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MUSIC AND HIV/AIDS: THE PERFORMANCE OF GENDER, IDENTITY,

AND POWER IN TANZANIA

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MUSIC AND HIV/AIDS: THE PERFORMANCE OF GENDER, IDENTITY, AND POWER IN TANZANIA

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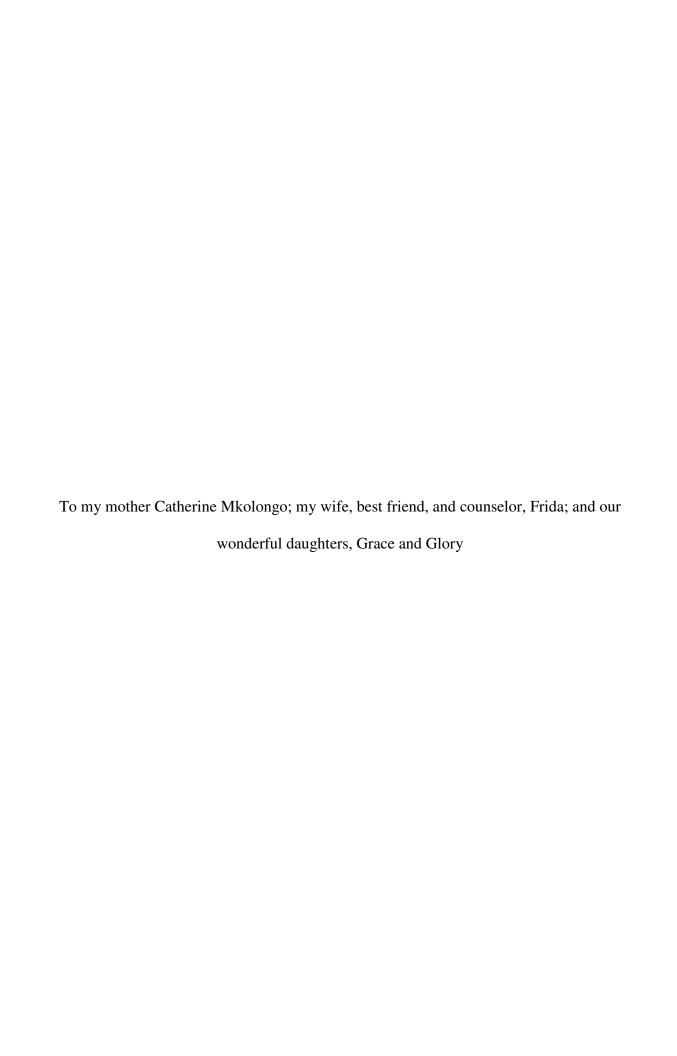The University of Texas at Austin

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To my mother Catherine Mkolongo; my wife, best friend, and counselor, Frida; and our wonderful daughters, Grace and Glory

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MUSIC AND HIV/AIDS: THE PERFORMANCE OF GENDER, IDENTITY, AND POWER IN TANZANIA

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2010

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This dissertation investigates the intersection between music, gender, religion, and state agencies in the war against HIV /AIDS in Tanzania. The dissertation explores how music, gender and sexuality, religion, and state agencies impact one another in the creative process of musical and dramatic performances that address the education and prevention of HIV/AIDS. The ethnographic data, which focuses on musical and dramatic performance groups in Bukoba Urban and Rural Districts in Kagera Region, and Dar es Salaam Region, was collected from September 2008–May 2009. The dissertation views performance from multiple perspectives: as an avenue for the production of diverse types of knowledge such as musical, biomedical, religious, and localized or indigenous knowledge about healing in the context of HIV/AIDS; as a space in which gender and religious ideologies and identities are displayed and contested; and finally, as the space in which the manifestations of negotiations of power relations take place. The dissertation shows that health is at the center of music and dramatic performances as they are concerned with the maintenance of individual and community health. By doing so, performances serve as the hub of the social agency in preventing ill health and in

restoring the well-being of the individual and communities at large. With regard to music, gender, and sexuality, the dissertation demonstrates that music performance is not only considered an avenue that provides one of the best contexts for observing and understanding the gender structure of any society. Performance is also a space for public discourse on sexuality in the context of HIV/AIDS. The state and religious ideology affect the creative process by either attempting to control meanings or by preventing certain performance. However, such attempts are not always successful. Finally, the dissertation demonstrates that performance is more than space for message-oriented or crowd-attracting activity but serves as a site upon which readings of the social transformation of gender roles through performance can take place.

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Chapter One: Introduction

This dissertation investigates the intersection between music, gender, religion, and state agencies in the war against HIV and AIDS in Tanzania. The specific ethnographic focus is on musical and dramatic performance groups in Bukoba Urban and Rural districts in Kagera Region and Dar es Salaam Region. The dissertation explores how music, gender and sexuality, religion and state agencies impact one another in the creative process of musical and dramatic performances that address the education and prevention of HIV/AIDS. The study attempts to provide answers to a number of questions on five major issues. First, how are socially constructed gender ideologies and gender relations reflected and upheld, redefined, negotiated, and contested in musical and dramatic performances on HIV/AIDS? Second, in what ways are multiple identities– gendered, ethnic, and religious–and sexuality constructed and performed in the creative processes? Third, what type of relationships are forged between music, state agencies, religion (especially the Christian Church) and non-profit organizations in addressing HIV/AIDS, and how do these relationships enhance or impede the creative processes? Finally, what meanings are elicited by or attributed to musical and dramatic performances that address HIV/AIDS?

To address these questions, this study focuses on a number of performance forms and genres, which were found to be linked to HIV and AIDS. These include secular popular music genres (dance music or *muziki wa dansi*, and *bongo flava*), Christian musical genres (Christian popular music and *uimbaji wa kwaya kuu*), indigenous music

and dance, and music-and-dance-drama[1] (also referred to as musical theatre). These nuanced performance genres serve as spaces in which power relations and gendered ideals are enacted, negotiated, interrogated, upheld, and deconstructed in order to comprehend the changing socio-cultural, economic, and political environment of performers and society at large.

Why Music, Gender, Identity, Performance of Power, and AIDS?

My interest in the study of music, gender, and HIV/AIDS stems from my participation as a facilitator in various programs that in one way or another addressed gender issues in relation to health, education, democracy, and HIV/AIDS. All these programs used performance arts–music, dance, and dramatic arts–as driving forces of the entire process. My participation in such programs opened my eyes to the extent that gender inequalities are entrenched in society and how bureaucratic tendencies in government machineries have played a pivotal role in the underdevelopment of the poor and the spread of HIV/AIDS infections, especially among women and young people.

In 1989, I participated in an artistic tour as a performer in all of the districts of Mtwara Region to "dance and sing" AIDS.[2] However, the rate of prevalence of HIV/AIDS continued to rise and claim more lives. In the years 2000 and 2004, in the districts of Masasi (Mtwara Region) and Temeke (Dar es Salaam Region), respectively, I worked as a facilitator with out-of-school youth in a program called Youth to Youth

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[1] For definitions of these genres see the section titled "Definition of Terms"
[2] WHO, the National Arts Council of Tanzania, and the National Aids Control Programme funded the program.

Communication on HIV/AIDS Education.[3] Both boys and girls decided to dance, sing, and dramatize what they perceived to be the causes of HIV/AIDS, and how it affected them. In this program issues of gender inequality, poverty, traditions, and sexuality continued to forge strong bonds among these youth.

From 1996 to 2005, I worked as an administrator and facilitator of a program called Education for Democracy for Secondary School or *Tuseme*[4] (Let's Speak Out), which focused on the empowerment of secondary school girls to enable them to achieve socially and academically. Again, gender-related issues, including poverty, sexual harassment, and others were pointed out as issues that not only led to girls' poor academic development due to pregnancy and resulting school drop-outs, but also as central factors leading to HIV/AIDS infection. Here too, the students decided to "dance and sing out" their gender-related diseases, including HIV/AIDS.

Considering my previous work experience with young people and women on gender and HIV/AIDS through the use of various forms of performance arts–indigenous music and dance, rap music, story-telling, and drama–I thought it would be enriching to examine the issues through ethnomusicological inquiry.

Significance of the Study

The term "performance" has spurred a plethora of contested definitions and meanings across academic disciplines. In view of this, numerous schools of thought do exist with regard to diverse perspectives on performance. However, two major theoretical

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[3] UNICEF funded this project and the Tanzania Theatre Centre operated as its implementing agency.
[4] For details about this program see the section on artistic responses to AIDS in Tanzania in this chapter.

paradigms in the analysis of performance can be identified. They are text-centered and performance-oriented approaches. The text-centered paradigm places a high premium on the primacy of language, and thus considers performance as a means of communication. It specifically defines it as "a mode of spoken verbal communication [that] consists in the assumption of responsibility to an audience for a display of communicative competence" (Bauman 1997: 11 in Askew 2002: 19). This view of performance ignores the performative aspects of it, especially nonverbal performance. This paradigm finds its home in such disciplines as language and communication, sociolinguistics, and folklore.

In contrast, the performance-oriented paradigm views performance as a medium for comprehending social life as a performed drama. It considers performance not only as being in dialogic engagement with the social life, but also serves as an avenue for the enactment, mediation, and resolution of social conflicts. This perspective is more prevalent in theater studies, and is shared by such scholars as Erving Goffman (1974), Turner (1974, 1986), and Schechner (1985 and 1988). It is from this angle that Richard Schechner (1986: 36), following the lead of Victor Turner, but with slight modifications, views performance as a "twice-behaved behavior." By "twice-behaved behavior" Schechner implies that "Performance means never for the first time. It means: for the second to the *n*th time."

Performance as a political act, both as an avenue for the negotiation of power relations and as a means of empowerment, is another interesting part of this paradigm. Randy Martin's *Performance as Political Act: The Embodied Self* is an intriguing reading with regard to this view. He dovetails his notion of performance with the body in a performance setting. He situates the body as a significant political tool to resistance

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against the exploitation of the mind as the axis of advanced capitalism. Martin's view on performance is, therefore, twofold: first as a way of understanding and changing society, and second, as a metaphor for social action. Thus he finds the body, as it is unveiled through performance, as a "source of political activity," an agent of social change (Martin 1990: 2). In a similar manner, Kelly Askew (2002: 19) considers the use of Theater for Development (TFD) in creating critical consciousness and raising awareness in Tanzania as another form of the political aspect of performance. Based on Penina Mlama's *Culture and Development* (1991) and following the lead of Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Askew argues that when people are empowered through active participation in the performance process, they become capable of taking action to solve pertinent development problems. It should be noted that this political-act model or development-oriented performance, which facilitates a dialogic relationship between performers and society, is key to the musical performance of the core group of my research on HIV/AIDS as discussed in the subsequent chapters of this study. Furthermore, by dialogic relationship I imply that participants in their diverse capacities are involved in performance by not only watching or performing, but also by asking questions about pertinent issues while others respond with information, regardless of whether or not an agreement is reached.

Another important aspect of the performance-oriented paradigm is the way it emphasizes performance more as an ongoing social process than as a finished product. This perspective of the processual nature of performance examined by scholars such as Victor Turner (1982), Schechner (1985, 1988), and later, Johannes Fabian (1990) is also shared by various ethnomusicologists such as Anthony Seeger (2004[1987]), Erlmann

(1991, 1996), Thomas Turino (1993), Michelle Kisliuk (1996), Jane Sugarman (1997), Beverly Diamond and Pirkko Moisala (2000), Kelly Askew (2002), and Gregory Barz (2003). Other areas of shared agreement among the performance-oriented scholars include: performance as an interactive space in which the involvement of all participants present is encouraged, and performance as a fluid and contingent event. They also agree that non-performance (musical or theatrical) elements are integral parts of performance, and that they affect the performance relationship of content and context (see Behague 1984: 7).

In spite of shared agreement with the above, such as the performance-as-social-drama paradigm in terms of the various issues I have pointed out, I consider the ethnomusicological approach to performance as another emergent paradigm. This is because ethnomusicology stresses the relationship between musical performance–rather than social drama–and the social, cultural, economic, and political fabrics of society. To put it another way, musical performance cannot be separated from other aspects of social organization of which it is a part. Under the influence of anthropology, many ethnomusicologists have adopted Clifford Geertz's (1973) concepts of culture as a web of socially shared meanings, and social action as a text that could be interpretatively read by ethnographers. As such, ethnomusicologists have in divergent ways considered musical performance as an expressive activity that communicates a web of social meanings in relation to its surrounding context. Furthermore, musical performance serves as an avenue in which ideologies, philosophies, and values are both reflected upon and questioned. In much the same way as "society and culture are produced and reproduced through human intention and action" (Ortner 1984 in Drewal 1991: 2), musical

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performance has the capacity to not only reflect society and culture, but also actively

reconstruct it. Following this trend, ethnomusicological studies have taken different

directions to illustrate the above. Some studies have focused on music and gender (for

example, Sugarman 1997; Koskoff 1987; Cowan 1990) others have been concerned with

power relations at interpersonal, class, and national levels (for example, Waterman 1990;

Buchannan 1995; Erlmann 1996; Moore 1997; Turino 2000; Askew 2002); and still

others have centered on music and healing (Roseman 1989; Janzen 1992; Friedson 1996;

Barz 2006), and a host of other areas of interest.

