



A View from Campus

The Attitude of University Students to the European and South Asian Minorities in Tanzania and Zambia Compared

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Abstract. – Tanzanian and Zambian university students are generally tolerant towards their compatriots of European and South Asian origins. However, the level of tolerance among Zambians is higher, basically due to the existence since precolonial time of the Swahili culture and language at minimal number of expansionist centralized polities in contemporary Tanzania and lack of such a background till colonialism in Zambia. The other important factors are the respondents' attitude to colonialism and traditional culture. The role secularization plays is contradictory. Being Christian or Muslim, from a larger or smaller ethnic group, the place of birth, and probably the financial situation proved insignificant. [*Tanzania, Zambia, ethno-racial minorities, tolerance, postcolonialism, nation-building, precolonial and colonial sociocultural heritage*]

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Introduction

The article presents and discusses the results of a recent comparative research made among university students in Tanzania and Zambia, two neighboring African countries, independent states now and British possessions in the past. In both countries the overwhelming majority of the population (over 99%) is formed by people of a great many indigenous, African, ethnic groups who coexist with compatriots of different non-African origins whose communities, although small in numbers, are well visible in Tanzania and Zambia's economic and social life. The authors' goal was to study the attitude of the most advanced, educated, and hence socially prospective part of the youth, i.e., university students, towards those non-African minorities that has been formed in the time of and due to colonialism – the so-called "Europeans" and "Indians."¹ It is important to note that Europeans can be English, Greeks, Serbs, or of other origins, while Indians include people of many South Asian ethnic groups and religious communities, not from present-day Republic of India only but from Pakistan, Bangladesh, or Sri Lanka as well; however, notwithstanding all these and other sharp divisions and even

1 On the history of these communities in Tanzania and Zambia see: Don Nanjira (1976); Nagar (1996); Voigt-Graf (1998); Macmillan and Shapiro (1999); Lobo (2000); Phiri (2000, 2001); Lvova (2005); Haig (2007); Milner-Thornton (2009); Twaddle (2010).

splits (e.g., by caste among Hindus), Africans usually see them just as two homogeneous communities, without making distinctions between, e.g., Gujarati and Sinhalese, Hindu and Muslim Asians.

The rise of a national consciousness is a not less necessary prerequisite for the building of a nation or a civil society than economic progress or political freedom, and in postcolonial Africa young educated people play a leading part in this process. The problem we are concerned with is whether African university students see and want to see their compatriots with completely different ethnocultural backgrounds and group histories, as well as specific positions in the contemporary society as parts of the Tanzanian and Zambian nations. Hence, significantly for the present discussion, we intend to trace not only how the minorities' present position in the respective societies influences the students' attitude to them, but also the way the historical memory of the precolonial and colonial past, its image in the minds of the young people influence their attitude to the diasporas that hardly ever would have formed in a situation other than colonial. For this reason we do not deal here with the students' attitude towards non-African minorities that either formed in precolonial time (like the Omani core of the Arab community in Tanzania) or are forming actively nowadays, particularly the Chinese diaspora in both states.

Methods

A questionnaire (Appendix 1) was distributed among students of the largest, definitely best and most prestigious higher education institutions of the two countries – the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania and the University of Zambia, based in the capital city of Lusaka. The students represented a great variety of the university schools and departments, from Engineering, Sciences, Social Sciences to the Humanities. In Zambia the questionnaire was available in English, the country's only official language and the language of instruction at the university, while in Tanzania it was offered in English and Swahili (both of which are used in many spheres of life, including education). 167 questionnaires were filled in by the students of the University of Dar es Salaam and 146 by their University of Zambia peers (although, as it usually happens, not all the respondents answered all the questions). The questionnaires were processed and the evidence they contain took the form of three electronic databases: Tanzanian, Zambian, and integral. Their statistical analysis by means of the IBM SPSS Statistics 19.0

computer program paved the way for qualitative interpretation of the collected evidence.

Besides, we did structured interviews (Appendix 2) with university teachers, student organizations activists, etc. As it could be predicted safely, the transcripts of the 21 interviews done in Dar es Salaam and the 15 from Lusaka turned out to be very helpful in clarifying many points of our interest.

Finally, the same can be said about taking into account some evidence and conclusions of the research of cultural stereotypes and intercultural relations in different strata of the Tanzanian society made by the article's first author during the 2000s.

Results

It is important to make clear at the outset that our research shows that in general the attitude of both Tanzanian and Zambian students towards their European and South Asian compatriots is tolerant, although it is evident that some of them do not perceive these minorities as groups of people who, notwithstanding cultural differences, share the same basic national values and who live for the benefit of the same country (Tables 1–4).

Table 1: What Is Your Attitude to Tanzanian Europeans? (Tanzanian Students)

Very bad	Bad	Indifferent	Good	Very good	Total
4 (2.7%)	2 (1.4%)	28 (18.9%)	72 (48.6%)	42 (28.4%)	148 (100%)

Table 2: What Is Your Attitude to Zambian Europeans? (Zambian Students)

Very bad	Bad	Indifferent	Good	Very good	Total
1 (0.7%)	0 (0%)	10 (7.1%)	87 (61.7%)	43 (30.5%)	141 (100%)

Table 3: What Is Your Attitude to Tanzanian Indians? (Tanzanian Students)

Very bad	Bad	Indifferent	Good	Very good	Total
10 (7.1%)	9 (6.4%)	41 (29.1%)	55 (39.0%)	26 (18.4%)	141 (100%)

Table 4: What Is Your Attitude to Zambian Indians? (Zambian Students)

Very bad	Bad	Indifferent	Good	Very good	Total
1 (0.7%)	4 (2.8%)	22 (15.5%)	75 (52.8%)	40 (28.2%)	142 (100%)

However, these tables' summarizing answers to the most direct questions also show, that, on the one hand, the students' attitude towards the two migrant communities is not completely the same (it is better to Europeans than to Indians in both cases, what is typical not only for students but for the local population in general – Bondarenko 2008), while, on the other hand, the attitude towards each of the commu-

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nities is better among Zambian students than among Tanzanian.

One of the present authors elsewhere has discussed, by the example of Tanzania, why, irrespective of their education level, native Africans treat Europeans better than Indians, attaching decisive importance to the ethnocultural factors. It was shown (basing on a significant number of interviews with people of different origins and social positions), that the Europeans as such look prestigious in the Africans' eyes, notwithstanding colonialism and all other controversies; they symbolize material and for some people also intellectual, spiritual, social wealth of the contemporary world. For example, a Greek priest told us: "If a European goes to a local village, communication with local people is not a problem for him: they invite him home, touch his hands. For them, Europeans are those who have money, and communication with Europeans is a pleasure for them. The situation in the city is different. Here they try to use you, your connections, money. They ask you to help to resettle to Europe, find a white wife, they want to be engaged in business with you." In an Indian's words, "Africans treat Europeans much better than Arabs and Indians. They would love to be seen in the company of Europeans, it's prestigious" Another Indian respondent argued: "Wazungu [Europeans in Swahili – the authors] don't experience this kind of racism that I experience. Whatever reason, local people respect Wazungu very much. Or are they afraid of them?" In fact, complaints that Europeans are treated by Africans much better than Indians is a constant leitmotif of the South Asians' responses to the request to compare the two communities' position.

Besides, Indians in Africa, as well as Arabs, are primarily a business (including retail trade) minority – a minority of the kind, in fact, disliked everywhere throughout history. (By the way, the fact that Africans see South Asians as a homogeneous community is manifested particularly in this case: not all "Indians" are involved in trade to the same degree; for example, Punjabis and Goans are not involved in it very much). As an Indian woman said to one of us in an interview, "Of course, there is some tension [between the Afro- and Indo-Tanzanians], as, definitely, the [Afro-]Tanzanians should feel toward the Indians something similar to what Indians felt toward the English, when they came to India and took over the entire business. Since the Indians thrive, outside India they are often disliked. Particularly, though in Tanzania the Indians live for so long and have made such a big contribution to its development in various fields, they still suffer from rejection by the Africans. And the attitude that exists among

Tanzanians to Indians would be quite the same in any other country, no matter who would be in the places of the Indians and Africans." Another Indian woman adds to this: "They [Africans] are sure that an Indian businessman would do anything crooked to make his two pennies ... You see, the Indians came here and they made a lot of money because they used the opportunities which the others – the Tanzanians ... – for whatever reason ... could not. But obviously the Indians have the money. Money establishes a barrier [between the rich and the poor] and makes you feel supreme. I know a lot [of Indians] who just discount them [Afro-Tanzanians] for being Africans."

