imposed mechanically on the context of Tanzania as (Nyerere 1968a:12-14; Frostin 1988:42).

Nyerere is opposed to the notion of a "theology of socialism" which absolutizes Marxist categories, and advocates for a "secularism" of socialism. The argument that socialism is secular was a critique of communism, which according to Nyerere, was making a religion out of politics. Secularization

of socialism became central aspect in later dynamics of the Church-state relations in Tanzania, in which Nyerere further argued that the state has no religion, but individuals, including himself, have their own religions, they are people of faith, they are believers (Nyerere 1977:24-25).

According to Nyerere, secularization of socialism was important because Marxism-Leninism was becoming like a new religion, with a kind of faith in some infallible “gods”; he further argued that communists have made their policies a creed, and this is dogma; where there is dogmatism, there is no freedom of opinion because dogmatism and freedom of discussion cannot easily go together (1968a:14-25). Thus, this is not the kind of socialism Nyerere wanted to adopt as it is a theology of socialism; he embarked on the process to develop Ujamaa socialism based on the “*Imani* of human equality” (Frostin 1988:42). In Ujamaa, every individual has the right and equal opportunity to offer their insights as a contribution to the dialogue in the process of Ujamaa. There are no individuals nor groups that have the right to impose their opinions or dogmas on others. In the process of Ujamaa, the imposition of religious authority on others was discouraged; attempts to create a religion out of socialism were considered unscientific (Nyerere 1966:201).

According to Nyerere, Marx was a great thinker but never claimed divinity. Marx provided a profound analysis of the industrial capitalist society of his time. His writings were not divine revelations but the product of rigorous intellectual effort. There are valuable insights to be gained from both Marx and Lenin, particularly their theoretical reflections on praxis and the “objective conditions of their time” (1968a:15). Hence, Nyerere argues that the socialist analysis in Tanzania must focus on Africa’s “objective conditions” of our time; we must find out all the facts in our conditions in our particular context, even if they do not fit in with our preconceived ideas. Whether we like the facts or not, we must analyze them and work out solutions to the problem based on the facts available and the objectives we want to achieve in our society. Marx did his hard thinking in Europe, we must do ours in Tanzania, “in Sukumaland, Masailand, or Ruvuma” (1968a:15-16).

In his analysis of Ujamaa, Frostin correctly argues that in the context of Tanzania, Ujamaa became a critical equivalent of Marxism, but with a specific character “from the stand-point of society” and its existence within social values (1988:43). As Nyerere rightly argued, in Tanzania one would need to consider the presence of certain socialist values as part of their analytical framework. One

would examine the impact of the colonial era on these values and social structures, while factoring in the global context as it influences Tanzania. After this analysis one would aim to develop policies suited for the growth of a modern socialist state, potentially concluding with the Arusha Declaration and principles of Ujamaa (1968a:17).

Bearing in mind Nyerere's interpretation of Marxism, understanding the relationship between Ujamaa and Marxism can be confusing if the different Marxist concepts are not distinguished. Drawing on the analysis of Marxism and Ujamaa that Civile (1976), Westerlund (1980) and Frostin (1988) offer, there are three main propositions. First, one could consider Marxism "as a body of anti-capitalist values" and thus there is no theoretical discrepancy between Ujamaa and Marxism, at least in its "secular" interpretation. This position disregards the Marxist emphasis on a dialectical perception of the social reality and its concern for class analysis (Frostin 1988:43-44).

Second, one could see that Lenin's worldview is intrinsic to Marxism, in this position Ujamaa would be regarded as non-Marxist because of Lenin's materialist worldview which was not adopted in Ujamaa analysis. In this context, early proponents of Ujamaa theology would be hesitant to identify Marxism with Marxism-Leninism, as they attempted to distance Ujamaa from communism. They objected to the notion that Ujamaa was a new type of communism in Tanzania (Civille 1976:257, 175-178; Westerlund 1980:111-113). Equally, Frostin argues against a "monolithic interpretation of Marxism" when it is assumed that all Marxists have the same opinions (1988:44).

Third, Marxism could be defined as an analysis of the temporary nature of capitalism, serving as the theoretical basis aimed at easing the "birth pangs" of a post-capitalist system of production. Central to this proposition is that capitalism is a historically specific mode of production that emerged at a particular moment in time and will eventually become obsolete due to its inherent contradictions. The core argument is that even the laws governing the capitalist economy are historically contingent, and therefore subject to change. This idea is essential for any praxis aimed at fostering a new mode of production (Frostin 1988:44).

In the foregoing, I do not intend to provide an in-depth analysis of Marxism, as this would be beyond the scope of this chapter. However, I concur that the definition of Marxism as “an analysis of the transient character of capitalism”, providing the basis for theological praxis to foster new mode of production, is justifiable because it serves to clarify the interpretations of Marxism as a methodology for social analysis and its actual functions on most Third World liberation movements such as Ujamaa and its theology of liberation (Frostin 1988:44).

Nyerere acknowledged the affinity, at least in its influence on social analysis, between Ujamaa philosophy and Marxism, that Ujamaa social analysis is informed by classical Marxism. Nevertheless, in its emphasis on culture and African values of familyhood, community-centredness, human equality, dignity and solidarity, Ujamaa analysis differs from classical Marxism. Ujamaa analysis belongs to what Frostin rightly terms as the Marxian “history of effects”, in which the capitalist economic system is only transient to be replaced by a new system (Frostin 1988:45). Hence, Ujamaa analysis employs aspects of Marxism as one of its resources to critique capitalist economy (1977:24-25).

I have engaged with Nyerere’s Ujamaa philosophy at length, but it is worthy of note that the overall discussion on Ujamaa in this chapter provides some background to the exploration of an Ujamaa theology of liberation in Chapter 5 that integrates current issues of human sexuality in Tanzania.

As is indicated in this chapter, from the 1960s and 1980s Ujamaa was a central theme of theological reflection, to which we will return more fully in Chapter 5. The prominence of Ujamaa as the political philosophy of Tanzania began to decline after the end of Julius Nyerere tenure as president of Tanzania in 1985. Still Tanzania continued to maintain Ujamaa as its central political philosophy. However, the 1990s, and subsequently the death of Nyerere in 1998, marked a new epoch in history of Tanzania, with a marked atmosphere of religious tensions, a widening gap between the rich and the poor, and a growing spirit of social intolerance, a revival of tribalism and gender and sexual based violence and oppression against people with or perceived same-sex orientations.

It is rightly argued that the heyday of Ujamaa as a central political philosophy is over; “the honeymoon of Third World radicals and Ujamaa” has long passed. But Ujamaa as a community ethic is still alive and could inform the foregoing issues of our times. A theology of Ujamaa was, and still is, never static but dynamic, creative and constructive, and has continued to inspire such social movements such as Kwanzaa in USA as well as theologies such as the form of contextual theology used by The Ujamaa Centre for Biblical and Theological Community Development and Research in South Africa (hereafter Ujamaa Centre).² Hence this thesis revisits Ujamaa liberation theology in the current context of burning issues of human sexuality in Tanzania.

3.9 Summary

This chapter has provided a comprehensive socio-historical analysis of Tanzania, tracing its history from pre-colonial times through colonial and post-colonial periods, and culminating in the Ujamaa movement. I have explored Tanzania as a home to 126 ethnic groups with diverse languages and cultures, and underscored the complex interplay of historical, cultural, and political factors that shaped Tanzania's socio-historical landscape.

I have highlighted the enduring impact of pre-colonial traditions, colonization, colonial resistance, and the Ujamaa movement in shaping the nation's identity and socio-political ethos. In early colonial encounters, Arab traders and later Portuguese explorers initiated early foreign influence, primarily through trade and the spread of Islam and Christianity.

In the late 19th century, German colonization faced significant resistance, notably the *Maji Maji* War, which united various ethnic groups against colonial oppression. British colonization post-World War I introduced indirect rule, fostering tribal divisions but also sowing seeds for nationalist

² Ujamaa Centre is located at the School of Religion, Philosophy and Classics, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa

movements. The liberation movement in the spirit of Ujamaa emphasized unity across ethnic groups and regions, culminating in Tanganyika's independence in 1961.

In post-independence, Nyerere introduced Ujamaa as a political and economic philosophy rooted in traditional African values of community and solidarity, which critiqued capitalism and individualism. Despite its initial success, Ujamaa faced criticism and challenges, particularly in its implementation in Ujamaa villages. The decline of Ujamaa as a central political philosophy post-Nyerere era saw a resurgence of tribalism, religious tensions, economic disparity and social intolerance. However, Ujamaa's principles continue to inspire social movements and theological reflections, emphasizing its enduring relevance on contemporary theological discourses, especially in the current context of human sexuality in Tanzania to which we turn in the next chapter.

As it is clear from this chapter, diverse notions of human sexualities existed within pre-colonial Ujamaa communities as precursors of the present realities of human sexuality. Consequently, next chapter seeks to provide a deeper analysis of human sexuality in Tanzania, especially same-sex sexuality, and how sexual relations have been lived in the past. Also, the next chapter will illuminate sexual realities of life that have otherwise been forgotten by mainstream academic disciplines in Tanzania, but in the present contestation of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania they do require biblical and theological engagement through Ujamaa theology of liberation.

Chapter 4

4. Same-Sex Sexuality in Tanzania

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I have delineated the roots of Ujamaa and notions of human sexualities in pre-colonial tribal societies. I have exhibited how diverse notions of human sexualities existed within pre-colonial Ujamaa communities as precursors of the present realities of human sexuality. Hence, this chapter seeks to provide a deeper analysis of human sexuality, especially same-sex sexuality, and how eroticisms and sexual relations have been lived and practiced from time immemorial in Tanzania. The chapter intends to illuminate realities of life that have otherwise been expelled, silenced, and banished by colonialists, and forgotten by mainstream biblical and theological disciplines in Tanzania. This analysis draws on both historical texts as well as resources produced by anthropologists, sociologists, medical scientists, and human rights activists. On one hand, this analysis deals with designations, concepts, existence, prevalence, socio-cultural attitudes, and portrayals of same-sex oriented persons; also, same-sex sexual practices, health and HIV/AIDS.

On another hand, this analysis interrogates politics and policies pertaining to same-sex practices, religious and cultural discourses on same-sex sexuality and practices in Tanzania. This chapter seeks to counter the current dominant narrative that same-sex sexuality in Tanzania is un-African, a western import, which has never existed before, and hence it is against Tanzanian culture and community ethos. This narrative has led to Christian demonization, cultural stigma and political discrimination of same-sex individuals in Tanzania, forcing them underground and thus excluding them from full inclusion in Christian life and community participation. This chapter exhibits the existence of same-sex sexuality in pre-colonial, through colonial times, to the present moment as complex reality of life that must be embraced. Thus, I argue, in this chapter, that the reality of the existence of same-sex sexuality and its contestation calls for biblical and theological engagement through Ujamaa theology, with its biblical hermeneutics of liberation.

4.2 Existence and Prevalence of Same-Sex Sexuality

Tanzania has diverse cultural sexual realities and social forms that have existed long ago, but which have been disrupted by Christianisation, colonisation and “civilisation” processes. Heterosexuality, marriage and reproduction had, and still have, a very high priority among Tanzania ethnic groups. However, various patterns of same-sex sexuality and practices have existed, and still exist, within the boundaries of secret places, rituals and special roles (Epprecht 2008:8).

Research studies confirm existence of same-sex attracted persons in mainland Tanzania and the Zanzibar islands long before colonisation. Sylvia Tamale has documented same-sex practices amongst the Kuria people of Tanzania (2009:50). The Kuria, which is one of the ethnic peoples of Tanzania that are found mainly in Musoma near the Lake Victoria, have traditionally had female same-sex marriages (2009:50). In this marriage, a woman takes another woman as her wife, and when the marriage rites are complete, she gets a kinsman or friend, or male servant to beget children of her wife, but the children belongs to the female husband.

In his discussion on human sexuality in Tanzania, Mussa Muneja cites (1) touching one another’s genitals as unacceptable among the Zaramo people; (2) “public masturbation” as forbidden among the Makonde, Chagga, Makonde Malaba, Nyaturu and Nyakyusa; (3) sexual intercourse prior to marriage as now restricted among the Gogo, Chagga, Makonde, Fipa, and Makonde Malaba, Nyaturu, Nyakyusa, Zaramo and Sukuma; (4) “sodomy” and “lesbianism” as forbidden sexual practices among the Makonde Malaba, Makonde, Maasai and Nyakyusa peoples (Muneja 2011: 4ff; Mbunda 1991:98-100).

But, on the contrary, Muneja argues that having multiple sexual partners is generally permissive in many Tanzanian cultures, and particularly typical among the Zaramo and Sukuma ethnic groups (2011:4). The fact that these sexual practices of “sodomy” and “lesbianism” are currently unacceptable in these native cultures of Tanzania does not mean that they have never existed, or that they are no longer practised in their liminal spaces. Since these sexual practices are being forbidden, it overtly indicates that same-sex sexual relations, and all the other sexual practices

cited above, have long been existing in these indigenous ethnic groups of Tanzania from time immemorial. Similarly, one can argue that the discourse concerning same-sex sexuality as being unacceptable reflects a normative point of view rather than the actual reality of human sexualities. Monica Wilson wrote about “homosexual practices” being “very common” prior to heterosexual marriages among young men within Nyakyusa ethnic group in 1930s (1951:87).

In the 1950s and 1960s, “a few Kaguru men were said to enjoy homosexual relations” (Beidelman1997:273; Moen 2014b:1071). Among the Chagga, natives at the foot of the Kilimanjaro, boys were said to be prohibited to engage in same-sex sexual practice during their initiation rite. But after one had married and had a child of his own, the *ngoso* (literally meaning anal plug) was removed and the man could “become like women” (Gutman 1926:337; Moore 1976:362). The word *ngoso* is used here rather figuratively; and Moen argues that it is not clear whether this means that “the prohibition on anal receptivity had then been lifted” (Moen 2014b:1073). This, however, still exhibits the existence, prevalence, multi-complexity and diversity of human sexualities in Tanzania.

Further studies on sexualities have described anal sex between men and women as common along the Tanzania-Zambia highway, which passes through Pwani, Morogoro, Iringa, Njombe, and Mbeya regions of Tanzania. Along this highway, 37 percent of truck drivers, and 37 percent of their female partners, reported that they have had anal sex (Moen 2014b:1071). From 1997 to 1998, research revealed that 9 percent of both male and female school learners in Mwanza have had “anal sex as their first sexual act” (Matasha et al 1998:571). In another study done in Mwanza rural area, 10 percent of respondents answered in the affirmative when asked as to whether they “had heard of anal sex occurring in their village” (Munguti et al 1997:1558). Again, a study among street boys in Mwanza found that 75 out of 75 participants reported that they had engaged in same-sex sexual activity occasionally, and about three quarters affirmed that they had same-sex sexual intercourse regularly (Moen 2014b:1071; also, Lockhart 2002). Local experiences of same-sex sexuality have existed, and, despite being suppressed by forces of colonialism, imperialism, religious fundamentalism, capitalism and globalisation, still exist in mainland Tanzania as empirical findings shows.

In the Zanzibar islands, General Rigby reported men whom he termed as “sodomites” as plentiful in 1860s (Moen 2014b:1071; Russell 1935:342). In 1890s, Haberlandt confirmed that he found a “rather high frequency” of contrary sexual acts (1998 [1898]: 63; Baumann 2001 [1899]:63). Based on empirical findings, Deborah Amory documents the existence of same-sex attracted persons, namely *mashoga*, *mabasha* and *magai* [sic], on the east African coast (1998:67ff). Here *magai*, also *magei*, is a rendering of the English word gay, with Swahili plural prefix *wa*; and, it is used to refer to both male and female same-sex oriented persons.

In their survey, which covers 150 years, from 1860 to 2010, Moen, *et al* have discovered same-sex sexual practices as common in mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar islands (2014b:1071). Mohamed and Wieringa confirms that same-sex sexual practices have long been common in inland Tanzania but argue that they originated from the coast (2005:53). Haberlandt, whom I cited earlier, associated same-sex sexual practices with the influence of Arabs, the wealthy Swahili mixed-breeds and immigrants from the Comoros (1998 [1898]:63). Beidelman wrote that it was assumed that the Kaguru men learned same-sex sexual practices from outsiders, Europeans and Arabs (1997:273).

This discourse concerning the origins of same-sex practices reflects Euro-American sexual concepts, perspectives and interpretations of what they observed about sexualities among the indigenous people. As a survey of studies shows, particularly Moen’s study on same-sex attracted men in Tanzania, discourses about same-sex sexuality being foreign, and not part of native cultures are not based on empirical findings about same-sexual practices as part of intimate cultural realities of the natives (2014b; 2014a). It needs to be stated here that despite a few texts that were written before European contact with East African cost, most of what is known about cultures in Tanzania comes from colonial texts written in colonial eras. The individuals who wrote these texts were part of a colonial system, which was utterly disrupting indigenous cultures and belief systems (Murray & Roscoe 1998:9).

The colonial texts were not only meant to denounce same-sex sexual practices as the foulest crimes, unnatural crimes, referring to sodomy, pederasty, contrary sexual acts, but also to refute all native African sexualities as sinful and immoral. Such terms and phrases, which denounced

and refuted African sexual realities, and all colonial texts on African human sexualities, were part of what is termed a Western “rhetoric of abomination” largely based on the Judeo-Christian moral code in which “all forms of extramarital sexuality and certain forms of marital sexuality were to one degree or another sinful and defiling, and everyone was believed to be at risk for the temptation and lust that led to such acts” (Murray & Roscoe 1998:10). There were no attempts to understand why some natives desired same sex and others did not. The natives were considered primitive and as such they lacked moral consciousness to differentiate between proper and improper, moral and immoral sexual acts.

So, same-sex sexual practice, and all other native sexual practices, were considered as transgressions. Colonial texts, directives of the colonial representatives, as well as lessons and homilies offered in mission centres, schools, bush schools and churches, all reinforced in the natives mind a dualistic perspective on life that divided between the body and the soul, the worldly and the religious, the profane and the holy, the pagan and the Christian, the primitive and the civilized. In this moral rhetoric, native desires of the body represented all that is evil, and only the soul is potentially good. The bodies of the natives were to be subdued to save the souls of the pagans. Western othering of the indigenous, their initiation rites, sexualities, behaviours, dresses, dances, songs, norms, and sexual relations as primitive, immoral, bizarre, dangerous, and the indigenous bodies as exotic, justified and legitimized, in Tamale’s words, “the fundamental objectives of colonisation: to civilise the barbarian savage natives of ‘the dark continent’” (2011:14).

The aforesaid civilisation project, in the case of Tanzania, was financed by the Portuguese, German and British governments, and such colonial private companies as the Imperial British East Africa Company, which operated mostly in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda. The missionaries were involved in the civilisation process, as the planting of Christianity occurred shortly before or simultaneously with colonisation (Muzorewa 1985:24), and “there is a thin line between the missionary intention and the intent of the colonisers” (Muzorewa 1985:24). The missionaries might have not facilitated colonisation as such, but they made use of the available colonial facilities, and unquestionably maintained the moral rhetoric and the civilisation aspect of colonisation. Christian missions had “*de facto* colonial licence” to civilise the indigenous in the

colonies to conform to the European Judeo-Christian standards of sexuality (Aldrich 2003:4; Schmidt 2008:27).

So, in 19th and early 20th centuries, mission stations and schools were set up in Mvumi, Kiboriani, Kongwa, Tosamaganga and throughout the country in which the natives were trained before they were sent back into their communities for evangelistic work and public services (Magomba 2016:108-109). In this phase, the Bible also occupied a significant place, and could be found among the colonial texts. Missionaries sought to translate the Bible, prayer books, and hymnbooks into Swahili and other indigenous languages; they converted the indigenous, and taught them the Word of God with emphasis on obedience and submission to God and “to the governing authorities, for there is no authority except that which God has established ... and he who rebels against the authority is rebelling against what God has instituted” (Romans 13:1-2).

On Sundays, prayers were made for their colonisers. Christian converts, for example, in CMS and UMCA mission centres, schools, health facilities and churches, made use of the Swahili translation of the Book of Common Prayer and prayers were made for Her Majesty the Queen of England on Sundays. Some missionaries taught the Bible to legitimize their aspirations and desires, things they did, or were doing and what they would want to do thereafter. Some biblical passages, for instance, in Genesis (1:27), Leviticus (18:22; 20:13), stories of Sodom and Gomorrah (19:1ff), as well as in Romans (1:26-27), and in 1 Corinthians (6:9-10) were literally interpreted to regulate human sexual behaviour of the indigenous, and legitimize Western moral discourse. Christian missions and colonial government authorities together established and sustained “regulatory and disciplinary regime” of sexuality to regulate, shape and control individual’s sexual behaviours according to accepted socio-cultural norms (Butler 2004:41).

To regulate sexual behaviours involves repetition of action to make something normal, and forms of coercive control to compel adherence to certain sexual norms, and in this case, Western norms juxtaposed with idealised Judaeo-Christian morals of sexuality. In central Tanzania, local music and dance such as *msunyunho*, which was native boys’ and girls’ night dance, *muheme*, that is girls’ initiation rite music (Mapana 2007:81-82), and boys’ initiation rites, known as *makumbi* or *jando*, were all regulated. *Kiduo*, meaning stamping on the ground, is a dance of the Hehe people,

in which men and women danced together, while men dressed in women's wraps, was not accepted in the churches.

Some missionaries attempted to create alternatives to indigenous mores and initiation rites; for example, the Christianization of indigenous initiation rites, the *jando*, in the Anglican Dioceses of Zanzibar and Masasi, under bishops Frank Weston and Vincent Lucas from the 1920s (Stoner-Eby 2008). Similarly, a missionary named Gutmann established among the Chagga of Kilimanjaro what he named as Christian *jando*, "circumcision", in which boys were taught Christian norms and standards; this, could be argued, was an alternative to the Chagga initiation rite which was associated with the *ngoso*, "anal plug" concept (Gutmann 1926:337; Moore 1976:362). The concept of regulation carries exclusion overtones; as sexuality was being regulated, this made some sexual patterns normative and in the process excluded others. Christian missionaries articulated the moral rhetoric to the extent that sex came to be perceived as an act performed by a man on top of a woman; and only this sexual position was taken as "godly"; and eventually it was christened "the missionary position!" (Gunda 2012:9).

Murray and Roscoe argue that even when same-sex desire became a conspicuous issue during colonisation in 19th century, there was still a strong influence of moral discourse (1998:10). Hence, one finds that most of the texts used to document same-sex practices in Tanzania employ moral rhetoric. Burton's explorer's accounts state that same-sex practices as "unnatural crimes" in Zanzibar in 1850s (1872:419; Moen 2014b:1066); Haberlandt (1898) reports same-sex sexual activities among men in Zanzibar as "*contrare sexual-erschinungen* (contrary sex acts)" (1898:64-65).

Bryk, in his ethnographical study on the people around the Lake Victoria, wrote about "typical cases of homosexuality" were common, and he perceived same-sex practices as "African sex deviations" (1939:149-150; Moen 2014a:1066); and Beidelman (1963:49-51) considered "homosexuality" among the Kaguru as unusual and unnatural. So, colonial texts and many accounts after political independence acknowledged the existence of same-sex practices among the indigenous, in the Zanzibar Islands and mainland Tanzania, in a way that promoted hegemonic moral discourse, but discredited the infinite possibilities of the natives' sexual diversities, multi-

complexities, identities, designations, concepts and lived experiences within their socio-cultural world, some of which have existed to present times, as I explore in the subsequent section.

4.3 Designations and Concepts about Same-Sex Oriented Persons

In the study done by Moen, *et al*, on one hand, one finds local Swahili designations and concepts about same-sex oriented persons, notably *hanithi*, also spelt as *hanisi*, *msenge*, *basha*, *shoga* (2014a:1069-70). On the other hand, there emerges Western designations and concepts about same-sex oriented persons, namely, sodomites, catamites, active pederasts, MSM, homosexuals, and LGBTIQ. Between 1958 and 1960, General Christopher Palmer Rigby used the designation “sodomites” referring to a group of men whom he met in Zanzibar (Russel 1935:342; Moen 2014a:1069).

In his letter to an Australian explorer Oskar Baumann (1864-1866), that was first published in 1899, and translated into English in 1998, M. Haberlandt, referring to men and women he encountered in Zanzibar, used these German terms *contraren*, *paderasten*, and *lustknaben*, which means, “contrary[-sex], pederasts, and catamites” (Haberlandt 1998:63-66; Murray & Roscoe 1998:303). In his discussion of these terms, Haberlandt distinguishes between inborn and acquired contrariness. He argues that “acquired contrariness” in sexual behaviour happens when one engages in same-sex at an early age, gets saturated and starts seeking contrary sexual acts rather than normal sexual acts; and that eventually the person loses desire for female sex and becomes an active pederast or catamite (passive pederasts). These descriptions of same-sex sexuality reflect Western prejudices of the time (Schmidt 2008:57). Then, Haberlandt argues about the inborn-contrary sexual behavior of men and women, which was being tolerated by the natives as “*amri ya muungu* (the will of god)” (1998:64).

Later studies, up until mid-1980s, generally employ the terms homosexuality, homosexual relations, homosexual male/men, homosexual sex (Ellis 1915; Bryk 1939; Wilson 1951; Beidelman 1961, 1963, 1997; Tuominen, et al, 1992; Moen 2014a). In current academic writing and human rights activist works the designations MSM and LGBTIQ are generally preferred to the early European terms (Ahmed 2011:52). This change in vocabulary usage and concepts reflects

shifts in understandings about same-sex practices in the West as well as Western vantage points and interpretations of same-sex sexual practices in Tanzania.

The term “homosexual” began to be used in writings regarding same-sex sexuality in this part of Africa known Tanzania in 1920s; this was linked to the slow but eventually widespread shift in the understanding of human sexuality in the West from late nineteenth century onwards (Moen 2014a:1070). In this shift, the idea that humans, by their sexuality, belong to “different types or kinds of [sexual] being” became a central feature ([my emphasis] Halperin 1989:259; Foucault 1978). It was argued that in pre-modern societies within and outside the West, “no single category of discourse or experience ... [has] comprehended the same range of same-sex sexual behaviours, desires, psychologies, and socialities, as well as the various forms of gender variance, that now fall within the capacious definitional boundaries of homosexuality” (Halperin 2000:89). Although studies have deployed the term “homosexuality” and other Western designations to refer to same-sex sexual practices, it is less likely that they have accurately reflected local sexual performances and concepts.

A socio-historical analysis of the locally used designations and concepts about same-sex sexual practices could be a gateway into a clearer understanding of local performances and concepts about same-sex sexuality in this part of Africa. So, apart from the Euro-American designations, one needs to look at these Swahili designations and the concepts they carry about same-sex oriented persons, notably *hanithi* (also spelt as *hanisi*; plural *mahanisi* or *mahanithi*), *msenge* (plural *wasenge*), *basha* (plural *mabasha*), and *shoga* (*mashoga*) (2014a:1069-70). These terms do not correspond to Euro-American constructions of homosexuality, nor do they relate to the general concept of same-sex sexuality. *Hanithi*, *msenge* and *shoga* specifically and exclusively denote anal receptivity, whereas *basha* refers to anal penetration. The first Swahili-English dictionary defined *hanithi* (plural *mahanithi*) as both “a sexually impotent man” and “sodomite” (Krapf 1882:95). Also, recent Swahili dictionaries have maintained the same definitions that associate male anal receptivity and penile weakness (Malaika 1994).

A recent study describes *msenge* as “someone who is entered into (*anayeingiliwa*), someone who is penetrated (*anayetiwa*) and someone who is done (*anayefanywa*)” (Moen et al 2014b:519).

Basha refers to the active partner to the *msenge*. Etymologically, *basha* variously referred to the king in a pack of playing cards, a captain of a ship, or a military commander (Shepherd 1987:250). Also, *basha* came to refer to “a man who enters his friend/partner” sexually (Amory 1998:77). The *basha* is considered to be “a true man, a real man” (Amory 1998:77); it implies that the *basha* is the sexually active partner as contrasted to the sexually passive *msenge*. Because the *basha* is considered a real man, his designation or identity remains “invisible” unless it is combined with *msenge*. In most cases, a *basha* is a powerful or high-ranking man, consistent with what a man is supposed to be; he is not contravening his gender position, he spends time with other men and is sexually “active” (Porter 1995:145; Amory 1998:78). The Standard Dictionary of Swahili defines *mabasha* as “men who sodomize ‘people’, not exclusively men” (Porter 1995:145; Akida 1981). The designation *basha* does not presume that the sex of the *basha*’s partner is male. A *basha* could be a married man, but who has *msenge/shoga* as his partner/friend.

In present-day Swahili language, the *basha* is also known as *dume*; and the *msenge* is also known as *anti*, *mke si mume* and *kaka poa*, all explaining men “who receive penetration” (Reuster-Jahn & KieBling 2006:23ff). These terms relate sexual positionality to concepts about gender. For example, *anti* is a Swahili transliteration of the English “aunt”; *kaka poa*, means “cool brother”; also, *mke si mume*, which means “neither man nor woman” (Moen 2014a:1070). Locally used designations and concepts about same-sex oriented men associate male anal sexual receptivity with either femaleness or a neutral or blended gender. Although *msenge* and *basha* are commonly used terms in Swahili when referring to same-sex oriented persons in Tanzania, Moen, *et al*, argue that same-sex attracted persons, when interviewed, considered *msenge* as a derogatory term, and alternatively they preferred the term *shoga*, which originally meant “a woman’s best [or intimate] female friend” (2014b:520). Also, female-female same-sex oriented persons are referred to as *wasagani*, and their same-sex sexual behavior and/or practice as *usagaji*. This word comes from its root word *saga*, meaning grind or rub. So, *wasagani* means those who grind or rub. Therefore, *wasagaji* in the context of same-sex sexuality means those who grind/rub their private parts up against each other; and *usagaji* means grinding or rubbing up against each other’s female private parts (Haberlandt 1998:65). Also, this Swahili designation *mapenzi ya jinsi moja*, which means same-sex love, is used to refer to both male and female same-sex sexual practices.

It is obvious that *mashoga*, singular *shoga*, and its noun *ushoga* have become common designations in public Swahili usage, religious spaces and media coverage, referring to all same-sex oriented persons, and same-sex sexuality. The acronym MSM has dominated academic writing while the LGBTIQ acronym seems to be mostly deployed by human rights activists and allies (Dahoma 2009; Human Rights Watch 2013). However, same-sex sexuality remains highly stigmatized in the public domain. Religious, and in this case Christian, and political factors play significant roles in stigmatizing, discriminating, scapegoating and even violating same-sex persons. Culture has become a convenient supermarket for religious and political tools of power. Culture are words often used to stigmatize by arguing that same-sex sexuality is incompatible with Tanzanian culture. This kind of argument is what Dunton calls, “the invention of tradition” (1996:24), which is the manufacture of ideas about traditions, cultural practices and morals to serve the interests of those in positions of power, be it religious, political, or patriarchal. The manufacture of ideas and morals about same-sex sexuality never evolved over night, as it has been pointed out earlier in this chapter, but it began with the colonization process, and continued into the post-colonial era. The present attitudes towards sexuality and politicization of same-sex practices are manifestations of colonial legacies of sexual discourses.

Social attitudes reflected in statements by Tanzanians themselves that same-sex sexuality is a “cardinal sin”, which can only happen “in a rabid world where lunatic men and scarlet women have no qualms about flouting the tenets[,] established societal customs or offending Almighty God” (*Daily News*, November 5, 2011), is a reminder of colonial legacy of moral rhetoric that lingers on, and which demonstrates how our leaders have mastered the colonial masters’ skills. However, historically, there has been some degree of acceptance of same-sex persons in indigenous communities, with diverse socio-cultural attitudes towards them in weddings and funerals, in *taarab* music and *mdundiko* drumbeats, in *chakacha* and *baikoko* dances, in cultural and religious festivals, in indigenous initiation rites and other liminal spaces, as I explore in the subsequent section.

4.4 Socio-cultural Attitudes towards Same-Sex Persons

4.4.1 In Weddings and Funerals

Research studies, for example, Moen *et al* (2014b), reveal that historically there has been some degree of acceptance of same-sex persons with a range of diverse attitudes towards same-sex persons, in the Zanzibar islands and the mainland Tanzania. Starting with Zanzibar, Burton reported that *liwat* was considered as “a mere peccadillo” (1872:380). The term *liwat* could be translated as “sodomy”, and it is understood to refer to anal penetration of either a male or a female (Omar 2012; Meon 2014b:1072). Before the political revolution in Zanzibar, according to Saleh, the “majority cohabitated in perfect harmony with ... homosexuals”, and they “had their space without having to fight for it. The society was neither encouraging them nor subjecting them to any kind of persecution” (2009:199).

Mashoga, same-sex attracted men, participated in women’s dance at weddings and they played the *pembe*, which is a female musical instrument. At funerals, sometimes *mashoga* sat with women, and in religious celebrations, they took flamboyant parts as they wiggled and dressed like women. But at times, especially when the mood is not playful, for example in funerals, they would sit with men. That is why in the first Swahili dictionary same-sex persons were described as *mume-mke* or *mke-si-mume*, meaning “man-woman” or “woman-not-man” (Krapf 1882:891), and they occupied some prominent position in *chakacha* and *taarab* music, as I argue in the next section.

4.4.2 In *Chakacha* and *Taarab* Drumbeats

Same-sex attracted men who always seemed to be in the company of women were *mke-si-mume*. And those who assumed female behaviours and sexual role but were always in the company of men became *mume-mke*. Not all *mashoga* cross-dressed; some dressed like men while others distinguished themselves just by a headdress. In send-off and wedding parties they danced *chakacha*, which is a “woman’s dance form that entails hip rotation in an exclusively female way” (Porter 1995:141; Murray and Roscoe 1998:33). In *taarab*, which is a popular genre of musical performance involving singing of poems and dance in East Africa, the *shoga* identity was more overt; some *mashoga* performed in *taarab* troupe. In *taarab* concerts, there is a tradition of

mipasho, exchange of poetic songs with *ushoga*, same-sex sexuality, implications but in a covert way. This is a form of hidden gossiping, known as *umbeya* in Swahili, which is only associated with women in Tanzania. In *taarab*, *mashoga* were part of *mipasho* tradition as well as *kutunza* tradition, which means going forward from the audience to give some money to singers during *taarab* performances. The *shoga* identity was recognised in *taarab* music concerts and *chakacha* performances. *Mashoga* engaged in domestic tasks such as sewing and cooking; but this does not mean that in all situations where there is formal gender segregation, for example funerals, weddings and community meetings, *mashoga* ought always to be in the company of women. There was some liminal socio-cultural space available for *mashoga* that guaranteed them some certain degree of flexibility within social interactions (Murray and Roscoe 1998:33), especially in cultural and religious events, as discussed in the section below.