As discussed in the subsequent chapters, my study views performance from

multiple perspectives. First, I view performance as an avenue for the production of

multifaceted knowledge (musical, biomedical, religious and localized or indigenous and

knowledge) about healing in the context of HIV/AIDS. This perspective is congruent in

part with Johannes Fabian who considers performance both as means through which

people realize their culture and as a method by which an ethnographer produces

knowledge (1990: 18). I also stress that the production of knowledge is a collective

undertaking since the process does not result in knowledge produced by the ethnographer

alone through turning experience into writing (Fabian 1990: 19); rather it is produced by

various participants in their respective capacities. Second, I view performance as a space

in which gender ideology and identities are both displayed and contested. And finally, I

consider performance as the space in which the manifestations of negotiations of power

relations take place. My view of performance as described above accentuates Margaret

Drewal's definition of performance as "a primary site for the production of knowledge,

where philosophy is enacted, and where multiple and often simultaneous discourses are

employed" (1991: 1). In addition, I follow the view of other scholars who contend that performance is a processual entity comprising multiple levels of actions in the production process. These levels may include not only training rehearsal, performances, and dialogic sharing between performers and audience, but also training workshops on biomedical knowledge, funding procedures, networking skills between actors, negotiations of power, and reflections upon the entire process both by performers and others "actors" involved.

This ethnography of musical performances on HIV/AIDS, which focuses on the intersection of music, gender, identity, sexuality, and hegemony, is the first of its kind to be conducted in Tanzania. While there are a handful of studies on HIV/AIDS in Tanzania, none of them address the subject matter with the same scope as does this study. The single most important study that is closely related to this dissertation is Aldin Mutembei's *Poetry and Aids in Tanzania: Changing Metaphors and Metonymies in Haya Oral Traditions* (2001). This work investigates the role of poetry in Haya society and the reactions of people towards HIV/AIDS. While Mutembei's study touches upon the representation of gender in poetry that deals with HIV/AIDS, it does not address the manifestations and contestation of gendered identities and inter-gender relations within the context of the creative process of musical performances. However, a unique and interesting aspect of this study is the analysis of the performance of masculinity as reflected not only by male, but also female dancers, during performances of AIDS. Such analysis departs from a stereotype of the performance of masculinity as the domain of males to embrace the view that for an identity to be confirmed, then it has to be performed (Erickson 1959: 80; Herzfeld 1989; Schmidt 1999).

This study, therefore, makes a valuable contribution to the discourse on music, gender, and identities in Tanzania within the context of the war against the HIV/AIDS

pandemic, while at the same time addressing the complex relations between various actors involved in this war–the state, religion, and various organizations dealing with HIV/AIDS–and how such relationships impact one another and the entire process of fighting the scourge. Furthermore, this study provides a specific contribution to the use of music as "a medical intervention" against HIV/AIDS (see Barz 2006) in East Africa, with a focus on the Tanzanian experience. This dissertation follows the lead of Gregory Barz's pioneering and groundbreaking study, *Singing for Life: HIV/AIDS and Music in Uganda* (Barz 2006), which serves as a cornerstone in the use of music, dance, and drama as principal tools in combating the pandemic.

With regard to the discourse on music and gender in Tanzania, this study contributes to works such as those by Imani Sanga on church music (2001 and 2007), Barz on music and gender in Tanzanian culture (2004 [1994]), Susan Geiger (1987), and Tadasu Tsuruta (2008) on female dance associations and political participation. In both of his studies, Sanga explores the construction of gender roles in the context of a religious choir. He specifically interrogates the existence of the patriarchal gender ideology in the choir, which culminates in the marginalization of women's participation in taking up active roles in the music-making process. Barz's study *Voices and Bodies of Difference: Music and Gender in Tanzanian Expressive Cultures* considers music in Tanzanian culture as a primary site for the individual and communal negotiation of gender. Focusing on *taarab*, *ngoma*, and *kwaya* traditions in Tanzania, the study explores various ways by which gender expressions and relationships can be ascertained. In *taarab* for example, the discourse of gender relationships is done through textual and performance-oriented approaches, while in *ngoma* it is done by looking at change and adaptation of gender-

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based and mixed-gender performances as well as gender interrelations. In *kwaya* traditions, Barz occupies himself more with posing questions rather than providing answers as to how musical sound, among other factors, can determine one's gender.

On another level, Geiger (1987) and Tsuruta (2008) explore the social history of female dance associations in Dar es Salaam with respect to their role in the advancement of nationalist struggle in colonial Tanzania, and the preservation and creation of musical culture, respectively. Geiger argues that in spite of the significant role women and female dance societies have played in advancing the nationalist struggle in colonial Dar es Salaam, such an account is either muted or lightly addressed in scholarly work on African nationalist movements. Geiger attributes such neglect of women's active participation in these struggles to gender bias. Tsuruta, on the other hand, considers urban migration a key agent in the diffusion, development, and preservation of female *ngoma* culture in urban Tanzania. She focuses on these particular townspeople as active agents in the development of and spread of urban *ngoma*.

Regarding the subject of the relationship between music and the state in Tanzania, this dissertation can be seen as being in dialogue with Elias Songoyi's work (1990) on the artist and the state, and Askew's book (2005) on the role of the state in shaping culture. Songoyi's study examines the relationship between the artist and the state in Tanzania, focusing on traditional music singers Kalikali and Mwinamila as case studies. This study identifies the factors influencing the state's reaction to the artist and it examines the effect of this reaction on the artist's work. The study concludes that the state's reaction to the artist is not determined by the form and content of the artist's work alone; rather, other factors such as time, place, audience, and personal relationships are just as important.

Askew explores the use of music, dance, and other cultural productions as a ways of imagining and legitimizing the new nation. Among other themes explored, the study examines the intersection of political ideology, musical practice, and economic transformation. Askew's study demonstrates that musical performances have over the years played central roles in official articulations of Tanzanian national culture.

In addtion, this work contributes to the study of identity and power relations within Tanzania and outside of it as reflected in such works as Waterman (1990), Fabian (1990), Erlmann (1991), Turino (1993, 2000), and Buchanan (1995).

Finally, this work serves as another ethnomusicological study that contributes to the series of ethnographies conducted in the society from which the researcher originates. The "outsider" kind of research contrasts itself from the one in which researchers attempt to come to grips with the cultural worlds of their own. Such researchers are considered outsiders, whereas those who study their own communities are variously referred to as "native," "indigenous," or "insider" researchers. The insiders are considered to write about their own cultures from a privileged position (Aguilar 1981; Messerschmitt 1981; Narayan 1993: 671; Diane 1996: 15-19). However, far from considering myself a pure "insider" or a native researcher, I see myself as an "outsider," and I position myself in multiple subjectivities displaying shifting and crosscutting identifications (Ortner 1989; Narayan 1993) as discussed further below.

Researcher, Field Associates, and the Dilemma of Positionality

Here, I would like to describe my own fieldwork experience reflecting upon that of other ethnographers, "outsiders" and "insiders" alike. Ethnographic accounts are replete

with narratives about frustration, acceptance and rejection, trust and suspicion, and uncertainty and sureness, as ethnographers attempt to introduce themselves to the people they wish to work with (for example, Hood 1971: Nettl 1983 and 2005; Berliner 1993; Wolf 1996: Babirack 1997; Kisliuk 1997: Ntarangwi 2003) These are the manifestations of intricate power relations between researchers and their research associates during the fieldwork process. To equalize their relationship with the people studied, researchers have had to adopt various strategies, including, at times, engaging in what Diane Wolf refers to as the sin of "deception." That is, for example, lying about marital status, national identity or ethnicity, religious background, or class background (Wolf 1996: 13). On another level, some researchers are reported to have been pressured to get married in the field (Wolf 1996: 5), while others have voluntarily entered into intimate relationships either on a short-term basis or in a state of matrimony (Babiracki 1997; Wolf 1996; Kisliuk 1997 and 2000).

I intend to relate my own fieldwork experience with those of ethnographers categorized as researchers studying their own cultures. Here are two examples: Ntarangwi (2003) and Tamusuza (2005) hailing from Kenya and Uganda, respectively. Thanks to recent changes in the ethnographic theoretical framework that culminated in a shift from objective research to reflexivity (Seeger 2004 [1974]; Messerschmidt 1982; Marcus and Fischer 1986; Bruner 1993; Cooley 1997:16-17), from the representation of the muted voices of the people understudy to multi-vocality and co-writing (Erlmann 1996; Barz 2003) and from emphasis on field work outside one's community to the ethnographer's own community–"native ethnography" (see Messerschmidt 1982; Mascarenhas-Keyes

1987; Narayan 1993; Wade 2006: 195; see also Ntarangwi 2003 and Tamusuza 2005 for examples of African experience of native ethnography).

While the emergence and development of a native ethnography represents a significant achievement, it has both positive and negative effects. On the one hand, it privileges the ethnographers' position by providing them with access to emotional and other intimate perspectives of the local culture (Ohnuki-Tierney 1984 in Ntarangwi 2003: 3), while on the other hand, the same positioning may decimate ethnographers' ability to convert their observations into socio-scientific knowledge of the constitution of a culture (Mascarenhas-Keyes 1987). It is their ability to overcome such drawbacks by bridging the processes of "knowing" with that of "understanding" culture that native ethnographers are able to present richer accounts of their own cultures (Ntarangwi 2003: 17).

My social-cultural upbringing places my research into a porous boundary that neither affiliates with nor completely rejects association with either "native" or non-native ethnographies. I was born Ngoni and Nyanja and grew up in a multi-ethnic Mtwara urban area where I got both my basic and secondary education, and therefore, socialized in many ways with Makonde, Makua, Yao, Swahili, and people from other ethnic groups from distant regions. My tertiary education took me to the Coastal and Dar es Salaam Regions where I studied at a college and university, respectively. I finally settled in Dar es Salaam, the land of the Zaramo and Ndengereko, as my home and work place, hence abandoning Mtwara as a migrant home and work place. My experiences with Bukoba consist of a few years of short visits prior to attending the University of Texas at Austin. My current university training in ethnomusicology in a state university,

too, has a profound bearing on my worldview in general and the fieldwork in particular. With such a panoramic worldview I find myself a child of many socio-cultural forces. It is this multifaceted aspect of my "me," that places me in such an ambiguous position as an "insider," and yet an "outsider."

Examples of both my native and my alien status were largely and variously reflected in my fieldwork, from locale to locale, person to person, and event to event. With the Chang'ombe Youth Theatre (CYT), I was regarded as both a teacher (*mwalimu*) and a researcher. This is because my previous teaching and administrative positions at the University of Dar es Salaam accorded me the status of a teacher. In addition, I worked as an administrator and trainer of two arts and education-related projects previously mentioned (*Tuseme* and CTP) that dealt with young people in primary and secondary schools. It appeared, by coincidence, that the coordinator of this NGO had participated in some of the training offered by the two projects on how to work with young people in schools using music and drama in education. This posed some problems because I had to struggle to dismantle the shifting positionalities surrounding my status and the wall that stood between me and the people around me even as I tried to appear one of them. My host, too, faced his own set of struggles: not to appear condescending to me while at the same time trying to maintain his position as my host and administrator responsible for ensuring that things moved in the right direction. His internal struggles about his positionality versus mine became more evident on one particular day of workshop training organized by the group's major funding organization. I was the first to arrive at the workshop venue. Much later, other people began to arrive and all joined me. As we waited for the coordinator to arrive and brief us about the day's proceedings, I took the

opportunity to ask some informal questions about a number of issues related to the production as well as my own project. Unfortunately, none of us noticed him coming into the hall until he was close to where we were seated sharing our views. In a serious voice he muttered, "I thought you guys would have taken this opportunity to rehearse the production. Instead, you are seated here 'telling stories, irrelevant stories' (*huku mnapiga stori, na stori zenyewe siyo za maana*). He continued on until I felt myself positioning myself below the other participants because I was the instigator of the story that engaged the rest of the people in attendance, only to be discredited by the coordinator. My position moved from a trusted teacher to that of a rude student.