Finally, many of our native African respondents declared openly that Europeans are better than Indians (and Arabs) because, as they argued, the Europeans show no snobbery, are open to communication and willing to help Africans: this is the way they perceive the cultural specificity of the two diasporas – traditional insularity of Indian communities and relative openness of European, in particular (Bondarenko 2008: 115–117). Here are some of many typical statements of our interlocutors on this subject: A Tanzanian respondent (poorly educated) expressed this difference the way as follows – primitive but explicit: "Arabs and Indians don't like sharing. They don't like to live together with others and to marry others ... The only people who share are Africans and Europeans. Yes, Europeans like to share because they help us." A student said about her Indian compatriots: "They are rude, they don't treat Tanzanians well. They treat you well if you are a leader or can help them. They are so much into themselves. They look down at Tanzanians, they treat badly people who work for them." And about the Europeans: "Most of them are good people. They don't have these bad attitudes, or they don't show them. They take an interest in the locals." An elderly professor also compared the minorities: "Europeans feel living in foreign lands, but they try to integrate and live the life of the local population. Arabs are also not hard to communicate, they live as Africans, marry [Africans] and beget children, they fit into our society easily. There are no problems with them. Indians behave differently; they live apart, in separate urban areas, observe only their traditions and do not integrate into African society ... Africans do not like them because they stand out from the crowd." "Indians do not participate in nation building," the director of the National Library of Tanzania resumes.

Of course, different people express different, sometimes contradictory views. For example, contrary to the opinion of the director of the Nation-

al Library, a young Tanzanian doctor said: "I think that Indians ... benefit the society, because there are things that it would be difficult to do without them. For example, many Indians have [much] money, so they run big business which helps the country." Nevertheless, the very set of features, both positive and negative ones, attributed to the Europeans and Indians in the two countries under consideration is very similar. In particular, in our Zambian interviews people of the European origin were characterized as accommodating, business-minded, closed, discriminatory, domineering, exploitative, friendly, generous, good, hardhearted, hardworking, intelligent, law-abiding, productive, progressive, proud, segregators, selfish, well-to-do, understanding, unmannered. People of the South Asian descent were described as aloof, business-minded (a very common characteristic), closed, corporative, exploitative, friendly, good, hardhearted, hardworking, helpful, hucksters, insincere, mean, racist, rich, stingy (another common characteristic), tolerant, unsociable. As one can notice, many characteristics are attributed to both minorities. However, there are more negative features attributed to Indians. These features are mentioned by a greater number of respondents and, what is most important, such positive traits symbolizing basic values of the contemporary world as "intelligent," "law-abiding," "productive," "progressive" were mentioned with respect to the Europeans only. All in all, there is good reason to argue that the Europeans have a better reputation among the Africans than the Indians.

These considerations, with natural variations, are equally valid for all the African countries in which more or less extensive Indian communities reside;² some factors specific for Zambia in comparison with Tanzania will be pointed out below. The primary aim of the present article is to offer an explanation to the previously undiscovered (as to the authors' knowledge) fact that Zambian students are more tolerant to the non-African diaspora people than Tanzanian, in particular that both Europeans and South Asians are treated by them better, as it is reflected in the tables above and in those that follow.

It is worth specifying the answers which are represented in tables 1–4 in order both to verify their data and, in case they are confirmed by responses to more specific questions, to try to approach their plausible explanations. In particular, the respondents were asked about their attitude towards the

culture of Tanzanian and Zambian Europeans and Indians (Tables 5–8):

Table 5: What Is Your Attitude to the Culture of Tanzanian Europeans? (Tanzanian Students)

Very bad	Bad	Indifferent	Good	Very good	Total
4 (2.8%)	9 (6.2%)	51 (35.2%)	47 (32.4%)	34 (23.4%)	145 (100%)

Table 6: What Is Your Attitude to the Culture of Zambian Europeans? (Zambian Students)

Very bad	Bad	Indifferent	Good	Very good	Total
0 (0%)	3 (2.2%)	24 (17.4%)	89 (64.5%)	22 (15.9%)	138 (100%)

Here we observe the same situation as with answers to the direct question: young culturally and educationally advanced Zambians treat the European compatriots' culture better than their Tanzanian peers do (2.2% vs. 9% of intolerant answers, 80.4% vs. 55.8% of positive estimations of the Europeans' culture).

Table 7: What Is Your Attitude to the Culture of Tanzanian Indians? (Tanzanian Students)

Very bad	Bad	Indifferent	Good	Very good	Total
8 (5.7%)	12 (8.5%)	73 (51.8%)	29 (20.6%)	19 (13.5%)	141 (100%)

Table 8: What Is Your Attitude to the Culture of Zambian Indians? (Zambian Students)

Very bad	Bad	Indifferent	Good	Very good	Total
5 (3.6%)	8 (5.8%)	34 (24.5%)	70 (50.4%)	22 (15.8%)	139 (100%)

Again, the Zambians' perception of Indians is more positive than the Tanzanians', while yet in both countries that of Europeans is better than of Indians.

It seems reasonable to suppose that the most sincere answers reflecting the true attitude were given to the most personal question: "How would you react if your child marries a Tanzanian (Zambian) European or Indian?" At present this question is not urgent for our young respondents but, nonetheless, their replies could be symptomatic. Quite predictably, the majority of the respondents in both countries would like to see their children married to people of the African origin (Tables 9–10):

Table 9: How Would You React If Your Child Marries an African Tanzanian? (Tanzanian Students)

Negatively	Depends on concrete person	Positively	Total
1 (0.7%)	51 (37.5%)	84 (61.8%)	136 (100%)

Table 10: How Would You React If Your Child Marries an African Zambian? (Zambian Students)

Negatively	Depends on concrete person	Positively	Total
0 (0%)	51 (36.2%)	90 (63.8%)	141 (100%)

2 Compare, e.g., Bharati (1972: 149ff.); Brown (2006: 112–148); Usov (2010: 171–181).

However, most of them do not rule out the possibility of blessing their children's marriage with Europeans or Indians (Tables 11–14):

Table 11: How Would You React If Your Child Marries a Tanzanian European? (Tanzanian Students)

Negatively	Depends on concrete person	Positively	Total
10 (6.9%)	72 (50%)	62 (43.1%)	144 (100%)

Table 12: How Would You React If Your Child Marries a Zambian European? (Zambian Students)

Negatively	Depends on concrete person	Positively	Total
8 (5.8%)	70 (50.4%)	61 (43.9%)	139 (100%)

Remarkably, at this point the figures for the two groups of respondents are extremely close to each other. Most people give actually the most reasonable and tolerant answer: their attitude to children's marriages with Europeans would depend on the children spouses' personal qualities, not origin. However, it is worth noting that the number of negative responses exceeds the sums of figures for the answers "very bad" and "bad" to the direct question about the attitude to African Europeans (Tables 1, 2): 6.9% vs. 4.1% for the Tanzanian students and 5.8% vs. only 0.7% for Zambian. We suppose that this difference is explained by the quite popular idea among both original Africans and Europeans that although "the others" are not bad at all, indeed they are good, they are simply too different, and that is why an intermarriage hardly could bring the spouses happiness (the preference of spouses of the same origin – see Tables 9, 10 – is in fact the other side of the same coin).

Tables 13 and 14 reflect the respondents' views on the prospects of their children's marriage with local Indians:

Table 13: How Would You React If Your Child Marries a Tanzanian Indian? (Tanzanian Students)

Negatively	Depends on concrete person	Positively	Total
30 (21.5%)	68 (47.2%)	45 (31.3%)	144 (100%)

Table 14: How Would You React If Your Child Marries a Zambian Indian? (Zambian Students)

Negatively	Depends on concrete person	Positively	Total
23 (16.8%)	67 (48.9%)	47 (34.3%)	137 (100%)

Here, contrary to the two previous tables, some quite significant differences can be observed: really more Zambians than Tanzanians think positively and less negatively of the prospects to have an Afri-

can Indian in their family. Also with respect to both Tanzanians and Zambians the difference in answers in favor of Europeans is striking: the discrepancy between negative answers to the questions about marriage with Indians and attitude to them (Tables 3, 4) is much greater than with respect to Europeans (21.5% vs. 13.5% for Tanzanians and 16.8% vs. 3.5% for Zambians). This discrepancy, as well as the respective figures in Tables 13 and 14 as such, is big enough to incline us to suppose that the respondents' reaction to the question about the prospects of their children's marriage with Indians, being so emotional, does reflect the Africans' better attitude to the Europeans than to the Indians. Note also that among the Zambian students the percent of those who would be against their future children's marriages with Indians is less, and the percent of those who would be happy to it is bigger, than among their Tanzanian colleagues.