4.4.3 Inborn Contraries as “the Will of God”

Similarly, Middleton, after research fieldwork in Zanzibar, noted that same-sex sexual behaviour was “tolerated during Ramadan when heterosexual intercourse is prohibited” (1992:120). The *shoga* identities were perceived as inborn contraries, and as such *amri ya mungu*, “the will of God”; relatives had to reconcile themselves with these peculiarities after they noticed them (Haberlandt 1998:64). Nevertheless, Saleh continues to argue that in the wake of 1964 Zanzibar revolution, many enlightened and local “religious scholars” were expatriated, and “foreign scholars” were imported and they brought in “alien ideas” (2009:200). Consequently, according to Saleh, “the past tacit understanding that guaranteed the rights of minorities, such as those of homosexuals ... started to be challenged”, as a result the “space” available for same-sex persons was narrowed (2009:200). The Zanzibar government began to closely monitor *taarab* music, and in 1984 a formal censorship board was formed to review *taarab* songs before they could be performed and aired on radio stations (Arnold 2002:148).

By the late 1980s, same-sex persons who could be identified as such were becoming targets of verbal and physical violence, and some of those who were in *taarab* and *chakacha* stopped performing (Porter 1995:142; Murray and Roscoe 1998:33). However, in Africa, Zanzibar government has been among the first “to support and conduct HIV- related epidemiological

research among same-sex practising men” (Moen 2014b:1072). Zanzibar reflects certain degrees of socio-cultural tolerant attitudes towards same-sex sexuality. The presence of the *shoga* identity in *taarab* persists, and *chakacha* dance continues to reveal not simply the human sexual force, but realities of the force of eros as a form of resilient power that waging against the forces of regulatory mechanisms.

On the coastal regions of the mainland Tanzania, in *taarab* music, *mdundiko* drumbeats, *chakacha* and *baikoko* dances, same-sex persons have been, and are still, accepted in the troupes and recognised as part of the audience. In *taarab* concerts in Dar es Salaam, as Beez and Kolbusa reports, “homosexuals are treated in a liberal way ... [and] are accepted as part of the audience” (2003:69). Drawing on their interviews with “LGBTI[Q] groups” and NGOs in East African countries, Kiragu and Nyang’o reported that in Tanzania “there is a level of tolerance and acceptance of sexual minorities which is absent in both Kenya and Uganda” (2005:29). Kayoka’s review of Tanzania entertainment newspapers shows that the number of same-sex persons “coming to the open and proudly admitting that they are homosexuals” has been increasing, and there is little condemnation of gays, if the gay subject shows that he is capable of using his penis as well” (2001:4,5). These signs of assent are not the only socio-cultural sentiments reported, as it will be shown later in this chapter. Similarly, there has been some positive cultural attitude towards same-sex sexuality among ethnic groups in Tanzania, as I examine in the succeeding section.

4.4.4 *Bitundanila* and *Magulula* among the Nyakyusa, Hehe and Gogo

On the inland Tanzania, by the 1930s, empirical findings revealed that there was positive socio-cultural attitude “for Nyakyusa boys to sleep together ... [s]ometimes when boys sleep together each may have an emission on the other (*bitundanila*). If they are great friends, there is no wrong done” (Wilson 1951:196). And it was reported that in Nyakyusa society this practice was accepted, except when one boy forced another into intimate relations. So, forced intimate relation was forbidden and considered wrong. Also, it was great wrong for adult men to sleep together. This account of the matrilineal Nyakyusa people of the southern highlands of Tanzania becomes one of the earliest portrayals of accepting social attitudes towards same-sex practices in the then Tanganyika.

In central Tanzania, among the Hehe and Gogo ethnic groups, there was a tradition of *magulula* (*igulula* in singular), which could be translated as communal sleeping houses for boys built near cattle sheds, or granary for those who did not have cattle. A similar tradition *sikiroino* is accounted among the Nandi people of Kenya. “A *Sikiroino* is a house where girls and young men of a given village or group of villages may go and sleep at night” (Mbiti 1969:127). Traditionally, an *igulula* was not built next to the main house; because a sleeping room for girls from several neighbourhoods could be within or next to the main house. Traditionally, no beds were installed in these communal rooms for girls or houses for boys. Each *igulula* could accommodate between 5 to 15 boys per night, sleeping together on joined mats or dried cattle hides. During the night others sneaked out into girls’ rooms to perform what was termed as *kupaguza*, which means walking secretly at night into girls’ rooms to have sex while girls are asleep. Some were never interested in *kupaguza*, but remained in the *igulula*; there were those who were intimate friends played with each other’s genitals and emitted between the thighs. In some *magulula*, incidents of either consensual or forced anal penetration between boys did in fact happen.

In the Hehe language, a boy who lacked interest in girls was either framed as *mnyanyoni*, the introverted, the shy and the fearful, or *mtenda*, which refers to either physical disability or impotence. The word *mtenda* carries the same concept as that of the designation *hanithi* in Swahili. The *hanithi* was also not attracted to the opposed sex. In girls’ rooms, among the four ethnic groups I have previously mentioned, fondling and sucking each other’s breasts did happen.

There are two basic facts pertaining to *magulula* tradition among the Gogo, Hehe, Kagulu, Sagala and many other ethnic groups in Tanzania, and beyond. First, today as in the past, some boys and men sometimes have sex with other boys or men in a variety of ways, including between the thighs, by hand, by mouth, and through anal receptivity. They have sex for love, for money, for material gifts, or when they are intoxicated. They have sex by rape or consent; out of fear of women or out of curiosity. Same-sex sexual acts happened in *magulula*, bedrooms, farms, bushes, and forests. Same-sex sexual acts do happen today as in the past, in bedrooms, cars, dormitories, night clubs, guest houses, hotels, hostels, prisons, fishing camps, bushes, tea plantations, sisal plantations, coffee plantations, farms, and elsewhere.

Second, some girls and women have sex with other girls or women, today as in the past, in various ways and places, for love, for money, for material gifts, out curiosity, fear of men or because of unavailability of suitable men or high levels of male absence due to men working away from their wives in gold, diamond, tanzanite and coal mines. In some cases, women have sex with other women or girls, to use Epprecht's words, "to avoid entanglements with men outside marriage" to maintain and strengthen their heterosexual marriage forms (2008:7). There have always been boys and girls who were known to engage in, using Hehe's euphemism, *mihesigo jawana*, meaning 'youth/children's games', which in fact refers to all sexual practices, not excluding same-sex "games", performed by and amongst children and the youth in their subtle moves and discreet spaces.

Among ethnic groups in Tanzania, there has always been some people who do not easily fit into ideals and norms of heterosexuality. Some of these people refused to marry, or married but could not consummate their marriages; others married, yet had intimate friends of the same-sex; still others never married and were, and have been, known to engage in youth same-sex games (cf Wilson 1951:87). There have been euphemistic ways to explain why, but ways only comprehensible by those in the know within native culture, as it is evident in the Kaguru practice of *kwinja* and same-sex sexuality, discussed in the subsequent section.

4.4.5 *Kwinja* and Same-Sex among the Kaguru

Therefore, at this juncture, one could argue that the main sexual narrative was, rightly is, not the only narrative among the ethnic groups in Tanzania. For example, among the Kaguru, a practice known as *kwinja*, meaning an adult sucking a woman's breast, also same-sex sexual acts, and many other sexual practices, signified, and still signifies, both a moral and physical departure from the normal. Yet, there were Kaguru men reported to enjoyed same-sex practices; and, according to Beidelman, no court cases were found concerning same-sex sexuality in Ukaguru in 1950s (Beidelman 1961:14; 1963:49-51; 1997:273; Moen 2014b:1072). Conversely, one could also argue that when forced same-sex sexual advances were reported, they were indeed morally disapproved, though consensual same-sex practices, performed within secret spaces and designated social roles, were not interfered nor spoken about. Indigenous cultures in Tanzania have

traditionally valued secrecy and silence, but have expressed diverse sexualities, eroticisms and sexual practices through indigenous rituals, performances, dances, songs, poems, adages, fables, folklore and fictions, some of which are portrayed in the story of Meta and Welimo in the next section.

4.4.6 Everything Under The Sun

“Everything under the Sun” is a title of a short story written by a Tanzanian author in 1969. The story portrays a tense and yet tender conversation between two male lovers, Meta and Welimo, living together in a room at “Uhuru Street” in an unnamed city in Tanzania (Malinwa 1969:263). This “Uhuru Street” could probably be in Dar es Salaam, Mwanza, Arusha, or Iringa, as these cities have streets named “Uhuru Street”. Meta has a job, but Welimo has not found a job because of his face, he cannot look at people in the eyes. Welimo stays at home, but Meta goes to work pays for their living expenses. Meta joins what Welimo calls the old “Jesus Saves Mission”, where he attends religious talk every night (Malinwa 1969:264). Consequently, he gives up smoking, drinking, and women; he even becomes mean and less friendly to Welimo (Malinwa 1969:264-65). They struggle over money, religion, their sexual relations and prospects (1969:265-67). Despite their struggles, they remain bound together and towards the end of the prose, their same-sex love becomes more noticeable, they hold hands together, hug fondly and renew their faithful commitments to each other, and Meta affirms, “You are all I have got, Welimo” (Malinwa 1969:268-70). Towards the end of the story, Welimo tells Meta to quit the old mission, and stop listening to their religious talk, because it interferes their loving relationship.

In the story, there is no hint of condemnation nor portrayal of male same-sex love as alien, but it is elevated to a level of human dignity as well as emotional and physical fulfilment. Malinwa’s literary work offers a modest simulation of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania, which would not otherwise have been represented in other ways because of its contested nature. This literary work is unquestionably the boldest challenge to the dominant narrative of heteronormativity in Tanzania. This short story has been characterised as a “portrayal of what is, in effect, a marriage between two struggling working class African men” (Epprecht 2008:19). Malinwa’s literary work attests to the fact that diverse sexual practices existed and are known to exist, but are not overtly talked

about but performed subtly in the daily realities of socio-cultural life from the past to the present times. Conversely, growing religious fundamentalism, evangelical conservatism, and heightening post-colonial politics have sought to regulate diverse gender and sexual realities of life as a process of reinforcing unified cultural sexual norms, as extrapolated in the subsequent section.

4.4.7 Inventing a Unified Culture

To invent a unified Tanzanian culture, gender and sexual realities of life, indigenous socio-cultural imagination and possibilities were regulated, and the people's music and dance was censored. By the late 1980s, with growth of religious fundamentalism juxtaposed with heightened post-colonial politics, discourses about same-sex sexuality has increasingly become a site of broad socio-cultural, religious and political struggles. The Tanzania Women Lawyers Association described same-sex sexuality as “an abomination by virtue of Tanzanian cultural norms” (Rwebangira and Tungaraza 2003:77). In 2003, at a symposium in Dar es Salaam, “Muslim scholars, teachers, students and imams began to make plans on the best way to combat homosexuality in Tanzania” (*Tanzania Affairs* 2003:17). In 2004, Tanzania LGBTIQ activists interviewed as part of a risk assessment programme for LGBTIQ population reported experiencing condemnation, discrimination, rejection by families, ejection by landlords, and ill-treatment by medical practitioners (Anyamele 2005:34; Caplan 2011:20-21; Moen 2014b:1073). According to Mohamed and Wieringa, “LGBT[IQ] people” in Tanzania are considered to be “immoral and satanic” (2005:53) and “as individuals whose morality and religious standing is questionable” (Kiragu 2006:17).

In 2007, 3 percent of Tanzanians, in an opinion survey (n=704), affirmed that “homosexuality is a way of life that should be accepted by society” (Pew Research Centre 2007:117). However, in 2008 and 2009, it was reported in another opinion survey (n=1,504) that 91 percent of Tanzanians considered “homosexual practices” as “morally wrong” (Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life 2010:276). So, general social opinion seems to indicate that about 9 out of 10 Tanzanians disapprove same-sex sexuality at least in a public opinion polls. This socio-cultural attitude is reflected in reports, based on empirical findings, which have revealed same-sex persons being tortured and raped, assaulted, arbitrary arrested, and extorted by the public, semi-official security

forces, mainly *Sungu-Sungu* vigilante groups, and some policemen (Human Rights Watch 2013:2,24ff).

Violence against same-sex persons undermines our nation's community-oriented values of *udugu*, Ujamaa and *ubuntu*, that "I am because we are; and since we are, therefore I am" (Mbiti 1969:127). Ujamaa created a sense of security as well as a feeling of oneness and opened opportunities to participate in communal existence. Ujamaa valued culture of tolerance, acceptance, and solidarity as well as peaceful tradition of conflicts resolution.

The aforesaid discussion has uncovered socio-cultural attitudes and actions that cause same-sex persons to struggle daily for only survival and recognition that they do exist as humans created in the image of God and that their humanity deserves respect and dignity. Particularly, visible identities and representations of *mashoga* have highly been stigmatised and targeted in many ways. It could be argued that violence against same-sex persons is a form of gender-based violence. Because, as seen in the discussion about designations of, and attitudes towards, same-sex persons, representations of same-sex are based on socio-cultural gender perspectives. Same-sex persons are represented through socio-cultural lenses of gender. Hence, violence against same-sex persons is, as Masiwa Gunda argues, "a downstream and subtle effect of preconceived gender prejudices, which are buttressed by invoking certain texts from the Bible" (2011:93). Gender prejudice is an attitude that women are inferior to men, and therefore they can be dominated. Gender prejudice is based on patriarchy culture, biblical literalism and religious fundamentalism. Since same-sex persons are generally seen through the lenses of gender, they suffer gender prejudices and inevitably become victims of gender-based violence, as I explore in the next section on how same-sex practising individuals are represented from the past to the present context of Tanzania.

4.5 Representations of Same-Sex Practicing Persons

In the representations of same-sex persons, gender plays a central role. One is categorized through what they do, how they behave, move, dress and talk. According to Moen et al (2014a; 2014b:1073ff), based on their review of texts on same-sex sexuality in Tanzania covering 150 years, also, Haberlandt (1998) and Amory (1998), at least the following categories of same-sex

persons are discernible: boys and girls in “youth same-sex games” prior to heterosexual marriage, boys on the streets, *hanithi* (and *mtenda*), *shoga*, *basha*, and *msagaji* (Wilson 1951:87).

Youth same-sex “games” prior to heterosexual marriage were reported among the Nyakyusa along the Lake Nyasa in the 1930s (Wilson 1951:87; Moen 2014b:1075). These sex-games are reported to occur in all-male age-mate villages. Wilson’s study does not provide overt gendered or bodily representations. Similarly, the *ngoso* (anal plug) tradition during initiation rite among the Chagga signified that after initiation boys were not expected to be sexually receptive. The *mtenda*, the impotent boy in the *magulula*, boys’ communal sleeping houses, sometimes becomes the passive sexual partner to the other sexually active boy. In highly sex-segregated rural communities, the *mtenda* and the active partner do not contravene their gendered positions. I now turn to the representations of same-sex practicing persons from the past to the present times, starting with the *hanithi* and *mke-si-mume* depictions.

4.5.1 *Hanithi* and *Mke-Si-Mume*: Impotent and Sexually Receptive Man

To be *hanithi* is considered “natural” (Amory 1998:74) in the local socio-cultural conception of individual’s sexual identity, because the person is born this way as impotent. The *hanithi* is *mtenda* in the Hehe language. In the Hehe culture, when a child is born, this is the first question people ask, “*mhinza, mkwamisi?*”, meaning, “is it a boy or a girl?”; if it is a boy the expectation is that his penis will always stand erect when he urinates, but if it doesn’t then the child is potentially considered to be *mtenda*. As the child grows, from the age of 13, he will start herbal medication; and if his condition does not improve until the age of 18, then he is confirmed as *mtenda*, impotent.

Unlike the *hanithi* in Amory (1998:74) drawing on Unni Wikan (1977, 1982), the *mtenda* in the Hehe culture would not wear women’s clothes, but he could be found engaging in all sorts of women’s tasks such as cooking, mat-sewing, milking cows, winnowing grains, grinding grains, house cleaning, fetching water, brewing local beer, washing dishes, and looking after children. For those who did not show any signs of impotence from childhood, but when they grow up as boys and started displaying gender transgressions, they were normally punished. For those whose gender transgressions persisted, they were eventually accepted just as they are, and sometimes

called names with female prefix. In the Hehe language, traditionally males name started with “m” or “mwa”, for example *mwa-munu* or *mwa-lwano*, etc, and female with “se” or “si”, for instance, *se-munu* or *si-lwano*. There have been men whose names start *se* or *si* who were good at tasks which were considered women’s. Men who never married, and made their living on making local beer were addressed as “se” or “si”. Drawing on Wikan (1977, 1982), Amory argues that the social institution of the *hanithi* in Zanzibar constitutes an intermediate gender between “man” and “woman” (1998:74).

Amory also notes that in 1860s’ reports the category of same-sex attracted persons were not represented as shoga but *hanithi*. Today as in the past, some *hanithi* are sexually attracted to men, others have not sexual interest in men, but they enjoy the company of women without any sexual relations. *Hanithi* who became sexually receptive could also be referred to as *mke-si-mume*, meaning “woman, not man” (Haberlandt 1998:65), and this category of *hanithi* cross-dressed. In Zanzibar, Rigby reported observing men who “walk about dressed in female attire, with veils on their face” (Russell 1935:342). Saleh wrote about men who dress “in female clothes with artificial breasts” and wear “lipstick and eye make-up” (2009:201).

According to Moen, similar representations of gender can still be observed in Zanzibar. Larsen has recently written about Sabri, a man in Zanzibar who transgressed the gender categorization by dressing in women’s clothes, wearing eye make-ups, colouring nails with *henna*, and eyebrows with *wanja*. He has manipulated accepted socio-cultural gender markers, has chosen to be in a woman’s world, and is accepted by women in his vicinity (Larsen 2008:119). Representation of same-sex practicing men like Sabri are known as *mashoga* and have held prominent positions in *taarab* music as well as *ngoma*, *chakacha* and *baikoko* dances in the Zanzibar islands and on the coastal regions of mainland Tanzania, as I argue in the next section.

4.5.2 *Mashoga in Taarab Music, Ngoma, Chakacha and Baikoko*

Taarab, *ngoma*, *chakacha* and *baikoko* are traditional and cultural music and dance styles in Zanzibar and coastal regions of mainland Tanzania. *Ngoma*, meaning “drums”, hence *ngoma* music and dance style, of which *chakacha*, *baikoko*, and many other *ngoma* music styles are part

of it, is traditional music prevalent among all ethnic groups of Tanzania. *Chakacha* is a cultural *ngoma* music and dance style performed by women dressed in light transparent clothing, preferably *khanga*, with a belt made of another clothing, or *khanga*, around their waist for ease of hip-swaying movement and belly dancing (TUKI 2000). Males *mashoga* have normally been welcome in the *chakacha*, which originally was associated with female initiation rites and weddings in Zanzibar and in the coastal regions of mainland Tanzania.

Baikoko is another coastal *ngoma* music and dance originally from Tanga, Tanzania. It features more extreme body-shaking, hip-swaying, waist movements and belly-dancing than what one can observe in *chakacha*. *Baikoko* dancers dress in light transparent clothing, preferably *khanga*, and sometimes the dance involves stripping off and dancing unclothed (*Jahazi Media* 2016). There have been *mashoga*, dressed as women, who are employed to sing and dance in coastal traditional dances such as *taarab* music, *ngoma*, *chakacha* and *baikoko*, which are occasions where people play drums, dance and sing (Campell 1983:3). Traditionally, in many ethnic groups *ngoma* took place at night, except on festivals when *ngoma* took place during the day. There have been *ngoma* dances in the coastal regions which have exclusively been the preserve of *mashoga*; for example, *mbenda* dance (Allen 1981:243).

Shoga cross-dressing is also considered a ritual in spirit possessing dance. In Kilwa Kivinje, Lienhardt observed male dancers typically dressed in women's clothing, with the fronts of their robes "stuffed with cloth[s] to look like women's breasts"; and he noted that "a personage of this sort often enters into the spirit dance" (Lienhardt 1968:39). Similarly, in the 1990s, Amory attended a Mwaka Oga festival, at Makunduchi Zanzibar, and reported thousands of men and women danced together with sugarcane sticks, men wearing women's clothes, which suggested that they were *mashoga* (1998:71). Such ritualized *shoga* performances and crossing of gendered boundaries challenge, express and reinvent, and even usurp the dominant socio-cultural order of gender and sexuality. In these designated social spaces, *shoga* identity becomes a profession-defined role, though overtly marked by gender boundaries. Men who cross-dress play prominent role in these spaces that are thought of as low-class, indigenous culture, as opposite to high Arab culture of the coastal regions.

On the mainland, the *hanithi* is not normally talked about, unless he is discovered to be sexually receptive, and then he is considered a *shoga*. *Shoga* categorization is more about what one does than who one is. Therefore, the *hanithi* is not easily in the picture of same-sex sexuality until he is known to engage in same-sex practices or reveals sexual behaviors that cross accepted socio-cultural gender boundaries. In 1890s, bin Mwinyi Bakari wrote about the traditions and customs of their people in Bagamoyo, and described one out of 17 *ngoma* events, which was “danced by men only, dressed in women’s clothes” (1903:93; King 1981: viii; Moen 2014b:1074). In this dance, there is no clear reference to same-sex relations, but later studies have revealed that cross-dressing practices were largely performed by same-sex persons (Salles 2005:174-176; Moen 2014b:1074).

In mid-1920s, around Lake Victoria, Bryk reported cases of same-sex sexuality referring to “impotent fellows with feminine manners” (1939:149-50). Another study on court cases of “homosexuality” during German colonial regime reveals that the African plaintiffs typically “did not complain about violation of their bodies, but of their masculinity” (Schmidt 2008:56). Because masculinity in patriarchy culture is about power and domination, part of which is the penile ability to penetrate the opposite sex. So, in patriarchal socio-cultural mindset, for a man to be sexually receptive undermines the power of men, and as such it becomes violation of masculinity. Gender is, in Amory’s expressing, “a complex set of social practices that includes but certainly is not limited to sexual behaviors” (1998:68). Gender is a complex process and a lived experience which cannot be confined within stable categories and dominant order of sexual identities. Gender categories and sexual identities are constructed within historical and socio-cultural contexts (Amory 1998:76). In the next section, I turn to current representations of *mashoga* and *mabasha* and how they are constructed within the present socio-cultural context of Tanzania.

4.5.3 *Mashoga* and *Mabasha* in Tanzania Today

Some *mashoga* are *open*, or as said in Swahili, *wako wazi*; but others are not open or visible because of the socio-cultural disapproval sentiments. It does not mean *mashoga* do not exist; they do exist in great numbers. Hoyce Temu, in her TV documentary series, famously known as *Mimi na Tanzania*, meaning, “I and Tanzania”, reported that there are over one million same-sex persons

in Tanzania. In the documentary, one *shoga* interviewee stated that society “should recognize that we do exist. We, *mashoga*, are many. We too are humans; we should be recognized on the basis of our humanity” (*Chanel Ten TV*, July 9, 2013).

Moen reports that in his fifteen-month fieldwork that he carried out in Dar es Salaam in 2008 and 2009, he was easily able to encounter with several hundreds of same-sex persons in bars, clubs, concerts, dances, get-togethers, parties and functions. By the end of the fieldwork, he personally got to know around 250 same-sex attracted men, variously known as *magei* (gays) and *magai* (guys), *mabwana* (men) or *madume* (males), *mashoga* and *mabasha* (Moen 2014a:514). In Tanzania, some same-sex persons seem to have included *magei* and *magai* in their vocabulary. Amory found the same words being used on other coastal regions of East Africa (1998:74ff). However, these words do not convey the same concepts as in the West. For in Dar es Salaam, *magei* refers only to men who are sexually receptive, commonly known as *mashoga*. *Magai* are *mabwana* and *madume*, however, these two terms do not directly mean they are same-sex attracted men, unless the words are used relationally; for example, *bwana* (singular for *mabwana*) of CK, or *dume* (singular for *madume*) of JM. So, these are other ways of referring to the *basha* and *mabasha*. Regarding the term *gay*, even if it seems to have been transliterated from the English vocabulary, in Tanzania context it conveys a whole different concept of same-sex relations. The word does not carry the concept of *unitary* or *sameness*, that is relations between “two of a kind” in sexual relations; but rather the word *gay* in this context is perceived of as a *composite* within a framework of *difference* (Moen et al 2014a:512).

Words are signs or symbols that stand for something in some communicative respect or capacity in spoken, written or other forms. So, a word is a sign which consists of first, the signifying *element*, for example the word *gay*; second, the *object*, for example, whoever or whatever the *gay is*, and third, the *effect*, that is the understanding that one develops about the signified object; it is the impression that one has when the word *gay* is uttered or heard (Moen 2014a:513). Therefore, it can be argued that the same words, or words that may look similar, could have different significations and develop different understanding because of dissimilar experiences and socio-cultural milieus.

Ways of conceptualizing, organizing and enacting sexual relations vary over time in socio-historical moments and from one culture to another. Sexual patterns cannot be treated as constant and unchanging (Simon & Gagnon 1984:53). This too pertains to same-sex relations; and as such it is vital to focus on the empirical details of lives of same-sex persons as they lived in particular settings because different concepts of same-sex sexuality reflect different cultural scripts. Drawing on Simon and Gagnon scripting theory, who use the term script as a “metaphor for conceptualizing the production of behavior within social life” (1986:98), Moen argues that in order for any behavior to occur, including sexual behavior in this case, scripting must occur first, and this process operates on the level of collective life, as well as between social actors and within individual selves. In other ways, scripting operates on socio-cultural, interpersonal and intrapsychic scripts (2014a:513). Such knowledge is practically appropriate for one to gain insights into socio-cultural scripts behind local sexual behaviors particularly in this age of the HIV and AIDS pandemic. The current increasing visibility of *shoga* identity signifies significant vicissitudes and inevitable trends that are proceeding in Tanzania socio-cultural construction of social identity. Still, the anally penetrating man, the *basha*, whose scope of relationship is not limited to men, is more invisible from the public, as I argue in the subsequent section.

4.5.4 The *Basha*: The Anally Penetrating Man

While *shoga* and *basha* are often represented as persons who engage in same-sex sexual practices, the identity of the *basha* is more invisible unless seen with the *shoga*, because the scope of his sexual relationship is not limited to men. The *basha* is a man who can anally penetrate both a woman and a *shoga*, and that is why he is known as *bwana* (male) or *dume* (man). A woman who lets her lover penetrate her anally is known as *msenge wa kike*, which means female *msenge*, and the lover as her *basha*. The *basha* is never sexually receptive. In society, the *basha* is widely understood as an “ordinary” man who conforms to his gender position; and if his sexual behavior happens to be known in his vicinity, sometimes it “may even be perceived as a respectable expression of male sexuality” (Moen 2014b:524), though men and women are equally sexually attractive to the *basha*. Amory noted that “because the *basha* is seen as a “real man,” his identity remains unmarked unless he is paired with a *shoga*” (1998:77).

Amory reports a dance which was performed by *mashoga* and *mabasha* in 1920s and 1930s. In such events, when the *mashoga* and *mabasha* come together, the *basha* could be marked, and then known as *basha* (1998:77). Today as in the past, *mabasha* are also marked through events or spaces that bring them together with the *mashoga*. The *basha* is the sexually active partner to the passive partner who is anally receptive, the *hanithi/msenge/shoga*. In the present usage, the term *mashoga* seems to be commonly used, and it refers to all sexually receptive same-sex persons. Also, Ahmed noted that in Zanzibar men “who are receivers and perform oral sex are viewed as homosexuals whereas men who penetrate and receive oral sex are not” (2011:52).

So, the representation of the *shoga* and *basha* identity relies on the passive and active role in sex, which is gendered and it correlates with other socially constructed gender behaviours pertaining work, dress, names, greetings and speech (1998:78). Shepherd suggests that the relationship between the *shoga* and *basha* is typically for payment; that the younger poorer man, the *shoga*, have sex for money with the older, wealthier *basha*. In some cases, not all, this representation of the *basha* and *shoga* could be accurate; however, money has not always been involved in same-sex relations, today as in the past. Drawing on Amory, it is a fact that some *mashoga* certainly are sex workers, “*mashoga* are not *only* sex workers, and money or presents are not always involved in sexual encounters” (1998:78). In the next section, I explore transactional same-sex practices, which have become common in the cities of Tanzania.

4.6 Transactional Same-Sex Practices

Transactional same-sex practices have long existed in Tanzania in a variety of ways and places. In the beginning of 20th century, a brothel of male sex workers, established by “Binti Hamiss” and others who were crossdressing men, existed in Dar es Salaam during German colonial regime. *Binti* means “daughter” or “young lady”, while Hamiss, commonly spelt as “*Hamisi*” in Tanzania, is a male name. So, when *Binti* is used before a female name could be translated as “Miss”. The German governor was one of those alleged to have sexual relations with Binti Hamisi (Schmidt 2008:48). Since then, research suggests that transactional same-sex sexual practices have become relatively common in Dar es Salaam and other cities (Mwakagile 2001). Lugalla found Dar es Salaam boys engaging in same-sex sexual practices “in exchange for money” because of the impact

of structural adjustment policies in Tanzania in the mid-1990s (1995:49). In the same period, Chagalucha reported to have found “no evidence of homosexual commercial sex” in Mwanza city (2002; Moen 2014b:1075).

According to Dahoma *et al*, 34 percent of surveyed MSM indicated that they had paid for sex with other men in the previous month, whereas 65 percent had been paid to have sex with other men in the same month; however, 76 percent of surveyed MSM had had non-transactional same-sex sexual encounters within the same month (2009:191; Moen 2014b:1075). Hence, percentages of surveyed MSM do not suggest that all same-sex persons engage in same-sex practices for transactional reasons. But, it could also be argued that indeed transactional same-sex practices do exist, as some same-sex persons engage in sex work in Tanzania. Some researchers have noted that payment for anal sex has been found to be much higher than vaginal sex (Moen 2014b:1075; Hoffmann 2004: ii69–ii73). Some same-sex practicing men have been exposed to HIV infections through unprotected same-sex encounters, and hence, mainstream HIV and AIDS research and health programming need to include, rather than exclude, same-sex practicing men in the mainland Tanzania and the Zanzibar islands, as I argue in the following section on same-sex practices in relation to health and HIV/AIDS in Tanzania.

4.7 Same-Sex Practices, Health and HIV/AIDS

In 1872, Burton reported that people in Zanzibar held “unnatural crimes” as “conducive to health” (1872:419). From the eighteenth century, in England and its colonies, the term unnatural crimes “covered sodomy, bestiality, and any homosexual act or invitation to the act” (Cocks 2003:17). Missionaries, colonial officials and explorers such as Burton arrived in Zanzibar and then Tanganyika with their European eighteenth-century negative view of indigenous human sexualities, and same-sex sexuality as sodomy, bestiality and unnatural. Other texts in the same period discussed same-sex sexuality as pathology and anal penetrative sex as having adverse health outcomes (Russell 1935:342; Baumann 1899:64).

In 1899, Baumann reported that “passive pederasts” lost their “capacity for erection” as their “scrotum gradually [shrank]”, and most became “*walevi*”, which is Swahili designation for “sturdy

drunkards” (1899:64). According to Moen, Aggleton and Leshabari, Baumann’s argument is not based on any systematic data collection on same-sex practices in Zanzibar (2014a:1075). In 2007, which is 100 years later after Burton and Baumann, a study was conducted which found 60 percent of MSM in Zanzibar used “drugs other than alcohol”, and 13.9 percent had injected drugs. HIV prevalence among MSM in Unguja Zanzibar was 12.3 percent (Moen et al 2014a:1075), whereas the overall HIV prevalence in Zanzibar was 0.6 percent (Tanzania Commission for AIDS 2008a). HIV prevalence among those who injected drugs was 24 percent, and 10.6 percent among those who did not inject drugs (Moen 2014a:1076).

On the mainland of Tanzania, same-sex persons have also long been affected and infected by HIV and AIDS. The first reported case of HIV infection in a USSR citizen was of “a homosexual male who contracted HIV infection in 1982 in Tanzania.” (Pokrovski 1992:1; cf. Moen 2014a:1076;). Also, from 1997 to 1999, a study of 52 men infected with HIV in Dar es Salaam found that 17 percent of the examined men had been exposed to HIV through unprotected same-sex sexual encounters (Ng’walali 2005:134-135). Several researches conducted between 1988 and 2004 have identified unprotected same-sex as high risk in HIV infection (Urassa 2005:845). Leaders of LGBTIQ associations and NGOs working on HIV prevention programmes for LGBTIQ persons in Tanzania have variously rated LGBTIQ community as at high-risk group in HIV infection (Anyamele 2005:31).

Even though same-sex practices have existed in Tanzania from time immemorial, and continues to be practices and affected by the pandemic, mainstream HIV and AIDS research and health programming have excluded same-sex practices for over three decades now, and have only focused on heterosexual practices since the first 3 cases of AIDS were reported from Kagera region in 1983, one year after Russia reported that their citizen contracted HIV in Tanzania. By 1986, cases of AIDS were reported from all regions, and by 2000 there were 130,386 cases of AIDS in Tanzania. It is estimated that only 1 out of 5 cases are reported, and it is stated by the National AIDS Control programme (NACP) of Tanzania that heterosexual remains the main mode of HIV transmission, which accounted for 77.2 percent of all cases reported in 2000.

The argument for heterosexual as the main transmission of HIV is based on gender and marital status of reported cases. Of 130,386 cases of HIV and AIDS, there were more females, accounting for 105,481 cases, than the remaining males, and “unknown sexes”, accounting for 1,994 cases. Again, 44 percent of cases were married people, 6.6 percent divorced, 4.2 percent separated, 1.9 cohabiting, 24.2 percent single, 1.3 widow, 12.6 did not state their status, and there were 1,994 cases of “unknown sexes” (United Republic of Tanzania 2000:vi,3).

Here it is important to explain how these cases are collected. All hospitals collect HIV and AIDS cases from adult patients and parents of children who are brought to hospitals and clinics by using Clinical AIDS Surveillance forms. This data is collected and sent to regional headquarters; each region uses the data to compile quarterly reports, and submit them to the Ministry of Health (MOH) in Dar es Salaam. According to NACP Surveillance Report of 2013, the cumulative number of cases of HIV and AIDS reached 1,35,390 in 2012 that is 81 percent of the 1,472,418 PLHIV, of which 1,241,076 adults and 231,342 children (United Republic of Tanzania 2013:vi-vii,19).

The NACP report of 2013 excluded the “unknown sexes” category that was included in NACP report of 2000 (United Republic of Tanzania 2000:vi,3). In this NACP report, there were children and adults, females and males, whose sexes were reported as unknown. The “unknown sexes” and the “other” who did not state their status could represent individuals who consciously chose not to disclose their gender identities and sexualities and they felt that they could not fit into binary gender identity provided in the hospital forms. These could be children whose parents would not state their sexes; there are adults who also would have refrained from stating their sexes.

Same-sex sexualities, eroticisms and practices are realities of life in Tanzania. Same-sex practices is not only about individuals who identify themselves as same-sex oriented, but also persons who are just *mabasha*, who are married, single or other; they are from religious institutions or government portfolios, employed or unemployed, in homes or homeless on the streets of Dar es Salaam, Zanzibar, Mwanza, Iringa, Moshi, Dodoma, Arusha, the list could go on.

HIV prevalence among men who have sex with men is 12 percent in Zanzibar (Dahoma 2011:186); and due to the proximity of Zanzibar and Dar es Salaam in mainland Tanzania, similar percent of

HIV prevalence rate has been cited by Mmbaga, *et al* (2012:1). This high prevalence HIV is due to criminalization of same-sex sexuality, hate of the “other”, fear of the “unknown”, silence, secrecy, stigma against same-sex persons in the public sphere and health programming.