In Bukoba too, my positionality was ambiguous. Some people referred to me as a guest from America (*mgeni from Marekani*)] while others preferred to introduce me as a student from America doing his research in Bukoba but also a *mwalimu* from the University of Dar es Salaam. My associations with an American university caused some problems: some artists requested that I personally support them financially, assist them in finding a reliable funding donor, or find ways to promote their artistic activities within and outside of Tanzania. Furthermore, although Kiswahili is spoken widely and fluently in Bukoba and the entire region of Kagera, this did not offset the reality that I was not a Mhaya[5] but an "outsider," a fellow Tanzanian from another part of the country that was attempting to understand their culture.

In the same vein, my gender and married status added another dimension of complexity to my positionality. Gender was not a significant factor in my interactions

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[5] "Mhaya" is singular referring to a person belonging to the Haya ethnic group. "Wahaya" is plural.

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with the people in the field both in Dar es Salaam and Bukoba; in general, neither erected gender barriers to accessing information, probably because the subject matter is popular and often researched. However, I have had to postpone several trips to the rural areas due to what I believe were gender issues. This was the case when a female performer from one artistic group in Bukoba assigned to accompany me to a village to interview an elderly woman who also appeared to be her own mother, repeatedly failed to show up. For days this trip could not happen. She was then replaced by a young male performer from the same group who also appeared to be a close relative of both the elderly woman and her daughter the performer. When I told him about the aborted trips with the performer, the man gave two reasons: first, she was afraid of me because she did not know me very well; second, I was a man. In contrast, while my strangeness and gender appeared to be obstacles, at least on this occasion with the young lady, this was not the case when I talked to the old woman in the village. With her, my married status gave me leverage. "Are you married?" (*Wewe umeoa*?), the old woman asked me. "Yes, I am married" (*Ndiyo nimeoa*), I responded. "Okay, if you are married then that is good because it is improper for certain things to be told to an unmarried man (*Kama umeoa basi ni vizuri, tunaweza kuongea vizuri kwa sababu mambo mengine hayapaswi kusikia mtu ambaye hajaoa*), she said. That settled it and our conversation proceeded.

The above account problematizes the many dilemmas that ethnographers encounter during their fieldwork regardless of whether the agenda of the research is gender- or feminist-based (Sugarman 1987; Wolf 1997; Babiracki 1997) or not (Cooley 1997; Kisliuk 1997; Beaudry 1997). It is an inevitable crisis of positionalities of the researchers and the researched (Wolf 1996; Babiracki 1997) that I as a researcher was

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compelled to face creatively for the benefit of myself and for that of the people with whom I worked. My experiences have a lot in common with those of other ethnographers: rejection, disappointments, suspicion,[6] and acceptance. They predicament even sometimes served as a gateway to new revelations. As Beaudry (1997: 64) and other scholars opine, "entering a different cultural setting not only informs us about the "Other" but also in very significant ways enlightens us about ourselves." Through such encounters researchers find themselves in an ever-changing, convoluted process of redefining, negotiating and renegotiating their research techniques, methods, and positions in an effort to "reflect both [their personal] and [their] informant's humanity" (Beaudry 1997: 64). After all, fieldwork is about "thinking about relationships" (Titon 1997: 88). In view of this, my dissertation contributes to such ethnomusicological ethnographic narratives in general, and in particular, to those that concern researchers' own societies.

The World and Tanzania: HIV/AIDS Status and the Causes of Transmission

HIV/AIDS is a pandemic claiming the lives of millions of people worldwide. At the end of 2006, the Global summary of the AIDS epidemic estimated that 39.5 million people were living with HIV, among whom 17 million were women (UNAIDS 2006). In Tanzania, it was estimated that about 2 million persons were living with HIV/AIDS,

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[6] At some points, I was considered one of those people that rely on infringing upon other people's work for their own benefit. This was the case in many instances, but one incident suffices to support my contention. The place was in the upper chamber of a Lutheran Church where competitions of choir music on AIDS were taking place. I was taking video and audio recordings with my small audio recorder, a Sony PCM 50, when two people came and stood behind me curiously inspecting my recorder. "*Kwa kweli watu wana mbinu za kuiba kazi za watu*" (Surely people have many schemes for stealing other people's work) they said, and then they left. Although I could not respond to this allegation, it helped me see the impression some people had about me.

amongst whom 80 percent were in most productive age group (20–44 years of age), while HIV prevalence among pregnant women attending prenatal clinics for the first time ranged from 4.2% – 32.1% (TACAIDS 2003).[7]

The above statistics illustrate that the pandemic is concentrated throughout the poorest parts of the world, especially Sub-Saharan Africa, and it is increasingly affecting young mothers and children.[8] This trend appears to have an immense impact on life expectancy, and it also exacerbates inequality and increases the burden on health systems. It is suggested that women's vulnerability to HIV/AIDS is attributed to a lack of knowledge and access to information, economic dependence, and subordinate positions within marital and sexual relationships (Aniekwu 2002; Barz 2006; Baylies 2000; Barnett and Whiteside 2006; Coquery-Vidrovitch 1997; UNAIDS 2006). The above factors restrict women's abilities to make sound choices about sexual practices. In view of this condition, to use Paul Farmer's argument, women are the "victims of structural violence" (Farmer 2006). By "structural violence," Farmer implies a range of systematically structured ill-treatments directed against human dignity. They include "extreme and relative poverty, social inequality ranging from racism to gender inequality," and different forms of violence that constitute human rights abuse (Farmer 2006: 8). With regard to the spread of HIV/AIDS, structural violence operates to inhibit people's, especially women's, agency–the ability to make informed and correct decisions.

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[7] This issue is also discussed also in Tanzania's *National Policy on HIV/AIDS 2001*.
[8] This is one of the major concerns of the Tanzania Government. In an important government document titled *Communication Strategy for the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty 2005* it is reported that while campaigns have succeeded in raising people awareness, this has not translated into the required behavioral changes. The document specifically stipulates that minimizing the risk of transmission requires that the poor status of young men and women be addressed and elevated by making it easier for them to access useful advice and services on how best to protect themselves against HIV and AIDS (2005: 13).

The global consensus, therefore, is that gender is a vital dimension of economic development and that any effort to bring about change will result in failure if gender is not taken into account (Swantz 1985; Harrison 1991; Ogundipe-Leslie 1994; Coquery-Vidrovitch 1997; Baylies 2000; Egbo 2000; Barnett and Whiteside 2006; UNAIDS 2006; Cloutier 2006). As seen previously, economic inequality between men and women limits the latter's options for protecting themselves and forces them into situations of heightened risk. It has been noted that in some areas hit hard by HIV/AIDS, the inflation of men's cash income compared to that of most women has been a factor because it has led to increased women's insecurity and dependence. This has further resulted in even more unequal gender relations, inevitably taking on a sexual complexion (Barnett and Whiteside 2006).

In particular, areas such as Rakai District in Uganda, Kagera in Tanzania, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, have reports of younger women coming up with a number of survival strategies in times of economic hardship, including prostitution, assuming concubine status, and entering into various types of marriages (Barnett and Whiteside 2006). In this case, marriage serves as a survival strategy. Under such circumstances, it is suggested that women gain "access to resources, often, but not uniquely through sexual relationships with men" (Barnett and Whiteside 2006: 150). Therefore, if the interventions around HIV/AIDS are to be effective, it is imperative to ensure that the socioeconomic factors that drive the epidemic (as mentioned above) are adequately addressed (Schneider and Stoller 1995; Coquery-Vidrovitch 1997; Baylies 2000; Aniekwu 2002; Barnett Whiteside 2006; UNAIDS 2006;).

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Research Setting And Methodology

This ethnographic work was carried out from September 2008 to May 2009 in and around the municipality of Bukoba Urban in Kagera Region and Dar es Salaam, the commercial center and former capital of Tanzania. The multiple locales of my ethnographic research within such a short time pose theoretical questions related to ethnographic issues. For one, ethnographic research almost mandates an extended stay of the ethnographer in one specific locale or community while working either with selected individuals, or a group of people (Merriam 1964; Nettl 1983 and 2005; Mascarenhas-Keyes 1987; Geertz 1988; Myers 1992). In ethnomusicological terms, one could speak of an ethnographer working either with earmarked individual musicians/master musicians or with a group of musicians in an extended period of time. The rationale behind this extended period of stay is to enable the ethnographers to immerse themselves in the society under study so as to observe and participate in the daily activities and interactions of that society for access to deeper knowledge (Nettle 1983 and 2005; Geertz 1988; Myers 1992; D'Alisera 1997: Seeger 2004).

Several examples of African musical ethnography may highlight this trend. Ruth Stone (1982) had an extended stay among the Kpelle of Guinea to study music as an "event" in which social relations are enacted and interpreted. Paul Berliner (1978) had to combine several extended and short stays among the Shona of Zimbabwe, digging up musical and philosophical experiences of a single musical instrument, *mbira*. Likewise, John Chernoff (1979), Charles Keil (1979), and Veit Erlmann (1991 and 1996) immersed themselves in the societies under study to examine "rhythm," "songs," and "the music of the migrant laborers," respectively. In similar manner, Michelle Kisliuk (1998) stayed among the Baka

people in Central Africa conducting ethnography of music. Barz (2003), with the Azania Front Lutheran Church Choir in Dar es Salaam to study the music traditions of the Lutheran Church in Tanzania, and Askew (2002) with Taarab music group in Tanga, present classic examples of extended-stay and single-sited ethnographic ritual in Tanzania.

My choice of multiple sites for musical ethnography of HIV/AIDS contradicted this perspective. Notwithstanding my immersion in the society under study, the nature and the timing of my study compelled me to deviate from concentrating on a single locale and a specific musical group. Instead, I split my time and attention between two locales (and sometimes a third and even a fourth locale had to be visited when necessary). I also visited a number of musical groups and events to gain as much firsthand experience and knowledge as possible.[9] My choice of Dar es Salaam and Kagera as my two research locales was based on three reasons. Firstly, both areas were some of the hardest hit by the pandemic, and therefore, an array of interventions had occurred. The first cases of AIDS in Tanzania were reported in Kagera Region in 1982 (Setel 1999: TACAIDS reports) thereby labeling the disease as the "Kagera disease" (Mutembei 2001). As a result, a number of interventions against the disease have been put in place by the government and a plethora of NGOs. As early as 1993, more than fifteen organizations dealing with HIV/AIDS-related activities were identified in Kagera Region alone (Lugalla et al. 1997: Mutembei 2001). In one way or

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[9] I traveled to Tanga Region to watch the closing ceremony of the national race of the Torch of Freedom. The theme of the war against HIV/AIDS was among the top agendas included in the race and during the closing ceremony. Selected performances–*muziki wa dansi*, choir, poetry, and indigenous dance, music, and drama–featured the theme of HIV/AIDS. I also traveled to Makete District in Iringa Region to see musical activities pertaining to HIV/AIDS although I was disappointed because at the time, most activities were at a standstill because the practitioners were on holiday waiting for another round of funds. My visit to Makete was prompted by the fact that this district was, at the time, topping all districts in the country in high HIV/AIDS prevalence rates. But while there, officials dealing with HIV/AIDS in the district told me that another neighboring district, Rungwe in Mbeya Region, had just moved to the top, thereby pushing Makete down to the second place.

another, these NGOs have been employing the arts in their activities in combating the pandemic. Given this situation, I thought that Kagera provided an enabling environment for conducting my study.

Similarly, Dar es Salaam, the commercial capital of Tanzania, is the central destination of rural-urban migration involving thousands of people each day, thus setting up the city as a risk environment for the spread of HIV/AIDS. Like Kagera, Dar es Salaam hosts a number of interventions against HIV/AIDS, conducted both by the Tanzania government and NGOs. These NGOs usually pose either as non-art sectors but draw upon the arts for their activities, or as art sectors. By doing so, they take an active role in the creative process as musical or musical-cum-theater groups.

Secondly, Kagera and Dar es Salaam are dense with both traditional and popular musical groups (Christian and secular) that are in one way or another preoccupied with musical activities that address the HIV/AIDS pandemic. I therefore envisioned that both locales created fertile avenues for sporadic music events focused on HIV/AIDS. Finally, I thought that having two locales at the same time would help offset any possibility of extend periods of unproductivity with regard to musical and dramatic activities concerned with HIV/AIDS. My uncertainties were largely caused by the fact that in Tanzania, musical activities related to HIV/AIDS are seasonal, and relatively unpredictable. When they happen, they tend to be sporadic. Bearing this in mind, I decided to look for two categories of musical groups: those groups that deal specifically with HIV/AIDS as the primary target or part of the major targets of their music on a permanent basis (one in each locale), and those which participate occasionally. The musical groups in the second category consist of those that have dealt with or continue to address HIV/AIDS occasionally through festivals

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and concerts as well as those compositions disseminated through television and radio broadcasting or records. I planned to devote more of my time to the former than the latter category because of their on-going activities related to national and regional HIV/AIDS education and prevention programs.