Another personal question we asked was if the respondents had friends among Europeans and South Asians (Tables 15–18):

Table 15: Do You Have Any Friends among Tanzanian Europeans? (Tanzanian Students)

No	Yes, a few	Yes, many	Total
50 (35.0%)	59 (41.3%)	34 (23.8%)	143 (100%)

Table 16: Do You Have Any Friends among Zambian Europeans? (Zambian Students)

No	Yes, a few	Yes, many	Total
71 (50.7%)	57 (40.7%)	12 (8.6%)	140 (100%)

Table 17: Do You Have Any Friends among Tanzanian Indians? (Tanzanian Students)

No	Yes, a few	Yes, many	Total
63 (45.3%)	48 (34.5%)	28 (20.1%)	139 (100%)

Table 18: Do You Have Any Friends among Zambian Indians? (Zambian Students)

No	Yes, a few	Yes, many	Total
85 (61.1%)	44 (31.6%)	10 (7.2%)	139 (100%)

The evidence looks paradoxical: while all the previous tables demonstrated the Zambians' better attitude to originally non-Africans, it is the Tanzanians who claim to have more friends among (i.e., positive informal ties and communication with) Europeans and Indians; among the former more than among the latter with respect to both Tanzanians and Zambians. Logically, if the evidence is correct, this should mean that, on the one hand, there is a discrepancy between the Africans' relations with real individuals and their generalized visions of the communities to which these people belong, and, on

the other hand, that the migrant communities are better integrated in the autochthonous sociocultural milieu in Tanzania than in Zambia.

Would our respondents support the latter argument? No! There are more of those who characterize Europeans and Indians as poorly integrated and less of those who regard them as well integrated just among the Tanzanians, not the Zambians – see Tables 19–22:

Table 19: Do You Think that Tanzanian Europeans Are Well Integrated in the Tanzanian Society? (Tanzanian Students)

No	So-so	Yes	Total
27 (18.5%)	50 (34.2%)	69 (47.3%)	146 (100%)

Table 20: Do You Think that Zambian Europeans Are Well Integrated in the Zambian Society? (Zambian Students)

No	So-so	Yes	Total
19 (13.2%)	46 (31.9%)	79 (54.9%)	144 (100%)

Table 21: Do You Think that Tanzanian Indians Are Well Integrated in the Tanzanian Society? (Tanzanian Students)

No	So-so	Yes	Total
35 (24.8%)	53 (37.6%)	53 (37.6%)	141 (100%)

Table 22: Do You Think that Zambian Indians Are Well Integrated in the Zambian Society? (Zambian Students)

No	So-so	Yes	Total
30 (21.3%)	49 (34.8%)	62 (44.0%)	141 (100%)

At the moment we do not have a clear plausible explanation to these data; we will just note that more respondents (for about 10% in each of the countries) argue that Europeans are well integrated in the local society than those who think the same about Indians. To this we can also add that although among representatives of the diasporas there are those who confessed in the interviews that they did not feel Tanzania or Zambia as their home countries in full sense, in general, the ethno-racial minorities estimate the degree of their integration in the local society higher than representatives of the majority, including university students (Bondarenko 2008: 118f.).

It is instructive to compare the students' opinion on the degree of these migrant groups' sociocultural integrity with what they think about migrants from other African states (Burundi, Rwanda, etc.) who came to Zambia and Tanzania due to the political unrest or/and economic hardships in their home countries much more recently than Europeans and South Asians (they are almost hundred percent migrants themselves, not migrants' descendents), provoke or exacerbate many social problems, as our interlocutors repeatedly emphasized in interviews, but who are socioculturally closer to the recipient soci-

eties' majority. Ignoring the first and clearly basing on the second of these facts, Zambians regard the African migrants as integrated actually in the same measure as people of the non-African origins, and Tanzanians even give them advantage (compare Tables 19–22 and 23, 24).

Table 23: Do You Think that Immigrants from Other African Countries Are Well Integrated in the Tanzanian Society? (Tanzanian Students)

No	So-so	Yes	Total
7 (5.8%)	43 (35.5%)	71 (58.7%)	121 (100%)

Table 24: Do You Think that Immigrants from Other African Countries Are Well Integrated in the Zambian Society? (Zambian Students)

No	So-so	Yes	Total
11 (8.4%)	58 (44.3%)	62 (47.3%)	131 (100%)

Finally, what do the students think of the national culture: Is it justified to speak about the "Tanzanian culture" and "Zambian culture" formed and shared by all the respective countries' inhabitants, including the European and South Asian minorities (Tables 25, 26)?

Table 25: Is There a Single Integrated Tanzanian Culture? (Tanzanian Students)

No, there are only separate ethnic cultures	Yes, but migrants' cultures are separate	Yes	Total
71 (44.9%)	32 (20.3%)	55 (34.8%)	158 (100%)

Table 26: Is There a Single Integrated Zambian Culture? (Zambian Students)

No, there are only separate ethnic cultures	Yes, but migrants' cultures are separate	Yes	Total
83 (58.9%)	28 (19.9%)	30 (21.3%)	141 (100%)

From the standpoint of our particular interest, once again the situation can seem paradoxical; although, as we remember, compared to Tanzanian, the Zambian respondents treat the migrants and their descendents better at a personal level (but claim to have fewer friends among them) and more often regard them well integrated in the country's social life. They are also more inclined to see in them people of other, even alien, cultures. However, it is important to note that the higher percentage of positive answers to the question about the existence of the integrated national culture among Tanzanian respondents reflects almost completely the smaller percent of those who chose not the second (in fact, most unpleasant for diasporas) but the first variant of the answer. In other words, the originally non-

African migrants' inclusion in or exclusion from the Tanzanian or Zambian nation is determined by factors that are more general and inclusive than those related just to the interactions between and mutual attitudes of the originally African and non-African citizens of the two states. Among Tanzanians there are much fewer of those who believe that even Africans of different ethnic origins do not belong to a single integrated, national culture, i.e., that such a culture exists in their country at all. Upon this background, the situation with the European and South Asian diasporas can soundly be approached and discussed as a very particular but yet special case of a more general problem – of the formation of nations as supraethnic civil communities based on common cultures, especially shared systems of values and national mythologies.

Thus, the fundamental and vitally important problem of national unity for African countries sets the context for our subsequent discussion of the Tanzanian and Zambian students' attitude to the European and South Asian minorities. In fact, the whole sociocultural "space" of our discussion, from the very appearance of migrants from Europe and South Asia in what are today Tanzania and Zambia to the existence of universities and students there, to the problem of nation building in the politics once created violently and artificially, is rooted directly in the colonial past. However, as it will become clear from the next section, taking into account the precolonial legacy of the Tanzanian and Zambian peoples is not less important for understanding of the contemporary situation, including providing an explanation to the similarities in and differences between the attitude of the Tanzanian and Zambian university students to their compatriots of the European and South Asian origins.

Discussion

We will open this section referring to the fact, which, in our opinion, is most basic and fundamental for the present discussion: Contrary to Zambia, what today serves in Tanzania as the sociocultural background, common for the overwhelming majority of its population, formed long before the establishment of the colonial regime (from 1885 on a German one and then, 1919–1961/63, a British one). This background is the Swahili culture with its written language.³ Due to it the growth of national consciousness and feelings can manifest itself mainly

(although not exclusively, of course) at the ethno-racial, not just ethnic level. Indeed, the Swahili culture and language, initially those of a relatively small even now coastal people, began to spread widely in the depth of the continental part of the country (Mainland) in the 19th century only, generally being limited to the coastal stripe before that. Besides, originally it is not a completely African culture but a synthesis of local and Arab elements.⁴ However, today the vast majority of Afro-Tanzanians, irrespective of ethnic origin and religion, is proud to belong to this culture and see it as African and precolonial, integrating people of different African "tribes" in the Tanzanian nation atop (not instead of) their particular ethnic origins. Indeed, Tanzanians usually know the origin (not only ethnic but regional as well) of their friends, neighbors, and colleagues, what some of our European and Indian respondents in both countries liked to emphasize, arguing that the Tanzanian or Zambian nation is a fiction. But to know does not inevitably mean to give priority, as a Tanzanian professor told us, "We [Afro-Tanzanians] are ethnically blind in some sense ... If you want to lose people's respect, repeat every time from what ethnic group or region you are. Finally someone will dare to ask you: 'So what?'" For Afro-Tanzanians the Swahili culture, including the language, is the root, source, and background of the Tanzanian nation, which hence is not obliged by its emergence to the Europeans and European colonialism to a great extent. It is also the pledge of generally peaceful relations between different Bantu peoples of the country (Gerasimov 2008), although some of our older respondents, comparing the situation in the first decades of independence and now, argued that today ethnicity is actualizing due to economic or political reasons. During our survey undertaken in 2005 76.6% of 994 respondents, coming from a great variety of social layers and groups, indicated Swahili as their mother tongue while only six persons claimed for the Swahili ethnic origin.