Although the NACP Surveillance Report of 2013 does not recognize same-sex practices as among modes of HIV transmission, the NACP Report of 2010 on the analysis of HIV/AIDS communication in the health sector, in eight regions of Arusha, Dar es Salaam, Dodoma, Iringa, Kigoma, Mara, Mtwara, and Shinyanga, identifies “homosexuals” as one of groups at high risk of HIV infection; others are sex workers, migrant workers, injecting drug users, drug users in general, and street boys and youth (United Republic of Tanzania 2010). In the next section, I explore a social phenomenon of urban street boys and youth in relation to their same-sex practices of *kunyenga* and real sex in Tanzania.

4.8 *Kunyenga* and Real Sex

Watoto wa mitaani, which is a Swahili phrase for street children, has become a social phenomenon of the Tanzania urban population which accounts for 26 percent of 51.14 million Tanzanians (TNBS 2016 Population Projection). In the cities of Dar Es Salaam, Morogoro, Mwanza, Mbeya, Dodoma, Arusha, Moshi, Tanga, Iringa, and Singida, it is common to find boys (ages 8 to 17 years) living on the streets alone or spending most of their day on the streets for survival. In 2004 a survey was conducted and found that Tanzania cities had about 40,000 street children (Lymo 2013:7). Street children have ways of initiating newcomers as well as forming and maintaining their identity. Both anal and vaginal penetrative sex among street children have been identified as ways of initiation rites and identity formation processes (Lugalla & Bwambo 1999:339). Same-gender anal sex, known as *kunyenga*, as initiation rite into street life, whereas heterosexual vaginal sex as rite of passage into manhood. Lockhart found that in Mwanza city all boys who were interviewed aged 8 to 11 involved only anal sex, while 37 percent of boys aged 12 to 14, 87 percent of boys aged 15-17, and 100 percent of boys aged 18-19, respectively, engaged in both anal sex with boys and men and vaginal sex with girls and women who were not necessarily living on the streets at the time of their sexual encounters (2002:304-305).

Kunyenga is a same-sex behavior practice, which is either mutual or non-mutual anal penetrative sex, among street boys found in most of the cities and towns in Tanzania. Research conducted in the city of Mwanza identified four patterns of *kunyenga* (Rajani et al 1996; Lockhart 2002). First sexual pattern of *kunyenga* is a form of initiation rite into new identity formation in which new boys on the street life are anally penetrated by more experienced boys on the streets. A second pattern of *kunyenga* occurs among boys who normally sleep together on the same spot; in this pattern, it is typically common for a boy to wake up at night and anally penetrate another boy who wakes up in the morning and finds that he has been anally penetrated. These two patterns are not normally considered as real sex; but the third pattern of *kunyenga*, which occurs between boys who are of the same age and are good friends, is considered as sexual expression of mutual affection and consideration between mutually consenting boys (Rajani et al 1996:310; Lalor 2004:834). A fourth pattern of *kunyenga* pertains to boys who are sexually penetrated by older men who are either usually known or not known by the boys; and these sexual encounters sometimes involves monetary transaction or presents. In Rajani's study, same-sex sexual encounters between urban street boys and older men accounted for about 5% of all potentially risky sexual behaviours among street boys in Mwanza (1996:307).

Among street boys, sexual activities are a means “for maintaining the hierarchy of power and authority characterizing their relationship with each other... [and] their strong interdependence, in turn, is their most effective strategy for survival” (Lockhart 2002:307). So, same-sex sexual relations, closeness and intimacy could be interpreted as means of wellbeing and survival among urban street boys.

In the previous sections, we have explored transactional same-sex practices, the exclusion of same-sex practicing men in health and HIV/AIDS programming, as well as *kunyenga* and real sex among urban street boys in Tanzania. It is obvious that same-sex sexuality is a contested and highly politicized terrain since colonial times to the present. The next section examines contemporary legacies of sexual practices and politics in urban Tanzania, which originates from colonial times.

4.9 Colonial Origins and Contemporary Legacies of Sexual Politics in Tanzania

Same-sex sexuality is a site of struggle and a highly-politicized terrain since the times of the tyranny of colonization to the present political rhetoric against same-sex persons in Tanzania. Archival researches based at the Tanzania National Archives have uncovered numerous evidences of same-sex sexual encounters, and court cases on same-sex violation from the German colonial period, which lasted from early 1880s to 1919. Dar es Salaam, whose construction was started by Sultan Majid of Zanzibar in 1865, became the capital of German colonial government. Being the government capital, and an economic centre, after Zanzibar and Bagamoyo, Dar es Salaam had indigenous female sex workers and male same-sex workers; there were well-known brothels, one of which was associated with male same-sex workers, though not all same-sex persons were associated with the brothel nor same-sex work. Both brothels were frequented by indigenous and European men alike. During their power struggles, German colonial officials politically used same-sex persons as weapons, and accused each other of same-sex sexual violation with indigenous men, because the accusation of same-sex relations between colonial officials and colonial subjects constituted a serious affront (Schmidt 2008:26).

In 1908, Eberhardt Freiherr von Waechter, a senior administrative officer, head of finances and customs, was accused by his colleagues of having same-sex relations with indigenous. In 1911, two indigenous men accused, accusing each other of engaging in same-sex relations, mentioned Waechter during court proceedings. These cases were dismissed because of lack of evidence as all indigenous defendants denied having had sexual encounters with the German government officials. But even if sexual encounters had occurred, it would not be surprising for the denials. In November 1910, Willy von Roy, the editor of German East Africa colony newspaper, the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* (DOAZ) wrote that German government officials in the colony were engaging in sodomy; in the editorial, Georg Rechenberg (1861-1935), governor of the colony (1906-19012), was implicated as well.

Rechenberg became a governor of the colony towards the end of the *Maji Maji* War (1905-1907) in which his predecessor, governor Gustav Adolf von Gotzen (1901-1906), was held responsible for using extreme violence against the indigenous before and during the war. From 15 April 1906,

when Rechenberg who was a Catholic from Prussia became governor, he introduced somewhat civil administration, downsized colonial military presence, avoided imposition of power through extreme military force, and introduced some protection of indigenous labourers. These reforms classed with precolonial interests, and faced oppositions from Rechenberg colleagues, including Roy the editor of DOAZ, the military, settlers and Protestant missions in the German Empire (Sunseri 2000:569,0571).

After DOAZ published German government officials engaging in same-sex relations, Rechenberg filed charges of defamation against the editor. During court case proceedings, chief magistrate of Dar es Salaam, Hans Eggerbrecht, excluded all the public especially colonial subjects (Schmidt 2008:33). In the same year, Governor Rechenberg was accused of having same-sex relations with his servant named Max, and another man named *binti* Hamiss, a male same-sex worker. One of the witnesses before the court was Theodor, a convert from an Anglican mission. It was stated by witnesses before the chief magistrate court that governor regularly came down to Max's cottage. Max lowered his trouser and bent over his *kitanda* (a bed). With his trousers around his ankles, the governor sodomized Max, and he seemed to be extremely aroused. After that Max would clean the governor, they would put on their clothes, and then the governor would retire to his palace (Schmidt 2008:47).

In my reading of the foregoing accounts, it is hard to establish whether the sexual encounters with the governor did occur; but if they did happen, then, first, the indigenous accounts attest to the widespread existence of same-sex practices among the indigenous society. Second, the indigenous witnesses do represent an imaginary terrain of colonial violence and subjugation. The indigenous accounts provide insight into how colonizers used same-sex as a political weapon not only to discredit each other in public through the media and court cases, but also to sexually violate and subjugate the indigenous. The indigenous court cases demonstrate their intimate knowledge of sexual politics of colonial government and its imposition of power through force to maintain their system of colonial hegemony and domination. For colonial power, violence was a means of enforcing superiority beyond the initial conquest, but eventually this method proved to be impracticable.

According to German law, same-sex sexual violence did not exist, and so the indigenous were tried for practicing sodomy, whereas Europeans were tried under Paragraph 175 of German Criminal Code of 1871 that prosecuted “unnatural fornication” between men with sentences of up to four years in prison (Schmidt 2008:31-32). Yet, both heterosexual and same-sex relations with colonial subjects were considered a defamation of the white population and colonial authority before the indigenous (Schmidt 2008:48). Colonial and indigenous perceptions were incompatible; German law recognized sodomy as a crime, the indigenous complained not about sodomy but violation of their masculinity (Schmidt 2008:56). Even the terms used to refer to same-sex sexuality were not the same, which is crucial in comprehending their meanings in the context of the indigenous and that of the German colonial officials. In Swahili, there was a common linguistic association between effeminacy and same-sex desire. The verb *kuainishwa*, which means “to be chosen” or to be set apart, was used for male slaves and servants who passively had same-sex relations with their masters. It implied they were set apart for their newly assigned identity. The verb implies both sexual relations and unequal relationship, or power differential between the master and the servant. Some rejected “to be chosen”, broke the silence, and took the matters to the magistrate court in Dar es salaam.

In accordance with German laws, courts referred to same-sex practices as pederasty, because it was perceived to be unnatural sex (Schmidt 2008:56). Another term, *kufira*, which is to anally penetrate, or the passive *kufirwa*, to be penetrated. Other terms that highlight the role and gender distinctions of same-sex persons of both sexes are *mke-si-mume*, meaning “woman-not-man”, *mzebe*, “fool”, *hanisi*, “impotent or frigid woman.” Michael Haberlandt argued that men who were anally penetrated became impotent, an argument which reflects nineteenth-century Western prejudices, and his own ethnographical observation. However, according to Schmidt, the fact that colonial masters chose servants to serve their sexual desires, and the account of one “sodomy” court case in which the plaintiff claimed that sexual violation made him impotent, it would not be surprising if some experiences of same-sex sexual violation caused impotence to the victims (2008:58).

Colonial sexual politics and same-sex sexuality does not present us with a simple model (Aldrich 2003:406), but it is certain that colonial violence was rampant, and sexual encounters between

colonizer and the colonized involved violence and domination. However, there existed mutual and consensual adult same-sex relations in society. There existed same-sex practices, same-sex work and brothels. In one of the court cases, magistrate Klein allegedly claimed that initially same-sex workers came from Zanzibar. To solve the immediate crisis of the colonial government in Dar es salaam, Governor Rechenberg moved the brothels to Zanzibar in March 1910, and thus same-sex was Orientalized. This was never a solution, same-sex workers continued to offer their services openly in Ng'ambo Zanzibar. Since same-sex sexuality was, and still is, a human reality, it existed beyond Dar es Salaam and the coastal regions into the interior, among the Kuria, Nyakyusa, Chagga, Kaguru, to name a few (Tamale 2009:50; Wilson 1951:87; Moen 2008:1067; Beidelman 1961:14). Colonial system, and its sexual politics disrupted indigenous knowledge systems, which includes sexual practices, feelings, ideas, fantasies, excitements and aesthetics.

Sexualized relationships between the colonizer and the colonized were part of the package of colonial violence that created a “nervous condition” on the colonial subjects (Fanon 1963:20). German colonization and the colonial system were hegemonic, dominating, segregating and violent. In Tanzania, research reveals that there was no clear colonial policy on racial segregation; but construction ordinances, which were indirect policies to segregate cities, did exist (Smiley 2010:180). Dar es salaam, like other cities such as Iringa, Morogoro, Dodoma, and Unguja Zanzibar, was constructed according to zones based on types of buildings permitted in each zone. Buildings of a European type were constructed on zone 1; residential and commercial buildings on zone 2; and indigenous style buildings on zone 3. Zone 1 occupied premium land with low density. Zones 1 and 3 were located as far away from each other as possible; and zone 2 served as a buffer between zones 1 and 3. These construction ordinances eventually determined racial segregation, and they developed Swahili names: zone 3 became known as *Uswahilini*, which means the place of black people; zone 2 became *Uhindini*, the place of Indians; and zone 1 became *Uzunguni*, the place of Europeans, white people. These names have continued in post-colonial times, and the zones dictate socio-economic status and class. In colonial times, zone 2 was mostly a shared space, a racialized and sexualized point of contact between the colonizer and the colonized, the colonial master and the colonial subjects; businesses, factories, social interactions, brothels, sexual relations, same-sex encounters did occur in zone 2, but highly monitored and segregated.

In this dominating and segregating colonial context, postcolonial theory is instrumental in understanding the sexualized encounter between the colonizer and the colonized. Homi Bhabha explores the dualism between menace and mimicry; the former refers to how colonial state constantly resorts to physical force, whereas the latter refers to how colonial subjects creatively accommodates and subverts colonial power. So, mimicry becomes a threat to colonial authority (1984:125-133). Sexualized encounters between the colonizer and the subjects created intolerable sexual tension on both, which was released in their respective violent acts and subversive acts. This scenario is evident in the Rechenberg scandal, which was published in the colonial newspaper, DOAZ. Most of the charges of same-sex violations were brought by the indigenous men against colonial masters and settlers. It can be argued that same-sex sexual violence was particularly sexual othering. As Achille Mbembe exemplifies, colonial violence as “a phallic gesture”, a sexualized othering of the colonized inscribed in their bodies, and thus violence “pursues the colonized even in sleep and dream.” (2001:175). It is an inscription of power differential in the bodies of the colonized for subjugation.

In 1919, the German colonial rule ended, and British took over the territory following the First World War (1914-1918). In 1922, German East Africa was renamed Tanganyika, as a British colonial protectorate, which was mandated territory under the League of Nations. The British rule imposed stricter legal prohibitions on same-sex sexuality modeled on “carnal knowledge against the order of nature”, under Section 377 of the penal code of the British Law which had been introduced in India in 1860, and replicated throughout their colonies in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean and Pacific islands (Huma Rights Watch 2008:5-6; Schmidt 2008:54-55). Tanzania Sexual Offences Special Provisions Act of 1998, which continues the colonial legacy, enhanced the punishment from 15 to 30 years or life imprisonment. In its prohibition of same-sex sexuality, Sexual Offences Special Provisions Act of 1998 states,

any person who has carnal knowledge of any person against the order of nature ... commits an offence, and is liable to imprisonment for life and in any case to imprisonment for a term of not less than thirty years (Ottosson 2010:19; United Republic of Tanzania, 1998)

Zanzibar, which is semi-autonomous, had a different legal system, though it shares the Court of Appeal with the mainland Tanzania. Zanzibar provides that a “person who will be convicted of sodomy will be liable to 25 years imprisonment” (Ottoosson 2008:37; Moen 2008:1076). In both Zanzibar and mainland Tanzania, this legal prohibition is frequently interpreted to prohibit same-sex sexual relations. In 2009, Tanzania Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs stated that same-sex sexual relations were unacceptable in society and any person found involved in same-sex sexual relations is guilty of felony and liable to imprisonment (UN-ICCPR 2007:27). Human Rights Committee (HRC) of the United Nations argued that Tanzania penal code of 1945, which was amended in 1998 by the Sexual Offences Special Provisions Act, Section 154 and 155, violates the right to privacy and the right to equality without discrimination, in article 2(1) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). The HRC also reiterated its concern for “the criminalization of consenting same-sex sexual relations between adults and the lack of measures to prevent discrimination against same-sex persons” (2009:6). The HRC called upon Tanzania to decriminalize consenting same-sex relations between adults and take measures to them from being discriminated and harassed (International Service for Human Rights 2009:6; IGLHRC & Global Rights 2009:5).

In 2003, despite the legal prohibition that is still in effect, Tanzania identified MSM as a “vulnerable population” in HIV infection (The Prime Minister’s Office 2003:28). Similarly, Tanzania’s national multi-sectoral strategic framework “acknowledges the HIV-related vulnerability” of MSM, and proposes the need to decriminalize same-sex sexual activities so that MSM can “access the necessary preventive and care services to protect themselves and prevent the spread of HIV infection to the general population” (United Republic of Tanzania 2010:23). Also, the National HIV and AIDS policy stated, as its objectives, first to “address the risk of HIV transmission among MSM”; second, to carry out “research in order to understand the magnitude of anal sex and its possible contribution to the HIV and AIDS pandemic”; third, to “provide HIV education on the risk of anal sex and access to preventive and care services”; and forth, to ensure that there is “access to HIV related services without discrimination to contain the pandemic.” (United Republic of Tanzania 2010:23).

Tanzania created a commendable HIV preventive programme for MSM, which was recognized by international organizations as indeed progressive (IGLHRC 2009:1). This brought great hope, and it was perceived by same-sex persons, allies and activists as a *Kairos* moment. It was an opportunity for LGBTIQ people of faith, activists, Christians, religious leaders, theologians and all people of good will to begin to engage with issues of human sexuality and same-sex sexuality in the context of HIV. Despite commendable government policies, no expenditure on “programmes on MSM” appeared on the United Nations General Assembly Special Session (UNGASS) report from Tanzania in 2008 (Tanzania Commission for AIDS 2008b:42). However, at community levels same-sex persons have continued to organize themselves as community-based support groups.

In 2003, fact-finding research on MSM and WSW discovered four community-based groups of same-sex persons (Anyamele et al 2005:34). Since 2003, there has been an increasingly community organizing among same-sex persons in Tanzania; most non-governmental organizations working with LGBTIQ operate underground because of the legal context of Tanzania. For example, there is a lesbian organization with over 200 members that operates in all regions of Tanzania (Morgan & Wieringa 2005:54). However, there are such non-governmental organizations as the LGBT Voice of Tanzania and *Sisi kwa Sisi* Foundation, which have come out of the closet and attempted to raise the voice of many voiceless and marginalized same-sex persons. Through community organizing, same-sex persons have been able to participate in regional and international conferences to network with other LGBTIQ activists, allies and theologians in the struggle for justice (Kiragu 2006; Parkinson 2007).

Same-sex persons are increasingly coming out and they have been much more visible since 2003, when Tanzania recognized same-sex persons as among Most-at-Risk Populations (MARPs) in HIV transmission. Some portrayals of same-sex persons, who decide to come out in the public sphere, have been minoritizing, stigmatizing, disapproving and condemning; some representations of same-sex persons have been affirming, supportive and inclusive. In 2011, a *shoga* born as Ibrahim Mohamed, now Suzana Mohamed, also known as Aunt Suzy, came out on a radio station and was interviewed by Dina Marios, a radio presenter, on the *Leo Tena* programme of Clouds FM Radio. According to the interview, Suzana was married to a man who was at the same time in

a heterosexual relationship. So, Suzana was a second “wife” in a relationship which could be understood as homo-heterosexual polygamy. Suzana has been living with HIV for over ten years (*Habari Leo* 2011).

In early 2016, another female *shoga*, Makiza, was on Global TV online of Tanzania. Makiza stated that she is a “homosexual”, and has never been emotionally and sexually attracted to any man. She tried for many years to be with a man but she never felt any sexual attraction. She says that “I was born this way and I have never felt being in a sexual relationship with a man” (my translation, *Global TV Online* August 6, 2016). On 28th June 2016, *shoga* Godfrey Majunga was interviewed on the *Take One* programme of Clouds TV (2016). Godfrey prefers to be called Kaoge. In the introduction, the TV presenter stated that *ushoga* is a common social phenomenon in Tanzania, and *shoga* are more visible in Tanzania at present than before. She stated that it does not mean *ushoga* did not exist before, but there is now more visibility of *ushoga*. Zamaradi emphasized that she did not intend to promote or judge *ushoga*, but to understand the phenomenon through *shoga* themselves. Godfrey stated that since he was very young, he never fitted into male categories; and some people in the village in Nyakato Musoma called him “Godi the girl”. When Kaoge finished school, he got into a sexual relationship with another man and they happily lived together in the village. However, because of stigma, and discrimination Kaoge and his partner moved to the city of Mwanza. Kaoge insisted that he should be recognized as a female born in a male body. In her interview, Kaoge stated that she had access to health services, free lubricants and condoms from health facilities operated by NGOs; and she added that “if I didn’t use them, I don’t know where I’d be on this earth” (Clouds TV).

As seen in the stories, all three persons have clearly stated in their interviews that they have had not only sexual relations with their same-sex attracted persons but also with heterosexual men and women. There are more same-sex persons who have come out, and their real LGBTIQ bodies have become visible on TVs, radio interviews, social platforms and the media in general; but the aforesaid are just few examples of same-sex persons coming out of hiding to declare that they do exist and that they need to be recognized just as they are and be provided necessary social services, especially HIV preventive and care services. The increased visibility of *ushoga* in Tanzania today

is due to diverse factors, including historical context, social norms, globalization, technological advances, the rise of local and international LGBTIQ activism, and a changing political landscape.

Although the national multi-sectoral strategic framework and the national HIV and AIDS policy acknowledge the vulnerability of MSM in HIV transmission, there have been some recent socio-political developments to repress same-sex persons, and close HIV preventive and care services for same-sex persons. This repression comes as a reaction particularly against male same-sex persons coming out on television; as government officials have stated that men who “claimed” to be women “glorified gayism” on television. One member of parliament stated that the TV station “had broken Tanzania’s morals and ethics by glorifying gayism” (*Deutsch Welle* 2017). Tanzania Communication Regulatory Authority (TCRC) ordered the TV station to air an apology for five days consecutively.

In July 2016, the Tanzania deputy minister of health launched what he termed a campaign to break down the “homosexuality syndicate”; and he campaigned against anything he considered to be “promoting gayism”. This anti-gay rhetoric involved arresting persons who were openly same-sex attracted persons, and all allegedly perceived to be same-sex persons for an anal test in hospitals to find if they have had penetrative anal sex (*Deutsch Welle* 2017). The deputy minister of health stated that he would publish names of allegedly same-sex sex persons and same-sex sex workers “selling their bodies”, and that all those involved in same-sex sex work would be arrested and prosecuted. In the same anti-gay campaign, the minister of health announced closure of HIV services for same-sex persons at health centres operated by NGOs and charities. This anti-gay move led to suspension of provision of HIV preventive and care services for same-sex persons in 40 health facilities operated by NGOs. Speaking to a cheering crowd, the minister of health stated that the government was going to search for same-sex persons through Facebook and Instagram, and even those who “follow” them on the social media would be “just as guilty as the homosexual.” At the same time, the minister of justice announced that registrations for all NGOs that were found to support same-sex persons would be suspended. This anti-gay rhetoric focused on male same-sex sexualities, and there was complete silence on female same-sex sexualities in Tanzania. On another occasion, the deputy minister of health stated that “the government has long arms and it

will quietly arrest all those involved. Once arrested, they will help find others” (*Deutsch Welle* 2017).

In a similar manner, the regional commissioner for the port city of Dar es salaam, announced the launch of arrests for same-sex persons in clubs and other public places frequented by same-sex persons. Since July 2016, men suspected to be same-sex attracted have been arrested, detained and taken to hospitals for anal tests to confirm whether they have had penetrative anal sex. In late 2016, one of the 12 men who were reported to be arrested in Zanzibar stated that he felt the anal test was like he had “gone somewhere and gotten raped”, and he could not protest as the test was done under police supervision (Edith Honan 2017). In February 2017, the deputy minister of health ordered the arrest of three men, James, Dani and Kaoge, suspected of advocating “homosexuality”; he wanted the three men prosecuted for promoting “sodomy” through social media. It is unclear whether the three men were prosecuted. On March 4, 2017, it was reported that 16 men suspected to be *mashoga* were arrested by the police in Zanzibar and taken to hospital for anal tests; according to the report 11 were found to have been engaged in penetrative anal sex, and were going to be prosecuted. A police officer is reported saying, “the work of searching for *mashoga* continues and we will make sure these [same sex sexual] activities are suppressed because they are prohibited legally, culturally and socially” (*IPP Media* March 4, 2017).

Although there have been some violent acts committed against same-sex persons for the past ten years, the recent anti-gay socio-political rhetoric is likely to instigate further stigma, scapegoating, discrimination, and violence against same-sex persons in Tanzania. While some have supported this anti-gay rhetoric, others have cautioned that such political discourse would likely push same-sex persons into hiding and therefore undermine the progress that Tanzania has made on HIV preventive and care services. Because same-sex persons are an at-risk group, and HIV transmission among them is estimated to be 23 percent that is higher than the general population, HIV transmission among same-sex persons might increase. Consequently, this increase in HIV infection is likely to spill over into the general population, since same-sex persons do not live in isolation, and in their human sexual behaviors and practices they interact with heterosexual men and women, as they are part of the general population.

Mabasha, who are normally considered to be “ordinary men”, in Swahili *wanaume wa kawaida*, do not only engage in heterosexual sexual intercourse with women in the general population, but also, they have same-sex sexual intercourse with male *mashoga*. Sexuality is a complex human phenomenon, and indeed the whole Tanzania population lives in a compound web of sexualities in which there is interconnectedness and interplays of human sexual behaviors and practices, which have survived from pre-colonial societies, but shaped by later forces of colonialism, missionary Christianization, post-colonialism and globalization. Hence, contemporary religious discourse on same-sex sexuality practices is a consequence of colonial missionary legacy, as I exhibit in the next section of my discussion.

4.10 Missionary Legacy and Contemporary Religious Discourse on Same-Sex Practices

4.10.1 Colonial Missionary Legacy

Since colonial times, religious discourse has shaped, and continues to shape the socio-political rhetoric around issues of sexuality, and in this case same-sex sexuality, with both overt and covert moral guidelines which dictate patterns of abjection in Tanzanian society. Colonial Christian missionary and subsequent post-colonial literal deployment of biblical texts in all matters, teaching that indigenous practices and its knowledge systems are depraved and sinful, a negative perception of sex, the human body as naturally sinful, HIV infection because of sin, AIDS as punishment from God, as well as the creation of dichotomies of moral and immoral, natural and unnatural, Christian and un-Christian, African and un-African, all these have continued to shape religio-cultural and socio-political rhetoric on same-sex sexuality in Tanzania. This missionary theological legacy does however conflict with the true spirit of Ujamaa, and confounds attempts to map out collective strategic pathways of HIV prevention and care services in Tanzania.

Tanzania, whose population has currently reached about fifty million people, has over one hundred and twenty-seven ethnic peoples, with their respective indigenous religious cultures that have persistently existed from pre-colonial past. However, the present dominant religious culture, which permeates all social, political, economic, gender and sexual discourses, predominantly derives from, first, indigenous patriarchal religious cultures, second, Arabic culture and Islamic traditions, and third, colonial and male-centred Christian traditions (Anglican, Catholic, Lutheran, Moravian,

and neo-Pentecostal denominations as well as charismatic Christian ministries). There are approximately 61.4 percent Christian, 35 percent Muslim, 1.8 percent indigenous religions, 0.2 percent other, and 1.4 percent unaffiliated. In the island of Zanzibar, the Muslim population is about 98 percent (*The World Factbook* 2017). Although these religious statistics are still debated, particularly on the mainland Tanzania (Ng'atigwa 2013:23), they provide a panoramic view of the religious landscape in Tanzania.

Sexual sins, particularly over same-sex sexuality, preoccupy the contemporary religious landscape and discourse in Tanzania, which is rooted in the readings of religious texts, particularly biblical texts, since the early engagements with biblical texts in Tanzania during colonial and missionary times (Magomba 2016:106-109). From 1844 onwards, in the early encounters of the colonizers and missionaries on one side and the indigenous peoples on the other side, the Bible has had significant roles, one of which as being an “object of power” and control for both sides. Through the biblical texts, colonizers and missionaries gained controlled over the local people. Similarly, conquered local chiefs from various ethnic peoples wrestled the bible from the hands of missionaries to exert power over their subjects.

Through violent colonization process and literal deployment of biblical texts in the mission stations and schools, indigenous knowledge, history, social systems, religion, culture, tradition, economy, sexualities and customs of dress, mission schools and stations were set up like little colonies; they were “a world apart from the village-world of the people. People came to the mission, not the mission to the people” (Shorter 1974:22). In the missionary eyes, the indigenous village was part of the dark and evil empire of Satan from which the people had to be urgently saved. To join the mission station and school, and become a Christian, one had to leave indigenous traditions and culture, which the missionary considered to be primitive and sinful.

Colonial agents and missionaries were obsessed with what they perceived to be indigenous perverse sexual cultures, which were erroneously framed as bizarre, primitive and dangerous and needed to be regulated (Tamale 2014:152-154). Among the Gogo, the sexual initiation dance of *muheme* and night youth dance of *msunyunho* were banned (Mapana 2007:81-82). In pre-colonial Tanzania, the body and sexualities were celebrated, but in Christian and colonial times the body

became the seat of sin and indigenous sexualities (practices, feelings, ideas, fantasies, excitements and aesthetics) became sinful. Biblical texts were translated and used to reinforce the sinfulness of the body and the immorality of the indigenous sexualities. Missionary translators of the Swahili bible were reluctant to use indigenous divine concepts, and instead they drew such words from Arabic, “even in cases where suitable Swahili terms of Bantu origin exist” (Mojola 2004:94). For example, the following terms in the Swahili Union Version (SUV) (1952) translation derive from Arabic: *kuhani* (priest), *nabii* (prophet), *roho* (spirit), *sadaka* (offering), *hukumu* (condemn), *imani* (faith), *binadam* (human being), *kitabu* (book), *zaburi* (psalm), *baraka* (blessing), *dunia* (earth) and many others in SUV and other translations since the arrival of Johann Krapf in 1844. Also, in SUV “ancestors” was translated as “fathers” (*baba*). Missionaries regarded indigenous religious concepts as deserving annihilation. In this sense, Bible translations had to do with, in Aloo Mojola’s terms, “the ‘macropolitics’ of empire, and the promotion of the interests and well-being of empire” (Mojola 2004:101). Similarly, as Musa Dube rightly argues, “Bible translations were packed with colonizing ideology as means of providing sacred textual evidence to indigenous readers that African cultures were evil and not worth retaining” (Dube 2013:15). SUV and other colonial translations of the bible are still read by many people and in most communities, and so their violent colonizing impact continues in the present Tanzania.

In their processes, Christianity and colonization collaborated to alter people’s mindset, enforce exclusive sexual norms to regulate bodies, and condemn the indigenous people as spiritually depraved, but they could only be “saved” by acting on Eurocentric moralities and what the bible prescribed (Magomba 2016:106). Hence, any controversial issue, or rather anything that did not fit into the dominant “Christian” narrative, could be disapproved and confronted with this common but fundamental question, in Gunda’s terms, “is it in the Bible” or “is it written in the Bible?” (Gunda 2013:8). In this context, the biblical texts are given as the “Word of God”, in Swahili *Neno la Mungu*, and this hermeneutical approach assumes the bible as having only one voice. In this sense, biblical texts that condone slavery, polygamy, women’s subjugation, sexual and gender violence, rape, child sacrifice, massacre of “other” people who are not God’s people become literally part of the word of God.

Readings of the bible in colonial and mission stations provided literal readings of biblical texts that largely repressed other ways of reading the bible that are conscious of the context of the local people and that of the bible. Through colonialism and mission, the mind and spirit were epistemologically engrossed. Early missionaries, being themselves products of Protestantism as well as the eighteenth and early nineteenth century religious revivals, saw themselves as the bearers of the message of salvation to save the indigenous from unchristian cultural life styles, the grip of the devil, and “the darkness of not knowing God and Jesus Christ” (Mozorewa 1985:30). Indigenous knowledge systems, social forms and sexualities, were replaced by literal conservative biblical pietism that emphasized the repentance of sins, morality and heavenly salvation for the “heathen”. Through colonial laws enforced by the colonial military machinery, the physical bodies were subdued. Beside the colonial legacy of laws and morality about human sexuality, literal reading of biblical texts in colonial translations could be considered another legacy of colonial Christian traditions.

Biblical texts have literally, though selectively, been read, interpreted, lived and performed in many ways such as in private reading and public performances in church services, weddings and gospel rallies known as “crusades”, in the media, and bible stories through local films, televisions, newspapers, gospel music, popular music and literature. In these ways, biblical texts have created a cultural context in which most Tanzanians live. It is a context in which reading and interpretation of biblical texts do matter; they indeed shape our world, and have life and death consequences (West 1999:35). Biblical texts and their interpretations do shape how the state, the church and ordinary people respond to issues of human sexuality and other social realities. In West’s words, “the effects of our readings are felt and found in flesh and blood” (West 1999:16). Also, as Nye rightly argues, “they [texts] are often the means by which we think about and experience the world” (Nye 2003:175).

Religious texts have been part of our wider field of the multicultural context of Tanzania, and so over the decades, these legacies of colonial texts, biblical texts, qur’anic texts and Christian traditions, shaped by later forces of post-colonialism, nationalism and globalization, have formed a supposedly African Tanzania culture, here rendered as the dominant religious culture. This culture, claimed to be indigenous, is normally applied in discrimination and violence against same-

sex persons. In November 2011, the Tanzania minister of foreign affairs stated: “Our position on this [same-sex sexuality] matter is crystal clear. Our moral values and culture will always prevail ...” (Daily News, Dar es Salaam, November 5, 2011). This is a religious claim, though it might not be perceived as such. In fact, patterns of human behaviours, whether in private or public spaces, as well as the way people define themselves and others, are shaped by religious myths, concepts and beliefs about the creator God, perceptions of the cosmos and humankind, good and evil, divine rewards and punishments. Religious concepts do inform culture and how people culturally define themselves (Nye 2003:175). It is the socio-cultural religious context that creates myths of scapegoating minorities and vulnerable people. It is this context that overtly and covertly condones violence against those who are sexually “diverse and different other” (Wallace 2003:4), as portrayed in the following section on the present religious discourse.

4.10.2 Contemporary Religious Discourse

The Bukoba Statement of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania states, “We acknowledge that homosexual people, with their differences and special problems, are present within our society and church.” The Statement further states that “homosexual acts and sodomy” are against the “Holy Scripture”, and cites the following texts: Genesis 1:31; 2:24; Romans 1:26-27; 1 Corinthians 6:9-10. According to the Statement, “homosexuality, its Acts, Sodomy and Same Sex” are “divergent sexual views and acts [... which are] sinful and evil” and they result from “globalization and changing views of human sexuality”. Also, the “intensification” of HIV and AIDS is attributed to same-sex sexuality among other factors (*ELCT*, May 5, 2004). In 2003, the Anglican Church of Tanzania (ACT) issued a statement that “homosexuality is contrary to the teaching of the Word of God. It is a sin” (2003:1). Also, it stated that a lawful sexual union is only between a man and a woman because this is the foundation of human family. ACT’s statement assumes biblical texts as having one voice, “the Word of God”; thus, same-sex sexuality is against the message of the bible and therefore sinful and unlawful.