Two musical groups, one in each locale, from the former category were selected. It happened that both were registered non-profit organizations: one (Chang'ombe Youth Theatre, in Dar es Salaam) a secular NGO, and the other (KAKAU Band, in Bukoba town), a faith-based organization. The musical works from the latter category were selected due to their popularity in society and in relation to the profound appeal they have among certain social categories. Four musical genres were selected from this category: *Bongo Flava* (Ishi Stars–*Usione Soo Sema Naye*), *muziki wa dansi* (Remmy Ongala–*Mambo kwa Soksi*, and several songs of KAKAU Band), traditional music and dance (Lugoroile and Abaragomora), and Christian singing groups (Lutheran church competitions on HIV/AIDS and selected individual singers). Despite this selection I kept my ears and eyes open for musical events organized around HIV/AIDS that may occur without my prior knowledge. My decision to use an anthropological approach referred to as a "discourse-centered" approach (Sherzer 1987; Urban 1991) for my study did substantially pay off. This method facilitates the discovery of social meanings by focusing primarily on "spontaneously" occurring discourse in daily social interactions, in contrast to events or performances organized by the researcher. The method was particularly effective in dealing with the unpredictable events such as those related to musical performance concerning HIV/AIDS. Such an approach, I thought, would require a transformative ethnographic theoretical support.

Recent changes in ethnographic theory made it possible for me to undertake the

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fieldwork approach that I took. Particularly, I found George E. Marcus's (1998) theoretical

work to be very useful in dealing with situations such as mine as it challenges the single-site

ethnography in favor of the multi-site one. While the single-sited ethnography is very much

credited for allowing a deep and wealthy exploitation of knowledge through extended

interaction between ethnographers and the people they work with, this approach is

nevertheless discredited for being too preclusive.[10] It tends to conceive of a culture as a

single isolated entity lacking touch with its larger surrounding geosocial, economic, and

political global fabrics. As a result, the insight the ethnographer gains through this single-

site paradigm is, at times, technically myopic. Because of this, I chose not to join the

musical groups as a co-performer but as an observer, and a learner. Despite my somewhat

detached position and ambiguous positionality, the people I worked with at times inquired

of my views and requested assistance on a number of issues, including the creative process.

I discuss this issue of positionality below.

Notwithstanding its ethnographic value, the multi-site paradigm is not without

limitations. The same advantages of working in multiple sites that the paradigm offers

become the very creators of problems. This is especially valid with regard to spatial distance

between sites that are too far from one another. Oscillating between sites situated miles

apart, as in my case, may sometimes prove financially and socially costly. As pointed out

above, Dar es Salaam and Bukoba are about 1558 kilometers apart. The fastest means of

transport between the two locales is by flight, which costs approximately $400 for a round

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[10] Mwenda Ntarangwi's *Gender, Performance, & Identity: Understanding Swahili Cultural Realities through Songs* (Trenton: Africa World Press, Inc., 2003), and Laura Edmondson's *Performance and Politics in Tanzania: The Nation on Stage* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007) provide notable examples of recent African experiences of a multi-sited ethnography. They also provide similar insights on how to deal with ethnographic frustrations that lead to a choice in a multi-sited approach.

trip. Traveling by bus is perhaps the second fastest (twenty- nine hours of riding) and enjoyable means of transport. The bus fare is cheaper than taking a flight (it costs about $47) but it too is relatively expensive for many people of modest means. Besides, traveling by bus between Dar es Salaam and Bukoba poses an array of problems. Sporadic attacks to long-trip passenger vehicles by heavily armed robbers are not uncommon, especially in some remote parts of the highways near the border with Burundi and Rwanda, and even in central areas of Tanzania.[11]

Traveling by train, along the Central Line plying between the two places, which is the third and most popular means of transport, and relatively the least expensive, has for the past ten years become unreliable, and its privatization in 2007 seems to have aggravated the situation.[12] This option of transport usually takes one a total of four to five days to reach either destination. This is because the train ends in Mwanza, and passengers have to take either a ship or a bus to and from Bukoba, which is about twelve hours of travel by ship.

Given the high cost of travel between Bukoba and Dar es Salaam, my frequent travels between the two locales may have indicated my financial power over the people I worked with. Sometimes this may become a source of suspicion, and may lead to strained relations if the purchasing power is not translated into actions for public consumption. In

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[11] Many people have lost lives and property due to this phenomenon. Because of this situation, it is a government-sanctioned rule that each bus is accompanied by one or two armed escort police officers until the buses safely pass dangerous points. The police officers have to get off the bus in the next designated police check point in order to wait for other vehicles.
[12] This railway transport known as the Central Line owned by the Tanzania Railway Corporation (TRC) runs from the coast (Dar es Salaam) to the hinterland (Kigoma) to the west, and Mwanza in the north of the country. It was built when the country was under colonial rule. In the year 2007, the TRC was privatized on a concession of twenty-five years. Far from improving the transport sector for both cargo and passengers, the privatization of the TRC seems to have increased transport problems for people heavily dependent on this railroad.

addition, at times when I realized that, due to various reasons, my work in the locale was not going in the anticipated direction, moving to another locale became financially stressful. During my research many of my frustrations resulted from this experience. Heavy dependence on donors for support of HIV/AIDS activities in both locales posed a major obstacle to my research. Non-availability or late disbursement of funds culminated in artists having long holidays, thus bringing activities to a halt. It was then, therefore, that I found the use of a multi-site paradigm in ethnographic research very useful in dealing with such problems despite the setbacks I have just mentioned. It provided me with leverage to look for alternative sites, groups, and events to observe, and to document and interview those present.

Language in the Field

Except for a few situations throughout my ethnographic research, Kiswahili was the major medium of communication. This is because Kiswahili is the national language of Tanzania, and it is widely and fluently spoken by many people among more than 120 ethnic groups both in urban and rural areas. Having been born and raised in Tanzania, and being fluent in Kiswahili, communicating with the people in the field was not a problem. Therefore, all interviews and conversations were in Kiswahili. Working and interviewing through the use of Kiswahili language provided me with the leverage to best gain and comprehend people's points of view about the performances in relation to other strands of society. It should be noted, however, that unlike the interviews, which were in Kiswahili, the performances that I watched in Bukoba and those recorded on CD, VCD, VHS, and DVD tended to mix Kiswahili and the Kihaya language. As I had recorded all

the performances using a video camera and a digital audio recorder, I requested translation assistance from the performers of the respective groups.

Two musical events provide a classic example of how code-switching is enacted among the Haya. The first event took place on the World AIDS Day at Buyekera Township in Bukoba, and the second concerned the performance of Abaragomora in Buhimba village in Bukoba Rural District. In both events I saw people bursting into extended laughter, which was accompanied by body gestures (people bumping into each other, clashing of each other's hands, and so on) when singers and dramatists injected Luhaya words during the performances. When asked why they mixed up languages in their performances, most performers responded that while many people in Bukoba speak and understand Kiswahili comfortably, they, however, feel more strongly touched when words in the Luhaya language are injected here and there in the course of the performance than when Kiswahili is spoken throughout.

The Social and Physical Setting of Dar es Salaam

Dar es Salaam, the former capital of Tanzania, is the center of most major commercial transactions and administrative activities in the country. Traditionally having served as home to the Zaramo, and being minimally inhabited by Ndengereko, and Kwere, with about 3 million inhabitants, Dar es Salaam is currently a multi-ethnic metropolis due to immigration.[13] It is teaming with people from various ethnic groups from up country, and beyond Tanzania (Malawi, Kenya, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi, Rwanda, and a small section of people from West African countries).

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[13] The annual migration rate stands at 10 percent.

Other inhabitants include Indians (both Indian-Tanzanians, and immigrant and non-immigrant Indians), Chinese (chiefly as investors and entrepreneurs for Chinese-made goods), and Europeans and North Americans (working in different capacities as diplomats in embassies, missionaries, investors, staff in international organizations such as IGOs, INGOs, and NGOs).

Administratively, Dar es Salaam, which comprises a total of 1,393 square kilometers of land with eight offshore islands, is divided into three municipalities: Ilala, Kinondoni, and Temeke. Of the three municipalities Temeke is the largest, covering an area of 652 square kilometers with a coastal line of 70 kilometers, followed by Kinondoni and Ilala with 531 and 210 square kilometers, respectively. According to the 2002 National Population and Housing Census, Dar es Salaam had 2,487,288 inhabitants, of whom 1,254,853 were males and the rest females. Kinondoni had 1,083,913 inhabitants, Temeke had 768,451, and Ilala had 634,924. It was projected that by the year 2007 Dar es Salaam would have a total of 3,070,060 people. Depending on how far one is from the markers that serve as borders between the three municipalities, and also the degree of traffic during a particular time of the day, traveling or walking across the three municipalities may take shorter time.

My major ethnography in Dar es Salaam was focused on the Chang'ombe Youth Theater, which is stationed in Temeke. Some of the Chang'ombe Youth Theater performers, however, live in the other municipalities. All performances were done within the municipality. In contrast, the activities of the musical groups belonging to the second category, an ancillary but important part of my ethnography, involved musical groups from across the three municipalities. The cases in point are the Lutheran church music

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competitions on AIDS, and the AIDS and Gospel Songs Festival both of which took place in the Kinondoni municipality. The first event took place at Mbezi Louis Lutheran Church, a fairly remote area from the other municipalities, while the other was held at Landmark Hotel located in an area strategically serving as a center of the three municipalities. The Lutheran choir competition on AIDS brought together only choir groups of the Lutheran church denominations from urban Dar es Salaam. The festival on AIDS and Gospel Music, which was organized by an extended family belonging to one of the Pentecostal denominations, namely the Evangelistic Assemblies of God (EAG), invited individual recording artists of Gospel music from all denominations.

The Social and Physical Setting of Bukoba

Bukoba Urban, the second locale of my research, is one of seven districts of Kagera Region located in the northwest of Tanzania. Other districts in Kagera Region are Bukoba Rural, Biharamulo, Karagwe, Ngara, Muleba, and Misenyi. Located on both highlands and lowlands of the western shores of Lake Victoria, Kagera is home to the *Luhaya*[14]-speaking people, referred to as Haya. The Haya can be divided into various small groupings or dialects such as the Nyambo (Banyambo), Ziba (Baziba), Subi, Ngara, and so on. Based on the population projection done in 1988 when the Region's population was 1,323,643; Kagera was expected to have 1,849,965 people by the year 2000 (Mutembei 2001: 4). At the time (1988), Bukoba Urban population numbered 46,509, and the number was expected to rise to 62,699 by 2000. It should be noted, however, that while Bukoba Urban was the principal locale of my research, I

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[14] The language of the Haya people.

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occasionally traveled to neighboring villages in Bukoba Rural District both to watch performances and conduct interviews.

Although the Haya are the majority in Bukoba Urban (about 90 percent of the total population of Bukoba Urban), people from different cultural backgrounds across Tanzania can also be found in this district, thereby making the area both multi-ethnic and multilingual (Mutembei 2001:8). Among the minority inhabitants are a few Indians (business community) and whites (missionaries and others working in international organizations). Walking through the various streets of this tiny Bukoba town one cannot help hearing a group of people speaking in a mixture of two or more languages (Rubanza 1979; Sundkler 1980; Ohly 1982). Kiswahili, which is spoken by most people, and Luhaya are the most used languages that result in a bilingual communication (Mutembei 2001: 9). Also often combined either with Kiswahili or Luhaya, or both, is English. In this manner, I suggest that the linguistic topography of Bukoba is multilingual, rather than bilingual. The effect of this manner of code-switching in the everyday life of people in Bukoba is profoundly reflected in their musical performances generally, as well in as those focusing on HIV/AIDS.

Research Methods and Tools

During my fieldwork I employed a combination of research methods to address the issues pertinent to this dissertation: music, gender, and hegemony in relation to HIV/AIDS. As previously mentioned, participant observation (with its layers of manifestations) was used as the principal method since it provides the researcher with ground-level experience of learning and observing (Hood 1971; Nettl 1983 and 2005;

Clifford 1988; Myers 1992; Barz and Cooley 1997; Marcus 1998; Seeger 2004 [1974]). Throughout my fieldwork I left it to the people I worked with to determine the shape that the learning process should take, even in terms of when they thought I should not be with them. By doing so I allowed the events to take their natural course, while also letting the power of my hosts prevail. Sometimes my hosts (especially in Bukoba) took me on tours that were completely unrelated to my project. I eventually realized that not only did the tours operate as an eye-opener to various issues (that I initially thought were of little interest to me), but they also strengthened our relationship.