These are several of many typical statements on this matter by Tanzanians of various ages and levels of education: "There is the Tanzanian nation and it is single, as we all speak the same language – Swahili. There are more than 120 tribes in Tanzania, but the Swahili language unites us all ..." (a worker in his thirties); "There is the Tanzanian nation. Swahili is not ethnicity. Notwithstanding if a Tanzanian is a Gogo, or Luguru, or someone else by origin, we are united by the fact that we all speak the Swahili language" (a driver in his mid-forties); "To be a Tanza-

3 Prins (1967); Mazrui and Shariff (1994); Middleton (1994); Horton and Middleton (2000); Knappert (2005).

4 Zhukov (1983); Hurreiz (1985); Allen (1993); Whiteley (1993); Horton and Middleton (2000); Middleton (2004).

nian means to be able to speak Swahili" (a college student); "I believe that there is a single Tanzanian nation, because we have a common language – Swahili" (an elderly linguist); "We all speak Swahili, we are all brothers and sisters" (an Anglican bishop of approximately 45 years of age). Although, as the present article's first author was told by some respondents and had chances to notice himself, in the elite strata of the society English can be the prestigious first language of communication, as Gromova (2008: 92) argues (and many interviews prove her correctness), in general "... the ethnolinguistic situation in Tanzania is characterized by noticeable predominance of the Swahili language and by its use in all the key functions of communicative sphere. The languages of relatively large ethnic groups, such as the Sukuma, Nyamwezi, Haya, and some others that preserve compactness of residence, are not in such a threatening situation as the languages of small ethnic groups that can disappear in the non-distant future under the influence of mobility and dynamics of the contemporary Swahili language."

The Swahili language is spoken fluently not only by Afro-Tanzanians but also by almost all descendants of non-African migrants, although it is the first language for only a small part of them (mainly for the Omani Arabs – the oldest nonlocal community in the country that mixes with the Afro-Tanzanian majority most eagerly⁵). Indeed, as our interviews show, long life among Africans has really changed some of the migrants' habits and customs (see also Oonk 2004). Besides, again judging by our interviews, it made them realize the truth of the aphorism "When in Rome, live like the Romans do." Finally, several Europeans and Indians told us that precisely in most recent time their communities have become more open to various forms of communication and cooperation with the indigenous Africans. However, a recent Indian migrant to Tanzania, thus with a fresh look at the situation, would be supported by the majority of Africans and non-Africans in her estimation of the interrelations between particularly the "Indian" and "Tanzanian", i.e., Swahili, cultures: "The Indian culture is such and the Tanzanian culture is such, that even if there is a blend to a certain stage, they cannot blend completely because these are two different civilizations, each with long history ... [Indo- and Afro-Tanzanians] live, ... work together – they are together and they will continue being together, but I don't think the customs can ever blend to that extent that they could become one [culture]."

The Swahili culture serves not only as substratum for formation but also as a means of construction of the Tanzanian nation. The official ideology, based on the "Ujamaa theory" elaborated by the first President of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, has contributed a lot to the citizens' vision of the Tanzanian nation not as a legacy of colonialism (what, as we have stressed above, is really so, although just in colonial time, the Swahili culture and language acquired the all-regional spread, prominence and recognition): "... the *nation*, which in Ujamaa theory carries the national culture transmitted through Swahili, is in fact the *state*. Thus state ideology and National Culture become synonymous – an unjustified synonymy which has allowed the confusion between 'objective' Swahili culture (the historical culture of the coastal societies) and 'subjective' political Swahili culture (that of contemporary Tanzania) ..." (Blommaert 2006: 18; original emphasis). The language policy is also aimed at strengthening Swahili's positions as the official national language within the framework of state ideology (Blommaert 1999; Topan 2008). Nyerere from the very birth of the independent state insisted on treating Swahili as the national language of Tanzania (see Legère 2006: 176). Indeed, "[w]ith regard to deliberate attempts at promotion in both formal and informal areas of life and the creation of a true national and official language, the post-independence spread of Swahili among the population of Tanzania is regularly noted to be a remarkably successful example of African national language planning in a multi-ethnic context. Now, following considerable extended efforts from the 1960s onwards, Swahili is extremely widely known in Tanzania and used in education, government administration, and inter-ethnic communication throughout the country" (Simpson 2008: 10).

While Tanzania is a lucky exception to the rule, Zambia, as well as most of the postcolonial African states, does not have such an "objective" – originally precolonial, at least partly – background for national unity. None of the local cultures is able to play this role, only in colonial time and due to colonialism the integration of very different, previously often unrelated (or related loosely, or conflicting) peoples of contemporary Zambia began. So it is only the colonial sociocultural legacy, including the English language, what can serve as the historical and cultural background for formation of the Zambian nation. Some Zambians pointed out in their interviews that peoples of Zambia "have similarities in cultures and traditions," "speak similar languages," and so forth, but, of course, none of them could argue that they belong to one particular au-

5 Prins (1967); Lodhi (1986); Korotayev and Khaltourina (2008).

tochthonous culture in the sense in which Tanzanians coming from different ethnic groups share the Swahili culture. There should be no doubt that just the existence of the Swahili culture in Tanzania and the lack of its analog in Zambia caused the difference in the percent of respondents in the two countries who believe that there is a single integrated national culture, on the one hand, and that there are only separate ethnic cultures, on the other hand (Tables 25, 26), notwithstanding the Zambian state's attempts since the 1990s to represent multilingualism (and hence multiculturalism) as an asset rather than an obstacle to nation-building (Marten and Kula 2008).

Furthermore, from the nation building prospects' standpoint, Zambia has at least one more disadvantage compared to Tanzania. In precolonial time in Tanganyika (Tanzania's continental part now called Mainland), except the Shambaa (Shambala) kingdom (Winans 1962; Feierman 1974), there were no strong centralized polities which in the postcolonial independent state could become centers of tribalistic nationalist regionalism or separatism and excite the neighboring peoples' historical memory of the former subjugation.⁶ Some of our respondents named a lack of tribalism as a sign of Tanzanian nation's existence alongside with the Swahili culture and language. In the meantime, in Zambia at least four such polities rose in the precolonial period (of the Bemba, Chewa, Lozi, and Lunda),⁷ and the answer of a student to the question, "What ... must be done in the sphere of interethnic relations?" is symptomatic: "[It is necessary] to improve interethnic relations by removal of the inferiority complex that certain people from some ethnic cultures have towards other ethnic cultures, e.g., Bembas and Lozis." While the Tanzanian law does not recognize the power of chiefs, the Zambian Constitution of 1996 declares the creation of the House of Chiefs which, as its member told openly the present article's first author in 2010, tries its best to influence all spheres of social and political life in the country at both regional and national levels, although officially its prerogatives are limited to so-called "traditional issues." Village and district chiefs are also very influential figures at their levels of competence

(e.g., as we found out during our field research, they cannot be avoided, when a mining company intends to start and successfully carry on business in their areas).

So, while in Tanzania national unity has its background in the autochthonous peoples' precolonial cultural history (and this fact is instilled in the citizens' minds by official ideology), in Zambia the background was created (unintentionally, of course) only by colonial regime. University students, in the majority, belong to the part of society that professes civil values and is devoted to the idea of nation and national values. Cannot the Zambian students' better acceptance of the minorities that formed during the colonial epoch be explained as a projection of their less negative attitude to the country's colonial past as to the time when (contrary to Tanzania) the foundations of national unity objectively were laid? Tables 27–30 support this hypothesis:

Table 27: Which of the Arguments about Colonialism Is Closer to the Truth? (Tanzanian Students)

It did mainly harm	It was a short episode in the country's history	In its time the country's progress is rooted	Total
86 (52.8%)	37 (22.7%)	40 (24.5%)	163 (100%)

Table 28: Which of the Arguments about Colonialism Is Closer to the Truth? (Zambian Students)

It did mainly harm	It was a short episode in the country's history	In its time the country's progress is rooted	Total
59 (43.4%)	19 (14.0%)	58 (42.6%)	136 (100%)

These tables do show that more Zambian respondents than Tanzanian think that in colonial time the foundations of the country's unity and progress were laid; in Zambia this opinion is practically as popular as that colonialism "did mainly harm," while in Tanzania the latter clearly dominates. Many Zambian interlocutors told in the interviews unequivocally that the Zambian nation formed or began to form in the colonial time with the country's gaining of independence as the process' climax moment.⁸ In sharp contrast to Tanzania, nobody related the Zambian nation formation to precolonial time, while several intellectuals (teachers and a businessman) interviewed by us argued that even at present there was no Zambian nation at all but only a conglomerate of more than seventy "tribal" cultures (72 is the offi-

6 The problem of Zanzibar, the successor to the slave trade Arabian Sultanate of Zanzibar and, together with Tanganyika, a constituent member of the United Republic of Tanzania, is essentially different, although naturally has a strong direct impact on the nation building process in the country (Peter and Othman 2006; Demintseva 2008; Mwakikagile 2008).