Since 2008, some ACT dioceses have been actively involved in conservative evangelical conferences that aim “to preserve and promote the truth of the biblical gospel”, “the Word of God”, which is “the good news of salvation, liberation and transformation” (GAFCON 2008). This

position is opposed to sexual diversities as immoral, and upholds the view that union between man and woman is the only place for sexual intimacy, and those who are not married must commit themselves to abstinence. Not all of ACT dioceses align with GAFCON, but even those aligning with Canterbury are unlikely to endorse same-sex sexuality in their churches. In some sermons, speeches and church choir songs in ACT, same-sex persons are called “sinners, evildoers, immoral, [and] perverts”; in November 2013, an ACT priest was suspended for affirming that LGBTIQ persons are human beings just like anyone else, and they are not a threat to the church and society, and that the church must listen to their stories of lived experiences (Magomba 2017:108-109). In various events, ACT has often invited evangelical guest speakers from North America, Europe and Australia, some of whom have only imported hate towards same-sex persons in Tanzania. In November 8, 2014, ACT invited Dr. Gary Badcock from Huron University College, Ontario, Canada, to deliver a keynote speech at 100th anniversary of St. Philip’s Theological College in Kongwa Tanzania. In his speech, Badcock “claimed that homosexuality is a ‘first world problem’”, and that Tanzanians should be very worried about homosexuals coming to “‘steal’ their children.” Badcock’s statements were reported as being hateful, homophobic, and problematic (Denis Leblanc 2014), which could only increase discrimination against Tanzanian same-sex persons and push them into more risk of being violated.

Equally, Pentecostal churches and charismatic movements within mainline churches hold strong views against same-sex sexuality. One such movement is the Marian Faith Healing Ministry (MFHM) founded by Father Felician Nkwera in 1987 (Nkwera 2007:23). MFHM started as a Catholic movement that combines aspects of global evangelical, Pentecostal, Catholic and indigenous healing discourses. The MFHM has over two million members, and has branches all over Tanzania, and several countries in Africa as well as branches in London, UK, and Texas, USA (Nkwera 2007:18). According to the MFHM movement, to fight against HIV and AIDS pandemic, first, people must love God to overcome moral degeneration of society and political elite. Second, people must repent of personal and sexual sins, adultery, fornication, promiscuity, and homosexuality, which is considered as a disorder that needs to be treated (Nkwera 1995:118; Nkwera 2003:4). The aforesaid sins, in MFHM theology, are against the Holy Spirit because they are committed on and in the human body, which is the temple of the Holy Spirit. Immoral sexual practices compromise Christian purity of the human body (Wilkens 2005:6).

Therefore, sexual intercourse must be legally and religiously regulated and restricted within heterosexual union for procreation. MFHM forbids uses of any contraception in marriage, and rejects abortion in whatever circumstances. MFHM maintains that sexual sins and the immorality of political actors contribute to the spread of HIV and AIDS; and that the nation state must be a “political salvation” of all citizens (Wilkens 2005:6). MFHM calls upon churches, mosques and the nation state to turn to God because the AIDS pandemic is the divine punishment for rampant promiscuity and unrestricted homosexual practices which characterizes Western lifestyle. For anti-AIDS campaigns to succeed there must be repentance of sins for the public, the political and religious leaders; and correspondingly, there must be control of immoral sexual conducts (Nkwera 2003:120). The Catholic Church of Tanzania does not share MFHM view that HIV and AIDS is a punishment from God; however, it connects HIV and AIDS to immorality and reprehensible sexual behaviours, and considers homosexuality as disordered and gravely immoral (Wilkens 2005:6; Benagiano 2011:701)

These “hate-filled messages”, from priests and leaders of religious institutions, and reinforced by politicians, community members, elders, parents, peers, and members of the media, have indeed spiritually violated the “diverse and sexually other” (Fleshman 2003:95). Hate speeches and messages from religious leaders, church pulpits, and church institutions do influence social norms and political discourses in ways that scapegoat, discriminate and violate persons perceived to be sexually different from conventional hetero-patriarchal sexual paradigms. Consequently, in the next section, I focus on religion and violence against same-sex persons, and how scapegoating and discrimination against them play out as social realities.

4.11 Scapegoating, Discrimination and Violence against Same-sex Persons

Religious violence against same-sex persons in Tanzania occurs in different layers, such as psychological, physical, sexual and spiritual violence. Spiritual violence influences other layers of violence as it is “the worst kind of violence”, and it takes place in many diverse contexts beyond the LGBTIQ community (Fleshman 2003:97). It also takes place in the contexts of race, ethnicity, gender, class and disability. Name-calling and physical wounds heal much faster than “bruised feelings, battered spirits, and damaged identities” caused by those who are expected to exercise

unconditional love (Fleshman 2003:97). Spiritual violence is sustained by hate speeches and hate-filled messages in the context of religion and interpretations of texts that dehumanizes LGBTIQ persons because of sexual difference. Hence physical violence, and other layers of violence, become natural outgrowth of spiritual violence. There is interplay between what happens in the context of religion and what occurs in the larger societal context affecting same-sex persons

It all begins with scapegoating, which leads to discrimination and eventually violence. To analyze the intersection between religion and violence, and how scapegoating and discrimination play out, I draw from Rene Girard's theory of violence, particularly concepts of scapegoat and violence mechanisms in human societies. I employ this theory to highlight the nature of violence against sexual minorities in Tanzania. According to Girard, the word scapegoat can be defined in biblical, anthropological and psychosocial terms (Girard 1987:73-74). About the biblical meaning, on the Day of Atonement, two goats were present at the tent of meeting. Lots were cast to choose one goat for sacrifice and another "to be used for making atonement by sending it into the wilderness as a scapegoat" (Leviticus 16). All sins of the people were symbolically laid upon the scapegoat.

In the anthropological meaning, analogies have been perceived between the Leviticus ritual of atonement and other rituals in the world by the eighteenth century. It has been observed that in India there have been rituals of "a scape-horse, analogous to the scape-goat of the Jews" (Girard 1987:73). From the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, similar scapegoat rituals have been observed in Africa and among natives in Australia and America. In these rituals, it was believed that "guilt" or "suffering" could be transferred from the society to a ritually appointed animal, or sometimes even a human being as a victim, like in the Greek *Pharmakos* in Athens (Frazer 1963:624). *Pharmakos* was a human scapegoat who was stoned to death in certain state rituals in Greek religion in Athens, in May or June each year (Encyclopedia Britannica 2012). However, Girard notes that the theory of "scapegoat rituals" has become "outmoded", at least among anthropologists (Girard 1987:74), but he rightly poses critical questions: "can we deny that some

victims, in rituals the world over, are expelled, persecuted, and killed for the sake of the entire community? Can we deny the “persecutory” aspect of certain rituals?” (Girard 1987:76).³

The victim of scapegoating is normally vulnerable, unable to retaliate and carry on the revengeful violence. Then, the victim is singled out, treated as criminal, expelled and even killed (Girard 1977:300). In Tanzania, between 2007 and 2005 there were 40 murders of people with albinism for ritual purposes (Kikwete March 3, 2005). Again, each year 500 elderly people, mostly women, are killed by individuals convinced that they are witches (LHRC February 16, 2017). These alleged “witches” are victims of scapegoating borne of fear of whatever is strange and inexplicable. A 2010 survey of religious belief in Africa revealed that 93 percent of Tanzanians believe in witchcraft (*Pew Research Centre* 2017), and consequently “witch-hunt” in Tanzania affects real lives in flesh and blood, and whatever misfortune befalls in a society, whether it is an epidemic, sudden death or severed prolonged drought, most people are quick to blame those living on the margins of society, for example, elderly persons, especially widows and widowers, people with albinism, people with physical disability, drug users, sex workers, people living with HIV and LGBTIQ persons.

The same theory of scapegoating is at play when high HIV infection rates, which are currently at 23 percent, are blamed on LGBTIQ persons by the Tanzania deputy minister for health, when he says, “I cannot deny the presence of LGBTIQ people in our country and the risk they pose in fueling the spread of HIV/AIDS but we don't subscribe to the assertion that there's a ‘gender continuum’” (*IPP Media*, September 13, 2016). It is clear from the statement that same-sex persons are being blamed for new HIV infections. In response to the deputy minister of health, Nurdeen

³ It is worth noting that Jonathan Klwans, in his article “Pure Violence: Sacrifice and Defilement in Ancient Israel.” *Harvard Theological Review* 94, no. 2 (n.d.) 135-57, has taken issue with the Girardian model as ignoring concepts like purity in the contexts in which it was written. However, Girard’s response would presumably be to prioritise his own thesis and identify such purity concerns as a mythic representation (cf. 1987:74-76).

Supa, an activist working with LGBT Voice of Tanzania, expressed concern that such statements “are simply instilling fear in vulnerable people who live their lives without harming anybody.” (*IPP Media* September 13, 2016). Also, such statements, emanating from fear of the unknown, will only further fuel scapegoating, discrimination and violence against same persons in Tanzania.

In the psychosocial meaning, people who are unjustly blamed, discriminated and persecuted during difficulties, tensions, and conflicts are called scapegoats in popular novels, newspaper articles, conversations, and other means (Girard 1987:76). Hence, the present use of scapegoating is far from being just a figurative meaning only relating to the Leviticus ritual in the Bible. In the current use of the usage, “to scapegoat” has become common vocabulary, and “scapegoating” a social reality the world over, especially for minorities who are the weak and marginalized who are oppressed by majorities who are the powerful and in control. There are many genuine modalities of collective persecution that must be understood in terms of the vocabulary of scapegoating (Girard 1987:77). Scapegoating involves a social element of elusion, as it “enables the persecutors to elude problems that seem intractable”. Often the “persecutors are a majority and their victims a minority. Scapegoating in this sense implies a process of displacement or transference” which has both sexual connotations and linguistic dimensions (Girard 1987:75).

Violence resulting from scapegoating is a social reality, though we remain nonconscious that we choose our victims for insufficient reasons or even for no reasons at all. We never catch ourselves scapegoating others; for our fears and prejudices never appear as scapegoating “because they determine our vision of people we despise, fear, and against whom we discriminate” (Gerard 1987:79). The very nature and behaviour of the diverse and different other are used to entirely justify our avoidance of and violence against the other. Consequently, no unjust persecutors portray themselves as unjust; and nor group habituated to scapegoating and violence knowingly will expose the fact (Gerard 1987:79). Besides, the persecutors create myths that present violence as a legitimate defense, and the victims as guilty criminals.

The Tanzania myth of *popobawa*, which means “batwing”, is commonly known and fervently believed in Zanzibar and the mainland coastal regions. It is believed that *popobawa* is a nocturnal batwing creature, which is a “sodomizing homosexual bat spirit” (Crozier 2011:56), and is

believed to be a male *jini*, “djinn”, *pepo mchafu*, “evil spirit”, *dudu laajabu*, “mysterious creature”, *shetani*, “demon”, or *jinaamizi*, a “monstrous nightmare” that crouches at night to anally penetrate mostly men and sometimes women in their sleep. It is believed to possess supernatural sexual power, and performs occult sexual intercourse through “an embodied form of witchcraft” (Thompson 2011:8). Unlike *jini mahaba*, “love spirit”, which possess humans of the opposite gender to have sexual intercourse, and sometimes to form long term relationships, *popobawa* prefers mostly humans of the same gender, does not form long term relationships, but rather *popobawa* sexually assaults men in their sleep at night and leaves them to tell their stories in the daytime. Sometimes *popobawa* even demands their victims to tell their stories in the next day. In this myth, *popobawa* is a sexual predator whose attacks are shrouded by an atmosphere of shame, secrecy, silence, and speculation, but still, they are common subjects of social conversations and gossips (Thompson 2011:8-9), and in subtle ways influence religious and political discourses on same-sex sexualities.

In Stone town, Zanzibar, when two Muslims were asked how they protect themselves from *popobawa*, they claimed that the reciting of the Quran and Sunna is the only protection (Thompson 2011:9). Similarly, in some churches, there has been insistence on having faith in God, repentance of “sexual sins”, reading of the bible and prayers daily before bedtime as protection against evil spirits such as *popobawa* and *jini mahaba*; in this way, one priest emphasized that churches, mosques, local leaders, ethnic associations, and parents will be able to keep themselves and their families safe in “proper” behaviours and protect their children from demonic evil plans (Nkwera 2007:18; Bujra 2000:158). In the recent political rhetoric, a police spokesperson in Zanzibar accused *mashoga* of being pedophiles, and associated them with sexual crimes in the island (*IPP Media* March 4, 2017).

As the *popobawa* myth exhibits, often myths are generated through indirect clues which identifies the victim as a stranger, or rather having strange behaviours, or with crimes of adultery, incest, bestiality, pedophile, homosexuality, or sodomy. Frequently, myths are extremely eclectic regarding crimes of sex ascribed to the accused. Crimes of sex, even if they are not labelled as such by the myth itself, are regularly endorsed by some forms of punishment, ostracism, expulsion, or even death (Girard 1987:83). As Girard argues, “Whether physical or psychological, the

violence directed at the victim appears to be justified [...] by the responsibility of the scapegoat in bringing about some evil that must be avenged, something bad or harmful that must be resisted and suppressed” (Girard 1987:79).

Hence, in Tanzania, spiritual and physical violence is waged against people with perceived or assumed same-sex sexuality, LGBTIQ activists and allies who constantly experience arrests, detention and beatings; they are subjected to hate speeches, pejorative statements, despicable harassment, torture and even death. In September 2009, 39 LGBTIQ activists were arrested and detained for two weeks in Dar es Salaam. In the same year, Abdallah Aluu (also known as Aunty Vicky) died in undignified circumstances after suffering indignity in the hands of public officials in a hospital ward. The public officials failed to follow medical etiquettes in treating her and allowed the public to view and photograph her body (IGLHRC 2009:2).

On May 2, 2010, two men severely attacked a *shoga*, Athumani Suleiman, also known as aunty Asu. The case was reported at Manzese police station; the two men who claimed to be in sexual relations with the victim were held under police custody, and thereafter Athuman was admitted at Muhimbili national hospital (*Global Publishers* May 11, 2010). In 2011, Ibrahim Mohamed, also known as Zuzana Mohamed, or aunt Suzy, was stabbed on the hands and neck. The assault was reported at Jangwani police station, and then Suzana was taken to hospital. In July 2012, a Tanzanian LGBTIQ activist, Maurice Mjomba, was brutally tortured and murdered in his home in Dar es Salaam (Human Rights Watch 2009:26).

Later, Mjomba’s body “was discovered with blood oozing from his genitals” (Kaoma 2014:33). This disrespect of one’s human dignity, growing intolerance and violence is not peculiar to Tanzania. The media brings to our attention many countries in Africa, and beyond, where the ongoing hatred and violence against same-sex persons have claimed real lives. Countless LGBTIQ activists and allies whose names and stories are unknown have suffered brutal physical, verbal and spiritual violence.

In view of the present context of the Christian, socio-cultural and political discourses, and the lived experiences of same-sex persons, there is biblical and theological urgency to engage with issues

of same-sex sexuality and sexuality in general. There is an apparent necessity for biblical and theological prophetic voices amidst the suffering of those who are sexually different and other, marginalized and vulnerable.

4.12 Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed the existence, prevalence, designations, concepts, social-cultural attitudes, and representations of same-sex sexualities in Tanzania. I have interrogated colonial origins and contemporary legacies of Christian and political discourses on same-sex sexualities, and how these discourses have, and continue, to influence general social-cultural attitudes towards same-sex oriented persons, especially those who come out and openly acknowledge their same-sex sexualities. Christian and political sexual discourses promote scapegoating, discrimination and violence against same-sex oriented persons; this is incompatible with the concept of Ujamaa, which is central to Tanzania society.

Diverse sexualities existed in pre-colonial Tanzania, survived in colonial times, and continue to exist as realities of life in our present times. In communities, villages, towns, and cities, there are men who love men, and women who love women. There are men and women who sexually prefer persons of their own sex. There are men and women who have heterosexual sex, but infrequently and willingly have sex with persons of their own sex, though they do not consider themselves as same-sex persons, *mabasha* nor *mashoga*. I have argued that human sexualities are diverse and complex, with natural chemistry and interplay, which cannot be adequately represented by the heterosexual-homosexual axis.

The high risk of HIV among same-sex persons not only affects a sexual minority, but also it affects the general population; there is continuous HIV infection spill over from sexual minorities into the general population and vice versa. Any future successful measures on HIV prevention and care in Tanzania will have to consider and include diverse sexualities, sexual behaviours and practices.

Christian and theological demonization, cultural and religious stigma, political and legal discrimination will not eliminate sexual diversities, but conversely violate same-sex persons, forcing them underground, away from effective HIV prevention, treatment, care and support

programmes, and consequently drive the country's HIV epidemic. The realities of human sexualities and the current moment of crisis demands that we engage biblically and theologically in liberative ways, not only with same-sex persons, but also the general population in Tanzania. Ujamaa liberation theology and its modes and/or dimensions of hermeneutics, which are further exemplified in the next chapters, have the capacity to facilitate liberative engagements in the current contestation over same-sex sexuality.

Chapter 5

5 Ujamaa Theology and Hermeneutics of Liberation

5.1 Introduction

Having analyzed the socio-history of Ujamaa and same sex sexuality in Tanzania, we now reflect on Ujamaa theology and its hermeneutics of liberation, focusing on its three essential theological aspects of “God, humanity and the church” (Frostin 1988:48); in these foci the guiding principle is the quest for community in a fragmented post-colonial society of over 127 ethnic groups with challenges of ignorance, poverty and diseases (Nyerere 1966:177) as well as demonization, stigmatization and discrimination of same-sex sexuality. In this theological quest, the bible became, and continues to be, a significant tool about faith in God, the centrality of humanity and justice for all; these three issues are examined in relation to each other and are not discrete elements (Frostin 1988:48). Hence, this chapter analyses Ujamaa theory and theology in order to argue that Ujamaa theology has the capacity to be even more inclusive voice in the context of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania. In Ujamaa theology and its hermeneutics of liberation there is close relationship between faith in God and commitment to humanity and justice for all, including LGBTIQ individuals. This interface between faith in God and commitment to humanity for justice will be evident as I explore hermeneutical dimensions of Ujamaa theology and its epistemology.

5.2 Ujamaa Theology and Its Dimensions

5.2.1 God as Community

In Ujamaa theology, the dimension of the perception of God is holistic and community-oriented, deriving from an African worldview, which is mainly holistic, human-centred, community oriented and characteristically religious. Since the inception of Christianity, the bible has been added to this worldview, and wherever a Tanzanian is, there is their religion and the bible; they carry them to the fields, to the beer party, or to a funeral ceremony; they take them to the political rallies, the parliament, schools, universities and examination rooms. Indeed, “there is no formal distinction between the sacred and the secular, between the religious and the non-religious, between the spiritual and material areas of life ...”; religion accompanies the individual before

birth and after and thereafter it permeates all aspects of their life and even long after their physical demise (Mbiti 1969:2; Healey 1981:140ff). Although this religious worldview has been shaken by post-colonial upheavals, they have not vanished, and are central to Ujamaa as a theological reflection, enriched by a reflection on faith. Since humanity is created by God, communal values are fostered as expressions of spirituality (Mwoleka 1976:26). So, communal values can only be preserved and renewed if they are oriented to God the creator of humanity; the divine, the supernatural does not destroy nature but rather takes it up and transforms it (Mwoleka 1976:24). Hence God as community implies God's participation in community affairs, and thus he is part of every individual's struggle for liberation within the community, as illustrated in the next section.

5.2.2 Participation and Community

In Ujamaa, participation is the key concept of Ujamaa theology, because since the birth of Ujamaa as both political philosophy and theology of liberation, there has been a central Ujamaa "*imani*" that every individual is a part of the whole community and therefore has the inherent right to participation, *kushiriki*, in communal and its political life equally with other members of the community (Nyerere 1968:23132). Hence the community aspect of Ujamaa has been central in theological reflection in Tanzania.

In his analysis of participation, Charles Nyamiti, who approaches Ujamaa as a tool for socio-political application of the gospel (1971:33), defines "God as communion and sharing" (1978:60). In his attempts to overcome the dichotomy between the individual and society, Nyamiti reflects on "how finite beings participate in God" (1978:58). As finite beings we participate in God's separation of the world, whereby the world is in perpetual a self-accomplishment process in which participation is interconnected with other elements of cosmic reality, but as a uniting factor of communion and sharing experience amongst human beings (Nyamiti 1978:58,60). According to Nyamiti, to participate is "to *belong to that whole*" and not just "to *appropriate to oneself a part of the whole*" (1978:18 *italics in the original*). The concept of participation comes from a Swahili verb "kushiriki" meaning "to have total communion (*ushirika*) with" (Frostin 1988:52). The concept of *kushiriki*, participation, "communion with", is of heuristic significance as we engage with issues of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania today, because the concept emphasizes the centrality

of humanity, anthropocentrism, on one hand, and divinity, theocentrism, on the other, as elucidate in the next section.

5.2.3 Anthropocentrism and Theocentrism

These concepts, according to Nyamiti, clarify each other and they are both needed in Ujamaa theological reflection. In Ujamaa theology, “theism” is anthropocentric and emphasizes the relevance of God to human well-being physically and spiritually (Nyamiti 1978:72). Equally, Ujamaa theology is theocentric since humankind was made by and for God, and therefore God is relevant, and life is inconceivable without the sacred, which is naturally identified with power, reality of our being as human (Nyamiti 1978:66). Consequently, according to Frostin, the search for God is the search for one’s own welfare and true humanity in which God is the ultimate connection of human and cosmic solidarity (1988:52). As Nyamiti writes, “creatures are united with each other, not only because they have the same creator, in whose life and power they share, but because they have God as their goal. All creatures are meant to work and cooperate together to reach this final goal” (1978:64,65).

So Ujamaa conceptions of community and participation are both theocentric and anthropocentric, because community and participation are closely connected with the sacred, the spiritual, and everyone wants to share in the sacred and cosmic forces because community is the only way to life, not as individuals but as people in community sharing life with all the living members, the dead and the cosmos (Nyamiti 1978:59-60). In all this, the incarnation is a mediation of anthropocentric and theocentric aspects of life, for through Christ the human and the divine, the physical and the spiritual are in union; in this sense God is for us and through God we realize the fulness of our humanity because through Christ God is with us (Matthew 1:23). Nyamiti continues to argue that humankind is for God, “and rightly seeks God as the one in which fulfilment is attained”, and Ujamaa theology has the task of sharing the meaning and relevance of God for every human being (1978:69). The question of who should be at the centre, God or human, is irrelevant in Ujamaa theology as theocentrism and anthropocentrism are not two alternatives but denote two sides of the same faith in God. Nyamiti’s argument is relevant in understanding Ujamaa theology,

because we see in Nyerere's Ujamaa thoughts, the interconnection between commitment to the divine and humanism.

The dichotomy between God and humanity is irrelevant in Nyerere's conception of Ujamaa; however, there is a dichotomy between "those who represent mammon" and those who represent God and humanity. Nyerere calls upon the church and its theologians "to reject alliances with those who represent mammon and [to] co-operate with all those who are working for man" (1973:227). For Nyerere, economic injustice does not only concern human dignity but also is a theological issue; when human beings are degraded, God is degraded too because human beings are created in the image of God, *imago Dei*. Nyerere argues, "I refuse to imagine a God who is poor, ignorant, superstitious, fearful, oppressed, wretched – which is the lot of the majority of those He created in his own image" (1973:216). Mwoleka further elaborates the interrelation between faith in God and commitment to humanity by reflecting on the Trinity as a model for human life, which is the focus of the next section.

5.2.4 The Trinity as a Model for Human Life in Community

In Ujamaa, the triune God is represented as a community, a life of sharing. As Mwoleka argues, "The three Divine Persons share everything in such a way that they are not three gods but only one. And Christ's wish is: 'That they (His followers) may be one as we are one. With me in them and you in me may they be so completely one ...'" (1976:15). In Mwoleka's argument, the "uniting bond between the Trinity and Ujamaa is sharing", each subsisting in the other (1976:10). Similarly, Nyamiti concurs with Mwoleka and emphasizes the triune aspect of "sharing" in life, nature and power in their communion and, he adds, communication (Nyamiti 1978:62). Also, Lyimo represents the Trinity as, "The most perfect community of Ujamaa"; sharing is participating in the life of the Trinity (1978:129). Hence imitation is the vocation of humanity regarding participating and living the life of the Trinity.

So, the Trinity becomes the model of African socialism within Ujamaa as well as the model of the community of Ujamaa villages. This is the communitarian aspect of Ujamaa theology, with emphasis on the "interrelation between spiritual community and socioeconomic structures" (Frostin 1988:55). In this aspect of Ujamaa theology, God is perceived from the experience of the

poor and oppressed in their daily socio-political and economic struggles, as I argue in the next section.

5.2.5 God and the Experience of the Poor

According to Nyamiti, in Ujamaa theology of liberation the concept of God is based on the experience of the poor and oppressed in their political and economic lives, since in the triune “God there is perfect harmony, equality of persons, solidarity through unlimited sharing of life and participation.” (1978:25). Nyamiti advocates a society based on dialogue and mutuality which is free from economic, racial or gender oppression and all injustices; he emphasizes as central issues the commitment to liberation and common good for humanity as community (1978:13-15).

5.2.6 Humanity as Community

According to Nyerere, who is more elaborate on humanist values than Nyamiti and others, in Ujamaa society humankind is the most central of all, and the purpose of all social endeavors; “The service of man, the furtherance of his human development is in fact the purpose of society itself” (Nyerere 1968:4). Humankind and indeed human dignity occupy the central position. Nyerere’s Arusha Declaration is “man-centred”, which rejects “the concept of national grandeur as distinct from the well-being of its citizens ... and if the pursuit of wealth clashes with the things like human dignity and social equality, the latter will be given priority” (Nyerere 1968:316). In the Arusha Declaration, Nyerere rejects ideologies that sacrifice human dignity and equality on the altar of idols of selfishness, greed and mammon. The search for human dignity is indeed the search for union with God. As Nyerere argues,

The purpose of development is man. It is the creation of conditions, both material and spiritual, which enables man the individual and man the species, to become his best. That is easy for Christians to understand because Christianity demands that every man should aspire towards union with God through Christ (Nyerere 1974a:215, 226).

It is therefore clear that Nyerere’s humanism concentrates upon human dignity as opposed to economic idolatry. Following on Nyerere’s spirit of humanism, Magesa argues for an “African spirituality” based on a “total commitment to the will of God”, which Nyamiti rejects as

theocentrism; Magesa calls for “our action in the world which ‘must lead us to prayer’”, and he considers “prayer and contemplation” as “sources of encouragement to act continually for human liberation” as we struggle for equality for all human beings (Magesa 1976:34).

5.3 Equality and Religion

In the context of Ujamaa, a socialist society has two characteristics, namely, “Man is the purpose” and the demand for equality for all, which serve as the basis for all other principles, such as a critique of exploitation, democracy, human dignity, or the demand for popular control of the means of production (Nyerere 1968:4). This context of Ujamaa equality is also a religious value, as Nyerere argues, “The human equality before God which is the basis of all the great religions of the world is also the basis of the political philosophy of socialism” (1968:303).

Nyerere’s assertion is significant in two aspects, one, the basis of Ujamaa, there is “The human equality before God.” Second, it represents a traditional Tanzanian egalitarian ethos as well as an Islamic egalitarian ethos in Nyerere’s conception of Ujamaa. Frostin rightly argues that emphasis on equality may partly be explained in reference to the influence of Muslim Sufi fraternities (Frostin 1988:59). Similarly, Westerlund argues that one of the sources of inspiration of Ujamaa could possibly be “Islamic socialism”, especially its religious ideas of equality, *usawa* and brotherhood, *udugu* (1980:90).

The concept of *udugu* is similar to that of “comrade” in South Africa, and other contexts of socialism, especially when it is used to emphasize equality. *Ndugu* also means sibling, persons from the same family, extended family or clan, a close friend, or a person in the same religion or political struggle. Hence Ujamaa and *udugu*, which is the abstract noun of *ndugu*, are nearly the same (TUKI 1981:294). Also, the Christian tradition, as we have seen in chapter three, has contributed to the concept of equality in Ujamaa. The radical interpretation of the Catholic social teaching has formed Nyerere’s Ujamaa conception of equality (Frostin 1988:60). In *Freedom and Development*, Nyerere explains his stance for justice by referring to *Populorum Progressio* and quotes the Papal plea for “the human and spiritual progress of all men, and therefore the common good of humanity” (Nyerere 1976a:228). Christian faith has been formative for Nyerere’s

conception of equality in Ujamaa, which is clear when he argues that “human equality before God” is the basis of Christianity and all other religions.

Other sources of the egalitarian ethics of Ujamaa are the pre-colonial culture and religion, as seen in chapter three, as well as the revival movement, especially its emphasis on *udugu*, and it is therefore clear that no single religion is the source of the religiously inspired philosophy of Ujamaa. Nyerere avoided speaking about religion in ways that could be discriminatory of other religions or people within the Tanzanian society. Religion was not part of official Ujamaa thought, though individuals were adherents of various religions, and in the Ujamaa context they still considered themselves as a flock of siblings, *ndugu*, under one God’s family, inclusive of intellectuals and all members of the community (Lutahoire 1977:8; Mndolwa 2012:vi). This egalitarian framework of equal participation of intellectuals and the rest of the community in the liberation process is elucidated in the following section.

5.4 A Germinal Epistemology of Participation

In some of his writings, “The Role of Universities” (1966), “Education for Self-Reliance” (1967), “The Intellectual Needs Society” (1968), “Relevance and Dar es Salaam University” (1970), which fall under the framework of cultural and economic liberation, Nyerere advocates, in Frostin’s terms, “a germinal epistemology of participation” (1988:61) focusing on “the egalitarian relationship between intellectuals and the rest of the community”. Nyerere argues that Intellectuals must be embedded within the society they seek to transform; they should work from within rather than descend like gods and then vanish; hence the assertion that “the intellectuals need society” and that there is interdependence between the two, for “we are all members of one another ... citizens of one nation, one continent, and one world. Our future is inextricably linked ...” (1973:28). This implied that Tanzania could only be built by selfless and dedicated citizens,

following the example of Jesus, the good shepherd who gives his life for the flock (Frostin 1988:217).⁴

There are two points worth noting in Nyerere's germinal epistemology. First, knowledge is understood in relation to society and not to the individual. Also, participation is an epistemological principle because "life is a single whole", true knowledge cannot be gained if it is kept to oneself as a personal possession and not shared with other members of society. Second, Nyerere's conception of Ujamaa represents a holistic view of knowledge, and that every aspect of knowledge is related to others, past and present are fused, all aspects of knowledge are but parts of one whole (Nyerere 1968:81). In Nyerere's speech on "The Role of the Universities", individualism is contrasted with the concept of *kushiriki*, participation, and commitment to the wellbeing of the whole community as an essential measurement of academic training in the context of Ujamaa. In this context, students are servants-in-training, and to be human means to live within a community for intellectual servanthood (Nyerere 1968:186).

Colonial education created an "intellectual arrogance" and ignorance (Nyerere 1968:273), because it was not intended to prepare people for the service of their own nation, but instead it was designed to inculcate the values of the colonial society for the service of the colonial government (Nyerere 1968:269). According to Nyerere, an alternative to colonial education values is education based on Ujamaa principles of "equality and respect for human dignity; sharing of the resources which are produced by our efforts; work by everyone and exploitation by none" (Nyerere 1968:272). An education system based on Ujamaa principles "has to foster the social goals of living together, and working together for the common good", it must inculcate a sense of total commitment to the whole Ujamaa community (Nyerere 1968:273).

It is apparent from Nyerere's argument that there is interrelation between the search for truth and servanthood, ethics and epistemology, participation and knowledge; hence, participation is the way to both human life and knowledge. The participatory ethos of Ujamaa does not consider the

⁴ This argument from Nyerere appears in his speech in October 1966, but it is not included in the Tanzania collections of Nyerere's texts; this might be due to its explicit references to Christian faith and biblical texts.

intellectual as the expert in all aspects in community life, but rather as a participant in community life and knowledge, willing to learn from other members of the community for the common good, which is examined in the next section.

5.5 The Common Good as Criterion

Theologically, the common good is the basic principle of Ujamaa theology, and it derives from Catholic social teaching (Magesa 1976:26). There has been some debate on what is the common good. Search for the common good concerns personal rights and duties and an understanding of a human being as a social being, rather than just an individual. The individual human being lives in society and only becomes meaningful to oneself and others only as a member of that society. Thus, the development of an individual human being also means the development of the society that serves the individual, and which promotes their well-being and safeguards their dignity. The Ujamaa ethos emphasizes human interdependence, where participation, or *kushiriki*, signifies sharing as both an individual's right and responsibility (Frostin 1988:63).

The search for the common good is the search for justice for all, it is a deliberate ethical decision to opt for just socioeconomic structures. In Ujamaa, structural analysis is intrinsic to the search for the common good because human beings are influenced and shaped by conditions and circumstances in which they live (Nyerere 1974a:219). Nyerere criticized the Church, that in its service to the poor, it neglects the structural dimension, preaches resignation and appears to accept the social, economic and political conditions of the present world as immutable; and when the poor and oppressed begin to challenge these conditions, church leaders stand aside. Nyerere calls upon church leaders and all Christians to “participate actively in the rebellion against structures and economic organizations which condemn men to poverty, humiliation and degradation” and that they must support the poor and oppressed in the struggles against injustice (Nyerere 1974a:215, 223).

To struggle against injustice is to promote the common good of all human beings physically and spiritually. According to Magesa, ignorance, poverty and disease characterized the tribal history of pre-colonial society, but in colonial era under capitalism great advances in technology and economic growth have been achieved, but these advances have benefited a small number of people

who have obtained control over land, capital and the means of production, creating shocking inequalities in the present socio-economic order (1976:17, 20). So, the present system must be evaluated with the common good as criterion: Ujamaa affirms “man is the purpose”, but the capitalist system concentrates on economic power. Colonisation and neo-colonization have uprooted cultural values and created “psychological wounds” in terms of inferiority complexes, lack of self-confidence, self-respect and distrust of oneself; it will take cultural evolution or even revolution to bring about psychological liberation (Magesa 1976:17, 20; 1978:507).

Therefore, in the Ujamaa context, capitalism *ubepari*, is *unyama*, bestiality, as opposed to *utu*, humanity. But what is the identity of the Church in the context of Ujamaa? To this question we now turn.

5.6 Church as Community

In 1966 to 1967, during an opinion survey, the dominant Christian position was that the Church should confine itself to religious matters only. Hence, in the Ujamaa context, the Church was challenged to participate in promoting human life. Peter Kijanga, in *Ujamaa and the Role of the Church in Tanzania* (1978:104) critiqued an ecclesio-centric theology of the Church in which it became preoccupied with maintaining its institutional stability and defining itself “as a centre of power over against the rest of society, and forgot its identity as community of faith” (1978:127).

Kijanga’s arguments presuppose four prepositions. First, a holistic approach is an appropriate representation of “the biblical vision of wholeness” (Kijanga 1978:92,103). Second, the missionary theology is about dichotomy because it separates religious values from humanistic concerns. Third, profound reflection on the pre-Christian traditional religious heritage contributes to an understanding of the holistic character of Christianity. Fourth, the holistic conception could be a starting point for an analysis of Christian ministry of the church as community in the Ujamaa context (Kijanga 1978:32,118-119).

The Church as community has a prophetic ministry in the Tanzanian context, appreciating the humanistic values of Ujamaa, but at the same time warning against the idolization of Ujamaa, making it an end in itself; it is not the kingdom but rather a resource for the partial realization of the values of the kingdom of God here on earth (Magesa 1976:26). The concept of the Church as

community, inspired by Ujamaa values, led to the establishment of Small Christian Communities (SCCs), which is the focus of the following section.