Likewise, interviews, both formal and informal, were an integral part of my research since they provided me with information that I could not gain otherwise. Some interview sessions were longer than others. The length was determined by various factors, but the major ones were the nature of the topic, places where the interviews took place, and whether or not the interviews were pre-planned. However, I came to realize rather early that formal interviews were hard to arrange, and provided minimal and carefully rehearsed information compared to informal interviews, which were more spontaneous and rich in information.

The impact of the use of a still camera and video and audio recorders during the interviews is an issue worth examination. I realized that it was less feasible to use recorders during informal interviews than it was with pre-planned formal interviews. However, I noted that many who allowed to be recorded during the interview sessions preferred audio to video-recording. I also realized that unrecorded and spontaneous interviews yielded much more information than when recorded. Because of this complexity I decided to use both means of documentation with discretion, contingent

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upon the kind of people with whom I spoke, locales, and other circumstances. This happened at a number of times when I was caught unaware, and thus felt very embarrassed when interesting issues unfolded in the course of discussion. Sometimes this happened when I had hardly finished properly introducing myself or the topic to the people with whom I was conversing.

It is noteworthy that the question of who wanted to be recorded and those that did not, regardless of what means of recording was used, appeared to be complex. Some people among those who allowed me to record them, both in urban and rural areas, asked me to make sure that I recorded the interviews properly. Others went even further to instruct me on how to do it better.[15] My interviewees were both males and females ranging from individuals to a group. I decided not to segregate my interviewees on the basis of gender so as to purposely help offset methodological mishaps pertaining to the study of gender and music or human culture, which may result in an unbalanced gendered account.[16] By doing so, I thought I would rid myself of methodological mistakes committed by some of the earlier music researchers.[17] Those people I interviewed

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[15] The old woman I had an interview with in Kagondo village in Bukoba provides a good example of people who wanted to be recorded properly. She insisted that I recorded her so that "your teachers can see for themselves that you truly came and talked to me," she said. Few people that did not object to my recording of the interviews were mostly those working in some organizations. But many personnel working with these organizations declined any recorded interviews. Mascarenhas-Keyes reports of the same experience when she was reminded not to forget taking notes of events she observed during her research (1987: 185).

[16] See Koskoff 1987 and Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974, about the problem of anthropologists in writing about human culture, and Babiracki 1997, on the reflection on gender and research.

[17] Bella Bartok, a Hungarian composer and ethnomusicologist, is perhaps a good example of early researchers whose data collection methods strike a chord with a gender-bias mishap. Preoccupied with the "collection frenzy" of the nineteenth-century European Folk music as was the case elsewhere in Europe of the time, Bartok concentrated on recording Hungarian peasant women's musical work and having interviews with them at the expense of men, under the conviction that women were bearers of authentic rural cultural heritage. Men, according to Bartok, were a hybridized species who contained unauthentic information. Barz (2004: 73-74 [1995]) provides a lengthy discussion of this scenario in his work titled, "Voices and Bodies of Difference: Music and Gender in Tanzanian Expressive Culture" in *Gender and*

included musicians (both instrumentalists and singer-dancers), audience members, pastors, leaders of artistic groups and non-profit organizations (including organizations administered by people living with HIV), researchers on HIV/AIDS, government employees dealing with culture and health, academicians, and various people in society.

I also used a still camera, video camera, and audio recorder to document musical performances. The documentation gave me leverage to analyze performance practices and audience reception so as to be able to indulge in feedback interviews as well as elicit comments and explanations from individuals regarding their own performances. Thereafter, I made DVD copies of all performances and submitted them to the involved groups to keep. This act of making DVD video copies of the performances and handing them over to the musical groups involved in my research operated as a gesture of reciprocity between the researcher and researched as well as a catalyst in furthering friendship and trust (Mayer 1975: 28; Seeger 2004 [1974]; Cooley and Barz 1997). Where possible I managed to watch the video with groups in order to listen to their comments on their productions and to ask questions about certain issues surrounding the performance, and other related issues (Stone 1983, 1994: 391; Erlmann 1996: 38-39). Depending on needs on the ground, I occasionally hired a research assistant to help me with videotaping and photographing, and translation of words from ethnic languages.

Other methods employed included analysis of the musical performances, the lyrics of the music of the performances, audio cassettes, CDs, video, DVDs, and print and electronic visual media, including TV programs. Review of secondary data also formed part of the research methods. They comprised official documents and programs on

Development in Tanzania: Past, Present and Future, edited by A. Njau and T. Mruma (Dar es Salaam: Women Research and Documentation Project): 71-79.

HIV/AIDS from the Tanzania National AIDS Commission (TACAIDS); Ministry of Health; Forum for African Women's Educationists (FAWE); Tanzania Gender Network Program (TGNP); the Ministry of Information, Culture, and Sports; and the National Arts Council of Tanzania. Analysis of information from various newspapers contributed significantly to the research process.

Definitions of Terms Used for Musical Genres and Rationale for Selecting Musical Groups

Since the technical term "popular music" is problematic and seems to appear to reference some musical genres found in both secular and religious circles I encountered in my research, it is important to deal with this issue right away. Instead of engaging in a lengthy and controversial debate of what popular music is (Barber 1987 and 1997; Manuel 1988: Barz 1997; Euba 1999), I use the term here to imply those music genres that appeal to the people, regardless of age and social affiliation in society, and employs contemporary materials (electric guitars, keyboards, wind section, acoustic or electronic drums and drum machines, or those that use only synthesized background music, and body movements) to communicate with contemporary times (Barber 1987 and 1997; Ssewakiryanga 2004). Therefore, throughout this study, such music genres as *bongo flava*, *muziki wa dansi*, and Christian popular music, here referred to as popular music are named so because of the attributes they possess, in varying degrees, as stated above.

Bongo flava, a popular music genre, is a Tanzanian version of hip hop, which is adopted, indigenized, and combined with music traditions of various cultures of Tanzania. As has been the case with variants of hip hop elsewhere the world over, *bongo flava* is the domain of young people, both male and female. In most cases, just like its

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predecessors in North America, *bongo flava* relies heavily on synthesized background music. In contrast, *muziki wa dansi* (dance music) is the live performance of a popular music genre which has strong appeal among the older generations. The live perfomance of *muziki wa dansi* usually features such instruments as electric solo, rhythm and bass guitars, a set of accoustic drums, shakers, a wind section comprising saxophone and or trumpets, and kongas. By Christian popular music, in addition to the technical attributes outlined above, I include music aimed at conveying a Christian theology of salvation. Sometimes this genre is referred to as gospel music (Mai Palmberg 2004: 28). Unlike African-American gospel, which is a fusion of music genres such as spirituals, jazz, and blues, the definition of Gospel music in Africa is based on the message of Christ regardless of which musical style is represented.

I use the term *uimbaji wa kwaya kuu* to refer to a popular definition of singing style in the Lutheran Church in Tanzania in which instrumental accompaniment is limited to a few non-electrified indigenous African instruments such as *kayambas* (reed-shakers) bells, drums, and keyboards.[18] This mode of singing is popularly referred to as Christian art music because of its predominant use of notation systems such as solfa and staff notation[19] (Barz 2003; Sanga 2006). Thus, basically *uimbaji wa kwa ya kuu* distinguishes

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[18] The use of keyboards and drums is not a rule but rather situational because I have seen many occasions in which the use of instruments in *uimbaji wa kwaya kuu* is completely discouraged, and or left at the discretion of individual choirs. This trend was quite prevalent during the Lutheran music competition on AIDS in which some choirs used an assortment of instruments as music accompaniment save for the keyboard, while the performance of other groups did not feature any musical instruments. In addition, while *uimbaji wa kwaya kuu* in some churches does not employ any musical instruments, nevertheless, it is not the case in others. I have seen both formats during my fieldwork since I visited various Lutheran churches after the AIDS competitions.
[19] This criterion is problematic although it occupies unquestioned recognition among many musicians of this tradition. The problem of this angle of understanding is that even compositions of some of the popular music work do feature the use of notations system in the creative process.

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itself from Christian popular music because of its use of notation, indigenous instruments, and a "very" limited use of western musical instruments, except for the keyboard.

With regard to the term "indigenous dance and music," here it will refer to the musical performances that feature the use of indigenous dances of ethnic groups regardless of changes either in choreographic movements or textual messages. The term "music-and-dance-drama" denotes a performance based on a storyline presented through the combination of ethnic dances and songs, choreographed dance movements, story-telling, and drama. This composite nature of an artistic performance is very popular in Tanzania. It is largely attributed to the reaction of the faculty at the Department of Fine and Performing Arts at the University of Dar es Salaam towards Africanization of theater performance in Tanzania during the early years of independence (Lihamba 1985) under the spirit of cultural nationalism against the predominantly European theater (Edmondson 2008).[20] This development of an integrative performance structure is aimed less at entertainment than at providing socially relevant education (Songoyi 1983; Mlama 1992; Plastow 1996). Over the years, this integrative performance model has been the dominant approach in most of the art for development participatory process conducted by graduates of the Bagamoyo College of Arts and the University of Dar es Salaam, and projects administered by the two institutions, including those dealing with empowerment of women and young people with HIV/AIDS. During my fieldwork it was CYT that adopted this model as its core approach.

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[20] While I do agree with the university faculty's introduction of an integrative performance, I would argue that the move was not a completely UDSM derived model. Rather it was recourse to what used to happen in traditional African musical performances.

Style, Content, Translation, and Minimizing Potential Human Harm to Human Subjects

I have adopted a variety of styles in presenting the findings of my fieldwork. My ethnographic narrative will parallel the voices of the various people I worked with in the field through transcription of translated recorded interviews and excerpts of speech. Description and analysis of performances, both live performances that I watched and recorded music video, song texts, photographs, and field notes, will also form an integral part in presenting this ethnography. Whenever possible throughout the dissertation I will present my research findings, including transcribed interviews, speech and conversation, and song texts in both languages, Kiswahili and English. I am doing this for the purpose of maintaining the originality of the text presented in Kiswahili, but also to offer an opportunity for readers competent in both languages to cross check correspondences of meaning between texts presented in both languages. In addition, except for names of people, towns, cities, villages, street, and names of organizations, all words in Kiswahili and indigenous languages, including song texts, interviews, conversation, names of musical instruments, and my English written fieldnotes, will be italicized. Similarly, as a way of showing emphasis, selected stressed English words will be italicized. Parentheses ( ) and brackets [ ] will be used for two purposes: first to show English translations of a Kiswahili word, and second, to show additional words inserted in the original texts both in an interview or a quotation.

For the purpose of minimizing the vulnerability of the people in the field, all names that appear in this ethnography are the names of people who did not request anonymity. They gave me permission to use their real names provided their privacy and rights are not violated. Information that does not reference specific names of individuals concerned is

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done so purposely on the same grounds.

Theoretical Framework and Structure of the Dissertation

This study is grounded in multiple conceptual frameworks: theories of performance, ethnomusicology, music and healing (or medical ethnomusicology), gender and identities, anthropology, historical musicology, and semiotics. Other frameworks include sociological and institutional theories on HIV/AIDS and organizations dealing with HIV/AIDS, networks of knowledge, and theories of the body, dance, and aesthetics. The theories mentioned here will be dealt with in chapter two at length, but will also appear in the subsequent chapters of this dissertation in correspondence with the prevalent theme of each chapter.

Chapter three analyzes three themes. First, it highlights how musical performances function as a health intervention in addressing HIV/AIDS; second, it addresses how the performing groups establish and enlarge the social, cultural, and institutional network of knowledge on HIV/AIDS; and third, it demonstrates how knowledge networks, in their broadest global sense, support and impact local socio-economic activities in general, and HIV/AIDS in particular.

Chapters four and five discuss an assortment of identities, namely, gendered (masculinity and femininity) and religious identities as enacted during musical performance on HIV/AIDS, and how these identities are negotiated or deconstructed by various means. Notions of masculinity and femininity are addressed in chapter four, with the case studies of KAKAU Band and Abaragomora in Bukoba. This chapter interrogates the changing meanings of masculinity, power dynamics between men and women, and

how these are reflected in changing social and economic realities of the everyday life of the cultures under study. The chapter will use theories of performance, gender and sexuality, identities, masculinity, clothing and dress, cultural nationalism and ethnicity, and ethnomusicology.

Chapter five stretches the question of gendered identities a little bit by situating it within the context of musical performances by Christian choir competitions on HIV/AIDS. The chapter will also explore religious and spiritual identities in relation to musical performances related to HIV/AIDS events. These are explored within the context of everyday use as well as in terms of how they are linked to musical performances on HIV/AIDS.