7 Langworthy (1972); Roberts (1973); Banda (2002); Macola (2002); Mainga (2010).

8 A typical statement is: the nation "formed after North-Western and North-Eastern Rhodesia were amalgamated in 1911 to form Northern Rhodesia which was declared independent Zambia in 1964. Since then the Zambian nation has existed well intact even if we have 72 ethnic groups."

cial number of local "tribes," hence constituting the state's racial majority).

The next two tables support vividly the effect of the initial hypothesis, i.e., that the more positive the opinion of colonialism people have, the more tolerant to their European and South Asian compatriots they are.

Table 29: Which of the Arguments about Colonialism Is Closer to the Truth? What Is Your Attitude to Tanzanian/Zambian Europeans? (Tanzanian and Zambian Students)

Opinion	Attitude			Total
	Very bad or bad	Indifferent	Good or very good	
Colonialism did mainly harm	5 (3.6%)	23 (16.9%)	108 (79.4%)	136 (100%)
Colonialism was an episode in the country's history	1 (1.9%)	7 (13.5%)	44 (84.6%)	52 (100%)
In the colonial time the country's progress is rooted	0 (0%)	8 (8.7%)	84 (91.3%)	92 (100%)

Table 30: Which of the Arguments about Colonialism Is Closer to the Truth? What Is Your Attitude to Tanzanian/Zambian Indians? (Tanzanian and Zambian Students)

Opinion	Attitude			Total
	Very bad or bad	Indifferent	Good or very good	
Colonialism did mainly harm	13 (9.8%)	29 (21.8%)	91 (68.4%)	133 (100%)
Colonialism was an episode in the country's history	4 (7.9%)	18 (35.3%)	29 (56.9%)	51 (100%)
In the colonial time the country's progress is rooted	6 (6.6%)	16 (17.6%)	69 (75.8%)	91 (100%)

Of course, the most striking figures in Tables 29 and 30 are 91.3% and 0% of those whose attitude to the Europeans is (very) good and (very) bad, respectively, among the respondents who see colonialism as the time in which their country's progress was rooted. But what is even more important is the clear growth of a tolerant attitude towards the non-African migrant communities with transition from the most to less negative estimations of the colonial period. Our hypothesis that the more tolerant attitude to the colonialism-born minorities among Zambian students is related to their less negative perception of colonialism, as of the event which gave birth to the nation, finds an even more convincing support at the comparison of Tables 29 and 30 with Tables 1–4. Among those who think that during the colonial time the foundations of the African nations' future progress were laid, the tolerant attitude to the

Afro-Europeans and Afro-Indians clearly exceeds average in both countries. However, it should also be noted that the interdependence between the perceptions of the colonial past and non-African diaspora people is incomplete. As we have pointed out in the very beginning of the article, most of our respondents expressed a tolerant attitude to both diaspora people, so even among those who believe that colonialism did mainly harm the peoples of their respective countries, positive estimations of the Europeans and South Asians prevail.

In the meantime, we have expected less tolerance from the respondents most attached to traditional culture and its values. As indicators of the "degree of traditionalism" we have considered answers to questions 13, 14, 21–23 of our Questionnaire (Appendix 1). As it could be predicted, there really are quite traditionally oriented young intellectuals but not very many: 20.8% of the respondents (29.4% of Tanzanians and 11% of Zambians) argue that a woman has no right to disobey her husband under any circumstances, 32.7% (26.4% for Tanzania and 39.9% for Zambia) can boast of really good knowledge of folklore, 32.2% (44.5% of respondents in Tanzania and 18.2% in Zambia) think that it is necessary to make offerings to the deceased ancestors' spirits, 71.7% (68.6% of the Tanzanian respondents and 75.2% of Zambian) would never consult a traditional doctor (sorcerer). The exception is one of the most basic values of all African cultures – the desire to have a large number of children: only 22.1% of the young educated Tanzanians and Zambians (30.8% and 15.6%, respectively) regard no more than two children as optimal for a family.

So, in average about 1/3 of young intellectuals in the two countries is quite traditionalistically-minded, but one can note that there are more such people among our Tanzanian respondents (the case of the optimal number of children is specific in general, as has been mentioned above). Is traditionalistic-mindedness a predictor of less tolerance to non-African migrants – people of essentially different cultures? Let us cross-tabulate the variable "Do you think that it is necessary to make offerings to the deceased ancestors' spirits, at least on important occasions?" (the question which reflects the very basis and key value of traditional African world outlook and religion,⁹ to which answers in the affirmative were given by our respondents more often than to almost all other questions we are dealing with at the moment) with the answers to the questions about

9 E.g., Fortes (1966); Bondarenko (1996); Grinker, Lubkemann, and Steiner (2010: 283–322).

the attitude to the Europeans and Indians (Tables 31, 32).

Table 31: Do You Think That It Is Necessary to Make Offerings to the Deceased Ancestors' Spirits ...? What Is Your Attitude to Tanzanian/Zambian Europeans? (Tanzanian and Zambian Students)

Opinion	Attitude			Total
	Very bad or bad	Indifferent	Good or very good	
No	5 (2.5%)	22 (11.2%)	170 (86.3%)	197 (100%)
Yes	1 (1.1%)	16 (18.0%)	72 (80.9%)	89 (100%)

Table 32: Do You Think That It Is Necessary to Make Offerings to the Deceased Ancestors' Spirits ...? What Is Your Attitude to Tanzanian/Zambian Indians? (Tanzanian and Zambian Students)

Opinion	Attitude			Total
	Very bad or bad	Indifferent	Good or very good	
No	17 (8.8%)	37 (19.1%)	140 (72.2%)	194 (100%)
Yes	7 (8.2%)	25 (29.1%)	54 (62.8%)	86 (100%)

As we see, among those not devoted to the traditional value there are more whose attitude to the non-African minorities is positive rather than indifferent; so, traditionality is not a strong but yet a predictor of their (even) better perception by the autochthons.

We have also supposed that two other factors capable of influencing the Africans' attitude to their originally non-African compatriots are religion and degree of religiosity. The religious composition of Tanzania and Zambia is radically different: While in the former roughly 40% of the population consider themselves as Muslims, approximately the same percent as Christians (but there are noticeably more Christians than Muslims in the best educated social strata – on the causes and effects of this see Bondarenko 2004 – in particular, of our 167 Tanzanian respondents 124 were Christians and 43 Muslims), and the majority of the rest are pagans (among university students there are very few of them and there were no such people among our respondents), Zambians are predominantly Christians. At the same time, as one of the author's previous research in Tanzania has shown (Bondarenko 2008, 2010), one can expect to observe a lower degree of religiosity (and higher of secularity, respectively) among people with a good contemporary secular education. Secularity should not be mixed up with atheism. Only one of almost 2,000 respondents with whom that author has communicated in Tanzania designated his world outlook as atheistic. Besides, the degree of secularity even among the best educated Africans in general is definitely not as great as among European or American intellectuals. Reli-

gion as a factor of the Afro-Tanzanians' (self-)identification, world outlook shaping, and sociopolitical position formation remains and will remain valid, but its significance is not crucial and, probably, can become even lower till a certain limit in the course of the growth of the educational level of the population and also of the spread of the modern "global" mass media, the secular nature of the Tanzanian state being regarded.

Nevertheless, the previous research has also revealed that the secularization growth, related directly to raising the standard of education (which is not only secular in itself but also opens wider access to contemporary, mostly secular, mass media), leads to an increase in interreligious and a decrease in interethnic and interracial tolerance, as secularization makes religious commonalities/differences less important for a person by transferring his/her self- and others identification center of gravity from the transcendental and universalistic values of monotheistic religions to the "terrestrial" and local ethnocultural values. At this point, it is appropriate to remind how the processes of secularization, the rise of national consciousness, and the development of higher (university) education turned out to be intertwined intrinsically in modern Europe. In direct relation with our theme let us recall that, clearly thanks to the fact that there is the Swahili culture common for most people of different religions and autochthonous ethnic origins, among the Tanzanian students the percent of those sure in the existence of an integrated national culture is significantly higher than among their Zambian peers (Tables 25, 26), notwithstanding much greater religious variety in their state (and among themselves).

It is also characteristic that in both countries among those respondents who support the view that political organizations should be based on their members' common religion or ethnic origin, most believe that just the latter of the two criteria is proper. It is also noteworthy that while the majority of Tanzanian and Zambian students reject any of the two principles, yet there are more of those who do not do that in Zambia, where, as we have argued above, the background for national unity is objectively weaker (see Tables 33, 34).