5.7 Small Christian Communities (SCCs)

Inspired by Ujamaa theological reflections, Catholics and Protestant churches founded Christian communities throughout Tanzania with such names as Basic Christian Communities (BCCs), or House Churches; these became the key pastoral priority and the cradle of the Ujamaa theology in Ujamaa villages. Small Christian Communities (SCCs) were established to enable Christian members to live “a true and authentic Ujamaa life”, which is the opposite of *ubinafsi*, selfishness (Soka 1977:31). SCCs are (1) communities of faith, prayer, fraternity, charity and mission; (2) share in the Word of God and Eucharist; (3) bear testimony to life; (4) actively participate in “seeking a proper order of civil society” (Mwoleka 1976:20).

An SCC typically consisted of twelve families, which met weekly for bible study and such practical tasks as communal farming for their SCC, taking water, firewood, and food to a sick person, helping a neighbor to cultivate their fields, or taking up collections for sick people. The starting point of the discussion began with the life of the people, a concrete event or situation, a slice of life, not scripture or doctrine, as the starting point. Then they could ask what light the gospel brings to this situation. The SCCs were considered as families in the image of the communion of the Trinity. They read bible texts together, often texts for the coming Sunday, and encouraged the village people on the local level to reflect on their situation, and to discuss and analyze the different forces at work in their communities (Healey 1981:116, 124, 127).

In each Ujamaa village, the SCC was the soul of the village, unifying village members, enabling them to share their hopes, struggles, hardships and joys in their daily quest for wholeness. SCCs were meant to be salt in transforming the rest of their society (Mwoleka 1976:6). SCCs in the Ujamaa villages functioned as an interface between Church and State in the context of Ujamaa as I interrogate the dialectics of religion and the politics in the following part.

5.8 Church and State in the Context of Ujamaa

The relationship between sacred and secular realms, or religion and politics, is not monastic, nor a dichotomy but rather dialectical; the two realms are inseparable as they relate to each other. Religious and political communities can be differentiated but they cannot be separated, for there is always interrelation between the two. On one hand, believers were, and still are, called upon to participate in politics and struggle against injustices, on the other, they are warned not to mix religion with politics (Frostin 1988:71).

There are three significant arguments about the interrelation between the sacred and secular realms in the context of Ujamaa. First, as argued by Nyerere, “The purpose of the Church is man in his human dignity and right to develop himself in freedom” (Nyerere 1974a:226). From his liberationist interpretation of the Church’s ministry, Nyerere further argues that the Church must be “on the side of social justice and helping men to live together and work together for their common good” (Nyerere 1974a:222). Therefore, the Church’s participation in the struggle for justice is a task which is intrinsic to the Church.

Second, religious symbols were, and still are, expressed in a language that all religions have in common, as it is obvious in the national anthem and the parliamentary prayer of Tanzania:

1. God Bless Africa

Bless its leaders

Wisdom, Unity and Peace

These are our shields

Africa and its People.

Bless Africa

Bless the children of Africa

2. God Bless Tanzania

Grant [us] eternal freedom and unity

Women, men and children

God bless

Tanzania and its people

Bless Tanzania

Bless the children of Tanzania.⁵

Parliamentary Prayer:

Almighty God, merciful and full of splendor

Lord of all creatures, Creator of heaven and earth

We humbly beseech Thee that our country, the United Republic of Tanzania, be under Your eternal guidance and protection.

Bless our dear Tanzania to be a peaceful country, so that all people who dwell in it may have unity and charity towards one another.

Deliver us from all sorts of vice, protect us from those enemies who regard the United Republic of Tanzania with evil intentions.

Grant to our President health, long life and wisdom, so that, helped by those under him, he may govern with justice and peace for the good and prosperity of the United Republic of Tanzania. Amen⁶ (Westerlund 1980:68).

The use of religious symbols in these texts attests to the interpretation of the sacred and the secular in the context of Ujamaa in Tanzania. The symbols are not just employed for secular ends, but they originate from pre-colonial spirituality, Muslim and Christian traditions.

Similarly, in the political context of Ujamaa, themes of such public devotion as the parliamentary prayer have similarities with pre-colonial African traditional prayer themes of divine governance, protection from evil, health, healing, peace, as well as transmission and continuity of life (Shorter 1975:16-19). The national anthem of Tanzania originated from South Africa; it was composed by Enoch Sontonga, a teacher from a Methodist Church in Klipspruit in 1897 and it was sung in public

⁵ This is my translation of the original Tanzania national anthem in Swahili, *Mungu Ibariki Afrika*, meaning “God Bless Africa”, also known as *Wimbo wa Taifa*, which means “The National Anthem”.

⁶ This Westerlund’s translation of the original Swahili version known as *Sala ya Bunge*, meaning “Parliamentary prayer” (1980:68).

in 1899 during an ordination service of a Shagaan minister (Westerlund 1980:67-71; Frostin 1988:73, 221).

Third, the secularity of Ujamaa is not the absence of religion, or the opposite of it, but rather a demand to treat all persons as equal and with dignity, irrespective of their faith, or beliefs. The critical religious question in Tanzania is not 'is there a God?' But rather 'whose God?' By stating that "Ujamaa is secular", Nyerere was opposed to the notion of "a religion of socialism" where socialist leaders become infallible authorities (Frostin 1988:74). The concept of Ujamaa as secular meant that Ujamaa should never legitimize discrimination of persons due to their religious beliefs. Even some religious organizations, such as the Holy Ghost Fathers, which served people regardless of their faith, were regarded as secular (Nyerere 1968:224). Individuals had the right to religion without state interference, the principles of love, sharing and work as a basis of a multi-tribal society "which is religiously divided" (Nyerere 1966:13).

In Ujamaa, the human being is at the centre of the universe, because attaining our full humanity, worthy of the *Imago Dei*, is the "purpose"; here meaning "something that one sets before oneself as an object to be attained" (Frostin 1988:75). Since God is "perfection", he cannot be a project of society, but rather "the purpose of society is in all cases [of] humanity". Then it is obvious that God cannot be defined as a purpose in Christian faith (Nyerere 1966:13; Westerlund 1980:64, 65).

The distinction and the juxtaposition of the individual and social being in religion and politics within the context of Ujamaa was meant to defend the equality of all human beings from different religions and ideologies, and emphasize the secularity of political work. Since commitment to promoting social justice for all is intrinsic to Christian faith, then politics and religion are but two aspects of the same vocation, the service of God and human being, as Nyerere argues, "The Church has to lead men towards godliness by joining with them in the attack against injustices and deprivation from which they suffer" (1974a:227).

In the internal logic of Ujamaa texts there is no dichotomy between spiritual and political concerns; they are not two competing concerns. Christian participation in promoting socio-economic justice, recognition of every person's dignity, human equality regardless of faith, and a disinterest in specific Christian expressions in public prayers could be defined as attempts to subjugate religion under politics, but should be considered as consequences of a new paradigm which combines

theocentrism and anthropocentrism as well as universality and particularity in the context of Ujamaa (Frostin 1988:77).

5.9 Universality and Particularity in Ujamaa Theology

How does Ujamaa theology conceive of Tanzania's identity in the global context? According to Nyamiti, since Africa in this case already belongs to the technological and scientific age, there is a constant dialogue between the local symbolic mentality and the global scientific ways of thinking (Nyamiti 1976:35). Global influence is unavoidable in any local context today. Thus, in another article, Nyamiti proposes dialogue among theologians of different cultures as imperative, because exclusion of the global context, and its "reciprocal" influence would lead "to cultural isolation and false particularism" (1975:142). Hence, what derives from Nyamiti's discussion is that dialogue is a key concept for the future of Ujamaa theology in the local and global contexts.

The dialectic between universality and particularity in the Ujamaa context of Tanzania is extensively developed by Nyerere:

We shall draw sustenance from universal human ideas and the practical experiences of other peoples; but we start from the full acceptance of our Africanness and a belief that in our past there is very much which is useful for our future (1968:316).

In Nyerere's view, African cultural identity, inclusive of the use of Swahili, is one pole of the dialectic between universality and particularity (Mndolwa & King 2016:327-51; Karsten 2007). Development implies change, including cultural change, but this change must come out of our roots; past and present are inseparable, we and our ancestors are linked together indivisibly, and thus, he argues, "we are what all our past, known and unknown, has made us" (Nyerere 1966:116).

Another pole of the dialectic between universality and particularity is humankind. Neither individual human being nor nation can define their identity outside communion with other human beings or nations; for to be human is to participate, *kushiriki*, and communicate through dialogue in the wider community. A popular Tanzania anecdote, "the elders under the tree", elaborates the role of participation and dialogue in Ujamaa context: in traditional Tanzania society, before making necessary decisions, the elders met under a tree to discuss and listen to each other. After

each member had been listened to and contributed their ideas, the task was to find a solution that could incorporate the insights brought forth by the different participants. There was no voting where a majority defeats a minority, but the facilitator of the meeting summarized the valid points presented, and made a proposal. “The elders under the tree” process was a means for decision making through open communication and dialogue; it was also an entertainment and cultural activity that solidified the village community. The anecdote of “the elders under the tree” provides insights on the ideal of human dialogue in Ujamaa setting (Nyerere 1966:195; Frostin 1988:80).

Ujamaa village politics were described as “politics under the tree”. And in view of the theological context, at times, Ujamaa theology has been defined as “a theology under the tree” (Frostin 1988:80); elders, religious leaders, theologians, activists must “sit under the tree, and talk until they agree” (Nyerere 1966:195); Nyerere insisted that every person must be allowed to speak freely, and every person must be listened to, and that in any discussion and situation, the minority must have the right to speak without being intimidated or fear of being persecuted; in any contestation, any group of people must be defeated by argument, but not by threat of force and intimidation (Nyerere 1974a:62-63; 1968:110).

Was “the elders under the tree” process an inclusive community? In this Ujamaa context, this community process might not have been inclusive of the youth, young women, children, and same-sex sexualities, since the focus was on socio-economic concerns, especially the attainment of *Uhuru*, and thereafter the struggle against poverty, diseases and ignorance through socio-economic development. It should be noted, however, that Ujamaa, with its emphasis on concepts of community, human dignity, equality, wholeness, is an inclusive political theory and theology encompassing all human beings regardless of their race, ethnicity, social status, gender or sexuality. However, in the current context, the voice of the young villagers, women, the experience of the poorest of the poor in the villages as well as in the factories, and also the sexually marginalized is not yet sufficiently reflected in public or academic theology in Tanzania. Hence this thesis revisits Ujamaa theology as a new inclusive voice in the context of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania.

5.10 Summary

Ujamaa in Tanzania defines the concept of participation as “total communion”, signifying inclusive theology. Participation is central in emphasizing the close and indivisible interweaving between the religious and non-religious aspects of life. Ujamaa is a theocentric theology, in which God is a central figure. The triune God serves as a symbol of community, reflecting on the principles of African socialism. In the context of Ujamaa theology, the experiences of the poor align with the concept of God, symbolizing harmony and equality, and promoting communities to seek virtues representative of the justice and virtue-seeking characteristics of God. Nyerere's humanism in Ujamaa concentrates on humanity, rejecting economic idolatry and injustice.

Ujamaa advocates for a socialist society with two distinct characteristics: humanity is the purpose and a demand for equality for all. The foundation of Ujamaa theology lies in promoting human equality before God, drawing from a Tanzanian egalitarian ethos. Nyerere emphasises that intellectuals should function in an interdependent manner with their respective communities, promoting an inclusive participatory approach within the Ujamaa framework. At the foundation of Catholic Social Teaching, the common good is emphasised. Similarly, Ujamaa advocates for the common good, calling for the pursuit of justice, structural analysis and active Church involvement in challenging injustice.

In Ujamaa theology, the church is challenged to move beyond religious matters, actively promoting and participating in the promotion of human life. Small Christian Communities (SCCs) are inspired by Ujamaa and play a quintessential role in pastoral work, fostering a sincere Ujamaa life, and embracing the values of community. Ujamaa's relationship between the sacred and the secular is intrinsic, rejecting a dichotomy and advocating for the combination of theocentrism and anthropocentrism. Socio-cultural inclusivity and dialogue among theologians are highlighted as imperative for the future of Ujamaa theology, acknowledging the need to amplify marginalised voices within the discourse. Hence, the following chapter focuses on Ujamaa hermeneutics in the context of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania, especially reflecting on how Ujamaa theory and theology might contribute to an ‘Ujamaa theology of inclusive sexuality’.

Chapter 6

6 Ujamaa Hermeneutics in the Context of Same-Sex Sexuality

6.1 Introduction

Having exhibited Ujamaa theology, its development and how it relates to other strands of liberation theologies, as well as the realities of same-sex sexualities in Tanzania in the previous chapters, this chapter connects the work that has been done in those chapters to reflecting on how Ujamaa theory and theology might contribute to an ‘Ujamaa theology of inclusive sexuality’. It is worth noting that this kind of work has not been envisioned before in Tanzania because the initial focus of Ujamaa theology was on the plight of the poor and oppressed in the colonial and post-colonial contexts using the Bible as a resource. From the previous chapters, it is notable that there are fragments of emerging conceptual elements in the development of Ujamaa theory and theology that provide trajectories from which to move towards an inclusive theology, starting with Nyerere’s hermeneutical key and his interpretative mode.

This chapter is an appropriation of Nyerere’s Ujamaa hermeneutic key in the interpretation of biblical texts. The engagement with biblical texts does not need to be circumscribed by the texts which have been classically the subject of debate (see Gnuse 2015:68-87). Instead, this study will focus on texts that are significant within Ujamaa theology and then apply them to the issues under discussion. While there may be some overlap, the Ujamaa discussion must not be delineated by the texts which have dominated theological conversations in other contexts. This is an application of Ujamaa readings to the matter at hand, rather than a mere rehashing of the northern debate dressed up in African robes. As will be seen, the focus of this debate is grounded in texts from Genesis and Galatians. Selected texts relating to issues of human sexuality, same-sex sexuality in particular, are appropriated by employing Ujamaa hermeneutics of liberation.

6.2 Ujamaa Biblical Hermeneutics

What is it that Nyerere employs as a hermeneutical key, tool, or means to unlock meaning and understanding of biblical texts such as Genesis 1:26-27, Matthew 7:21, Mark 4:25, Luke 12:48,

John 10:10, Acts 4:32, James 2:17-26, etc., and apply them in the Ujamaa context? In all its reading of the biblical texts, the most significant aspiration of Ujamaa and its purpose is the dignity of the human person and the transformation of the society they constitute. All Nyerere's readings of biblical texts were, and still are, centred on the human person; as he stated in the Arusha Declaration, "The purpose of all social, economic and political activity must be man – the citizens, and all the citizens of this country" (Nyerere 1968:316). Whenever Nyerere read the Bible, his overall purpose of the Ujamaa readings of the biblical texts was, and still is, to empower the human person in their struggles against oppression, ignorance, poverty and diseases. The Ujamaa message is of human dignity, equality, brotherhood, freedom, justice and "the continual betterment of the human person" (Magesa 1978:509).

In his reading of Genesis 1:26-27, Nyerere argues that it is unthinkable to see millions of people created in the image of God live in poverty and oppression; and he calls upon all people to refuse this human misery (Ludwig 1999:107). Nyerere uses Matthew 7:21 to argue that God cares about people who thirst and hunger for justice (1973:76-77). Nyerere read biblical texts in the context of the oppressive capitalist system of free-market globalisation: "For he that hath, to him shall be given; and he that hath not, that also which he hath shall be taken away from him" (Mark 4:25). In this biblical text, he saw the capitalist system of free market as a fulfilment of Jesus' words in the Gospel of Mark. In most cases, Nyerere does not indicate the exact textual reference to the specific books of the Bible, but he would normally read, or remember a biblical text, recite it before his audience, interpret and apply it in his Ujamaa context.

In his reading of Luke 12:48, "For unto whoever much is given, of him shall be much required; and to whom men have committed much, of him they shall ask the more", Nyerere interprets that we require intellectuals to offer service to their communities "in geometric progression according to the amount they have received" (1974:5). In my observation, one of Nyerere's favourite texts, apart from Genesis 1:26-27, is John 10:10, especially the reference to "abundant life". For Nyerere, in Ujamaa, the struggle against oppression, ignorance, poverty, and diseases, is a struggle for "abundant life"; the church, society and their intellectuals cannot withdraw from this struggle, and everyone must participate whether they are Christians or adherents of other faiths.

Those who represent oppressive systems must not be supported; Christians must find new ways to apply biblical texts and recognise new truths even “when they are pointed out by others”, even though they are not Christians, but yet they read the biblical texts in their life struggles (Nyerere 1974:98). Nyerere sees in Acts 4:32 Christian communities standing against domination, persecution and contempt; and calls upon Christians to refuse structures that impoverish, degrade and humiliate people (1973:68-69; Ludwig 1999:107). In the struggle for a better life, Nyerere argues, "Fear of the future, and of the need of the future, is no part of Christianity"; then after reading from James 2:17-26, he has this appropriation of the text:

Ours is a living faith, if you like, a revolutionary faith, for faith without action is sterile, and action without faith is meaningless (1974:98).

In 1976, similarly, the EATWOT meeting in Dar es Salaam concurs with Nyerere’s Ujamaa approach and thus rejects “theology that is divorced from action” and emphasizes “commitment as the first act of theology” (EATWOT 1976:269). The spirit of Ujamaa and its praxis is “rooted in Christianity” and African “community sharing” (Isichei 1995:340), and the biblical texts occupy a significant role in Ujamaa theology and hermeneutics. Hence, Magesa correctly writes:

The basic aspirations and aims of Ujamaa put us into a position to affirm ... that at the very least the spirit of the Tidings of the Gospel and that pursued by Ujamaa are not antithetical but identical. There is therefore no reason for the Christian not to accept the vision of Ujamaa (Magesa 1978:510).

However, Nyerere recognizes the ambiguous position of the Bible, that it was used to colonise, dominate and oppress Tanzanians and other Africans, and thus he reads biblical texts selectively but critically and collaboratively in his Ujamaa community, being conscious of the lived human experience of poverty and oppression in Tanzania, which needs cultural, social, economic and political transformation. Nyerere speaks of promoting human life as the purpose of all social, economic and political development (1968:316). Using biblical texts, he speaks of faith in God and human creation, humanity as the image of God and human dignity, peace and justice, equality

and participation, freedom and unity. Therefore, people's colonial and post-colonial lived experience, of domination, poverty and oppression, is Nyerere's interpretative starting point.

With the colonial conquest of Tanzania, with Christianity and European domination, the local people lost certain aspects of their culture, religion, identity and consciousness; their epistemological and theological universe subsided with the scramble for Africa. But Nyerere saw in the people's past, in his reading of the Bible and theological endeavours, Ujamaa conceptual resources that could be revitalised for the unity of the people, their struggle for social justice and their cultural, economic, political and religious development. For Nyerere faith was not just truths to be affirmed, but a commitment to both God and human beings (cf. Gutierrez 1988:63). Faith affirms the existence of God; it tells us that God loves all human beings and demands a loving response; this is what it means to be committed to God and our fellow human beings. *Imani*, faith, is an existential stance, which always admits an adaptation according to contexts and the diverse means to the commitment to God and oppressed human beings created in God's image (Nyerere 1968:231-232).

The experience of the poor and oppressed is the starting point for Nyerere's theological reflection, and therefore it is his hermeneutical key to unlocking meaning and understanding of the biblical texts in human life and dignity worthy of the image of God (Genesis 1:27ff). Nyerere's Ujamaa interpretative tool is in line with a hermeneutics of liberation whose interpretative starting point is also the experience of the poor and oppressed in the community (1988:6, 201). In this trajectory, Ujamaa biblical and theological reading of the biblical texts moves beyond its original locus to encompass the marginalised and oppressed community in present-day Tanzania. But what mode of reading the Bible does Nyerere adopt in his reading of the Bible? This aspect of Ujamaa hermeneutics is the focus of the next section. In exploring this aspect of Ujamaa hermeneutics, here I engage with Gerald West as a guiding voice in biblical hermeneutics of liberation (1991).

6.3 Nyerere's Ujamaa Hermeneutical Mode

West explores what it means to interpret the Bible in a context of crisis; his study is a continual dialogue with biblical interpretations from other contexts of liberation (1991:2, 7ff, 31ff, 80ff).

The defining characteristic of liberation hermeneutics is that the poor and oppressed are the primary interlocutors, and thus solidarity with the victims of struggle is crucial (1991:5, 64ff). Hence, West introduces three modes of reading the Bible in a South African context of liberation for the poor and oppressed; but these modes of reading the Bible have implications beyond South Africa (1991:2ff): “Behind the text” mode of reading which focuses on socio-historical elements of the text; “on the text” mode of reading which focuses on the literary elements; and “in front of the text” mode of reading which focuses on the reader’s appropriation of the text (1991:107, 117, 124). For Nyerere, being an un-trained interpreter of the Bible, what is more important in his readings is the need for the Bible to speak to the poor and oppressed (1991:5).

West’s proposed modes of reading the Bible shed light on understanding Nyerere’s mode/s of reading biblical texts in the Tanzania context of Ujamaa theology of liberation. Using insights from West’s biblical hermeneutics of liberation, it is evident that Nyerere reads the biblical texts focusing on both the literary elements and his appropriation of the text, which reflect “on the text” and “in front of the text” modes of reading the Bible. Since Nyerere’s Ujamaa biblical hermeneutics is contextual, the focus is on the biblical literary elements and narrative details on the text itself, as well as the thematic and symbolic context of the biblical text in front of the text itself (West 1993:27)

Nyerere’s intentional focus on these modes of reading biblical texts is also evident in his post-liberation translations of the New Testament Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles into the Swahili poetic form of *Tenzi*, published in 1996 by a Benedictine Publishing House in Tanzania under *nihil obstat* of Polycarp Pengo, the Catholic Archbishop of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania (Noss & Renju 2004:19). These post-colonial *Tenzi* translations of the Bible show Nyerere’s recognition that Ujamaa interpretation has a role to play after political liberation. In Swahili literature, as Noss and Renju correctly describe, the *tenzi* are “narrative and didactic poems that were often composed by women for singing or declaiming” (2004:19). The *utenzi/tenzi*, which is a standardized Swahili form, comes from the verb *kutenda* “to do” and literally means “deed”, “exploit”, meaning, “a poem of an exploit” (Noss & Renju 2004:33). The *tenzi* normally include religious teaching, historical events, praise of important people, exhortations and warnings; the *tenzi* have always focused on generally informative themes (Nos & Renju 2004:20).

The *tenzi* are syllabic verses of four lines measured in six to eleven-syllable counts. Normally the number of syllables per line is eight, which makes a total of thirty-two lines per stanza. The first three lines have a final rhyme, and the last line of each stanza maintains the same rhyme throughout the poem. Exploiting *tenzi* poetic form, in his translation of the New Testament, Nyerere employs the common name for God, *Mungu*, as well as borrowing names for God with Arabic etymology, such as *Mola*, God, *Latifa* “Benevolent One”, *Rahimu* “Merciful One”, *Jalia* “Enabler”, *Jalali* “Glorious One”, *Manani* “Beneficent One”, and *Karima* “Gracious One”. These names provide an Islamic connotation to the message of the Gospel. Occasionally, he introduces his own structures, like chiasms, and plays on words; he adds extra poetic lines, for the purpose of making explicit what is implicit in the text. For example, Matthew 2:19:

Nyerere Swahili <i>Tenzi</i>	English literal Translation	RSV Translation
<i>Alipokufa Herode</i>	When Herod died	But When Herod died
<i>Maliki wa Uyahudi</i>	<u>The king of Judea</u>	...
<i>Malaika wake Bwana</i>	The Angel of the Lord	behold, an angel of the Lord
<i>Alimtokea tena</i>	Appeared to him again	appeared
<i>Yosefu usingizini</i>	Joseph in sleep	in a dream to Joseph
<i>Kule kule Misirini</i>	There there in Egypt	in Egypt

Also, he sometimes omits semantic items from the original text and other times adds semantic items to the original text, which could not be found anywhere in the biblical text. For example, in Mathew 1:2, 3, 14:

Nyerere Swahili <i>Tenzi</i>	English literal Translation	RSV Translation
<i>Ibrahim <u>msifika</u>,</i>	Abraham <u>the celebrated one</u> ; Aram <u>the believer</u> ,	Abraham (v.2)
<i>Arami <u>mwamini</u>,</i>	Achim the <u>successful one</u>	Ram (v.3); Aram (v.3 NRSV)
<i>Akimu <u>mwenye sudi</u>,</i>		Achim (v.14)

The underlined phrases in the English literal translation are ancestral honour and/or titles that Nyerere has incorporated into his poetic *tenzi* translation of the genealogy of Jesus in the Gospel

of Matthew. It can be argued that Nyerere is right in terms of his interpretative resources, context and mode of interpretation. One cannot be of ancestral lineage if he/she does not deserve ancestral honour and recognition. In instances, even when Nyerere has rendered attractive translations which correctly combine *tenzi* poetic form and content to produce a faithful translation of the original text, his focus is on the literary elements of the biblical text and its appropriate interpretative effect in the receptor genre (Noss & Renju 2004:31). For example, Matthew 3:8:

Nyerere Swahili <i>Tenzi</i>	English literal Translation	RSV Translation
<i>Basi onyesheni sasa</i>	Therefore show now By actions that are worthy	Bear fruit
<i><u>Kwa matendo</u> yanayopasa</i>	That you have repented now	that befits
<i><u>Kwamba mmetubu</u> sasa</i>		repentance (RSV)

These special characteristics of the *tenzi* poetry, in its poetic form and content, describe how Nyerere used them for special literary and interpretative effect; his engagement with the biblical literary elements, and his appropriation of the texts through the *tenzi* poetic translation, is indeed an interpretative re-reading of the biblical texts, which reflects “on the text” and “in front of the text” modes of hermeneutics of liberation. One can see how Nyerere engages with the biblical literary elements and narrative details on the text itself as well as the thematic and symbolic context of the Bible as a whole to translate and interpret the New Testament Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles in the *tenzi* poetic receptor genre. In this *tenzi* poetic translation as interpretation, who are the interlocutors? In 1996, the Catholic Archbishop of Dar es Salaam wrote that Nyerere’s poetic *tenzi* translation will “be a source of hope” for the youth “as they face their future” (Noss & Renju 2004:33).

Within the current context of the struggle concerning human sexuality, the future has come when this *tenzi* poetic translation needs to be readily available to offer hope for LGBTIQ youth of today in Dar es Salaam, Zanzibar, Arusha, Kilimanjaro, Dodoma and others. Publication of the New Testament Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles over three decades after the onset of Nyerere’s Ujamaa in the 1950s attests to the dynamic evolvement of Ujamaa theology as contextual. This

continuous journey of Ujamaa theology, which is capable of taking us onto new theological and biblical hermeneutic vistas that have once been unrecognised, opens up possibilities of discovering God's truths afresh through the *tenzi* poetic Bible translation as continuous interpretative re-reading of the biblical texts for promotion of abundant life as opposed to proclaiming idols of death.

Hence, it is palpably correct that Nyerere's Ujamaa as contextual theology was never static but dynamic, something which is evident in his *tenzi* poetic Swahili New Testament Gospels and the book of Acts of the Apostles. Ujamaa evolved in a colonial context and continued to grow during *Uhuru* and into post-colonial contexts. In its holistic and dynamic nature, as I argue in the next section, Ujamaa theology calls for a re-reading of the biblical texts and a re-appropriation of the Ujamaa hermeneutics of liberation in the current context of same-sex sexuality to enhance human life and dignity holistically.

6.4 Ujamaa Holistic Theology and Hermeneutics

Ujamaa theology does not fragment life, nor does it divide between the body and the soul, the secular and the religious, the profane and the holy (Ludwig 1999:117), and in this context, the sexual and asexual, the heterosexual and homosexual; it attends to the whole person because all human aspects are intertwined. Ujamaa as a holistic theology and biblical hermeneutics potentially encompasses other aspects of human life, and through Small Christian Communities, which were and still are prevalent throughout Tanzania, Ujamaa becomes a Christian way. Ujamaa theology represented, and could still represent, in Frostin's words, "a new holistic paradigm" in its theological "meaning and internal logic" of Ujamaa (1988:1-2).

In Nyerere Ujamaa holistic theology, liberation was, and still is, not just a single action, but a long historical process; being a progressive holistic theology, Ujamaa still, as it was, points to the present and future contexts of liberation from all types of oppression imposed on Tanzanians by Tanzanians themselves, for equality in all aspects of life for all persons. An Ujamaa theology of liberation, characteristically, is a contextual theology; it is a theology in a historical movement; it can never be completed and celebrated as a past event; constantly, Ujamaa theology signals a

liberation movement and a courageous voice of and for the marginalised. In the present context of Tanzania, it is the voice of the sexually marginalised persons; it signals the cry of the oppressed and marginalised people for God to hear and speak to them in their daily suffering and struggles for justice as humans created in the image of God. It is the cry of the sexually marginalised and oppressed people for a message of life from the Bible, and not a message of judgement and death, which is commonly heard in churches, communities and through the media in Tanzania.

The ongoing debates using the Bible about how LGBTIQ persons should be dealt with in churches and communities pose an interpretative crisis that compels Christians and theologians to return to the Bible to reflect on “the Word of God” for a message that is relevant to the experiences of LGBTIQ persons in Tanzania today (*The Kairos Document* 1986:17; West 2022:11). In this return to the Bible to search the Word of God for a message for LGBTIQ persons, Ujamaa liberation theology is here interrogated as a continuous process of re-contextualization, a continuous biblical “hermeneutic of suspicion”, as a theological method to integrate issues of same-sex sexuality in theological and biblical discourse, in the light of new insights developed from an analysis of Ujamaa theology and its hermeneutical modes (Bonino 1975:86; Segundo 1976:9; Fiorenza 1986:370). At this moment of crisis, in this Ujamaa holistic theological movement, unrepresented experiences of the poor and sexually marginalized people call for the re-reading of biblical texts in the current context of same-sex sexuality.

In his Ujamaa liberation hermeneutics, Nyerere’s choice of tools or modes of reading the Bible, the choice of interlocutors, his perception of God, the social analysis of conflict, and the interface between Ujamaa theology and praxis, in my observation, points to a contextual Ujamaa theology trajectory of reading the Bible, which incorporates the ordinary and the trained readers of the Bible. There have been emerging contextual interpretative practices through contextual Bible studies within the tradition of Ujamaa liberation theology in South Africa. Can this be another conceptual resource to engage with issues of human sexuality in Tanzania? Let us delve into this question in the following section.

6.5 Contextual Bible Study (CBS): A New Trajectory in Hermeneutics of Liberation

Contextual Bible Study (CBS) method was developed between 1988 when Gunther Wittenburg visited Brazil and in 1993 when Gerald West published his book *Contextual Bible Study* (1993). In both South Africa and Tanzania, together with the rest of the so-called "Third World", this moment, between 1998 and 1993, was a period of momentous “political and theological conceptual significance” (West 2022:1). CBS is comprised of an array of interconnecting liberation theologies, particularly South African contextual theologies and Ujamaa theology (West 2022:2). Inspired by Nyerere’s Ujamaa theology of liberation, the Ujamaa Centre for Community Development and Research (Ujamaa Centre) was established in 1989 for building a society in which religion enables a just, inclusive and democratic life for all through contextual biblical studies and theology using CBS as a theological method (West *et al* 2023:150). Gerald West and a host of colleagues from the Ujamaa Centre for Community Development and Research have developed contextual Bible studies to respond to the cry of the people for God to speak to them, and thus he writes:

Those who have heard the cry of the people for God to speak to them in their struggles and suffering have begun to develop a new way of reading the Bible. We call this contextual Bible study because we are trying to understand what the Bible is saying to our South African context today (1993:7).

Since 1993, West, in collaboration with colleagues from the Ujamaa Centre, has developed Contextual Bible Study (CBS) as a participatory interpretative tool for reading biblical texts with the poor, oppressed, marginalized working class, women, persons living with HIV/AIDS, people with disabilities and LGBTIQ persons (1993; 2004; 2016). Although the initial setting of Ujamaa Contextual Bible Study (CBS) is South Africa, its implications have been felt beyond the Limpopo River into the rest of Africa, for example, through the Tamar Campaign (West, *et al*, 2004). In 1996 CBS on the biblical story of the rape of Tamar prompted the Ujamaa Centre to work on other aspects of gender-based violence, including heterosexual male rape in Genesis 19. Hence, from the late 1990s, the Ujamaa Centre began using this supposedly homophobic biblical text to

deconstruct its homophobic and toxic reception by reading it as a condemnation of heterosexual male rape of other men, focusing solely on Genesis 19 (West 2016:186-88).

Similarly, the HIV pandemic created more community space to engage with issues of human sexuality and increased attention to aspects of same-sex sexuality within biblical studies, which began to offer details to the biblical texts that had been neglected in the previous CBS. Thus, new CBS were generated that linked Genesis 18 to 19, which is “a re-reading of Genesis 19 within its literary narrative context of Genesis 18” (West et al 2021:9). In 2013, at the Ujamaa Centre’s CBS workshop on Genesis 18-19 with church leaders/clergy and members of the Gay & Lesbian Network, it became clear that Genesis 18 is a narrative about Abraham’s rural hospitality to three strangers, and Genesis 19 is a narrative of Lot’s urban hospitality to two of the same strangers in Genesis 18. In another CBS workshop on Genesis 18-19, but reading from 19 to 18, there emerged contestations over notions of “homosexuality” and “hospitality” (West et al 2021:10). In Genesis 18 strangers are treated with hospitality whereas in Genesis 19 the same strangers are threatened with male rape by heterosexual men of Sodom. Reading Genesis 18-19 together provided safe space for community-based conversations about the dominant faith-based receptions of the texts, and LGBTIQ persons, who are discriminated against and stigmatized because of allegedly “homophobic” biblical texts, were capacitated to challenge the predominant appropriation of the text, and come to a new appropriation of the texts:

“The church is like Sodom, just as the men of Sodom wanted to subject others to their power, so the church wants to subject us to its power. Re-reading this text reminds us to question each and every text; God himself will come down to judge the church, just as God himself came down to judge Sodom” ... others asked, “Could not this text, as it is interpreted by Ezekiel and Isaiah and Jesus, be read as a story about receiving and welcoming homosexuals into our churches?” (West 2016:196)

It is evident that CBS has the capacity to provide more overt community and Church space to engage with various aspects of gender and sexuality, not only in South Africa but also in the Tanzanian context. In 2019, CBS workshop Genesis 18-19 was conducted in Nairobi, which

brought together LGBTIQ activists from South Africa, Kenya, Mozambique, the DRC and Tanzania. This workshop provided the capacity for activists to openly discuss aspects of “homosexuality” and “hospitality” that emerged from the re-reading of Genesis 18-19, but moving from 19 to 18 (West et al 2021:11). It is worth noting that hospitality is one of the significant aspects of Ujamaa theology and part of Ujamaa conceptual resources.

For nine years, from 2015 to 2023, the Ujamaa Centre has conducted Contextual Bible Study (CBS) workshops in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania focusing on issues of gender, economic justice, and migration, using the “See-Judge-Act” methodology of CBS (West et al 2022:150). The aspect of hospitality, among others, has been prominent even in these workshops on gender, economic justice and migration. More than 160 church leaders, priests, and laity have been trained in the use of CBS as a tool to engage with the socio-economic and political challenges presented by the East Africa context (Ujamaa Centre, “Progress Report on Ujamaa East Africa CBS Projects 2023”).