Chapter six extends the discussion of power relations as discussed in Chapter two with regard to the creative process of musical performances on HIV/AIDS. It specifically focuses on the intersection of the state and religion in impacting artistic activities in general, and the creative process of musical performance on HIV/AIDS education in particular. The chapter specifically seeks to showcase, on the one hand, the role of the state in shaping culture, and how this role is influenced by the sociocultural and religious forces; on the other hand, the section attempts to portray the government's precarious position in decisions it makes regarding the implementation of HIV/AIDS education programs as it struggles to adhere to its decisions while simultaneously deferring to external forces. In this chapter, theories of world system, postcoloniality, semiotics, dance and aesthetics, performance and ethnomusicology will be integral parts. Chapter seven serves as the conclusion of the dissertation.

Chapter Two: Theorizing Music, Healing, Knowledge Network, Gender, and HIV/AIDS Music and Healing

While music and related arts form an integral part of healing within the traditional collective ritual healing process, anthropological studies since the 1960s through 1970s, which focused on such ritual phenomena in Southern Africa, did not pay adequate attention to this aspect (Janzen 1992; Friedson 1996). Even Victor Turner in his musically appealing title of therapeutic study, "The Drums of Affliction" (1968), falls short of the corresponding musicality of the healing ritual, as the title suggests. Instead, the presence of spirits and their multiple ways of manifestations, classifications and categorization in anthropological terms, had been the central focus (Janzen 1992; Friedson 1996; van Dijk et al. 2000). Although this trend continued from the 1970s onwards, scholars of this period preoccupied themselves with the cultural understanding of subjective involvement in the ritual healing process. Whereby far from viewing them as mere "victims of natural forces from which no escape is possible," the spirit-possessed subjects were considered to take an active role in the creation of meaning.

Despite this development, the focus on the role and efficacy of music and related arts in the healing and knowledge creation process continued to receive scant attention. It is from this background that ethnomusicological approaches to the study of ritual healing process, with strong focus on the primacy of healing aspects of music, evolved. Here three major works come to mind: Marina Roseman's *Healing Sound from the Malaysian Rainforest: Temiar Music and Medicine* (1989); John Janzen's *Ngoma: Discourses of Healing in Central and Southern Africa* (1992); and Steven M. Friedson's *Dancing Prophets: Musical Experience in Tumbuka Healing* (1996). However, another work by

Rijk van Dijk et al. *The Quest for Fruition Through Ngoma* (2000), which is a critique of

Janzen's work, is also an important read.

The first case study presents the healing experience in Asia, while the remaining

two are from Africa. Each of these scholars has devoted a significant part of his or her

work to describe the musical aspect of the ritual healing process towards the maintenance

of community and individual health. All three studies agree concerning the argument

advanced earlier by Amandina Lihamba in her work on the same subject (but from the

viewpoint of African theatrical practices), in which she held that health was at the center

of most traditional performances in Africa (1986: 35). In this rich text, which articulates

the relationship between health and theatre in Africa, Lihamba submits that

"(p)erformances can be categorized as concerned with the maintenance of community

and individual health, with the prevention of ill health, with the restoration of health and

with instilling survival knowledge and skills to ensure healthy continuity of society"

(1986:35). According to Lihamba, the manifestation of how performances (religious,

secular, rituals, ceremonies, dance, drama, masquerade, narrative, and mimetic

performances) in Africa have been at the center of the maintenance of health of an

individual and or community can be seen in the contents of respective arts. Lihamba's

work differs remarkably from the three studies mentioned above in approaching the

subject matter as they emanate from two different disciplines in the humanities. That is,

Lihamba's comes from theatre and the other studies from ethnomusicology. I find that all

of the studies share certain things in common. First, all the studies attempt to comprehend

and provide etiological information of disease around the interrelations between the

natural and supernatural phenomena in the traditional cosmology.[21] Second, they all

focus on the centrality of the performativity and communicative role of performance of

all sorts, including music.

Some of the issues that the three ethnomusicological studies have attempted to

grapple with have meticulously emerged in Lihamba's work.[22] It may be helpful

therefore, to turn to the three ethnomusicological studies and take a look at how they have

grappled with theoretical issues pertaining to music and healing. For the purpose of this

study I propose two types of approaches to healing: healing practices related to the

supernatural power and healing without the intervention of the supernatural power. The

former category can be further divided into two subgroups: traditional healing practices

through spirit possession or divinatory healing on the one hand, and modern religion

healing practices chiefly associated with Christian religion manifested in multiple ways

on the other hand. The traditional healing practice, which is also called dance of affliction

or *ngoma* to use Janzen's term, involves musical performances around rituals in which

the ancestral spirits are integral parts. Janzen's (1992) and Friedson's (1996) studies are

perhaps the only ethnomusicological works that thoroughly address the question of music

in the dances of affliction within the African context, while Marina Roseman presents the

viewpoint of Asia. These three studies appeared at the time HIV/AIDS was still at its

infancy; therefore, they did not receive adequate attention. Ethnomusicological work on

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[21] Lihamba's study, however, moves beyond the cosmological realm of disease to integrate it with the contemporary biomedical, sociopolitical, and economic reality in African states through symbolic and metaphorical representation by means of playwrighting.

[22] John Janzen (1992:109-10) alludes his idea of "text and textere in African Healing" to the inspiration by Amandina Lihamba's "Health and the African Theatre." For more detail see a chapter on "Doing Ngoma" in *Ngoma: Discourse of Healing in Central and Southern Africa* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford): 1992:108-129.

supernatural healing is still missing. My work will reflect upon this aspect. The latter type, the non-divinatory approach, lacks a large body of ethnographic works. Thus, Gregory Barz's, *Singing for Life: HIV/AIDS and Music in Uganda* (2006) remains a cornerstone study.

Both Roseman (1991) and Friedson (1996) view healing ritual dances as a way of comprehending a "health care system," a cultural system integrally interrelated with local patterns of meaning, power, and social interaction, but that is populated by both physical and supernatural bodies. This view is also invariably and strongly shared in Janzen's work. Within this context, healing arts, singing, dancing, playing of different musical instruments, and spirit-possessions form an integral part. They suggest that the health care system is a conflation of sociocultural phenomena, which include among others, belief systems, norms, behaviors, illness experiences, and practitioner-patient transactions, in connection with the cosmology (Roseman 1991: 9-13; Friedson 1996: xi-xiii). Such an assemblage of socio-cultural phenomena within the healing process constitutes what is referred to as a "sacred clinical reality" (Friedson 1996: xi).

On the intersection of "medical and musical domains" within therapeutic ceremonies among the Temiar, Roseman considers music, especially songs, as "paths that link mediums, female chorus members, trance-dancers, and patients with spirits of the jungle and settlement" (1991: 9). For Roseman, healing performances serve as an entry point into the domain of illness and well-being among the Temiar (1991: 9). Because of this, an understanding of the efficacy of the ritual healing can only be achieved against the backdrop of an understanding of the intersection of concepts of etiology of illness and diagnostic strategies and treatment as well as indigenous ideas about musical

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composition, speech, performance, and affect (1991:9). Similarly, Friedson, referring to Tumbuka healing practices, considers musical experiences as "the structural nexus where healer, patient and spirit meet," an avenue where "diviners and patient alike dance their diseases" (1996: xiv). In addition, both scholars perceive the synergy between concepts and categories of illness on the one hand, and therapeutic strategies on the other, as constituting systems of knowledge and action (Roseman 1991: 14; Friedson 1996: 30). Friedson takes this idea of knowledge system further to include the moment when specific knowledge is "seen"[23] and communicated through trance amid the heat by discovering pathogenic agent responsible for the illness (1996: 25; 30). Both scholars dovetail the idea of the interrelations of the supernatural (cosmological physical) and natural world (metaphysical) in explaining, comprehending, diagnosing, and healing of individual, as well as in explaining social disorder.

According to Janzen, *ngoma*, the term for the chief instrument used in the healing process, and also the institutional term of the ritual, is an indispensable phenomenon for survivorship of "at-risk sectors of society and for the maintenance of a social fabric that contributes to health and social reproduction of health" (1992: 154). For Janzen, the term health refers to a total view of the well being of society. The efficacies of an *ngoma* are legion and equally manifested in multiple ways. However, it seems to me, from the way Janzen puts it, that the core function of *ngoma* lies in three major areas. The first aspect of *ngoma* concerns itself with the articulation of the process of personal transition in which the production of knowledge takes place. This knowledge primarily constitutes diagnostic information of the disease/illness that is divulged by the sufferer or healer, but

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[23] Friedson uses the word to "see" to imply to establish in the subconscious the cause(s) of disease(s).

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is subject to interpretation as well as acceptance or rejection by society. This process of generating, articulating, and making use of knowledge about misfortune is realized through what Janzen refers to as triadic "call and response" communicative paradigm. This takes place when the source of the disease is named by the healer/sufferer in collaboration with spirits, and confirmed through singing and speech by other members present (1992: 110).

The second, core function of *ngoma* is the social reproduction of health, which according to Janzen denotes "the maintenance of a way of life and the commitment of resources to relationships, institutions, and support organizations that directly or indirectly maintain health" (1992: 153). Janzen splits this function further into sub-functions to include initiation rituals related to reconciling lineage and trade (1992: 160-161), rituals related to maternal and infant security (1992: 161-165), and finally *ngoma* networking among *ngoma* practitioners within and beyond the *ngoma* settings (1992: 165-172). N*goma* networking, according to Janzen, is a form of social reproduction of health that aims at enhancing shared healing knowledge among practitioners. I will return to this aspect of knowledge network in my further examination of *ngoma* in the context of HIV/AIDS. The third aspect of the core function of *ngoma*, which actually underpins the preceding two functions, is the power inherent in the "doing of the *ngoma*" itself. That is, the musical aspect of the *ngoma*, or the drumming and playing of various instruments, singing, and dancing. As Friedson (1996) suggested earlier, the function of music in healing is to heat the spirits. Music heats the spirits and causes them to divulge information on the diseases.

I differ slightly from what van Dijk et al. previously advanced in their collection *The Quest for Fruition through Ngoma* (2000). Viewing *ngoma* as the hub of the social agency in restoring the wellbeing of the individuals and communities is the central theme of the collection. This work, which is a reaction to Janzen's foregoing groundbreaking work on the same subject of *ngoma,* seeks to demonstrate the "social capability of African societies to turn misfortune, affliction and repression into valued experience of growth and fulfillment."[24] Their analysis and mine have basically identified three core functions of *ngoma*, and appeared to have come to an agreement in two aspects. These are the articulation of personal transformation and the power of the musical aspect of the healing ritual The third aspect, however, makes us the antithesis of each other. I consider the production of therapeutic knowledge with the assistance of the metaphysical world to be primary. In contrast, van Dijk et al. consider the production of power and authority due to association and communication with the spirit world as core.

Interestingly, however, van Dijk et al. wedge a grim but wise critique of Janzen's work for his overemphasis on the personal transformation of the individual sufferer while ignoring the social-political aspect of suffering. In their view, by doing so, Janzen remains loyal to the cult of affliction (van Dijk et al. 2000: 6), a single-sufferer centered approach. Theirs is a new trajectory: "We differ from Janzen's approach in that we do not attempt to define *ngoma* in one specific realm of action, nor in one specific discourse of healing. From our different research projects in culturally divergent localities in Southern Africa, it has become clear that as a discourse *ngoma* may pertain to all spheres of life - the personal, the social, the political, the economic or the ecological" (van Dijk et al.

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[24] This statement appears in the preface without a page number.

2000: 6). Summing up their viewpoint, rather than preoccupying itself with the transformation of the sole individual subjects, the focus of all *ngoma* is on the transformation of both individual and society at large. That is to say, individual healing is indivisible from social healing.

I agree with the above critique and I share van Dijk et al.'s concern with a little reservation, as far as my current study on music and HIV/AIDS is concerned, on the one hand, and the whole question of the concept of *ngoma* in Tanzania on the other hand. Although I do not dispute Janzen's choice of the term *ngoma* to denote an indigenous discourse on misfortune and healing within the therapeutic institution whose central goal is the transformation of the sufferer into a healer (1992: 2, 4), I find his use of the term exclusive. In many societies in Tanzania, and perhaps beyond, the term, *ngoma* is as ambiguous as it is slippery, and provides multiple[25] meanings beyond the dance or cult of affliction.[26] For generations, various Tanzanian societies have used the term *ngoma* to mean dancing, singing, playing of all musical instruments, and all accompanying collective social activities. These include initiation rites for both boys and girls, female puberty rites, weddings, and healing ritual (Ndomondo 2002).[27] Initiation ceremonies are one of the most

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[25] A more startling derivation of the term "*ngoma*" in the context of Janzen' use is given by Cor Jonker's (2000). Jonker uses the term to mean healing activities in the healing churches in Central Southern Africa which combine Christian theology and healing rituals of cults of affliction. Jonker suggests the application of the term *ngoma* to such activities because of "singing, clapping and related effects" embedded therein despite the absence of the "performance of the drum" (2000: 129). According to Jonker, the Bible replaces the drum during the healing rituals when it is hit hard with the hand in a rhythmical way to support the singers and dancers.
[26] I respect Janzen's (1992:4) cautious note that in some places the term may not necessarily be taken to imply exclusively collective rites of healing. But I find it imperative to offer the ambiguous meaning of the term in the context of Tanzanian experience.
[27] This observation derives from my earlier work on music and migration in Tanzania titled, "The Impact of Migration on Traditional Musical Performances of the Wamakonde in Mtwara Region," M.A Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam (2002).

important social institutions in most African societies. They mark a central bridge between childhood and adulthood. It is a mark of transition from the age of foolishness and irresponsibility to the age of maturity, wisdom, responsibility, and authority. As such, it is a moment of happiness and celebration. Thus, all ceremonial activities during the entire process of initiation rites such as singing and dance performances were regarded to be part of a "*ngoma.*" During initiation rites for girls and boys, education on hygiene, nutrition, sexual education, and skills of various types, among others, is offered.