Table 33: Do You Think That Political Organizations Should Unite People of the Same Ethnic Origin? (Tanzanian and Zambian Students)

Country	Opinion		Total
	No	Yes	
Tanzania	118 (72.8%)	44 (27.2%)	162 (100%)
Zambia	88 (64.7%)	48 (35.3%)	136 (100%)

Table 34: Do You Think That Political Organizations Should Unite People of the Same Religion? (Tanzanian and Zambian Students)

Country	Opinion		Total
	No	Yes	
Tanzania	125 (80.6%)	30 (19.4%)	155 (100%)
Zambia	95 (69.9%)	41 (30.1%)	136 (100%)

The first hypothesis related to religion as a possible factor of interracial tolerance/xenophobia in Tanzania and Zambia to be tested here is that the difference in the African student's attitude to the European and South Asian minorities can partly be explained by the difference in the two countries religious composition. The Tanzanian and Zambian Europeans are almost solely Christians, and the "Indians" are a conglomeration of actually all the religious groups spread in South Asia with some prevalence of Muslims, which, however, truly does not allow Africans to identify this community as a whole as Muslim and to form their attitude to it on the religious premises. Is the attitude to Europeans among Zambian students in general better than among Tanzanian because practically all the former are also Christians, while a significant part of the latter is formed by Muslims (in particular, 25.7% in our aggregate)? To establish this fact, we have divided our Tanzanian respondents by their religions and calculated the two groups' attitude towards the Europeans separately (Tables 35, 36).

Table 35: What Is Your Attitude to Tanzanian Europeans? (Christian Tanzanian Students)

Very bad	Bad	Indifferent	Good	Very good	Total
1 (1%)	2 (1.9%)	21 (20.4%)	52 (50.5%)	27 (26.2%)	103 (100%)

Table 36: What Is Your Attitude to Tanzanian Europeans? (Muslim Tanzanian Students)

Very bad	Bad	Indifferent	Good	Very good	Total
3 (8.1%)	0 (0%)	5 (13.5%)	16 (43.2%)	13 (35.1%)	37 (100%)

The hypothesis is not verified: firstly, even among Christians the level of tolerance in Tanzania is noticeably lower than in Zambia (compare Tables 35 and 2); secondly, though among Christians there are considerably less of those who treat the Europeans badly or very badly and more of those who treat them indifferently or well, among Muslims there are much more of those who characterized their attitude to the European compatriots as "very good." Nonlocal origin as such determines the position of non-African migrants and their descendants in society and their perception by its majority to a much more considerable degree than religion

(see Bondarenko 2007: 254–257). As one of us has shown elsewhere (Bondarenko 2004: 452 f.), a high level of education promotes the cultural integration of Tanzanian Muslims and Christians and an overcoming of the particularistic tendency of adherents of Islam. In our opinion, that the hypothesis of direct relation between religion and perception of the Europeans has turned out false, does testify not only to a noncritical importance of religion as a self- and others identification marker in Tanzania (Bondarenko 2004: 459; 2005: 69 f.), but also to the role of secularization (even relative and far from being complete) in shaping the relations between originally Africans and non-Africans. One more important point here is that university students are people who are getting education that is European by form (system) and origin, based on the secular values of the European civilization of the modern time, and just getting this education predetermines our respondents' future prestigious jobs (in most cases also introduced in Africa by Europeans – lawyers, engineers, managers, etc.) and high positions in society, of what they are fully aware. The data for Afro-Tanzanians engaged in such spheres of activity, particularly for doctors, school and university teachers, collected during an earlier research, are characteristic: 85.7% of doctors and 72.9% of teachers designated their attitude towards Europeans as "good" or "very good," while the respective figures for their attitude towards Arabs were 66.6% and 47.9%, and 64.2% and 41.7% were those for their appreciation of Indians.

Probably, the fact that secular modern education was introduced in Africa by Europeans also contributes to the students' less one-sided perception of the colonial past in general and of the European and Indian diasporas as a part of its legacy in particular. Almost all Christian, but also several of our highly educated Muslim interlocutors remarked that the development of originally European secular education is blessing for their country and all her people. As one of them, a professor, resumed, "Those who brought us Islam, brought us madrasah for citing the Koran. Those who brought the Bible brought us also the secular school." Even an elderly Omani Arab, who criticized the youth severely for the interest in Western mass culture, being asked if Europeans yet have introduced anything positive in Africa, answered immediately: "Education." This can also be an additional factor promoting highly educated people's better attitude to Europeans than to Indians; additional because it is better in all social groups (as the research in Tanzania conducted under the guidance of the present article's first author has shown [Bondarenko 2008; Khaltourina and Ko-

rotayev 2008]; see above), and we do not see reasons that could make us doubt about it with respect to Zambia either.

Now we will test the relation between our respondents' (relative) secularism/religiosity and tolerance/xenophobia. For this we will cross-tabulate generalization of answers to question 24 of the Questionnaire (Appendix 1), which we included in it as an indicator of secularization (those who do not observe the dogma are regarded as people with more secularized consciousness than those who observe it), with generalization of answers to the question about the attitude towards European and Indian Tanzanians and Zambians (Tables 37–38).

Table 37: How Often Do You Pray? What Is Your Attitude to Tanzanian/Zambian Europeans? (Tanzanian and Zambian Students)

Praying according to the dogma	Attitude			Total
	Very bad or bad	Indifferent	Good or very good	
Yes	1 (0.7%)	19 (12.9%)	127 (86.4%)	147 (100%)
No	4 (3.6%)	16 (14.2%)	93 (82.3%)	113 (100%)

Table 38: How Often Do You Pray? What Is Your Attitude to Tanzanian/Zambian Indians? (Tanzanian and Zambian Students)

Praying according to the dogma	Attitude			Total
	Very bad or bad	Indifferent	Good or very good	
Yes	7 (4.9%)	31 (21.7%)	105 (73.4%)	143 (100%)
No	16 (14.4%)	22 (19.8%)	73 (65.7%)	111 (100%)

We can observe that secularization (to some extent also meaning Europeanization), interfaced with education growth, plays a contradictory role in shaping the Africans' attitude to the originally non-African minorities: For the above-mentioned reasons, while it promotes their better attitude towards the Europeans (what can be regarded as a factor of Africans' general preference of Europeans to Indians, specific for this social layer), in general it also leads to some decline of the ethno-racial tolerance (Tables 37 and 38 do show that less secularized respondents are more tolerant; rupture increase between the indicators till a certain point with secularization's deepening can be predicted).

Now it is logical to find out whether ethnicity matters significantly, when the African students' perceptions of the European and South Asian diasporas are concerned. We have divided our respondents into three categories. These are those belonging to the seven most numerous peoples in each country: totaling over one million persons in Tanzania and over 500,000 persons in Zambia (the Sukuma, Gogo, Haya, Nyamwezi, Ha, Nyakyusa, and

Hehe in Tanzania [the Makonde are more numerous than the Hehe but were not represented in our aggregate]; the Bemba, Tonga, Nyanja, Lozi, Ngoni, Nsenga, and Tumbuka in Zambia), belonging to smaller ethnic groups (all the rest), and students of mixed ethnic origin (both within and across the first two categories) – Tables 39–42. Do not people coming from larger ethnic groups concern originally non-Africans more haughtily? Or, maybe those who represent smaller groups are more jealous to them?

Table 39: Regarding Ethnic Origin: What Is Your Attitude to Tanzanian Europeans? (Tanzanian Students)

Origin	Attitude			Total
	Very bad or bad	Indifferent	Good or very good	
Larger peoples	2 (4.3%)	8 (17.4%)	36 (78.3%)	46 (100%)
Smaller peoples	3 (4.6%)	11 (16.9%)	51 (78.4%)	65 (100%)
Mixed origin	0 (0%)	8 (53.3%)	7 (46.6%)	15 (100%)

Table 40: Regarding Ethnic Origin: What Is Your Attitude to Tanzanian Indians? (Tanzanian Students)

Origin	Attitude			Total
	Very bad or bad	Indifferent	Good or very good	
Larger peoples	8 (17.8%)	13 (28.9%)	24 (53.3%)	45 (100%)
Smaller peoples	9 (15%)	17 (28.3%)	34 (56.6%)	60 (100%)
Mixed origin	1 (6.7%)	9 (60%)	5 (33.4%)	15 (100%)

Table 41: Regarding Ethnic Origin: What Is Your Attitude to Zambian Europeans? (Zambian Students)

Origin	Attitude			Total
	Very bad or bad	Indifferent	Good or very good	
Larger peoples	1 (1.1%)	7 (7.6%)	84 (91.3%)	92 (100%)
Smaller peoples	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	12 (100%)	12 (100%)
Mixed origin	0 (0%)	3 (10.3%)	26 (89.7%)	29 (100%)

Table 42: Regarding Ethnic Origin: What Is Your Attitude to Zambian Indians? (Zambian Students)

Origin	Attitude			Total
	Very bad or bad	Indifferent	Good or very good	
Larger peoples	2 (2.2%)	18 (19.6%)	72 (78.3%)	92 (100%)
Smaller peoples	0 (0%)	1 (8.3%)	11 (91.6%)	12 (100%)
Mixed origin	2 (6.8%)	3 (10.3%)	24 (82.8%)	29 (100%)

As one can see, belonging to any category does not influence the students' attitude to the non-African minorities significantly. (It should be noted that although the number of respondents of mixed ethnic origin in Tanzania is on the lower threshold of statistical validity and that the number of people representing smaller ethnic groups in Zambia is even

below it, the answers of those who fall in these categories are clustered so that their direction, even if the number of valid cases had been expanded, can be predicted quite safely).