Another aspect of Ujamaa theology is inclusion through collaboration in theological reflection and action through the CBS praxis. Since biblical texts are inherently sites of contestation and struggle, in the CBS praxis there has always been collaboration with oppressed and marginalized ‘eyes’, and in this case, the oppressed and marginalized queer eyes to observe kindred contestation and struggle in biblical texts (West et al 2022:150). For the Ujamaa Centre, this has meant collaboratively reading biblical texts by starting with “Seeing” the contemporary “lived realities of LGBTIQA+” persons from Southern and Eastern Africa as it has been evident in the CBS workshops conducted by the Ujamaa Centre with the queer collaboration of the Uthingo Network (Rainbow Network), the Chicago Consultation and the Arcus Foundation (West et al 2022:151). In this queer collaboration, and regular revisions of Genesis 19-18 (in this order) CBS, there has been a need to move towards the New Testament texts to engage with issues of same-sex sexualities (West et al 2021:11-12).

To respond to the need for queer CBS praxis from the New Testament texts, West and colleagues from the Ujamaa Centre identified Galatians 3:28: “There is neither Jew nor Gentiles, there is neither slave nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus.” This has been rightly considered as a potentially inclusive Pauline text, rather than an overused homophobic Pauline texts of the New

Testament (West 2022:153). The Uthingo Network and other queer collaborators are in support of the choice of Galatians 3:28 as a potentially inclusive Pauline text. Hence, the Ujamaa Centre has recently constructed and conducted CBS on Galatians 3:28 using a hermeneutic of queer appropriation which requires a predominant presence of LGBTIQ persons in the CBS cyclical movement of See-Judge-Act (West et al 2022:150). This CBS on Galatians 3:28 has been adapted in this thesis (together with Genesis 19-18, see below) as another significant biblical and theological resource for “an inclusive and collaborative liberatory praxis” in the context of Ujamaa theology and human sexuality in Tanzania (West et al 2022:150).

The aforementioned Contextual Bible Study activities in South Africa and East Africa have been cited as examples of how the CBS process has the capacity as a conceptual resource to further engage with issues of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania. There is a need for re-reading biblical texts that speak to the realities of human sexualities through Ujamaa CBS as a new trajectory that can facilitate collaborative reading of the Bible with LGBTIQ persons. In this chapter, I propose two sets of potential Ujamaa CBS, Genesis 18-19 and Galatians 3:28, which can be used to read the Bible with LGBTIQ persons in Tanzania. Before constructing the two sets of CBS, using the CBS developed by the Ujamaa Centre as a resource, there is a need to understand the methodology itself, as explained in the following section.

6.6 Contextual Bible Study Methodology

Contextual Bible Study connects scripture and context; it has developed as a participatory Bible study method over forty years of community-based and church-based work, both through the work of *Centro de Estudos Biblicos* (CEBI) in Brazil, and the Ujamaa Centre for Community Development and Research in South Africa. Central to the Contextual Bible Study (CBS) is the threefold See-Judge-Act process, as a context-based biblical-theological reflection process (West 2015:235-236).

6.6.1 See-Judge-Act

CBS begins with “See”, seeing the realities of our context, both individual and systematic. Jesus summoned his disciples to discern "the signs of the times" (Matthew 16:3), lamenting that the

religious of that time were unable to truly “see” their context. In our current context, we are summoned to see the realities of LGBTIQ same-sex sexualities, recognizing each, but also recognizing their intersections. CBS is particularly attentive to seeing reality “from below”, truly seeing realities from the perspective of those who have been sexually marginalized as LGBTIQ persons. The embodied presence of the marginalized is essential to “See-ing” in CBS.

CBS then continues with “Judge”, judging this reality from God's perspective in Scripture. Jesus taught his disciples to pray, "Your kingdom come, your will be done, on earth as it is in heaven" (Matthew 6:10). What can we learn from scripture about God's kingdom (or kin-dom) on earth concerning LGBTIQ persons? Having analyzed our realities (See), CBS brings scripture into dialogue with our realities (Judge), using scripture as a reflective surface within which to see what God wants to do in our contexts with respect to LGBTIQ same-sex sexualities.

CBS then continues to summon us to action, “Act”. If our contextual realities concerning human sexualities do not conform to God’s kingdom on earth, then what needs to change and how can we contribute to working with God for this change? When Jesus saw the realities of the two blind men sitting on the side of the road, he asked, "What do you want me to do for you? (Matthew 20:32) Seeing reality in the light of God's prophetic vision for God's kingdom on earth requires us, like Jesus, to act. “Moved with compassion, Jesus touched their eyes, and immediately they regained their sight and followed Him” (Matthew 20:34). Our actions will take many forms, but we must “Act” for and with those who yearn for humanity and dignity in our contexts, moved by compassion and commitment to ideo-theological values of CBS praxis, extrapolated in the next section.

6.7 Contextual Bible Study (CBS) and Ujamaa Theology and Hermeneutics

Since CBS developed from contextual theology and hermeneutics of liberation from the context of South Africa (West 1999), most of its theological aspects and ideological values resonate with Nyerere’s Ujamaa theology and hermeneutics developed from the context of Tanzania (Frostin 1988:1-2). Doing contextual biblical theology and hermeneutics requires a commitment to ideo-theological values. To substantiate this point, let us look at these ideo-theological core values of

CBS praxis, namely, community, context, criticality, collaboration, contestation, change and celebration (West 2015:237-41).

6.7.1 Community

Reading the Bible in Community with others means sharing and listening to others brings a sense of community consciousness. This aspect of community consciousness is akin to the spirit of Nyerere's Ujamaa, which means "community sharing" (Isichei 1995:340). The trained and ordinary readers of the Bible can equally learn from each other as they read the Bible together in an Ujamaa community of contextual Bible study groups, which could become the community of God's people inclusive of LGBTIQ persons in small Christian communities (SCCs) in their own respective contexts throughout Tanzania. So the Bible is not only read in community but also in the specific context of the poor and marginalized, as explained in the following section.

6.7.2 Context

Reading the Bible in Context; it has to be acknowledged and recognized that all readings of the Bible are done in specific contexts that influence and affect the ways we engage with the biblical texts and how we appropriate them. In this context of Ujamaa theology and human sexuality in Tanzania, reading the Bible in context could mean reading biblical texts from specifically the context of the poor, oppressed and marginalized LGBTIQ persons of Tanzania for humanity and dignity. Thus the Bible is read in community within a specific context with critical consciousness, as I explain in the following section.

6.7.3 Criticality

Reading the Bible Critically implies critical consciousness, which is as crucial as community consciousness discussed above. Critical consciousness implies asking "Why? Who? When? What?" questions, analyzing Christian tradition and church systems and structures involved and how these affect our context; in West's words, "probing beneath the surface, being suspicious of the status quo" of Christianity (1993:19). We read the Bible critically because we recognize the ideological (perspectival) nature of the Bible and its interpretations throughout Christian tradition

and church history, and how it has been used for both oppression and liberation. The CBS process facilitates critical Bible reading, which develops critical consciousness through which a critical church and community is built that is capable of critically learning from the past to analyze the present for shaping the future. As we have seen, critical reading of the Bible is not against faith in God's word, but it is a careful and systematic reading of the biblical text to understand it. The purpose of a positive critical reading of the Bible is not to find errors in the texts but rather to "discover and recover the true meaning of God's message for us today" (1993:19). While those in power use the Bible to legitimize oppression and discrimination against LGBTIQ persons, we must employ transformative and liberating ways of reading the Bible critically in our context of Ujamaa and human sexuality in Tanzania, appropriating and applying the Bible to realities of life. This is only possible if the Bible is read as a collaborative theological reflection as argued in the following ideo-theological value of collaboration in CBS praxis.

6.7.4 Collaboration

CBS process in its three-phase cyclical movement of See-Judge-Act is a collaborative theological reflection and praxis among organized communities of the poor, marginalized, working class and oppressed with organic intellectuals on one hand, and, as West rightly puts it, "socially engaged ("converted") biblical scholars and theologians", on the other (2015:239). Whereas individual ordinary readers of the Bible from organized communities, and in our case LGBTIQ individuals, bring with them resources from their lived experiences of marginalization and oppression, the socially engaged biblical scholars bring with them particular theological resources of contextual biblical hermeneutics in the CBS collaborative process of reading and re-reading biblical texts. Thus, CBS is located within collaborative liberating actions and biblical interpretation among organized oppressed communities of ordinary readers of the Bible, organic intellectuals and socially engaged scholars, beginning with actual collaborative work, contextual biblical interpretation and "doing" theology within local community struggles and/or contestations, "moving from embodied theology to people's theology to prophetic theology" (West 2015:239-40). Hence, in CBS praxis, we have come to the recognition that the Bible is "a site of struggle" with contested theologies and voices, as illustrated in the following ideo-theological value of contestation.

6.7.5 Contestation

In South African liberation theology, the Bible is intrinsically “life-giving” through the God of life or “death-giving” through the idols of death (West 2015:241). Similarly, as evident in the context of Ujamaa theology and human sexuality in Tanzania, the Bible has been and still is, a site of struggle, inherently both life-giving and death-giving, that is it has been, and still is, used to legitimize structures and systems of oppression, which undermine life of the poor, marginalized and oppressed communities, including LGBTIQ persons in Tanzania. Thus, CBS praxis recognizes that the Bible with its biblical theologies or "voices", whether life-giving or death-giving, is "contested" and therefore the Bible is indeed, "a site of struggle" (West 2015:242). The CBS process of theological reflection and praxis is meant to wrestle with the God of life in the biblical texts against the idols of death to bring out life, and not death. Contestation and/or struggle is a crucial characteristic of life and an important socio-theological concept in the CBS process for which the ideological and theological “terrain” of struggle has primary significance (West 2015:241-42). Ideo-theological value of contestation and/or struggle in CBS praxis leads us to reading the biblical texts for transformative change at the level of individual and society, as I illustrate in the following section.

6.7.6 Change

Reading the Bible must be for change, including individual and social change in all aspects of life, be it religious, socio-political, cultural, or economic. Appropriation and application of the Bible for transformative change is the most significant part of the CBS process. Already ordinary readers of the Bible always have the willingness and readiness to apply the Bible to their realities of life. History and experience have taught us that reading the Bible with community, in context, and then applying it uncritically can be dangerous, leading to oppression and even death. Appropriation and application of the Bible must be done critically, being aware of the ambiguous position of the Bible, especially on how Christian theology should address aspects of human sexuality, and how one should, or should not, apply certain texts in one way or the other on issues of same-sex sexuality. Thus, in the context of same-sex sexualities, appropriations of the Bible do seriously matter, they are forms of combat, and the Bible has become a site of struggle, and its appropriations

and applications could be felt and found in flesh and blood (West 1999:16). Uncritical readings and appropriations of biblical texts have had effects on real people's lives in real contexts (Gunda 2011:93-94). Therefore, in the CBS praxis, the Bible is not just read for a better understanding of the text, but it is read for change not only for individual transformation but for ideo-theological and societal change. The Bible as a site of struggle itself, must be wrestled with (Genesis 32:24-25) until it contributes to substantive and tangible ideo-theological, as well as socio-economic structural and systematic change for individuals as well as society (West 2015:240-41). In the CBS praxis, change is not expected to come easily, but when we make gains towards transformation or even when change is achieved, there is a reason for liturgical celebration as argued in the next section.

6.7.7 Celebration

Reading the Bible and Celebrating; amid the struggles against idols of death, the core values of CBS call us, upon reading the Bible through CBS, to celebrate the gains we make in the process of working towards transformation. In the tradition of the Ujamaa Centre, we have tended to speak of the six core values of CBS as "Six Cs" in the See-Judge-Act process, but we could as well add "Celebration" as a seventh core value of CBS praxis, and thus speak of See-Judge-Act-Celebrate (West 2015:238). Reading the Bible with faith communities and celebrating life in the complexity of our contexts is theologically liturgical.

These ideo-theological core values of CBS, namely, community, context, criticality, collaboration, contestation, change and celebration, are theological aspects which permeate through all cyclical movements and/or moments of "community consciousness", "critical consciousness" and again "community consciousness" in the overall CBS movement of the See-Judge-Act process. CBS process facilitates community-consciousness, or "Seeing", of the real context in terms of their past experience, cultural identity and present realities that leads to critical consciousness, "Judging", of their present social realities, which in turn leads to people's community-consciousness, "Acting", upon their social, economic, political, religious, cultural, gender and/or sexual realities for immediate change of structures and systems of oppression that undermine their human dignity as

individuals, community and society at large. The concept of community/critical consciousness binds together all core values of CBS.

Therefore, CBS is a significant tool and a theological theoretical process through which Ujamaa conceptual resources, such as community, welcoming, sharing, hospitality, humanity and dignity, could be utilized to engage with issues affecting LGBTIQ persons within churches and communities. For this engagement with issues of same-sex sexuality, in the next section, I propose Ujamaa CBS work on same-sex sexuality as a collaborative process between organized community groups in Tanzania and socially engaged scholars from the Ujamaa Centre in South Africa. Each collaborative CBS workshop in Tanzania, which enhances the Ujamaa Centre CBS work in Africa, would begin with a liturgical celebration of life and the achievements made in the struggles against the idols of death in the contested context of human sexuality in Tanzania.

6.8 Ujamaa Centre CBS in the Context of Human Sexuality in Tanzania

The proposed CBS work on both Genesis 18-19 and Galatians 3:28 is a potential collaborative process between organized community groups inclusive of LGBTIQ from churches and communities, and socially engaged scholars from the Ujamaa Centre. This collaborative reading process is shaped by an overarching three-phase cyclical movement of See-Judge-Act, which in turn has within it a series of movements, namely, “community-consciousness” (See phase), “critical-consciousness” (Judge phase) and “community-consciousness” again (Act phase) (West 2015:244). In this three-phase movement of See-Judge-Act, the organized community of the poor, marginalized and oppressed begins by "Seeing" their substantive context, socially, economically, religiously, politically, culturally and even sexually. This See phase, that is community consciousness, is an analysis of their lived realities through the sharing of stories and lived experiences of poverty, marginalization and oppression. Themes, whether social, economic, religious, political, cultural, gendered and/or sexual, generated during the See phase of the movement are then brought into dialogue with the prophetic voices of the biblical text to “Judge”, that is address, the social realities of life as uncovered during the community-consciousness (See) movement of the CBS collaborative biblical reading process (West 2015:243-44). The Judge phase, which focuses on critical consciousness, leads towards a plan of action, that is the

community-consciousness (Act) movement of the process, leading to a series of actions within the community of the poor, marginalized and oppressed.

These CBS on Genesis 18-19 and Galatians 3:26-28 could be used as resources with which to do a people's theology of inclusive sexuality, working with organized local groups which include LGBTIQ forms of sexuality. These local organized groups that include LGBTIQ individuals have been identified; they were part of a CBS workshop on gender and human sexuality that took place in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, on 7th -10th March 2023, organized and facilitated by colleagues from the Ujamaa Centre in South Africa and Tanzania. This CBS workshop was a continuation of collaborative work of the Ujamaa Centre, the Chicago Consultation and the Arcus Foundation, which began in 2010 covering Southern Africa, West Africa and East Africa, but was disrupted by the Covid-19 pandemic (West et al 2023:153). The proposed sets of CBS on Genesis 18-19 and Galatians 3:28, which are adapted from the Ujamaa Centre CBS resources, envision continuing this unfinished theological task of engaging with organized community groups that include LGBTIQ individuals from churches and communities of the poor, marginalized and oppressed in the context of Ujamaa theology and human sexuality in Tanzania.

6.9 Contextual Bible Study (CBS) Work on Inclusive Sexuality in Tanzania

This CBS work on inclusive sexuality would be a continuation of Ujamaa Centre's CBS work, but in the contested context of human sexuality in Tanzania. Besides, as the name Ujamaa Centre signifies, there is an ideo-theological connection between the Ujamaa Centre CBS and Ujamaa theology in Tanzania, which was initiated by Julius Nyerere (1966) and further developed by Charles Nyamiti (1971), Laurent Magesa (1976; 1978) and Christopher Mwoleka (1976) through theological reflection and Small Christian Communities (SCCs) for sharing concerns, reading the Bible and praying together in community (Mwoleka 1978). The Ujamaa Centre was inspired by the Ujamaa theology of Nyerere and thus has continued its ideo-theology through CBS work in South Africa and beyond. Hence, the incorporation of CBS praxis in Ujamaa theological reflection with organized community groups in the current contested context of sexuality in Tanzania reconfigures and revitalizes Ujamaa theology of liberation in the present times of contestation over human sexuality in Tanzania.

This section presents Genesis 18-19 and Galatians 3:28 as potential Contextual Bible Study texts to work with organized community groups from churches and communities, which are directly or indirectly affected by contextual realities of human sexualities in Tanzania. Through CBS praxis, this would be a collaborative theological reflection and action between the Ujamaa Centre and organized community groups in Tanzania.⁷ These target groups would include LGBTIQ persons and allies, who would be identified as organizations working with LGBTIQ communities whose members have participated in CBS workshops on human sexuality in South Africa, Ghana, Kenya and Tanzania, organized by the Ujamaa Centre in collaboration with the Chicago Consultation and the Arcus Foundation respectively (West et al 2023:151-52; Gunda & Naughton 2017:viii-x). This recommendation of CBS work towards the development of an Ujamaa inclusive theology of sexuality follows an overarching three-phase process of the See-Judge-Act methodology.

Phase 1: SEE

This phase begins with prayer, devotion, meditation, singing, group sharing and personal introduction and welcomes in an Ujamaa participatory spirit of hospitality and inclusion. First, in this phase, through pre-workshop questionnaires and the sharing in plenary sessions, participants would be probed about their own lived reality of elements of Ujamaa theory and/or theology, establishing Ujamaa theory and theology as the terrain within which the CBS would take place.

Second, participants would then share their stories of lived embodied experiences as LGBTIQ persons, activists and allies from churches and communities in Tanzania. They would highlight the challenges, opportunities, available interventions, and what could be done to utilize the opportunities and the current interventions to overcome the challenges. This phase involves an introduction to the Ujamaa CBS process and methodology. Then the process moves onto the Judge phase of the CBS praxis.

⁷ LGBT Voice Tanzania; Tanzania Youth Gender Empowerment Organization (TYGEO); Zanzibar Strategic Youth Development Organization (ZSYDO).

Phase 2: JUDGE

This phase presents the actual CBS in three interconnected movements (phases) of See-Judge-Act that shape the collaborative critical process of critical reading of the Bible: community consciousness (See), critical consciousness (Judge) and again community consciousness (Act) (West 2016:186). Through critical reading of the allegedly homophobic biblical text on Genesis 18-19 and an inclusive text of Galatians 3:28, working with organized local community groups inclusive of LGBTIQ persons, these CBS could be potential resources to develop a people's theology of inclusive sexuality premised on Ujamaa hospitality, inclusion, humanity and dignity, which would constitute an ACT phase of the CBS praxis. We now turn to the proposed CBS work on inclusive sexuality in Tanzania.

The following Contextual Bible Study (CBS) is based on the Ujamaa Centre's reconfiguration of Genesis 19 and their critical re-reading of Genesis 18 (2016:186-88; West, et al 2021:5-23).

6.9.1 Contextual Bible Study on Genesis 18-19

Community Consciousness (See): Context

1. Listen to Genesis 19:1-13.
 - a) From your experience, has his biblical text been used within Ujamaa theology? If it has been used, how has it been used within Ujamaa theology?
 - b) Then, share in groups of two how this story has been used to discuss issues of same-sex sexuality in your context in Tanzania.

Critical Consciousness (Judge): Text

2. Read Genesis 18:1-8. The story in Genesis 19 is a continuation of the story in Genesis 18, which begins with three men visiting Abraham. How does Abraham receive these three strangers?

3. Later in the evening, two of these men leave Abraham's home for Sodom (18:16). Re-read Genesis 19:1-3. How does Lot receive these same men, here mentioned as angels, who were previously received by Abraham in Genesis 18?
4. Read again Genesis 18:1-8 and Genesis 19:1-3; compare these texts. What similarities do you see in the hospitality of Abraham and Lot respectively?
5. Re-read Genesis 19:4-5. In contrast to both Abraham and Lot, the men of Sodom receive the strangers with violence instead of hospitality. Why do the men of Sodom choose to receive these strangers/angels by raping/ "knowing" them?
6. Re-read Genesis 19:9. What is the status of Lot in the city of Sodom? Is Lot's status in Sodom the reason why the men of Sodom want to rape him?
7. In Genesis 18 the hospitality of Abraham to strangers leads to inclusion and blessing for Sarah (18:9-10). In Genesis 19 the hospitality of Lot to strangers leads to the protection of Lot and his daughters from being raped by the men of Sodom (18:8-11). Lot knows that the men of Sodom are heterosexuals, which is why he offers his daughters to them. The way Lot treats his daughters and property is offensive to us; however, it is clear that Lot understands that the men of Sodom want to use sex to abuse, humiliate and dominate both himself and his two visitors in his home. The story is about sexual abuse and/or rape as a means of expressing power over others. In what circumstances in our society do men rape other men? Why do men rape other men? Are men who rape other men homosexuals?
8. In other parts of the Bible, Genesis 19 is not interpreted as a story about homosexuality. Read Isaiah 1:7-17; Ezekiel 16:49-50. In these Old Testament texts, how is the story of Genesis 19 described? Read Luke 10:10-12; Matthew 10:14-15. In these New Testament texts, how does Jesus describe the story of Genesis 19? According to these other biblical texts, what is the "sin" of Sodom?

Community Consciousness (Act): Context

9. Why is it important to re-read this story of Genesis 19 by beginning with Genesis 18? What have you learned by re-reading this story in its larger context?
10. What are you going to do to help others in your church and community understand that this story is not about homosexuality, but hospitality?

11. How would you use this CBS as a resource to integrate a queer African action plan into an Ujamaa theology framework for the church and community?

In response to this CBS, participants would be expected to formulate action plans, which are part of the overall frame of the See-Judge-Act process, towards an Ujamaa people's theology of inclusive sexuality.

The following CBS on Galatians is a unique one as it comes from the letter genre of the Bible, devoid of a narrative frame, which is not easy to follow for ordinary readers/listeners of the Bible. To ensure an egalitarian biblical reading process, Gerald West and colleagues from the Ujamaa Centre provided the Pauline theological argument of Galatians 3:28 with a narrative frame from three potential sources (2023:156-57). First, the CBS provides a narrative back story "behind the text", which is the socio-historical and literary context of the text; here questions about Paul's relationship with the church of Galatia, the purpose for writing the letter to Galatians, where Galatia is located, etc., help to reconstruct a narrative for the text from "behind the text" (West 2023:156). Second, the CBS focuses "on the text", which is the narrative logic of the stories of Titus and Cephas within the literary context of the text itself, offering potential "semiotic squares", terms and concepts, which represent the narrative theological logic of Paul, and thus provide a significant structure of the theological argument (West 2023:156-57). Third, the stories "in front of the text", which are shared by the CBS participants, from their lived experiences, as they connect with the biblical text. Thus, in CBS praxis, the people's lives serve as the first narrative "in front of the text" (West 2023:157). CBS begins and ends with the lived realities of its participants.

In this CBS, a combination of the socio-historical and literary contexts has been employed to reconstruct the narrative back-story of Galatians 3:28. In this narrative back-story, Paul arrives in Galatia, but he is physically vulnerable because of his ill-health. The Galatians nurse Paul until he recovers back to health (Gal. 4.13–15). During his stay among the Galatians, Paul preaches that through faith in Jesus the Anointed One, Jews, Gentiles and all nations in the Graeco-Roman world are reconciled with God and with one another (Gal. 2:16) (West et al 2023:158).

Through this good news, Paul gathers together Jews and Gentiles, men and women, slave and free as one Jesus community through baptism, and thus founds the church in Galatia. Then he goes on to preach to other nations. After Paul's departure, other teachers, who are Jesus believing Jews, arrive among the churches in Galatia and start preaching a different gospel (Gal. 6:12), that for Gentiles to be reconciled with God, they must be like them through circumcision; that is, Gentiles need this male Jewish marker of identity to belong to Jesus community. Paul learns about these Jewish teachers and thus he writes this letter to Galatians to explain how wrong these Jewish teachers are to use circumcision and other "works of the law" to exclude "the other" non-Jewish Jesus-believers from the fellowship of the Jesus community of the church (West et al 2023:158).

It is against this reconstructed narrative "behind the text", together with Paul's telling of the stories of Titus and Cephas within the text, that Paul rejects the Graeco-Roman hierarchical social structures of marginalisation and exclusion portrayed in Galatians 3:28: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus". There is no superiority of one over the other; all are one in Christ Jesus through baptism; "that ethnic, legal, gender distinctions do not matter" because they have no power within the Jesus community founded through baptism. (West et al 2023:158). This is a counter vision from the margins of society that there is no need for the "Other" to become like "Us" in order to belong, which disrupts the dominant narrative of exclusion in the Graeco-Roman World (West et al 2023:159). The following CBS on Galatians 3:26-28 is adopted from the most recent revision as a potential resource for Ujamaa theology of inclusive sexuality in Tanzania (West et al 2023:159-62, 171).

6.9.2 Contextual Bible Study on Galatians 3:26-28

Community Consciousness (See): Context

1. Listen to Galatians 3:26-28.
 - a) From your experience, has his biblical text been used within Ujamaa theology? If it has been used, how has it been used within Ujamaa theology?

- b) In your church and/or community, how has this text been understood? Share in groups of two in a plenary session.
2. Listen to Galatians 1:6-2:14 in which Paul explains the reason for his inclusive theology. As you listen to this biblical text, what catches your attention? Again, share in groups of two in the plenary session.
 3. What are the socio-historical factors for the letter to the Galatians?

Listen to a short socio-historical input about the letter to Galatians:

The exact geographical extent of “Galatia” remains unclear; however, it is evident that Paul writes during a historical period when a clear distinction between “synagogue” and “church” had not yet emerged. Paul, writing as a Jew, grapples with how to relate to Gentile “Greeks”, who are culturally different from Jews. Central to this letter are Torah-related markers of Jewish identity, mainly circumcision and dietary laws. The Galatians are perceived as “Other” in their relationship to Jews because neither do they practice circumcision nor adhere to *kosher*, the dietary regulations of the Jewish law.

Because of these identity markers and a Torah interpretation that emphasizes exclusion rather than inclusion, Jews and Galatians are unable to belong to the same community and/or share meals together. This is a “different/heretical gospel” (1:6), which the Galatians are at risk of accepting; however, Paul asserts that God has “called” him (1:15) to proclaim “the gospel of Christ” (1:7), which is inclusive of the Other, embracing Jews and Gentiles, slaves and free, men and women, as truly “good news” for all. The letter to the Galatians, written during the initial stages of the emerging Christian “church”, serves as a compelling example of the necessity of doing inclusive theology in a dynamic and evolving context (West et al 2023:159-160)

Critical Consciousness (Judge): Text

4. Re-read Galatians 1:6-2:14 once more, but in small groups of five to six persons, using your chosen Bible translation; focus closely on the story that Paul is recounting. Read in turns, allocating the biblical text as follows: 1:6-12; 1:13-17; 1:18-24; 2:1-10; 2:11-14.
 - a. Why does Paul recount this story, which spans over a decade?
 - b. What theological framework does he use in this story?
 - c. What is Paul's concern regarding the theological direction of the Galatians?
5. Re-read Galatians 2:1-10. Paul brings Titus along when he makes his second visit to Jerusalem.
 - a. What information do we have regarding Titus?
 - b. Why does Titus's presence hold such significance in Paul's theological argument?
 - c. In what ways does Titus exemplify "the freedom we have in Christ Jesus" (2:4)? (Also see 5:1a.).
6. Re-read Galatians 2:11-14 where Paul opposes Cephas in Antioch (2:11).
 - a. What story does Paul recount regarding Cephas?
 - b. Why does Paul oppose Cephas so strongly?
 - c. What does Paul mean by "If you, being a Jew, live like the Gentiles and not like the Jews, how is it that you compel the Gentiles to live like Jews?" (2:14).
7. Read Galatians 3:27-28 where Paul summarizes his theological argument. Read this biblical text in different translations.
 - a. In his letter to the Galatians, Paul focuses on the relationship between Jews and Gentiles (or Greeks), which is why he starts by asserting: "There is neither Jew nor Greek."
 - b. How would you encapsulate Paul's theological argument regarding "Jew and Greek"?

8. Paul extends beyond the Jew/Greek oppositions to encompass two other significant hierarchical binaries of his era: "There is neither Slave nor Free, there is neither Male nor Female" (3:28).
 - How does Paul's deliberate theological argument concerning the Jew/Greek opposition relate to the oppositions of Slave/Free and Male/Female?
9. In presenting his theological argument, Paul employs the phrase: "clothed yourselves with Christ" (3:27).
 - Why is his use of a "clothing" metaphor significant?

Community Consciousness (Act): Context

10. There are some dominant hierarchical binaries/oppositions that shape our world.
 - a. What are the dominant hierarchical binaries/oppositions related to sexuality that shape our society?
 - b. What aspects of Paul's theological argument can guide us (and our churches) to transcend these sexual binaries/oppositions "in Christ Jesus"?
 - c. How can you communicate Paul's inclusive theology to others in your church and/or community?
11. Despite the theological disagreements between James, Cephas, and John on one side, and Paul on the other, they concur on one point: " They only asked us to remember the poor – the very thing I also was eager to do" (2:10).
 - a. How does poverty intersect with issues of gender and sexuality in our current contexts?
 - b. How would you translate key verses of this CBS as a liturgical resource for the church, which incorporates your lived queer realities in the Ujamaa theology context?

As stated earlier, this CBS follows closely the work of colleagues of the Ujamaa Centre (West et al, 2023). Question 1 and 2 of the "See" phase begins with the community's present reception of the text, followed by the socio-historical input in question 3 to enable participants to recognize the reconstructed narrative strands and Paul's theological argument in the respective questions (4-6

and 7-9) under the "Judge" phase, and to help them in the re-appropriation of the biblical text in the questions (10 and 11) under the "Act" phase of the CBS. Questions 1 and 2 would allow the participants inclusive of the queer forks to share their resources from their lived experiences, whereas question 3 would bring resources from the socially engaged scholars of the Ujamaa Centre through input on the socio-history of Paul's letter to Galatians.

The socio-historically reconstructed narrative would be read aloud and slowly to enable participants to easily identify and follow the narrative strands relating to Paul, Titus and Cephas in each of the questions (4, 5 and 6). The "clothing" metaphor is profoundly significant in reflecting on Paul's theological argument in questions 7, 8 and 9; through baptism in Christ Jesus, everyone, regardless of their gender and/or sexuality, is "clothed" equally in Jesus. Question 11(a) in the CBS transcends the theme of sexuality and adds economic dimensions of hetero-patriarchy to enable participants to recognize the intersectional nature of the systems and structures of domination, oppression and marginalization in our contexts of human sexuality in Tanzania (West et al 2023:163). Question 11(b) prompts the participants from organized community groups, inclusive of LGBTIQ from churches and communities, to reflect as to how they would translate key verses of this CBS as resources for liturgical purposes in the church.

These CBS on Genesis and Galatians have been used by the Ujamaa Centre throughout Southern Africa and East Africa among organized queer community groups, and have proven to be potentially transformative; thus, they have liberative potential as resources for people's inclusive theology in the context of Tanzania. These CBS processes, which have already been tried and tested by the Ujamaa Centre, have the capacity, I argue here, to contribute within the Ujamaa theory and theology trajectory to continue the unfinished task of Ujamaa theology of liberation in the context of human sexuality in Tanzania for continuous dynamic ideo-theological and socio-cultural change.

6.10 Summary

This chapter has delineated Nyerere's hermeneutical key to understanding biblical texts and applying them in the Ujamaa context. The lived experiences of the poor and oppressed are the

starting point. Using West's hermeneutics of liberation (1991), one can observe that Nyerere's reading of the Bible is characterized by “on the text” and “in front of the text” modes of reading biblical texts. In all Nyerere’s Ujamaa readings, the purpose is the dignity of the human person and the transformation of the society they constitute. This terrain of Ujamaa biblical hermeneutics connects to such trajectories of contextual biblical hermeneutics as Contextual Bible Study (CBS).

The CBS process is a hermeneutical means through which such Ujamaa theological conceptual resources as humanity, dignity, hospitality, and inclusion, as also evident in CBS examples on Genesis 18-19 and Galatians 3:26-28 provided in this chapter, could be utilized to make a contribution towards an Ujamaa theology of inclusive sexuality. Having appropriated Nyerere’s hermeneutical key, his Ujamaa theory and theology, the following chapter takes the discussion further into the integration of aspects of Ujamaa theological theory and same-sex sexuality, towards an Ujamaa theology of inclusive sexuality. What would Ujamaa theology look like in the context of same-sex sexuality? Engaging further with the resources of the two CBS on Genesis 18-19 and Galatians 3:26-28, the next chapter is my reflection on what inclusive sexuality would mean in the context of the Ujamaa theology and human sexuality in Tanzania.

Chapter 7

7 Ujamaa Theology and Same-Sex Sexuality

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I have delineated Nyerere's hermeneutical key to understanding biblical texts and applying them in the Ujamaa context in which the poor and oppressed are his starting point. The hermeneutical terrain of Nyerere's readings of the Bible, whose purpose is the dignity of the human person and the transformation of their society, is characterised by "on the text" and "in front of the text" modes of reading biblical texts (West 1991), which connects to trajectories of contextual biblical hermeneutics such as Contextual Bible Study (CBS) of the Ujamaa Centre in South Africa. In the previous chapter, I have also provided CBS examples, on Genesis 18-19 and Galatians 3:26-28, to explore Ujamaa theological conceptual resources such as hospitality and inclusion, which could be utilised to contribute towards Ujamaa theology of inclusive sexuality in Tanzania. Hence, in this chapter, Ujamaa liberation theology and issues of human sexuality are brought together in dialogue; it integrates aspects of Ujamaa theology and issues of human sexuality. The chapter takes up the challenge of a continuation of Ujamaa theology but in the light of the urgent context of human sexuality.

As discussed earlier in chapter two, in her *Indecent Theology: Theological Perversions in Sex, Gender and Politics* (2000), Althaus-Reid, brings together aspects of liberation theology and human sexuality to develop indecent theology, which is "a sexually explicit liberation theology" (2000:4,61ff). In this chapter, Althaus-Reid's framework is utilised in the integration of aspects of Ujamaa theology and same-sex sexuality, which could lead toward the development of an Ujamaa theology of inclusive sexuality. Furthermore, as already discussed in chapter 6, CBS is a potential resource to engage with issues of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania, and through which Ujamaa theology and human sexuality could be contextually integrated. Thus, in this chapter, I provide further reflection as to how CBS on Genesis 18-19 and Galatians 3:26-28 could be utilised in the context of Ujamaa theology in Tanzania, as a post-PhD work in collaboration with the Ujamaa Centre in South Africa. We begin with contours of liberation hermeneutics and how these could be re-configured in the context of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania.