The recent use by young people of the term *ngoma* to mean HIV/AIDS is perhaps the most telling ambiguity of the term. This use of *ngoma* to denote HIV/AIDS has largely been popularized by *bongo flava* musicians in their compositions about the pandemic. This is shown in such musical pieces as *Alikufa kwa Ngoma* (He died of *Ngoma*) by Mwanafalsafa and Lady Jaydee; *Usione Soo Sema Naye* (Don't feel shy Talk to Him/Her) by Ishi Stars;[28] *Huruma* (Mercy) by Keyisha and Bushoke, *Nimenasa* (I Am Trapped) by Dully and Fid Q; *Mateso Zaidi Ya Yesu* (Sufferings More than Jesus) by Mdee and Dully Sykes; and *Haijalishi* (It Doesn't Matter) by Joslin. The young people's popularization of the term *ngoma* as HIV/AIDS, and thus, catastrophe, departs remarkably from the old generation's conceptualization of the term, which for them meant merrymaking as well as a means of social reproduction. Ironically, the conceptualization of *ngoma* as HIV/AIDS has also become a popular term among the older generations alongside other terms that are employed to denote HIV/AIDS.[29]

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[28] *Usione Soo Sema Naye* is one of the two songs that are the focal point of the discussion on power relations and music making about AIDS in chapter six.

[29] The popular ones include "*umeme*" (electricity), "*kukanyaga miwaya* (tramping on electric wires), *silimu* (getting thin) and *kilo mbili* (two kilograms – meaning the disease that reduces people to two kilograms at

It is instructive to investigate the reasons for associating *ngoma* with the

pandemic. For example, when I asked *bongo flava* musicians and other young people

why they compare *ngoma* as a musical performance with HIV/AIDS, they gave me an

array of answers that are summarized in the following account: HIV/AIDS is analogous

to *ngoma* because of the piercing and throbbing sound of the latter that reaches the ears of

everyone within reach. According to such inference, when *ngoma* is beaten, no one needs

to be told about its sound because it is familiar to most people in society. That is, there

are a lot of festivities when an *ngoma* is beaten – dancing, ululations, and so on, all

following the throbbing rhythm of it. They added that when the *ngoma* skin rips open

(*pale inapopasuka*), every one will be aware of what has happened to it – that is, it has

ripped (*imepasuka*). When the drum's membrane rips, it stops giving out its usual good

sonorous sound. Here, the ripping of the drum membrane is physiologically equated with

human skin deformity. That is, the symptomatic skin diseases associated with HIV/AIDS.

As it was explained to me, everyone who is HIV positive, and has developed AIDS, is

easily recognized because of, among others, skin-related ailments of the body.

It could be suggested that the analogy between *ngoma* and AIDS might have

resulted from the association of *ngoma* performances with avenues for HIV/AIDS

transmission. The recent report by the Tanzania Commission for AIDS (TACAIDS)

(2008), for example, has identified *ngoma* alongside nine other social, cultural, and

gender factors as stimulants to HIV/AIDS transmission in Tanzania. According to this

report, which is based on a workshop for Regional Facilitating Agencies (RFAs), to

the moment they die). But the official name of AIDS is UKIMWI (*Ukosefu wa Kinga Mwilini*), or in
English (Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome). Even to the English term AIDS, other various Swahili
names have been coined such as **A**cha **I**niue **D**ogodogo **S**iachi (let it kill me but I can't stop having affairs
with young women).

appraise the socio-cultural and gender factors in HIV/AIDS transmission in Tanzania, traditional dances were named alongside nine other major factors because four or more participants mentioned them. The report identifies two major traditional musical-cum-social events, which are associated with HIV/AIDS transmission: courtship dances among the youth and certain adult dances. In regard to courtship dance of the youth, the report contends that since such dances extend well into the night, and casual sexual activities among participants are not uncommon. Such unrestrained sexual bouts during the night dances, according to the report, are considered to have corrupted the traditional purpose of such an event, which was to enable the youth to meet and find prospective marriage partners. In regard to dances attended by adults participants only, casual relationships were said to occur largely due to alcohol consumption that usually go hand in hand with the particular social event (2008: 20).

The term *ngoma* also refers to a musical instrument, the drum. In addition, various seasonal rituals such as those associated with agricultural activities, infant rites, and so on, all are a part of *ngoma,* which aim at ensuring the survival of the society (Lihamba 1986; Songoyi 1988). On another level, *ngoma* have played an important role in society as a pedagogical institution through which various sociocultural, economic, and political issues are discussed publicly. Therefore, to confine *ngoma*, an institution with such a multi-dimensional features and function, to ritualistic healing and transformation of the individuals rather than the collective social is to do it injustice.

In addition, in an era such as this in which HIV/AIDS is more of a social rather than individual problem, to continue to adhere to such a restrictive focus on the transformation process is problematic. In view of this, the concept of the "sufferer" in the context of

HIV/AIDS has to be revisited. The sufferers are not only those people with HIV virus or those who are terminally ill, but include the entire society, the social body. All people in society do suffer and therefore become both sufferers and healers. In this context, the transformation process may effectively operate as much for the individual sufferers as for the larger group of sufferers. In regard to the question of communication and performativity between the cosmological physical and cosmological metaphysical, which is one of the core features of *ngoma,* I would propose an extension of that relationship to the kind of communication that may not necessarily (although at times it may be part of the process) result into trance, possession, or divination. In all music-cum-dramatic performances about HIV/AIDS that I attended, both religious and secular, the manifestations of the cosmological physical and metaphysical relationship were prevalent in varied degrees - both acted and actual[30]

The intersection of political and healing forces in *ngoma*, the question that Janzen introduces but deals with inadequately dealt with, is my final point of observation of Janzen's book (1992). This theme is extended in van Dijk et al. (2000), and especially in Cor Jonker's article in the same collection. The intersection of politics and healing forms one of the significant issues with which my study on music and HIV/AIDS concerns itself. I consider that by nature the study of HIV/AIDS is the study of power relations at multiple

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[30] By "acted," I want to imply the moment when the act of communication between the two worlds is impersonated through the "acting medium" in a musical theatre situation. While by "actual" I wish to imply the moment when musicians and singers, and sometimes audience members invoke God's mercy in the course of the performance. I have seen the manifestation of both in the performance of Christian choirs and non-Christian performing groups through song text and bodily expression as will be seen in the subsequent chapters.

levels: at the individual level[31]; social classes at the national level[32]; and internationally in the scramble for medical research, monopoly and competition for manufacturing and distributing antiretroviral drugs, and imposition of strategies to combat the pandemic (Randy, 2000; Altman 1999; Putzel 2003).

In the article, "The Politics of Therapeutic Ngoma: The Zionist churches in urban Zambia," Jonker seeks to illustrate how "political activism and healing are coinciding forces" (2000:117). Jonker does that by offering an interpretation of the political nature of the healing churches by examining organizational groupings and the socioeconomic and political positions and thoughts of the members of these groups (2000: 118-130). However, far from subscribing to Jonker's reference of the intersection of politics and healing to political ideology and aspiration of individuals to political power and positions within healing churches and in national politics (see Jonker 2000:120-127), the focus of my discussion will be on the intersection of the state power and the Church in impacting the creative process of musical performances that deal with AIDS education, discussed in this chapter and chapter six.

My interest is in the subject of power relations expressed not only in the musical performance as finished products, but also within and without the creative process. Rather than contenting oneself with enthrallment of the communicative, performative, and esthetically entertaining and educative qualities of the musical performance, it is imperative that one be wary of the fact that "the people who perform relate to each other

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[31] From the gender and economic side; see for example, Baylies 2000; Irwin et al. 2003; and Barnett and Whiteside 2006 (2002); Farmer 2005.

[32] Competing forces between religious institutions and the state, and other organizations; see for example, Baylies 2000; Putzel 2003; and Becker and Geissler 2009.

and to their society at large in terms of power" (Fabian 1990: 17). Much as the question of power is integral in politics, and since politics and music are inseparable, then the discourse of power relations in music is just as important. As it has been suggested elsewhere, the relationship of the arts and society is unbreakable (Vasquez 1973). Their relationship may take various shapes such as "mutual externality or indifference, they either seek each out or avoid one another, connect or separate. But can never completely turn their backs on each other" (Vasquez 1973: 112).

The lack of attention to this subject matter in previous ethnomusicological studies and the recognition of this knowledge-vacuum among ethnomusicologists spurred serious activities on the same from the 1990s onward (for example, Waterman 1990; Buchannan 1995; Erlmann 1996; Turino 2000). Only a few works will be selected here for a brief review. Christopher Waterman's *Juju: A Society History and Ethnography of an African Popular Music* (1990) is perhaps the first groundbreaking ethnographic work on this subject. Situating his study historically in the major cities of Nigeria such as Lagos and Ibadan from the 1930s through the time of the publication of the book, Waterman foregrounds the role of performance in the construction, expression, and legitimization of power relationship. Emphasizing the inseparability of African cultures' aurality and social experiences, Waterman sees music not only as a medium of symbolic transaction but also as a means by which communities are both forged and defended (1990: 8). Erlmann's study *Nightsong* (1996) is another work traversing along the same veins. The theme of power and resistance runs through *Nightsong* with a focus on *isicathamiya,* a migrant male laborers' vocal music tradition in apartheid-South Africa. Unlike Waterman's *Juju*, praise musicians who operated as a unifying force between class

divisions in oil-rich Nigeria by oscillating their performances between these social classes, namely, elites and the working-class, *isicathamiya* performers illustrate multiple and ambiguous levels of power relations: the asymmetrical male-centered gendered and family relations (1990: xxii) on the one hand, and relations among the powerless on the other. Rather than adopting a direct political confrontation with the apartheid regime through expressive culture just like other political activists did, *isicathamiya* preoccupied itself with acting and reflecting upon the personal sociocultural experience of the migrant laborers. In other words, *isicathamiya* concerned itself less with subversive practice - the query against the hegemonic order - than with the struggle for domestic health (1990: xxii; xiii). It is because of this ambiguous and precarious position *isicathamiya* assumed that it was considered to demonstrate itself as "a force field of conflicting and intersecting interests, to aesthetics, and ideologies" (1990: xxii). This state of affairs reflects a state of contradiction, heterogeneity and fluidity of human identity as it intersects with forces of hegemony, which in Gramscian conception of the human personality is referred to as being "strangely composite" (see Gramsci 1971: 324; Turino 1990: 401; Buchannan 1995: 384).

The final ethnomusicological text on the subject of music and power relations to be discussed is Donna Buchannan's "Metaphor of power, Metaphor of Truth: The Politics of Music Professionalism in Bulgarian Folk Orchestras" (1995). In this work, Buchannan demonstrates that reciprocity between the dominant and subordinate groups reshapes the nature of power relations (Buchannan 1995: 384). Buchannan's argument flows from the philosophical viewpoint of scholars of nationalism such as Antonio Gramsci and his descendants who contend that the prerequisite for power sustenance of

the dominant group over the subordinates is for the former group to decisively create alliance with the latter and win their approval that will eventuate in a comprehensive, and seemingly natural and legitimate, social authority -"reality" - of the former group (Buchannan 1995: 384; see also Hall 1979, 1986; Hebdige 1979). This "reality," in other words, is also perceived to be "truth." To achieve that truth, the socialist Bulgarian state, through a hegemonic cultural administrative network, institutionalized and nationalized indigenous cultural forms so as to appear as aesthetically and socially representative of the Bulgarian society (1995: 381). While this development at the surface appeared to be healthy steps in the name of nation building, in reality it was as contradictory as it was untrue. The failure of political leaders to admit a multi-ethnic rather than monolithic Bulgarian nation-state formed the basis of lack of truth of the socialist hegemonic truth that resulted in what Havel referred to as "a peculiar dialectical dance of truth and lies" endemic in different spheres of human life (1991a: 5 as quoted in Buchannan 1995: 384). Under such circumstances musicians in socialist Bulgaria were compelled to practice music traditions in which they had little interest but had to do that either as a manner of demonstrating their allegiance to the political authority or for personal economic advantage (Buchannan 1995:384). As I have explained above and as discussed below in this dissertation, the study of music and HIV/AIDS is not immune from the intersection of such forces.