Another factor that perhaps can influence the Africans' attitude to the non-African diaspora people is the respondents' place of birth. In Africa there is an obvious difference concerning the practical possibilities to communicate with Europeans or Indians, e.g., in a city or in a village, as for many reasons life in bigger settlements provides better opportunities for communication, because the intellectual and cultural outlook, the formation of a wider world view, and the phenomena linked with it open the horizon since childhood. Although at the moment of research all our respondents were citizens of the biggest cities, capitals (in Tanzania de facto, in Zambia also de jure) of the respective states, these young people's outlook had formed where they had enjoyed coming of age and spent most of their lives by the time we met them. Besides, in Africa people rarely tear strong and vivid ties, including spiritual, with their native localities even if they move far from native places. 79.7% of our Tanzanian and 93.5% of Zambian respondents, having relatives outside Dar es Salaam and Lusaka, respectively, communicate with them at least several times a year. Can it be so, that those who grew up in bigger localities are more tolerant than the students who came from smaller ones (Tables 43–46)?

Table 43: Regarding Place of Birth: What Is Your Attitude to Tanzanian Europeans? (Tanzanian Students)

Place of birth	Attitude			Total
	Very bad or bad	Indifferent	Good or very good	
Village	2 (6.1%)	8 (24.2%)	23 (69.7%)	33 (100%)
Town	1 (2.9%)	6 (17.1%)	28 (80%)	35 (100%)
City	2 (7.7%)	4 (15.4%)	20 (76.9%)	26 (100%)
Dar es Salaam	1 (2.5%)	7 (17.5%)	32 (80%)	40 (100%)
Outside Tanzania	0 (0%)	2 (25%)	6 (75%)	8 (100%)

Table 44: Regarding Place of Birth: What Is Your Attitude to Tanzanian Indians? (Tanzanian Students)

Place of birth	Attitude			Total
	Very bad or bad	Indifferent	Good or very good	
Village	6 (19.3%)	7 (22.6%)	18 (58.1%)	31 (100%)
Town	5 (14.3%)	10 (28.6%)	20 (57.2%)	35 (100%)
City	2 (8.3%)	10 (41.7%)	12 (50%)	24 (100%)
Dar es Salaam	6 (16.2%)	12 (32.4%)	19 (51.3%)	37 (100%)
Outside Tanzania	0 (0%)	2 (25%)	6 (75%)	8 (100%)

Table 45: Regarding Place of Birth: What Is Your Attitude to Zambian Europeans? (Zambian Students)

Place of birth	Attitude			Total
	Very bad or bad	Indifferent	Good or very good	
Village	0 (0%)	2 (7.7%)	24 (92.3%)	26 (100%)
Town	0 (0%)	4 (8.5%)	43 (91.5%)	47 (100%)
City	0 (0%)	3 (16.7%)	15 (83.4%)	18 (100%)
Dar es Salaam	1 (2.3%)	1 (2.3%)	42 (95.4%)	44 (100%)
Outside Tanzania	0 (0%)	3 (60%)	2 (40%)	5 (100%)

Table 46: Regarding Place of Birth: What Is Your Attitude to Zambian Indians? (Zambian Students)

Place of birth	Attitude			Total
	Very bad or bad	Indifferent	Good or very good	
Village	0 (0%)	4 (15.4%)	22 (84.6%)	26 (100%)
Town	3 (6.4%)	7 (14.9%)	37 (78.7%)	47 (100%)
City	1 (5.6%)	3 (16.7%)	14 (77.8%)	18 (100%)
Dar es Salaam	1 (2.3%)	8 (18.2%)	35 (79.5%)	44 (100%)
Outside Tanzania	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	6 (100%)	6 (100%)

Contrary to our careful assumptions, the Tables do not reveal any clear correlations between place of birth and the university students' attitude to the European and South Asian minorities neither in Tanzania nor in Zambia.

The last factor we will consider in the present article is the economic one. It is not a secret that in general the European and South Asian communities in Africa are wealthier than the autochthonous population, what sometimes not only becomes their characteristic feature in the Africans' eyes (see above), but also provokes their accusation of exploitation, unfair treatment of, and contemptuous attitude towards native Africans. For example, during interviews we heard among other remarks, including positive ones, that the Europeans "always disassociate themselves with Africans," "they exploit Zambians and enrich their countries," and that the Indians are "too conscious of their ethnic and racial difference from Zambian Africans," "are distancing themselves from the black Tanzanians," "most of them like to isolate themselves" from native Africans and "do not socialize with African families in socio-economic activities," "are not helpful in terms of their workers, they pay them little," "generally mistreat their workers" (see also, e.g., Heilman 1998; Khaltourina and Korotayev 2008). "The stories about bad attitude of Indian employers to African workers are true," an Indian businesswoman avowed, and continued: "I would not try to say an Indian wouldn't do it ... I will only make you remember one thing: they came to a place which was not theirs. Why don't the Tanzanians stand firmer for their own place?" At the

same time another Indian respondent's words reflect the opposite side of the coin: "My home is Tanzania and I have accepted this [country] as my home. But I'm not very much accepted by other people and I have a lot of problems. Even when I'm driving the car sometimes somebody says: 'Oh, you, Muhindi [Indian. – the authors], what are you doing here?' though I have not done anything wrong to him. They just scream: 'You, Asians! You, Indians!'" It is not surprising that populist politicians, both Tanzanian and Zambian, eagerly play the card of migrants' "dishonesty" (Patel 2007: 16; several of our non-African interlocutors also recalled such incidents, while some of them argued that in reality patriotic feelings were very strong in their communities). One can suppose that poorer Africans can be of worth opinion about their European and South Asian compatriots. Is it really so?¹⁰

Table 47: How Can You Characterize Your Financial Situation? What Is Your Attitude to Tanzanian Europeans? (Tanzanian Students)

Financial situation	Attitude			Total
	Very bad or bad	Indifferent	Good or very good	
Bad	0 (0%)	5 (16.1%)	26 (83.8%)	31 (100%)
So-so	4 (6.4%)	14 (22.2%)	45 (71.4%)	63 (100%)
Good or very good	2 (3.9%)	8 (15.7%)	41 (80.4%)	51 (100%)

Table 48: How Can You Characterize Your Financial Situation? What Is Your Attitude to Tanzanian Indians? (Tanzanian Students)

Financial situation	Attitude			Total
	Very bad or bad	Indifferent	Good or very good	
Bad	3 (10%)	8 (26.7%)	19 (63.3%)	30 (100%)
So-so	11 (18%)	19 (31.1%)	31 (50.8%)	61 (100%)
Good or very good	5 (10.6%)	12 (25.5%)	30 (63.8%)	47 (100%)

Table 49: How Can You Characterize Your Financial Situation? What Is Your Attitude to Zambian Europeans? (Zambian Students)

Financial situation	Attitude			Total
	Very bad or bad	Indifferent	Good or very good	
Bad	0 (0%)	4 (30.8%)	9 (69.2%)	13 (100%)
So-so	0 (0)	3 (4.1%)	71 (95.9%)	74 (100%)
Good or very good	1 (2.1%)	2 (4.2%)	45 (93.8%)	48 (100%)

¹⁰ Note that what matters at this point is not the "objective" but the "subjective" financial situation of a person, in other words, it is not the question how much he or she earns. If the person is happy with this amount – actually, this is what we asked about (Appendix 1, question 11).

Table 50: How Can You Characterize Your Financial Situation? What Is Your Attitude to Zambian Indians? (Zambian Students)

Financial situation	Attitude			Total
	Very bad or bad	Indifferent	Good or very good	
Bad	2 (13.4%)	3 (20%)	10 (66.6%)	15 (100%)
So-so	2 (2.7)	13 (17.6%)	59 (79.7%)	74 (100%)
Good or very good	1 (2.1%)	4 (8.5%)	42 (89.4%)	47 (100%)

Tables 47 and 48 give us reasons to argue that no regularities can be traced in the Tanzanian aggregate. As for Zambian (Tables 49, 50), it does look like as if people who feel in need are relatively less tolerant than those who do not estimate their own financial situation as bad; but the number of valid cases is too small and the spacing of opinions among them is too wide for this to be argued categorically.