7.2 Contours of Liberation Hermeneutics and Same-Sex Sexuality

Ujamaa liberation theology and its biblical hermeneutics reflect the contours of liberation hermeneutical theory that compel us to move towards inclusive theology which brings together Ujamaa theology and issues of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania. These contours are: the choice of the interlocutors of theological and biblical hermeneutics, the perception of God, the social analysis of conflict, the choice of theological tools, and the relationship between theology and praxis (Frostin 1988:6-11). What would these contours of liberation theology and hermeneutics reflect in the light of the context of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania? In the current context of contestation over issues of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania, who are the interlocutors, and dialogue partners, shaping the perception of God? And at this historical epoch, or Kairos moment, in Tanzania, on whose side is God? Who are the oppressed people in our present context of Ujamaa theology and human sexuality in Tanzania?

7.2.1 Interlocutors of Ujamaa Theology

To move towards Ujamaa inclusive theology, who are the interlocutors of Ujamaa theology in the current context of contestation over same-sex sexuality in Tanzania? In the initial colonial and post-colonial context of Ujamaa theology, the poor, the oppressed, the marginalized and the exploited were the chief interlocutors of Ujamaa liberation theology in Tanzania. It is the questions of these interlocutors that Ujamaa theology attempted to answer, and has continued to do so since colonial times through Tanzania's independence on 9th December 1961 and thereafter. Since then, the Tanzanian context has changed, as is evident in chapter four on the issues of same-sex sexuality, and hence the previous and present contexts do pose differing questions; we are experiencing a paradigm shift which compels this question: whose questions does Ujamaa theology attempt to answer in the current socio-historical context of Tanzania? It is the questions of LGBTIQ persons in their daily lives in Tanzania whose realities of oppression have been delineated in chapter four.

From its onset, the choice of interlocutors has distinguished Ujamaa theology as people's prophetic theology from dominant church theology in Tanzania. I concur with West of "the choice of

interlocutor being the decisive factor in the identification of a theology” (2020:2). Doing an Ujamaa theology of inclusive sexuality would mean doing theology from the lived experiences and perspectives of LGBTIQ persons of Tanzania; they are the chief interlocutors of Ujamaa theology, and God is on the side of LGBTIQ persons because they are an oppressed community in Tanzania. Even in the present context, this would be a key to distinguishing Ujamaa theology and hermeneutics from other forms of theologies and “domesticated Christianity” in Tanzania (West 2018:82). The question of the interlocutors of Ujamaa theology in the current context of same-sex sexuality lead us to the question of the perception of God; where is God? In the present contestation over issues of same-sex sexuality, on which side is God? To this question, we now turn.

7.2.2 Perception of God

The perception of God is shaped by the interlocutors of Ujamaa theology, and in the current context, God has a preferential option for oppressed LGBTIQ persons in Tanzania. In the current context of an envisioned Ujamaa theology of inclusive sexuality, the issue would not be atheism, as Tanzanians are predominantly religious with about 63 per cent Christians (US Department of State 2022), but rather idolatry, meaning submission to systems of oppression against LGBTIQ persons and “deification of ideologies” (Frostin 1988:202) that are “used to sacralize the evil structures of oppression and make them appear as if they reflect God’s will”. It is submission to the idols of death, warring against the true God of life, justice, peace and love revealed among the oppressed, the voiceless and the downtrodden community of LGBTQ persons in Tanzania. Justice, peace and love are the marks and vision of the kin-dom of God on earth, and the essence of Christianity consists in love (Hennely 1990:xxi). Do the current realities affecting LGBTIQ persons conform to the marks and vision of God’s kin-dom on earth? If not, we must work with God to change the current lived realities to reflect the vision of God’s kin-dom on “earth as it is in heaven” (Matthew 6:10) (West 2018:144). This transformative process of change will be further explored later in this chapter, especially in relation to how the Ujamaa CBS theory of change can be applied to our current context of Ujamaa theology and issues surrounding same-sex sexuality in Tanzania. But, what would conflictual analysis entail in our present context of Ujamaa theology and same-sex sexuality in Tanzania? This question forms the focus of the next section.

7.2.3 Analysis of Conflicts

In its multidimensional analysis of conflicts in economic, classist, sexist, geographic, ethnic, and cultural layers of oppression, the initial Ujamaa liberation theology opted for the poor and marginalized people of the time. But who are the marginalized people of our times of contestation over issues of human sexuality in Tanzania? We still live in the same world of conflictual struggle, but in a different socio-historical context; thus, the current option for the oppressed LGBTIQ persons of Tanzania springs from the inexhaustive continuous analysis of conflicts, because liberation theology is a theology in constant movement, whose conflictual analysis is never considered exhaustive nor a finished task, but rather a continuously constant liberation theological task (Frostin 1988:203). In current milieu, this constant theological task with ordinary readers of the Bible continues through the Ujamaa CBS work in South Africa, Tanzania, East Africa and beyond, as explored later in this chapter in relation to how the Ujamaa CBS work continuously formulates people's theology, which leads to Ujamaa prophetic theology in the trajectory of the liberation theology as articulated since the early days of liberation theology in Tanzania. There can be no prophetic theology without a people's theology, which emerges from the lived reality and experience of the local African Tanzanian communities (West 2018:144). Lived and experienced people's theology has been the starting point of the Ujamaa Centre's CBS work in Africa and beyond (West 2018:144). Indeed, people's theology is the starting point of a Ujamaa prophetic theology of liberation. Even in the conflictual analysis, there must be an involvement of lived and experience theology of the people, the poor and marginalized sectors in Tanzania.

In 1976, when liberation theologians met in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, the rich and poor were the main conflictual division; but since then, the conflictual worlds have grown more complex, even to include gender and sexual conflictual division of human sexualities in Tanzania. In this liberation theoretical trajectory, an Ujamaa theology of inclusive sexuality is a process and a theological reformulation of the liberation theology in the context of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania (Frostin 1988:8,197). In its social analysis, Ujamaa theology as part of liberation theology, assumes a conflictual perception of social reality that consists of same-sex sexualities of LGBTIQ persons in Tanzania and beyond. Since theological reflection is shaped by one's context, the current Ujamaa inclusive theological task can only be achieved within the framework of

conflictual analysis that includes layers of oppression affecting the sexualities of LGBTIQ persons in churches and communities in Dar es Salaam, Dodoma, Mwanza, Zanzibar, Arusha, Kilimanjaro regions and beyond. For a successful Ujamaa liberation theology conflictual analysis, which is multidimensional and inclusive of sectors affecting same-sex sexuality, the choice of theological tools is significantly important, as I illuminate in the following discussion.

7.2.4 Choice of Theological Tools

To identify and define faces of poverty and oppression in economic and social structure, liberation theology has utilised social sciences as theological tools (Frostin 1988:9ff). Ujamaa theology as a contextual theology continues to dialogue with social sciences as evident in chapter four, which provides an analysis of the social context of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania. In the current context of same-sex sexuality, social analysis helps us to discern between the God of life and “the idols of death” (Richard 1983:1ff), and provides possible theological models of social change of societies that frustrate the liberty and well-being of LGBTIQ persons in Tanzania.

In the present context, idolatry is the legitimation of oppression and injustice against LGBTIQ persons, religiously, socially, politically, economically and culturally. Religious texts, in this case, biblical texts such as Genesis 19, the story of Sodom and Gomorrah, are being deployed to demonise and marginalise LGBTIQ persons in Tanzania. Through CBS processes Genesis 19 can be re-read together with Genesis 18 to challenge the allegedly homophobic narrative and bring about religious and social change to promote life for LGBTIQ persons; instead of death, there must be dignified life in abundance for all persons created in the image of God. Through the CBS process the oppressed and marginalised LGBTIQ could build interpretative and theological resources and resilience to re-claim the biblical texts from the hands of the oppressor, and interpret the texts for hope and courage to overcome their fears for liberation from the idols of death (West 2018:145,149). In the struggles of life, among the LGBTIQ community of Tanzania, the interpretation of the Bible could in reality be the interpretation of life using the Bible as one of their conceptual resources because the Bible concerns life, it has value to life as "a mirror to comprehend their own lives" as oppressed and marginalised people (cf. Mesters 1990:23; Gustavo 1990:27). Through CBS praxis as a theological tool, this lived people's theology would be further

developed to contribute toward inclusive Ujamaa prophetic theology in the context of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania.

Tanzania is predominantly religious, and therefore religion permeates all aspects of life, socio-politically, economically, and culturally. Thus the reading of the Bible and its interpretations do seriously matter, and they are tantamount to forms of combat that could be felt and found in the flesh and blood of Athuman Suleiman, Ibrahim Mohamed and Maurice Mjomba, mentioned earlier in chapter four. CBS praxis, as a theological tool for articulation of inclusive Ujamaa prophetic theology, has the potential to challenge the ongoing hatred and violence against LGBTIQ persons, which have claimed real lives, and the suffering of countless LGBTIQ persons whose names are unknown, who continue to suffer, brutal physical, verbal and spiritual violence in Christian-religious, socio-political and cultural spaces in Tanzania.

Religion, society, politics and culture have constantly used, and continue to use, the biblical texts in contestation over same-sex sexuality; indeed, the Bible has become a site of struggle. Ironically, those who were the oppressed under the emergence of Ujamaa theology and who used the Bible to resist colonial oppression have now become those who use the Bible to oppress LGBTIQ people; they have turned against their own people. In this context, the Bible assumes an ambiguous position as a tool of the oppressor, and at the same time a source of power for the liberation of the oppressed and marginalised LGBTIQ persons of Tanzania. The Bible is a sign of the presence of God of life and a conceptual resource for survival and liberation (West 1999:9). Indeed, through the Ujamaa CBS praxis and its CBS theory of change, as exhibited later in this chapter, the Bible could be a source for the liberation of the oppressed and underprivileged LGBTIQ people of God in Tanzania. Hence, the choice of theological tools that engage with the social sciences, as evident in chapter four, has been significant in defining the faces of oppression, which are LGBTIQ persons, in the current context of same-sex sexualities. Social conflictual analysis, and its reflection, must lead us to a continuous theological praxis, from action to reflection, as I extrapolate in the section below.

7.2.5 Relationship Between Theology and Praxis

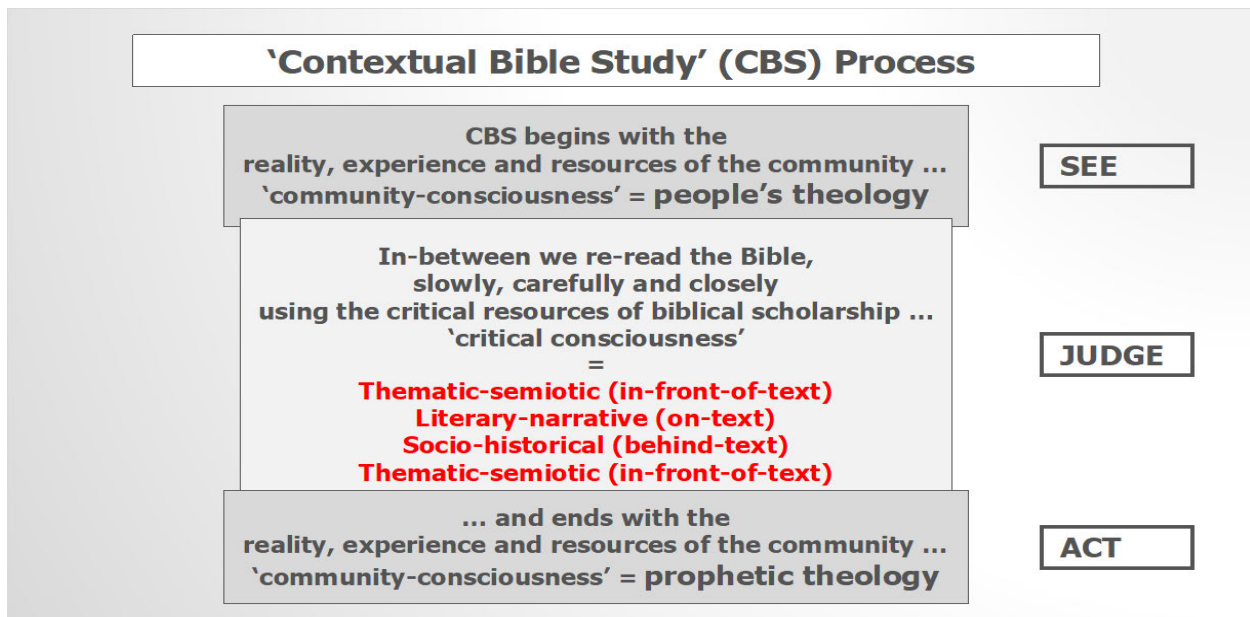
Ujamaa theology, being a liberation theology, practises characteristically a continuous spiral of theological praxis “from action to reflection, and then action to reflection” again “in an ongoing life-long process” (West 2018:144). In the CBS process, as West rightly argues, it is the three-fold movements of See-Judge-Act methodology that provides an overall shape of the theological praxis spiral of action, reflection, and action again (2018:144). The potential of Ujamaa liberation theology in developing models for engaging with current issues of same-sex sexuality lies in its nature of being a continuous theological hermeneutic spiral of praxis. In our current theological context, CBS praxis becomes one of the possible and viable Ujamaa liberation theological models for social transformation and change in the present context of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania.

The relationship between theology and praxis is characterized as a theological hermeneutical spiral of theory and praxis through which action leads to reflection on theological theory, and theory leads to reflection on action, and the spiral begins over again: action-reflection-action (West 1999:13). Based on this dialectic of praxis and theology, the theological hermeneutic spiral has been incorporated into liberation theological theory “as a consequence of post-colonial, post-structuralist and post-modern feminist [liberation theological] critiques” (Gouws 2010:13). An Ujamaa theology of liberation concerning sexuality, through CBS process, applies the same dialectics of theology and praxis, and its post-colonial feminist liberation theological critique, to incorporate issues of LGBTIQ same-sex sexualities into the theological hermeneutic spiral of theory and praxis, of action that leads to reflection, and reflection that leads to action again. The dialectics of theology and praxis is given shape by the three-fold movement of the See-Judge-Act methodology of CBS process (West 2018:144), as illustrated in the subsequent section.

7.2.6 Contextual Bible Study (CBS) Process as a Theological Praxis

Contextual Bible Study (CBS), through its threefold movements of See-Judge-Act methodology, demonstrates in practical ways the dialectics of theology and praxis and its hermeneutic spiral of theory and practice in a reflection-action-reflection-action process. As Ujamaa theology moves towards a theology of inclusive sexuality, CBS has the potential and theological capacity as a

contextual theological method that pragmatically integrates aspects of Ujamaa theology and same-sex sexualities of LGBTIQ persons through collaborative and critical reading of the biblical texts such as Genesis 18 and 19 as exhibited in chapter six. To further elaborate on the dialects of theology and praxis, how do we visualise the hermeneutic spiral of action, reflection and action in the See-Judge-Act threefold movement of the Ujamaa CBS process? On 7th April 2016, during a dialogue on homophobia and churches in Africa, Gerald West provided an illustration, known as 'the CBS sandwich', which exhibits the dialectics of theology and praxis, theory and practice, action-reflection-action spiral through the See-Judge-Act movement of CBS process (West 1999; West 2016):



The illustration above portrays the CBS praxis with its three-fold movement of See-Judge-Act methodology that provides the overall shape of the dialectics of theology and praxis spiral, and through this process lived and experienced people's theology becomes Ujamaa prophetic theology of the poor and marginalized, in this case, LGBTIQ persons of Tanzania. The CBS process, following the three-fold cyclical movement of See-Judge-Act methodology as illustrated above, begins with the "See" movement/phase, the context of the people, the lived reality, experience and resources of the community, which is their "community consciousness".

Thereafter, the CBS process moves into the “Judge” movement/phase, the re-reading of the biblical text slowly, carefully and closely, using the critical resources of biblical scholarship, that is thematic-semiotic (in-front-of-text), literary-narrative (on-text), and socio-historical (behind-text), which is the “critical consciousness”; and then, the process ends with the “Act” movement/phase, action on the lived reality, experience and resources of the community, which is their “community consciousness” again. The “Act” moment is about transformation, resistance and change from individual and societal levels; once we have acted on our lived reality of LGBTIQ sexualities, the praxis must continue to reflect on the action and what transformation it has effected and what more needs to be acted upon of Ujamaa theology and same-sex sexuality in Tanzania (West 2018:144).

The CBS process, with its praxiological and interpretative resources, enables people’s theology to become prophetic theology. Praxiological resources and/or components constitutive of CBS process are, first, the three-fold movements of See-Judge-Act methodology, which have been explained above; this methodology provides the overall structure to the CBS process and its dialectics of theology and praxis (West 2018:144). The embodied participation of LGBTIQ individuals in the CBS process would be an exercise of people’s theology, which has the potential to organically lead to Ujamaa prophetic theology through the processes of CBS in the context of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania.

The second component is facilitation whose focus is to enable every participant of the CBS process to feel safe and thus have full participation throughout the See-Judge-Act process. In this component, facilitators are committed to “group process”; workshop/meetings start with plenary sessions and then participants are broken into small groups where they can be safer and freer to discuss and share their lived experiences. Creating safe spaces is vital in the context of Ujamaa theology and same-sex sexuality in Tanzania. Facilitation enables smooth movement of the CBS praxis. As West correctly writes, “If ‘See-Judge-Act’ is the wheel of praxis, then facilitation is the oil of praxis that enables the wheel to turn” (2018:145).

The third component is the infrastructure of faith, which is a vital component of CBS process. CBS is a form of praxis, theological praxis, which exists in a community of faith, and hence it can only be experienced within a faithful local liturgy that includes singing, praising, praying, worshipping

and other faithful ritual whether formal or informal (West 2018:145). In the context of Ujamaa theology and same-sex sexuality in Tanzania, a community of faith would be inclusive of organised local groups from the Church and community.

The interpretative resources of CBS derive from CBS praxis as it draws on methods of biblical studies that provide access to details of the Bible, slowing down the reading of the Bible, and creating opportunities for a careful re-reading of the Bible, which enables participants to notice dimensions of the biblical texts that they have never seen or heard before. As West argues, for all of us, what we ‘see’ or ‘hear’ from the Bible is determined by our theological frameworks, which is disrupted by the CBS process, “enabling us to see the disruptive and potentially redemptive detail of scripture” (2018:145). To illustrate this point, I draw from two CBS examples, one from Genesis 19 and the other from Galatians 3:26-28.

Genesis 19 has a long history of being used as a biblical text against homosexuality and this dominant theology has caused oppression against LGBTIQ individuals. Through the Ujamaa Centre’s CBS on Genesis 19 and 18, re-reading these texts with organised groups inclusive of LGBTIQ persons from churches and local communities in South Africa, East Africa and beyond, it has become clear that Genesis 19 is not about homosexuality, but about sexual based violence; it is about heterosexual men attempting to rape other men as a means of domination, to express their power over other men. And when Genesis 19 is read together with 18, it becomes even clearer that the two texts are about two forms of hospitality, rural and urban, in contrast to social violence towards strangers.

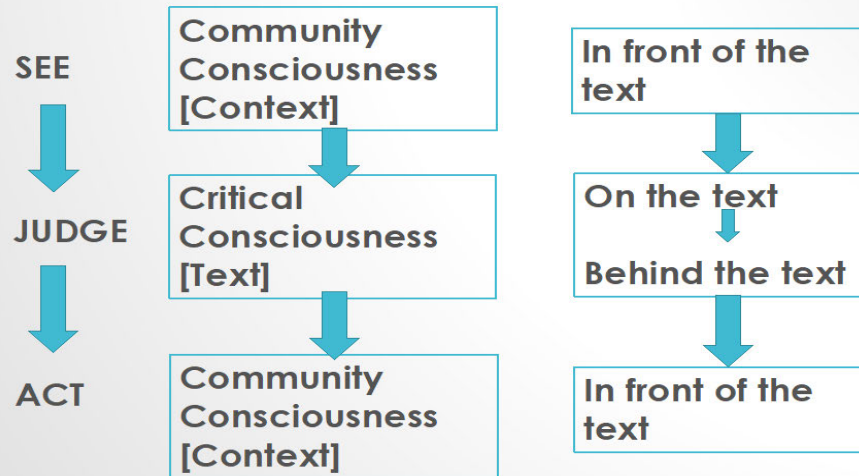
Galatians 3:26-28 is devoid of a narrative structure for CBS work; however, the Ujamaa colleagues developed a reconstructed narrative “behind the text” against which Paul rejects the Graeco-Roman hierarchical social structures of exclusion (West et al 2023:158). Through baptism all are one, regardless of race, gender, class, and even sexuality in our present times, something which is disruptive of the dominant narrative of the Graeco-Roman world, and today (West et al 2023:159-62, 171).

The CBS on Genesis 19 and 18 and Galatians 3:26-28 have been achieved through re-reading of the texts with ordinary readers of the Bible and drawing on methods of biblical scholarship, which offeres access to details of the biblical texts that have not been seen or heard before; details of hospitality and inclusion of LGBTIQ persons, which disrupt church theology, and yet because of our dominant church theology, we do not see the details (West 2018:146). However, through slowing down the reading of the text, and re-reading again and again, slowly, carefully and closely, ‘new’ details of the scripture connect with our lived realities and experiences and a redemptive prophetic theology of Ujamaa in the context of contestation over issues of same-sex sexualities in Tanzania.

Rediscovering ‘new’ details of scripture enables participants to disrupt ‘settled’ theologies, enabling ‘new’ theologies to emerge and effect change in theological perspective (West 2018:147). In African contexts like Tanzania, there will never be transformation and social change without theological change, which is a prerequisite for social change. Without theological change concerning LGBTIQ sexualities in Tanzania, there will be no social change concerning LGBTIQ sexualities in Tanzania. As West writes, “If there is theological change, then there will be social change” (2018:147). The three-fold See-Judge-Act method of CBS process, as a theological praxis, has the potential to disrupt dominant theologies and effect theological transformation and change, which would lead to social change, as I continue to argue in the section below.

By way of summary, the following illustration is also based on ‘the CBS sandwich’, but in a diagram adapted by Nathan Esala (2016), which further illustrates the CBS threefold movement:

Contextual Bible Study (CBS) Movements

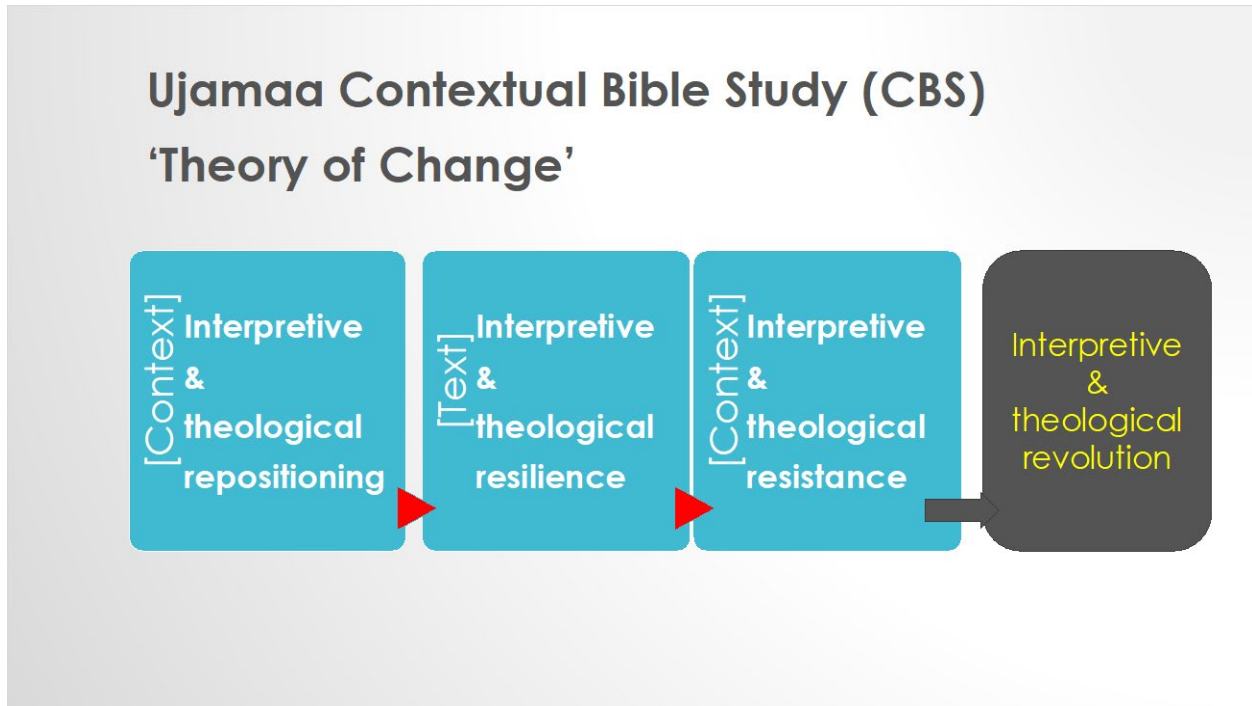


After the people reflect the lived reality of their context in the “See” movement, and careful re-reading of the biblical text in the “Judge” movement, the “Act” movement is about the people’s reflection again on the lived reality of their context but in light of what has transpired in re-reading of the biblical text; does the lived reality of the people’s context conform to the vision of God’s kin-dom on earth? What needs to change, and how must we work with God to change the reality that is not in line with God’s kin-dom? As illustrated above, the lived reality as it is embodied within the people, in this case, LGBTIQ persons from the local communities “is the ‘raw material’ of Prophetic theology and CBS is a process that enables the ‘People’s Theology’ to become Prophetic Theology” through the dialectics of theology and praxis (West 2018:144). The goal of the CBS process is to come to an articulation of people’s and collaborative formulation of prophetic theology. Here is a theory of theological change which has the capacity to lead to social change, as I explore in the next section.

7.2.7 Contextual Bible Study (CBS) Theory of Change

Ujamaa theology in its use of Contextual Bible Study (CBS) process, following the See-Judge-Act methodology, assumes a theory of change through which it offers conceptual resources on religious change that have the potential to lead to a theological revolution in theory and praxis vis-à-vis LGBTIQ same-sex sexualities in Tanzania. Through Ujamaa contextual collaborative and

critical re-reading of the biblical texts such as Genesis 18 and 19, CBS has the capacity to offer additional capacity to the oppressed and marginalized LGBTIQ communities in building interpretive and theological repositioning, resilience and resistance, which all together could lead towards an interpretative and theological revolution in Tanzania.



The above diagramme, “Ujamaa Contextual Bible Study (CBS) 'Theory of Change’”, portrays the CBS spiral of praxis through See-Judge-Act methodology, which in the Ujamaa Centre’s theory of change moves through phases of interpretive and theological repositioning (“See” stage), resilience (“Judge” stage), and resistance (“Act” stage), which eventually has the potential to lead to revolutionary change, the ultimate goal of the CBS process (West 2021:144).

How the CBS ‘Theory of Change’ Works: The CBS Theory of Change focuses on cyclical engagement between context and text, and context again, fostering deep theological reflection and action, reflection and action again in an on-going life-long process, encouraging continuous theological reflection and praxis (West 2018:144). Through the phases of repositioning, resilience, and resistance, communities can progressively move toward a revolutionary change in their approach to biblical interpretation, church theology and societal issues. Hence, I argue that

revolutionary theological change, from dominant church theology, to people's theology, to prophetic theology, would always lead to social change in the context of Ujamaa theology and same-sex sexuality in Tanzania.

This "Theory of Change" functions in the aforesaid three phases of transformation:

Interpretive and theological repositioning: This first phase evolves at the "See" stage of the CBS methodology and it emphasizes repositioning the community's context and its reception of the biblical text through lived and experienced people's theology. This exercise of people's theology involves organized local groups of the poor and marginalized "who share a reality and who analyze this reality together" (West 2021:143-144). This phase means that the CBS "cycle of praxis" begins by the participants' analysis of the social, cultural, religious, economic and political realities of their community's context (West 2021:144). In this phase, interpretive and theological repositioning occurs organically as CBS participants, and in this case LGBTIQ persons in Tanzania, reflect on their lived experiences, enabling them to re-read the Bible from their lived and experienced people's theology as opposed to dominant church theology, which undermines their lived experiences. This phase of the CBS process, as an interpretative and theological repositioning, is vital in reframing how participants re-read the biblical text, aligning and/or repositioning it with their lived realities.

Interpretive and theological resilience: This phase of the CBS theory of change cultivates resilience in biblical interpretation. Interpretative and theological resilience happens through the CBS spiral of praxis, following the See-Judge-Act methodology (West 2021:145). This phase of the theory of change evolves in the "Judge" stage of the CBS process. In the "Judge" stage, as West writes, "the analysed reality is compared to what God intends for our lived reality. Does the lived reality conform to God's kin-dom "on earth as it is in heaven" (Matthew 6:10)?" (2021:144). Here, the community re-reads the biblical text with critical consciousness, often using various biblical interpretive methods such as "thematic-semiotic, literary-narrative and socio-historical". Through these methods of biblical studies, collaborative CBS process inclusive of the ordinary readers and socially engaged scholars offers access to the details of the biblical text through which people's theology is formulated, enabling new and contextually relevant theology to emerge, leading to

prophetic theology, disrupting dominant theologies (West 2021:147). The purpose of this stage of the CBS spiral of praxis is to develop interpretative and theological resilience by maintaining the integrity of the biblical text while addressing questions that transpire from the community's social context. The community strengthens its theological grounding through robust engagement with the text, confronting oppressive readings and drawing out life-affirming meanings from the biblical texts. Because various biblical texts are used against the marginalized, for example, how Genesis 19 has been used against LGBTIQ persons in Tanzania, the Bible tends to be “far off and at a distance from them”; it belongs to the pastors, priests, church elders, and parents; it is located in the homes of their parents, and church altars (West 2021:150). The CBS process as interpretative resilience brings the biblical text closer to the marginalized because they discover that what is happening in their own contexts concurrently happened to peoples “in the Bible”, for example in Genesis 19 where men attempt to rape other men (West 2021:149). The CBS process empowers the marginalized to reclaim the Bible, own it, re-read and resiliently interpret it for their life (West 2021:149-150).

Interpretive and theological resistance: This phase of the CBS theory of change emerges in the “Act” stage of the CBS methodology of See-Judge-Act. The “Act” stage of the CBS spiral of praxis, which also informs the CBS theory of change, focuses on transformation and systemic change. Thus, if the lived reality is not in line with God’s vision for humanity on earth, then, as West writes, “we must act with God to change the lived reality” (West 2021:144). And after we have changed the lived reality, the spiral of praxis must continue, action and reflection, again action and reflection on what transformation is emerging, and what else needs to be done to effect further process of transformation (West 2021:145).

In the “Act” stage of CBS praxis, after re-reading the biblical text in the “Judge” stage, e.g., Genesis 19, the CBS process returns to the community’s context, but now with a greater emphasis on resistance against oppressive systems and structures of society in Tanzania. Armed with new interpretive insights and a deeper understanding of the biblical text such as Genesis 18 and 19, the community is inspired to “Act” against injustices promoted by dominant interpretations and theologies on such biblical texts as Genesis 19 in Tanzania. So, this resistance is both interpretive, meaning resisting oppressive readings of the biblical text such as Genesis 19, and also theological,

meaning theologically challenging unjust social, cultural, economic, religious, political and economic systems and structures that exclude and oppress the poor and marginalized, and in this case, LGBTIQ persons, in Tanzania. Interpretative and theological resistance calls for action against evil systems and structures, both at the individual and collective levels, empowering communities to confront real-life issues from an empowered faith-based perspective of the poor and marginalized LGBTIQ persons in Tanzania.

Interpretive and theological revolution: Revolutionary (theological and social) change is the ultimate goal of the CBS spiral of praxis, which in the CBS theory of change is depicted in three cyclical phases of interpretative and theological repositioning, resilience and resistance. Interpretative and theological revolution represents a culmination in which the interpretive and theological processes lead to a revolutionary systemic change. Interpretative and theological revolution is the goal of CBS, where the community's interpretative and theological framework becomes a tool for social change. At this point, the biblical and theological insights obtained through community consciousness and critical engagement with the biblical text and context lead to life-long change, transforming both the community and the social systems they inhabit.

In general, the CBS See-Judge-Act methodology, which provides the overall shape of the Ujamaa CBS theory of change, not only seeks to interpret the Bible but also to empower communities of the poor and marginalized, and in this case, LGBTIQ persons, to reshape their social realities through re-reading of the Bible with “praxiological” and “interpretative resources of CBS” (West 2021:145). This "revolution" or rather revolutionary change is not just about biblical and/or theological understanding but about how that understanding leads to social justice and transformation in everyday life in all our spheres of life, socially, sexually, religiously, culturally, economically, and politically.

As I have argued in the previous sections, the Ujamaa CBS ‘Theory of Change’ is an interpretative process, emanating from the CBS threefold movement premised on the dialectics of theology and praxis, which could ultimately develop redemptive interpretative and theological resources for an Ujamaa theology of inclusive sexuality to deconstruct dominant narratives on religion, sexuality, culture, Christian theological tradition and the Bible in the community and society in Tanzania.

The deconstruction of dominant narratives is not a once-off theological action, it is an interpretative and theological process, though in some instances there has been some immediate resistance to oppressive realities. However, transformative revolutionary change is a process; it is a dynamic continuous hermeneutic spiral of theological reflection and action, without which Ujamaa theology of liberation is prone to theological impasse. Again, even though there is no immediate resistance or revolution through CBS work, CBS work develops resilience, which enables LGBTI people to live with dignity in the midst of stigmatization and oppression. The hermeneutic spiral keeps the theology of liberation moving forward, not only as a review of social-historical accounts but rather a continuous “‘walk’, *caminata*”, of liberation, which persistently challenges and threatens the core of patriarchal “religious representations” and its “production of sacred meaning” (Althaus-Reid 2004:4). This constant forward movement of liberation theology opens up possibilities of integrating Ujamaa conceptual resources and aspects of human sexuality and thus discovering God afresh in our context of LGBTIQ sexualities in Tanzania.

7.3 Ujamaa Theology and Same-Sex Sexuality

What has Ujamaa theology to do with human sexuality? What can our LGBTIQ sexualities, sexual stories and experiences inform us about our relationship with God? To answer these critical questions, in the theology of liberation, it is the context, the stories and lived experiences of peoples' everyday lives that provide "a starting point for a process of doing contextual theology" (Althaus-Reid 2004:4), without excluding the interlocutors of theology, and in this case the sexually oppressed and marginalized LGBTIQ persons of Tanzania. In the current context of same-sex sexuality, God is on the side of the sexually oppressed; God has heard the cry of the people (Exodus 3:7) and has come down to liberate them from the idols of death, the oppressive structure and systems of our present times. Therefore, I concur with Althaus-Reid that all “theology is sexual theology” (2000:i); hence the integration of Ujamaa theology and human sexuality is a natural one because human beings are naturally sexual beings and consequently all theologies are inherently sexual theologies.

In the present context of Tanzania, the incorporation of aspects of human sexuality into Ujamaa theology is a creative path of theological praxis, which broadens the liberation theoretical

framework in ways that enable unmasking of hetero-patriarchal "ideologies of death"; this means, "an authentic conversion, a turning away from the structures of patriarchal sin" that dominate and oppress those who are sexually other (Althaus-Reid 2004:4). Similarly, the integration of Ujamaa conceptual resources and human sexuality is here interrogated as a creative path of theological praxis of action and reflection about the presence of God in our sexual lives, which in turn opens possibilities of new theological pathways to explore new theological grounds with new questions and fresh biblical engagement through the re-reading of the biblical texts in which, for example, the allegedly homophobic Genesis 19 becomes a redemptive theological resource for LGBTIQ members in Tanzania.

Having established the rationale for the integration of Ujamaa liberation theology and human sexuality, we now turn to Ujamaa CBS conceptual resources of Genesis 18-19 and Galatians 3:26-28, and how these could be applicable in the development of an inclusive Ujamaa theology in the context of human sexuality, and particularly same-sex sexuality in Tanzania.

7.4 CBS Praxis as an Inclusive Theology

In Tanzania, the notion that Genesis 19 is about homosexuality is unambiguous, as this biblical text has been used, and still is, against LGBTIQ persons. As it is in other contexts of Africa, it is argued that they are the reason for the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah and hence, if 'homosexuality' is not opposed and converted, they will lead to the destruction of the present world (West 2016:193). CBS on Genesis 18-19 could be liberating and equally transformative in the context of Ujamaa theology and human sexuality in Tanzania. CBS on Genesis 19 has been used by the Ujamaa Centre to engage with the issue of gender-based violence, especially heterosexual male rape of other men. Through collaborative reading with organised groups, it has become clear that the text is not about homosexuality, but about heterosexual males who wanted to rape other men, that is why Lot, though his actions are unacceptable, offered his daughters, because he knew that the men of Sodom are heterosexuals who wanted to use rape as a means of expressing power in the subjugation of other men. Question 8 in the CBS helps participants to reflect on heterosexual men's rape in contexts such as war zones, prisons, migrant hostels, mining camps, etc. (West 2016).

The CBS is meant to destabilise and deconstruct the dominant narrative about the meaning of the biblical text (West 2016).

The Ujamaa Centre has moved further to incorporate Genesis 18 in the reading of Genesis 19, which uncovers the aspect of hospitality in both texts. This new way of reading the text is a move from “homosexuality to hospitality” (West et al 2021:5). Question 1, according to the See-Judge-Act methodology of CBS, is a "See" which probes the participants' understanding of the reception of Genesis 19 through their lived experiences, sharing of stories and realities of life. The lived human experience is the starting point in doing inclusive theology of Ujamaa in the context of human sexuality. Questions 2-7, which form part of the "Judge" part of the CBS, help the participants to see the continuation between Genesis 18 and 19, and the similarities between Abraham's rural hospitality, which is warm and welcoming, and Lot's urban hospitality, which follows the same narrative pattern. Because of these acts of hospitality, Abraham receives a blessing and Lot receives protection from attempted rape by heterosexual men of Sodom. Question 8 helps participants to see how Genesis 19 is interpreted in other parts of the Bible in Isaiah, Ezekiel, Luke and Matthew (see CBS on Genesis 18-19 in chapter 6); the ‘sin’ of Sodom is not about homosexuality, it is about injustice, pride, disregard of the poor and needy, inhospitability, not welcoming the other (West 2016:193).

Patterns of both rural and urban forms of hospitality are evident in the context of Ujamaa in Tanzania. There is a distinction between rural Ujamaa life and urban life in Tanzania; wholeness marks the rural Ujamaa life. In the rural Ujamaa context, people do not distinguish between the spiritual and the physical life, or the sacred and the secular. Every person is born into the rural Ujamaa community and they just belong to it. This gives an individual a role to play in the rural community of Ujamaa. In one way or another, the community members are related, and so have a stronger feeling of community spirit than the town-dwellers (Haselbarth 1976:104).

In urban centres, there is a diminished sense of community spirit; the majority of the urban dwellers do not automatically belong to the towns and cities, but they come from various rural communities, and every person is a stranger. Their work depends upon their skills and talents; they have to work to survive in the city. Their lives "are divided into many parts; occupation, leisure, religion, family

-- all tend to be unrelated" (Haselbarth 1976:104). In urban areas, people are freed from their Ujamaa-community solidarity and hospitality, and some do what pleases them as individuals. There is substantial work pressure and many forces of modern lifestyle. Urban life is a competition, and those who run out of energy to compete return to the rural communities to recuperate before they can return to the road again, back to the city, for the struggle to better their lives.

However, there are increasingly more contacts between rural Ujamaa dwellers and urban town dwellers. People from rural areas must go to the cities to buy industrial products. Also, thousands of villagers move into towns during the dry seasons and return to villages during the rainy seasons for farming. So, the movement is to and from towns and cities. Hence, "a network of relations is built up from the towns to the rural districts. New ideas and practices acquired by the migrants are thus transmitted to the countryside [and vice versa]" (Haselbarth 1976:110).

The changing context of East Africa fosters an individualistic capitalist mentality, which eats up the Ujamaa hospitality and community spirit in the hearts of some Tanzanians. Healey and Sybertz tell a story about a priest from the Moshi diocese who rode his motorcycle from Moshi, Kilimanjaro, to Arusha city, then to Namanga (the border town between Tanzania and Kenya):

[The Priest] stopped along the way several times to buy petrol. At first, he would greet people and engage in small talk with the people working in the petrol station. But the closer he got to the big city ..., the shorter and more impersonal became the welcome and the greetings ... (1999: 196-197).

The pressures of time coupled with the individualistic capitalist mindset have won out over the African and Tanzanian humanistic Ujamaa-community-centred traditions of personal relationships, welcome and warm greetings. Also, one could observe the same changes in personal relationships and hospitality when travelling from Moshi, Kilimanjaro towards Dar es Salaam city; the growing individualistic attitude and the aggressive and violent culture of the city are evident on the journey, culminating in the streets of the city centre, our modern Sodom and Gomorrah, where injustice is rampant, and some heterosexual males rape other men. Similarly, these pressures on time and the diminished sense of Ujamaa-community spirit can also be recognized in urban

church services, especially in the churches where everything is busyness; members only receive homilies rather a detailed engagement with scripture, some of which contain homophobic appropriation of the biblical texts, and thus they lack moments for biblical reflection and theological action.

Amid the busyness of city life, the most vulnerable and marginalized community of LGBTIQ persons are disdained, and thus excluded from full participation in the whole community and social life. This is a theological challenge as we seek to exploit the ideals of Ujamaa-love in the changing context of Tanzania. As a theological and hermeneutic heuristic tool, CBS, and this CBS specifically, has the capacity to disrupt the busyness of life and bring people together in a participatory and collaborative reading of biblical texts through the See-Judge-Act methodology. Small Christian Communities (SCCs), originally begun in the heyday of Ujamaa theology in Tanzania, which are still present throughout Tanzania, could be an entry point for CBS readings of the scripture through which the community spirit of Ujamaa-love could be rekindled to consequently recognize and include the oppressed and marginalized LGBTIQ persons in the communities of God's people and society in Tanzania. In its nature, the Ujamaa spirit is community sense, caring love, togetherness, and reciprocal help in the context of Ujamaa.

The CBS on Galatians 3:26-28 calls upon full inclusion of LGBTIQ persons into the life of the church and community: “There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus” (3:28). Through baptism, ethnic, legal, gender, even sexual distinctions do not matter anymore, because we all have the same ‘clothing’. Similarly, during CBS workshops organised by the Ujamaa Centre in collaboration with the Arcus Foundation, which took place in South Africa and Kenya respectively, the force of Paul’s theological argument in Galatians 3:28 has prompted participants to disrupt the dominant narrative and suggested that the text (Gal. 3:28) should be extended to include diversity of human sexualities; thus, “there is neither gay nor straight” (West et al 2023:159). Most LGBTIQ persons are judged by their flamboyant clothing, but the CBS text on Galatians suggests otherwise, that anyone who is baptized is equally ‘clothed’ in Jesus Christ, just like everyone else in church and community. Initial CBS on Galatians have had a positive reception among organised community groups inclusive of LGBTIQ from churches and communities from Southern Africa and East

Africa who attended the CBS workshops in South Africa in April 2019 and Kenya in November 2019 (West 2023:153, 159). Equally, CBS on Galatians has the potential to develop and continue the Ujamaa theology of inclusive sexuality in Tanzania.

A proposed CBS praxis as an inclusive Ujamaa theology of human sexuality would be based on Genesis 18-19 and Galatians 3:26-28. In this CBS praxis, an Ujamaa theology of liberation and issues of same-sex sexuality are brought together in dialogue. It is a development and continuation of Ujamaa theology of liberation, but in the urgent context of human sexuality through the reading of the biblical texts with organised community groups inclusive of LGBTIQ from churches and communities in Tanzania mainland and Zanzibar islands.

7.4.1 An Inclusive CBS Process with Organised Community Groups

This section is about a practical implementation plan, which is in line with the CBS "See", "Judge," and "Act" methodology. Having "Seen" and "Judged" in the previous chapters, in this section, I am offering a potential plan of "action." What is offered in the current section is a potential CBS process with organized groups from churches and the community, and thus this action plan is preliminary in nature.

The action plan is designed to engage CBS participants at the grassroots level in a collaborative and reflective CBS process. The goal is to encourage dialogue and foster a deeper understanding of the challenges identified in the previous chapters about contestation over issues of human sexuality in Tanzania. This will involve structured CBS group discussions, role-playing scenarios, and critical reflection on biblical texts in light of contemporary issues of human sexuality in Tanzania. By bringing together various stakeholders from church and community groups, inclusive of clergy, lay people, and community leaders, we aim to build through the CBS process an inclusive yet collective Ujamaa approach that is grounded in the lived experiences of participants, inclusive of the LGBTIQ persons of Tanzania.

Here are the key elements of the action plan, which will include:

Facilitated CBS Workshops: These will guide participants through the "See" (analyzing their context), "Judge" (engaging theological and biblical reflections), and "Act" (identifying concrete steps) stages of CBS praxis inclusive of LGBTIQ persons in Tanzania.

Community Engagement: The involvement of community members is crucial, not only from within the church but also from various sectors such as local NGOs, educators, and youth leaders, to ensure that the CBS process is inclusive of LGBTIQ individuals in Tanzania.

Pilot Implementation: Before scaling up, a pilot CBS workshop will be conducted with a few selected church and community groups. This phase will help identify any gaps in the initial CBS process and allow for the refinement of the biblical tools and strategies for inclusive Ujamaa theology in the context of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania.

Ongoing Reflection and Feedback: This action plan is meant to be dynamic and evolving. Regular check-ins and feedback sessions will be integrated to ensure that the process remains relevant and responsive to the needs of the community of the poor and marginalized LGBTIQ individuals of Tanzania.

This action plan, which I will return to and supplement in the next section, serves as a flexible framework that can be adapted to different contexts and challenges. Its primary aim is to foster a prophetic and inclusive Ujamaa theology of human sexuality in Tanzania through collaborative theological reflection and action, rooted in the principles of the CBS praxis.

This collaborative CBS work with organized community groups from churches and communities could potentially bring twenty participants from mainland Tanzania and the islands of Zanzibar in four groups of five participants in each, and four socially engaged scholars from the Ujamaa Centre. The four groups of six participants in each group would be LGBTIQ individuals, activists, religious/church leaders, and organic intellectuals in collaboration with socially engaged scholars from the Ujamaa Centre to collaboratively work together within the local organized communities' contestation and struggles of these sectors of LGBTIQ individuals, activists, religious/church leaders and organic intellectuals, moving from their embodied theology of sexuality to people's

theology of inclusive sexuality to prophetic theology of same-sex sexuality in the context of Ujamaa theology in Tanzania, as I argue in the succeeding section.

7.4.2 From People's Theology to Prophetic Public Theology of Ujamaa in Tanzania

In his article, "People's Theology, Prophetic Theology, and Public Theology in Post-liberation South Africa", West provides an analysis of the use of religion, Christianity, and the Bible in shaping public discourse and policy in post-liberation South Africa (2018:72). In this terrain, the Bible occupies a central position in configuring our public space, as it is mostly invoked and waved in the public realm in which religion occupies a significant role in shaping moral and ethical discourse (2018:72). Political leaders have invoked religious language and symbols to address national issues and mobilize public support (West 2009a). Religion is seen as a key player in the moral regeneration of society (West 2018:73); the state sees the need for moral renewal alongside economic transformation, and thus it mobilizes the church to address social issues like gender [and sexual] violence and corruption (2018:74). According to West's analysis, for the state there is a clear separation between the moral and economic spheres, with the religious sector primarily responsible for moral issues, as the moral conscience of the country, and the state itself focusing on economic matters (2018:80-81). This separation is even evident in the way state leaders engage with religious communities, urging them to play their part in moral regeneration while the state handles issues of economic (2018:71). In this way, in West's argument, the state separates religion and economics, which is unacceptable for liberation theologies, including Ujamaa theology. The state wants a compliant form of theology, not a theology that challenges the state with a prophetic understanding of economics (West 2018:82). CBS argues for an engagement between religion and economics to work for transformation of the self and society, which includes the church and the general religious terrain. There is a need for the change of the self because personal relationships have roots in socio-economic systems. Hence, personal change has the potential to lead to systemic change of society. In CBS praxis, we re-read the Bible critically and collaboratively with local community in context so that faith and economics are integrated for social change, whose primary focus is the structural and systemic and the primary terrain is the ideo-theological (West 2015:240-241).

West correctly notes that while the state encourages religious organizations to address moral issues, there is a lack of systemic socio-economic critique from the religious sector. This has led to a form of "domesticated Christianity" that focuses on personal morality rather than challenging the state on economic and structural issues (West 2018:82). Overall, religion in the post-liberation contexts is deeply intertwined with politics, serving as a tool for moral guidance and public mobilization, but often falling short of providing a critical voice on economic and systemic issues (West 2018:89).

I argue, drawing on West's analysis (2018), that the current context terrain demands an integrated and intersectional theology that incorporates aspects of Ujamaa theology and issues of human sexuality in Tanzania. Just as economics should be part of the theological agenda, as is the case in Ujamaa theology, so too should sexuality be a part of the theological agenda in Tanzania. Ujamaa theology integrates theology and economics and the task now is to integrate theology and sexuality in the context of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania. In this context, Ujamaa theology must evolve to reflect the intersectionality of socio-economic issues and the complexities of our social life inclusive of human sexualities in Tanzania.

Ujamaa theology, rooted in the socio-economic values of justice, equality, community, inclusion and hospitality, has succeeded to integrate economic issues into theological framework (West 2018:83-84). This integration reflects fundamental aspects of biblical hermeneutics of liberation that theology cannot be isolated from people's lived realities, especially their daily socio-economic struggles (West 1991). Just as Ujamaa theology from its inception has prioritized issues of political freedom, poverty, land and labour within its theological lens (West 1993), an integrated and intersectional Ujamaa theology seeks to broaden its liberation theological scope to incorporate yet another pressing lived reality, which is human sexuality, particularly same-sex sexuality in Tanzania.

Although economics and sexuality are seemingly different, in lived experiences they intersect with the lives of the poor and marginalized people, including LGBTIQ individuals. In Tanzania, LGBTIQ individuals often face both economic disadvantages and social exclusion based on their human sexuality (Fleshman 2003:97; Kaoma 2013:33ff). In my argument, I highlight the need for

an Ujamaa theological framework in Tanzania that not only integrates economic justice, but also incorporates issues of human sexuality, including same-sex sexuality. An inclusive and/or integrated Ujamaa theology of liberation recognizes that oppression is not sectional or singular, but rather it involves intersectionality of multifaceted social dimensions as I argued earlier on in Chapter two (Gouws 2010:13). Just as economic oppression has been, and continues to be challenged, so too must the marginalization and oppression of individuals based on their same-sex sexualities.

In addition, I argue that if Ujamaa theology in Tanzania is to remain transformative and continue to be relevant, it must take heed of the voices of all the poor and marginalized in society, and incorporate their experiences not only economically but also in sexually. Human sexuality, especially same-sex sexuality and its challenges, is mostly ignored and forgotten by mainstream church theologies in Tanzania (Fleshman 2003:97; Nkwera 2003:4). This theological amnesic syndrome disconnects theology from the lived realities of LGBTIQ individuals who often face political, legal, social, religious and economic discrimination and marginalization in Tanzania (Thompson 8-9; Crozier 2011:56; Kaoma 2014:33). The integration of human sexuality, especially same-sex sexuality as a theological agenda, will ensure that the church and society confront sexual discrimination and marginalization of LGBTIQ individuals to promote a holistic vision of liberation, inclusive of all persons in the body of Christ.

Furthermore, I concur with West's analysis that during the struggle for political liberation church theology was framed in socio-political and economic terms, but after liberation churches withdrew into "church theology" forms of Christianity that are not concerned about the socio-political and economic systemic dimensions of life (2018:82). Similarly, in Tanzania, I argue that church theology forms of Christianity have equally become "domesticated Christianity" that plays diverse public roles but never provides a prophetic theological voice to the socio-political and economic terrains. It is concerned with personal morality rather than the renewed structural order, which would integrate the intersectionality of socio-politics, economics, race, tribal identity, class, sex, same-sex sexuality, sexual orientation, gender identity and other aspects drawn from millions of the poor and marginalised people, including LGBTIQ individuals and communities in Tanzania.

The current contestation over issues of same-sex sexuality necessitates the formulation of people's theology that would lead to prophetic theology and to public theology to engage fully with our systemic dimension of social life. According to West, there is a difference between people's theology and prophetic theology; an exercise in people's theology emerges organically through "the process of theological reflection and action in groups" that involves "many different people in doing theology" because theology is not the preserve of the trained theologians, pastors and priests (2018:83). Similarly, in the proposed action plan, people's theology is formulated through CBS processes when the trained and ordinary readers of the Bible from church and community organized groups come together to do theology, following See-Judge-Act methodology, reflecting on their own experiences and "Act[ing]" for justice and thereby developing a better theological understanding of the current context of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania. The lived and experienced people's theology, incipient in the bodies of LGBTIQ individuals, becomes prophetic theology when it is proclaimed to others to challenge and inspire them to act for justice for all.

Proposed CBS work in Tanzania will provide a platform for biblical scholars and theologians from both South Africa and Tanzania to locate themselves alongside organized social groups from the church and community. As it was in South Africa in the 1990s (West 2018:83), in our current times, organized social movements inclusive of LGBTIQ persons from the church and community in Tanzania are summoning socially engaged theologians to read the Bible with them for social change. The CBS process in practical ways relocates the biblical scholars and theologians from the university balconies and cathedral pulpits to where people's theology is being embodied and articulated, inside the discussions of the people, inside the daily struggles of the people in the narrow streets of Bububu.

This section continues (see above 7.4.1) to outline a practical implementation of the CBS process in the context of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania, following the See-Judge-Act methodology of CBS praxis. It is a potential plan of action, that can facilitate forms of an Ujamaa theology of sexuality in Tanzania. This plan envisions a transformative process, moving from the grassroots of the lived and experienced people's theology, which is already embodied and incipient in the bodies of LGBTIQ persons through the CBS process to a prophetic and public form of LGBTIQ

Ujamaa theology (West 2018:84), rooted in collaborative biblical and theological reflection and action of organized groups from church and community sectors in Tanzania.

The plan of action is built around the fundamental principles of Ujamaa theology, which emphasizes human dignity, solidarity, communal engagement, and social justice. It seeks to create spaces where the marginalized voices of LGBTIQ individuals can be heard, affirmed, and woven into the larger fabric of theological reflection within the church and society in Tanzania. This will involve a collective journey that recognizes the incipient theology already embodied in the lives and experiences of LGBTIQ people and moves toward a prophetic public articulation of this theology through the CBS process with organized groups from church and community in Tanzania (West 2018:84).

As we move towards a prophetic and public form of LGBTIQ Ujamaa theology in Tanzania, here are proposed key steps of the action plan to be taken:

Facilitating CBS Processes with Organized Groups from Local Churches and Communities in Tanzania: The CBS methodology will be implemented in groups consisting of LGBTIQ individuals, clergy, lay leaders, and community members. This will serve as a platform for theological reflection and action on the biblical texts in the context of the lived experiences of LGBTIQ people in Tanzania. The aim here is to allow for a "people's theology" to emerge organically through collaborative re-reading of the biblical texts and shared theological reflections of LGBTIQ individuals in the context of Ujamaa theology of inclusive sexuality in Tanzania.

Rooted in Lived Experiences: The process begins with recognizing and affirming the lived, experienced, embodied, and incipient people's theologies of LGBTIQ individuals in Tanzania, which often exist in silence, though not so silent in their bodies, and/or invisibility as they struggle for fullness of life (West 2009; 2018:84). This proposed action plan will provide a space for these theologies to be voiced and articulated, connecting personal stories of LGBTIQ individuals with the wider Christian narrative in Tanzania.

Moving Toward Prophetic Public Theology: The ultimate goal is to transition from this lived, embodied and incipient people's theology to a prophetic and public LGBTIQ Ujamaa theology of

inclusive human sexuality. Through CBS workshops and structured reflection, the plan seeks to articulate a collective prophetic theological voice that can be communicated publicly, challenging societal and ecclesial structures that perpetuate the exclusion of LGBTIQ individuals from full participation in the daily life of the church and community in Tanzania.

Community-Based Pilot Programmes: To ensure that the process is inclusive and reflective of a diverse range of voices, pilot programmes will be initiated with individuals inclusive of LGBTIQ persons from various organized church and community groups in Tanzania. These pilot programmes will include CBS processes that are contextually tailored to each group through small group break-away discussion, allowing for insights to emerge from multiple perspectives within the LGBTIQ community in Tanzania.

Collaborative Theological Reflection: Building on the theological framework of an Ujamaa theology of liberation as explored earlier in this chapter, these CBS sessions will involve deeper theological reflection on themes such as justice, dignity, hospitality, inclusion, and solidarity as they relate to the context of LGBTIQ same-sex sexualities in Tanzania. The insights from these theological reflections will form the foundation of a prophetic public theological discourse that promotes the dignity, and recognition of LGBTIQ individuals and their inclusion within the church and wider society in Tanzania.

Training and Capacity Building: Socially engaged facilitators from the Ujamaa Centre will train trainers to guide CBS groups in engaging with theologically sensitive issues surrounding sexuality and Ujamaa theology in Tanzania. This will include providing CBS theological and biblical resources, as well as CBS tools for group facilitation, to ensure that participants feel equipped to contribute meaningfully to the discussions during the CBS process, following the See-Judge-Act methodology.

Ongoing Feedback and Adaptation: Given that this action plan is preliminary, it will be subject to ongoing reflection, feedback, and adaptation. Regular sessions for evaluation and review will be conducted to ensure that the emerging inclusive Ujamaa theology of human sexuality remains

responsive to the lived realities of those involved, particularly LGBTIQ persons, and effective in promoting broader societal change, as well as religious and theological transformation in Tanzania.

This plan, by drawing on the CBS methodology of See-Judge-Act with its Ujamaa theological reflection and praxis, seeks to foster a theology that is not only reflective but also transformative, aiming to empower LGBTIQ people with interpretative resilience to claim their place in both the theological and public discourse. By facilitating this journey from lived, experienced, embodied and incipient people's theology to an inclusive Ujamaa prophetic public theology, this process lays the groundwork for a more inclusive and prophetic church and community in the context of Ujamaa theology in Tanzania.

Implementation of the proposed CBS work with organized community groups in Tanzania is recommended for six years consecutively, but in two phases of three years each; the first three-year phase focusing on the Old Testament text of Genesis 18-19 whereas the second three-year phase focusing on Galatians 3:28. The CBS three-phase cyclical movement/s of See-Judge-Act will be employed in each year with a main focus on one movement of the CBS. The first-year is to focus only on the "See" phase/movement, that is "community consciousness"; the second year to focus only on the "Judge" phase/movement, that is "critical consciousness"; and the third year to focus on the "Act" phase/movement, that is again "community-consciousness" (West 2015:244).

Each year has a focus on a particular phase/movement, slowly building capacity for an in-depth understanding of each component of the See-Judge-Act process, while participating in the full spiral of See-Judge-Act within each year.

The "See" phase will be the focus for the first year, developing a thorough understanding of this concept, yet there will have a three-day CBS workshop of activities following the full three-phase cyclical movement of See-Judge-Act in which each day focuses on one movement in a sequence of "See", "Judge", then "Act" phase for the last day of the CBS workshop. The emphasis in the first year is on a thorough understanding of 'See'. Hence, the first day of the CBS workshop in the first year focuses on "Seeing" the social context, the lived realities of same-sex sexualities,

socially, economically, politically, culturally and religiously, as well as the communities' experience and/or perception of Ujamaa as an ideo-theological concept and a socio-political ideology in the pre-colonial and post-independence of Ujamaa theology and human sexuality in Tanzania.

The second day of the workshop follows the process, dealing with the "Judge" phase, but in the first-year CBS workshop there is also a focus on "Seeing" how much potential the biblical text has in addressing the social realities of human sexuality for life-giving, and not death. In this first year, participants from these organized sectors share their lived experiences, as part of the "See" phase within the first year, and they are introduced to the CBS process focusing on Genesis 18 and hospitality as the "Judge" phase, which leads to "Act" phase in which they plan a series of CBS actions on Genesis 18 and theme of hospitality about which they implement and report back in the following year.

The focus of the second year is on understanding the 'Judge' component of CBS. In the second year, though the focus is on "Judge", the CBS process begins with "See" again through reporting back on their CBS series of actions, planned and implemented in the previous year based on the CBS workshop on Genesis 18 and hospitality. This "Judge" phase of the second year takes the participants into re-reading the allegedly homophobic text of Genesis 19 in a plenary session, then the first "community-consciousness" (See) context question posed in Swahili and the local languages present in the CBS workshop process. Then, the participants go into small break-away groups of five to six persons to delve further into the text through a series of CBS questions and report back for each question. Still, in this second-year focus on "Judge", there is an "Act" phase/movement, which involves a plan of action to be implemented and reported back on the following year.

The focus of the third year is on an in-depth understanding of the 'Act' component of CBS. The third year of the first three-year phase, focusing on Genesis 18-19 has the "Act" phase/movement as its focus; however, it begins with the "See" movement in which participants share their lived experiences since the previous year and report back on the implementation of CBS plan of action from the previous year. The "Judge" phase in the third year focuses on the CBS reading of Genesis

text itself, incorporating both chapters but moving from 19 to 18 as shown in the adapted Genesis CBS from the Ujamaa Centre presented in the section below.

Each year, there would be both new and old participants, who would have previously attended these CBS workshops with the Ujamaa Centre on issues of human sexuality in Tanzania. The second three-year phase of CBS's work with organized community groups that include LGBTIQ forms of sexualities would focus on Galatians 3:28, dealing with the theme of inclusion, and would follow the same three-year pattern as above. The same CBS process, as in the first three-year phase of CBS work, will be followed. The first year will focus on "See", the second year on "Judge" and then the third year on the "Act" phase/movement. Each CBS workshop each year will still have the three-phase cyclical movement of See-Judge-Act, but the focus will remain on one particular CBS movement for that year.

In its CBS work, the Ujamaa Centre does not conduct proof-text CBS (West et al 2023:154), and since Galatians 3:28, unlike the Genesis text in the Old Testament, does not present us with a narrative text, the first year of the CBS workshop in this three-year phase would focus on "Seeing" the social realities as well as how CBS work has been developed on the Pauline text of Galatians, and how other texts/verses within Galatians have been incorporated to develop a CBS on Galatians as a potential resource for a people's theology of inclusion as opposed to a theology of exclusion, marginalization and oppression of the excluded. Colleagues from the Ujamaa Centre exhibit how Galatians 3:28, despite being a letter genre, was carefully developed into a CBS resource for inclusion employing "a combination of literary and socio-historical context" of Galatians (2023:154, 157).

The second year of this phase focuses on the actual CBS praxis with these organized community groups from churches and communities that include forms of LGBTIQ individuals, delving into the three-day CBS cyclical process, but wrestling mainly with the Galatians text itself with the CBS questions in an interactive and collaborative workshop programme.

The third year of this phase, as in the previously proposed three-year cycle, focuses on the "Act" phase of the overarching See-Judge-Act movement, but still involves the "See" step of the CBS

process in terms of participants' sharing of lived experiences and stories of change as well as report backs on implemented CBS plan of action. The "Judge" step within the CBS workshop in the third year could involve the continuation of actual CBS on Galatians, identification of potential biblical texts from both the Old and the New Testament that could be used to develop more CBS for providing even further resources towards Ujamaa people's theology of inclusion and hospitality in the context of contestation and struggles over issues of human sexuality in Tanzania and across other multifaceted contexts of Africa in which the reading of the biblical texts is still a matter of life and death.

This action plan combines a regularity of See-Judge-Act praxis (and practice) with a detailed conceptual engagement with each of the praxis components. The action-plan not only journeys with participants through the See-Judge-Act and people's theology-prophetic theology-public theology process, but also equips them as practitioners of CBS.

7.5 Summary

I have outlined how aspects of Ujamaa theory and theology of liberation connect with issues of human sexuality, and what this theological trajectory of inclusive theology would mean in the contested context of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania. Similarly, I have provided reflections on the proposed post-PhD CBS work on Genesis 18-19 and Galatians 3:26-28, and how these resources would further collaborative theological reflection and praxis, bringing organized community groups inclusive of LGBTIQ persons from church and community, on one hand, and socially engaged scholars from the Ujamaa Centre, on the other, for the development of people's theology which could lead to prophetic theology of inclusive sexualities to deconstruct dominant narratives of the Christian tradition and church theology on same-sex sexuality and the Bible in Tanzania. As it is palpably clear, the changing socio-cultural context of Tanzania compels us to re-read the biblical texts of Genesis and Galatians in the current theological terrain of contestation over issues of human sexuality. Given the prevailing circumstances of contestation and struggle in the context of human sexuality in Tanzania, ideo-theological and social change through CBS praxis will not be expected to come instantaneously. As members of the Ujamaa Centre would always remind

each other: “change is not an event, it is a process”. CBS is never a once-off activity, it is embedded in ongoing processes and activities that labour for change” (West et al 2023:166-67).

Chapter 8

8 General Conclusion

This thesis has explored the interface between Ujamaa theology and issues of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania, using liberation theology theoretical framework that integrates queer and postcolonial theories, for developing an inclusive Ujamaa theology that addresses the lived realities of LGBTIQ individuals.

In its socio-historical analysis in chapter three, this study has explored roots of Ujamaa concept and diverse notions of human sexuality in pre-colonial society, and how these were shaped by colonization, liberation movement, and the post-colonial context of Ujamaa. The concept of Ujamaa emphasizes principles of communal living, social equality, and collective responsibility for the common good. This research has delineated how Ujamaa theology integrates these principles into a theological framework that focuses on justice, dignity, equality, community, inclusion, and hospitality. I have also argued that Ujamaa theology, as a contextual theology rooted in the socio-economic and political philosophy of Ujamaa that was initiated by Julius Nyerere, emerged in response to colonial and post-colonial oppression, focusing on the poor and marginalized.

I have further argued that Ujamaa theology emphasizes the inherent dignity and equality of all human beings, created in the image of God (*imago Dei*). It rejects any form of exploitation, oppression, or discrimination. It advocates for communal living and collective responsibility, where every individual has the right and duty to participate in the life of the community. Ujamaa theology integrates faith with issues of poverty, oppression, and social justice, emphasizing that true faith must lead to action for the betterment of society.

Ujamaa theology adopts a holistic approach, addressing both spiritual and material needs. It does not dichotomize between the sacred and the secular, the spiritual and the physical, but sees them as interconnected aspects of human life. Ujamaa theology is a liberation theology that seeks to transform unjust social, economic, and political structures. It is committed to the liberation of the poor and marginalized, advocating for systemic change. Ujamaa theology hermeneutics is

contextual and liberative. It employs a hermeneutic of suspicion towards oppressive interpretations and seeks to uncover life-affirming messages in the biblical texts.

I argue in this thesis that even though the initial focus of Ujamaa theology was on socio-economic justice for the poor and oppressed, the socio-historical context of Tanzania has evolved, necessitating a shift in Ujamaa theology to address contemporary issues in the current context of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania, as LGBTIQ individuals in Tanzania face significant socio-political, economic, and religious discrimination and marginalization. Hence, I argue that Ujamaa theology calls for the inclusion of all marginalized groups, including LGBTIQ individuals, in the life of the church and community. Similarly, as extrapolated in this thesis, Ujamaa theology is a dynamic and evolving theological framework that seeks to address contemporary issues of justice, equality, and inclusion in the context of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania. Ujamaa theology challenges exclusionary practices and promotes a theology of hospitality.

Socio-historical analysis of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania, as presented in chapter four, has attempted to highlight sexual realities of life that have otherwise been expelled, silenced, and banished by colonialists, and forgotten by mainstream biblical and theological disciplines in Tanzania. This analysis has exhibited that same-sex sexuality has existed from pre-colonial societies to the present, and thereby deconstructing the dominant narrative that same-sex sexuality is a western import and thus un-African in Tanzania.

Hence, drawing on dimensions of liberation hermeneutics, I argue that Ujamaa theology must now address the questions and lived experiences of LGBTIQ individuals as main interlocutors, because God has a preferential option for the oppressed and marginalised, inclusive of LGBTIQ persons. The current context requires a continuous analysis of socio-economic, political, and sexual conflicts. Liberation theory and Contextual Bible Study (CBS) are essential tools for analyzing and addressing these conflicts, and in this case, sexual conflicts. Relationship between theology and praxis: Ujamaa theology must involve a theological praxis of continuous spiral of action, reflection, and action, facilitated by CBS process to enable collaborative and critical re-reading of biblical texts. Through this theological praxis, I argue in this study that CBS on Genesis 18-19 and Galatians 3:26-28 have the capacity to disrupt dominant narratives and promote inclusive theology.

This CBS process involves community consciousness (See), critical consciousness (Judge), and community consciousness again (Act), which is See-Judge-Act methodology of the CBS as a theological praxis.

The study proposes a CBS work and action plan that involves facilitating CBS workshops with organized community groups inclusive of LGBTIQ individuals from churches and communities in Tanzania in collaboration with colleagues from the Ujamaa Centre in South Africa. The plan includes phases of interpretive and theological repositioning, resilience, and resistance, ultimately aiming for revolutionary change.

The study proposes the CBS process to be implemented over a period of six years, in two phases of three years each, focusing on Genesis 18-19 and Galatians 3:26-28 respectively. In the CBS process, Ujamaa theology would effectively utilise the CBS methodology of See-Judge-Act to engage with issues of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania by fostering a collaborative, inclusive, and transformative approach. The goal is to transition from lived, experienced, embodied, and incipient people's theology to a prophetic and public LGBTIQ Ujamaa theology in the context of contestation over issues of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania. This Ujamaa CBS praxis would involve recognizing and affirming the lived experiences of LGBTIQ individuals, facilitating deeper theological reflection, and promoting broader societal change in Tanzania.

In summary, this thesis argues for an inclusive Ujamaa theology that integrates issues of same-sex sexuality through the CBS process, fostering a transformative and prophetic public theology that addresses the lived realities of LGBTIQ individuals in the context of contestation over issues of same-sex sexuality in Tanzania.

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