Conclusion

So, we have tested and discussed a number of different factors that, as it was supposed initially, could be capable of shaping the attitude of the African by origin Tanzanian and Zambian university students towards the European and South Asian diaspora people in their respective countries. Not all the factors which have been considered turned out to be significant; it relates to such factors as being Christian or Muslim, coming from a larger or smaller ethnic group and settlement, and perhaps financial position. The role of secularization is important though contradictory. Significant unidirectional factors that promote greater tolerance are the less negative estimation of the role of colonialism and lower degree of concentration on the values of traditional culture; both of these factors contribute to the Zambian students' higher degree of tolerance compared to that of their Tanzanian peers. However, of greatest importance in Tanzania is the existence of the traditional Swahili culture and language at almost absence of strong centralized polities since precolonial time as the background for the autochthonous peoples' national integration and absence of such a background till colonial time in Zambia.

These are the historically interrelated reasons for which Afro-Tanzanians can feel unity within their community more acutely and, hence, exclude their non-African by origin co-citizens more often and rigidly than Afro-Zambians in the process of nation building. The different sociocultural backgrounds, multiplied by differences in the historical memory of the precolonial and colonial past, thus underpin to some extent different (at the statistical level)

attitudes of the students towards the colonial-born non-African minorities, though these minorities' position in contemporary Tanzanian and Zambian societies is quite the same, remaining very specific and in some sense ambivalent.

Appendixes

The Appendixes include, as examples, the "Questionnaire Form" and "General Plan of an Interview" used in Zambia. Those used in Tanzania did not differ from them, except natural changes of names of the countries, ethnic groups, and so forth. Besides, as it was noted above, in Tanzania the questionnaire was available not only in English but also in the Swahili language.

Appendix 1 Questionnaire Form

1. Sex: ☐ Male ☐ Female
2. Ethnic origin (e.g.: "Bemba"; if mixed, please specify, e.g.: "Bemba and Lozi")
3. Have you any relatives among people of other ethnic origins? ☐ Yes ☐ No
If yes, please specify: who and of what origin (e.g.: "wife, Bemba and Lozi"; "cousin, Bemba")
4. Denomination (e.g.: "Catholic", "Anglican")
5. Place of birth ☐ village ☐ small town
☐ large town (city) ☐ Lusaka ☐ outside Zambia
6. How often do you communicate with your relatives living outside your home settlement?
☐ at least once a month ☐ several times a year
☐ not more often than once a year
☐ I do not have relatives outside my home settlement
7. What is your mother tongue?
8. What other languages can you speak?
9. What is your future profession?
10. Do you think that your ethnic origin may influence your career?
☐ Yes, positively ☐ Yes, negatively
☐ Yes, either positively or negatively ☐ No
11. How can you characterize your financial situation?
☐ Very good ☐ Good ☐ So-so ☐ Bad
12. Marital status ☐ Single ☐ Married
☐ Divorced ☐ Widow(er)
13. Do you admit that a woman may have the right to disobey her husband?
☐ Yes ☐ Yes, but only in some specific situations
☐ No, never
14. How many children do you consider optimal for a family?
15. How would you react if your child marries:
an African Zambian? ☐ Positively
☐ Negatively ☐ Depends on concrete person
a Zambian European? ☐ Positively
☐ Negatively ☐ Depends on concrete person
a Zambian Indian? ☐ Positively
☐ Negatively ☐ Depends on concrete person
16. Do you have friends among:
African Zambians? ☐ Yes, many ☐ Yes, a few
☐ No
Zambian Europeans? ☐ Yes, many ☐ Yes, a few
☐ No
Zambian Indians? ☐ Yes, many ☐ Yes, a few
☐ No
17. Whom do you communicate most often in your neighborhood with?
☐ People of my ethnic group
☐ People of other ethnic groups
☐ People of my and other ethnic groups on more or less equal terms
☐ People of my religion irrespective of their ethnic group
18. Which of the statements is closer to your opinion?
☐ There is no single integrated Zambian culture; there are cultures of many different ethnic groups
☐ There is no single integrated Zambian culture; the cultures of originally Zambian peoples form one culture, while the immigrants' cultures are separate
☐ There is a single integrated Zambian culture that unites cultures of all the peoples living in Zambia
19. Do you think that:
Zambian Europeans are well integrated into Zambian society? ☐ Yes ☐ So-so ☐ No
Zambian Indians are well integrated into Zambian society? ☐ Yes ☐ So-so ☐ No
Recent immigrants from other African states are well integrated into Zambian society? ☐ Yes ☐ So-so
☐ No
20. What is your attitude to the culture of:
African Zambians? ☐ Very good ☐ Good
☐ Indifferent ☐ Bad ☐ Very bad
Zambian Europeans? ☐ Very good ☐ Good
☐ Indifferent ☐ Bad ☐ Very bad
Zambian Indians? ☐ Very good ☐ Good
☐ Indifferent ☐ Bad ☐ Very bad
21. Do you know traditional songs and fairy tales of your people?
☐ Yes, many ☐ Yes, but not many
☐ Yes, but very few ☐ No
22. Do you think that it is necessary to make offerings to the deceased ancestors' spirits, at least on important occasions? ☐ Yes ☐ No
Are such rituals performed in your family?
☐ Yes ☐ No
23. Whom would you consult in the case of disease?
☐ A professional doctor and, if he or she does not help, a traditional doctor.
☐ A traditional doctor and if he or she does not help, a professional doctor.
☐ Only a professional doctor.
☐ Only a traditional doctor.
☐ I do not know what "a traditional doctor" is.

24. How often do you pray?
 - ☐ Never ☐ On religious holidays only
 - ☐ Not every day
 - ☐ Every day (please indicate how many times a day:)
25. In your opinion, which of the arguments below is closer to the truth?
 - ☐ Colonialism did mainly harm to the peoples of Zambia.
 - ☐ Colonialism was nothing more than a short episode in the country and her peoples' long history.
 - ☐ In the colonial time the background of the present-day unity and progress of Zambia and her people was laid.
26. What is your attitude to the Western mass culture?
 - ☐ Very good ☐ Good ☐ Indifferent ☐ Bad
 - ☐ Very bad
27. Do you think that political organizations should unite people of the same ethnic origin?
 - ☐ Yes ☐ No
28. Do you think that political organizations should unite people of the same religion?
 - ☐ Yes ☐ No
29. What, in your opinion, is the attitude of the state to your ethnic group?
 - ☐ Very good ☐ Good ☐ Indifferent ☐ Bad
 - ☐ Very bad
30. What are your sources of information?
 - ☐ Newspapers ☐ Television ☐ Internet
 - ☐ Public meetings ☐ Radio ☐ Teachers
 - ☐ Friends ☐ Other (please indicate:)
31. What is your personal attitude to:
 - African Zambians? ☐ Very Good ☐ Good ☐ Indifferent ☐ Very Bad ☐ Bad
 - Zambian Europeans? ☐ Very Good ☐ Good ☐ Indifferent ☐ Very Bad ☐ Bad
 - Zambian Indians? ☐ Very Good ☐ Good ☐ Indifferent ☐ Very Bad ☐ Bad
32. Do you think that the interethnic relations in Zambia are good today? ☐ Yes ☐ No
33. What and whom by must be done in this sphere now or in the future?

Thank You for Co-Operation!

Appendix 2

General Plan of an Interview

1. Can you describe your family? How long does it live in this city? Do you have parents, brothers and sisters, spouse, children? Do they all live with you? How often do you communicate with your close and distant relatives that live not in your home settlement?
2. How old are you?
3. Where have you studied?
4. What is your occupation?
5. What is your mother tongue? Can you speak any other languages? If yes, what languages?

6. What is your religion and denomination? Have you any relatives among people of other religions or denominations? If yes, who and of what faith?
7. What is the name of your people (ethnic group, tribe)? Have you any relatives among people of other ethnic origins? If yes, who and of what origin?
8. How do you feel in the first, second, and third place: "Zambian", "Zambian African (Indian, European)", "Bemba (Gujarati, etc.)"?
9. What are the features that distinguish your people from other peoples of Zambia?
10. How do you see the role of your ethnic group in the life of Zambia in the past, now, and in the future?
11. Do you know ethnic origins of your friends, neighbors, and colleagues? People of what origins do you communicate most often with? In what situations?
12. How can you describe African Zambians?
13. What do people usually say about them?
14. How can you describe Zambian Europeans?
15. What do people usually say about them?
16. How can you describe Zambian Indians?
17. What do people usually say about them?
18. Are there peoples in Zambia whose relations were in the past or present typically friendly or hostile?
19. How do you see the interethnic relations in Zambia in the past, now, and in the future?
20. What have the state, public organizations, etc. been doing and what (else) should be done for the intercultural relations harmonization?
21. What have the state, public organizations, etc. been doing and what (else) should be done for the younger generations' rising culturally tolerant?
22. Do you think there is the "Zambian nation"? Why? If yes, when has it formed? What are the distinctive characteristics of Zambian identity and culture? If no, are there prospects for its formation? Is it desirable?

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