At this juncture I would now want to move back to the subject of healing with a focus on music and HIV/AIDS. It is important to highlight that none of the works on music, or *ngoma,* and healing have dealt with the question of HIV/AIDS. While most of these works have appeared since at the time when HIV/AIDS has received significant

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attention, none of them has bothered to concern itself with HIV/AIDS in particular. It is for this reason that now I briefly turn to Barz's recent work on music and HIV/AIDS in Uganda.

Barz's *Singing for Life: HIV/AIDS and Music in Uganda* (2006) is a cornerstone study to the current discussion in many respects. In his book, Barz considers music as "a more affective medical intervention than outreach efforts of doctors and health-care workers" (2006: 5). Basically, the book illustrates how music and drama are instrumental in empowering people in society, especially women in the enlightenment process about HIV/AIDS. According to Barz, music in Uganda takes an integral part of the HIV/AIDS diagnostic process within the traditional healing system (2006: 162). He notes that the capacity of "the expressive culture in Uganda to contribute to health-care initiatives" (2006: 3) lies deeply in the musical performance. Music is medicine, says Barz (2006: 3; 59). Explaining how music functions as a medicine, Barz holds that "(s)ong, texts …frequently suggest intervention that both encourage medical analysis" (Barz 2006). He goes on to say that through singing about HIV people learn about the need to go for testing.

Music and Knowledge Network in the Context of HIV/AIDS

Ngoma networking among healers serves as an important form of social reproduction of health, which aims at enhancing shared healing knowledge. This type of network takes place in various shapes: from inter-ethnic friendship, to familial and healer-novice modes. In the contemporary situation where HIV/AIDS is considered a

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global problem (Thomas; 1989; Altman 1999; Piot 2001; Shumate 2005), this network of information sharing has taken a different and very complex global form. It is therefore important to take a look at what the knowledge network means in the contemporary situation, and how this fits within the context of HIV/AIDS. This section intends to deal with the following questions: What form of knowledge network is involved in this regard? And how does the form of knowledge network either impede or strengthen the network as well as the creative process?

Of significance is a look at knowledge networks in the contemporary situation and how they fit within the context of HIV/AIDS AIDS. Since the rapid spread of HIV/AIDS was seen to pose a huge catastrophe to most developing countries, thus threatening to become an epidemic whose size far exceeded the resources of government to contain, the creation of new forms of global cooperation and the idea of global citizenship was considered crucial (Altman 1999: 551). This new kind of partnership in the context of HIV/AIDS, which would detonate the response of international agencies and the dominant world order, was considered to take the form of an expansionary development and international power relations between the West and Third World (Fortin 1988: 22; Altman 1999: 561). In responding to this need for international response to HIV/AIDS, the World Health Organization established the Global Program on AIDS (GPA) in 1986 with the subsequent recognition and integration of non-government sectors as legitimate entities globally (Altman 1999: 566). As a result, a number of international and local interventions against HIV/AIDS sprang up. The formation of such global networks like the Global Network of People Living with AIDS (GNP Plus), the International Council of AIDS Service Organizations (ICASO), and the International Community of Women

Living with HIV/AIDS (ICW) were largely due to this development. Following suit were interventions conducted by other various international and local nonprofit institutions such as International Governmental Organizations (IGOs), International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs), local Non-Government Organization (NGOs), Faith-based Organizations (FBO) and community organizations. It has also become clear that a number of these organizations have increasingly employed the arts as integral parts of their activities against HIV/AIDS.

The sociological discourses on the framework of institutional structure and functions of nonprofit organizations and sectors and their relationship to the response to public health generally, and HIV/AIDS in particular, have been vigorously and adequately expounded by various scholars (DiMaggio and Anheier 1990; Altman 1994; Fischer 1997; Lewis and Sobha 1999; Shumate et al. 2005). These works have received so much critical attention that it is unnecessary to reiterate notions that non-profit organizations are central alternatives to the state under certain circumstances in implementing objectives or that these non-profit organizations are effective, flexible, open to innovation, and faster at identifying and implementing grass-root needs than are government agencies

As I have mentioned earlier, some of these organizations, especially local NGOs, have posed either as non-art sectors (but drawing upon the arts for their activities) or as art sectors, thereby taking an active role in the creative process as music-cum-theater groups. Usually, the relationship between the art sector and the NGOs is based on funding and sharing of information, mostly biomedical knowledge. As it has been noted elsewhere, the global response to HIV/AIDS also entails the globalization of certain

biomedical and socio-behavioral paradigms (Altman 1999: 565). John O'Neill also claims that "AIDS (is) a crisis of opportunity in therapeutic apparatus of the welfare state and the international medical order" (1990:334).

Although the nonprofit sector prides itself in its efficient, innovative, and flexible structural character, its ambiguous dependent position places it at one major disadvantage, which sociologists refer to as "institutional isomorphic pressure" (DiMaggio 1990: 150). DiMaggio and Powell, following the lead of Ellis W Hawley, define institutional isomorphism as a "constraining process that forces one unit in a population to resemble other units that face the same set of environmental conditions" (1983: 149). In other words, "institutional isomorphism" denotes "homogeneity of structure" working relations that are characterized by one entity attempting to accomplish rationality with uncertainty and constraints (DiMaggio and Powel 1983). Under such circumstances, local recipient NGOs are subject to pressure to receiving and adhering to orders from donor agency (DiMaggio 1990; Lewis and Sobha 1999).[33] Artistic groups, both those with NGO status and those without, are integrated in this complex web of networks. Thus, they find themselves operating within constraining working relations and this constraining condition impacts profoundly on the creative process.

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[33] According to the AIDS Foundation of South Africa (AFSA) report, much of the donor-funding is project specific and sometimes attached with strings (conditionalities). Some donors, such as the U.S. government and religious bodies, are reported to have interest in abstinence and prevention programs while refraining from condom distribution. In addition, the U.S. government requires recipient organizations dealing with treatment programs to purchase drugs with U.S. brand names instead of cheaper generics. On the other hand, the focus of other donors ranges from orphan programs, awareness-raising, and research into behavioral issues. The donor community is reported to refrain (or donates very little) from funding projects or research into initiatives that could be beneficial for millions of people. In view of this, the major question is how to make donor funding resonate with local priorities. This suggests that some interventions are designed in accordance with the donors' focal areas of interest.

On another level, it should be noted, that performance groups involved in HIV/AIDS interventions are not only linked to international nonprofit interventionist programs. Rather, they are involved in the multiple translocal and global connections, characterized by fluid webs of relationships eventuating in not only sharing of funding and different forms of biomedical, religious, and indigenous knowledge, which at time are partly antithetical to one another, but also ideas and interaction of people (Fischer 1997: 450). Moreover, in the knowledge networking process, these performance groups by virtue of the nature of structural and working mechanism make use of different sources and deploy diverse approaches to the production and dissemination of knowledge as it pertains to health promotion. More importantly, it should be understood that by knowledge I do not only imply biomedical information obtained through training workshops, seminars, and symposiums, but also, religious and indigenous localized conception and comprehension of various issues, including health, myths, stories, sexuality, and performance. Finally, I want to stress that while many studies on nonprofit organizations have concentrated on the health sector generally, and HIV/AIDS in particular, the relationship of this sector and the performance that deal with the pandemic has been dealt with marginally.

Gender, Identities, and Music

I envision the question of gendered identities as a site for multifaceted ideological conflicts, contradictions, and variability in regard to cultural definitions and constructions of maleness and femaleness (Sanday 1990; Gotlieb 1990; Butler 2006 (1990); Morris 1995; Silberschmidt 1999; Price and Shildrick 1999). I approach the question of gender construction and gendered identities from the viewpoint of the theory of gender

performativity in relation to African conceptualizations of gender and identities. The theory of performativity defines gender as the effect of discourse, and sex as the effect of gender (Morris 1995). In other words, gender identities are shaped and indivisible from performance. Judith Butler provides an excellent example:

> Gender identity is tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a stylized repetition of acts. The effects of gender is produced through the stylization of the body and, and hence, must be understood as the mundane way in which bodily gestures, movement, and styles. . .constitute the illusion of an abiding gendered self (1990: 40).

In view of this, gender should not be perceived as a fixed cultural signifier, but rather, as a constant and sustained social performance (Butler 2006: 152, 192). The theory of performativity questions the attempt to universalize the patriarchal gender definitions and fixed gendered identities and, instead, advocates for a multiplicity of nonhierarchical gendered identities (Sanday 1990; Schmidt 1999; Butler 2006: 89; Lewis and Mills 2003). Similarly, such a viewpoint takes the center stage of the work of some African scholars (Ogundipe 1994; Terbog-Penn and Rushing 1996; Oyewomi 1997; Nnaemeka 1998; Nnanyonga-Tamusuza 2005), which support the notions of fluidity, contestation, multiplicity, and complementarity of gender identities.

Notwithstanding their shared perspectives on the conceptualization of gender identities and gender-based oppression with Western feminist scholars, these African feminist scholars, most of whom are based in West Africa (particularly Nigeria), examine

African women from the viewpoint of African woman. That is, they attempt to come up with the African viewpoint of feminism rooted in traditional society that promoted complementary social, cultural, and political values. Drawing on other Third World feminist scholars such as Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres (1991), they reject any generalized global sense of feminism and forms of discrimination against women. They argue that the world is characterized by a convergence of lines of power and resistance, exploitation and inequalities, and, therefore, can be comprehended only in regard to its destructive divisions of gender, color, class, and sexuality. This viewpoint is also prevalent in the other recent works of Third World and postcolonial feminists such as Angela Davis, Alice Walker, Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, and Andrea Benton Rushing, Uma Narayan and Sandra Harding and Lewis Reina and Sara Mills.

In particular, these African feminists have several areas in common that they reject and those that they emphasize. They reject the Western feminist concept of an oppositional gender binarism that stresses struggle and disharmony between women and men; the tendency of Western feminism to situate women as victims rather than considering (African) women as source of agency and accomplishment; and they query the overemphasis on sexuality and sexual orientation. Other issues that African feminists reject include homogenization of not only Third World women but also African women and the concept of an "African Woman" as they consider the latter as essentialist and a Western imported term (Kolawole 1997; Ogundipe 1994; Oyewomi 1997). Furthermore, they critique the Western feminist notion of rigid public and private spheres occupied by men and women respectively and the missionary role of Western feminists to African women, with the former having the agenda of rescuing while at the same time assuming

the role of representing the latter (Ogundipe 1994; Terborg-Penn and Rushing 1996; Nnaemeka 1998). These African feminists emphasize that African women suffer from a conflation of many forms of oppressions, including imperialism, postcolonial exploitation, racism, the feminization of poverty, and traditional structures. Thus, these African scholars stress freedom from all forms of oppression as well as an understanding of African women's multifaceted identities beyond wifehood. Perhaps another important criticism African scholars level against the Western feminists' conceptualization of gender is the one offered by Oyeronke Oyerome. She argues that gender should not be considered as a primary parameter of social identity and status. Rather, other social factors such as age, as well as social, economic, and political hierarchies, are just as important. In view of the foregoing, these African scholars share the viewpoint of other feminist scholars elsewhere, including some Western feminists: that it is imperative that the study of gender ideals of a particular culture be carried out on the basis of the ideological gender framework of that specific culture under study, instead of capitalizing on an imported one.

On another level, deviating from the snare of focusing solely on women's experience as the unit of analysis of gendered identities and relations, this study incorporates both all-women and mixed-gender performance groups related to the performance genres named above. I have taken this measure to avoid a partial comprehension of gender relations resulting from the interrelations between men and women by focusing on a single gendered space (Koskoff 1987; Herndon and Ziegler 1990; Seremetakis 1991; Sugarman 1997; Ntarangwi 2003; Nnanyonga-Tamusuza 2005). As some studies have it, the focus on a single gendered space has led to methodological

problems pertaining to the study of gender and music or human culture; and this may result in an unbalanced account. Koskoff (1987) provides an example of the methodological problems that ensue when a gender-biased approach towards the study of music in society leads ethnographers to favor males' musical performances at the expense of females'. According to Koskoff, this tendency has resulted in an unbalanced picture of world music in which male musical performances have received more attention than those of females. Koskoff attributes this situation largely to the research methods and approaches that are structurally male-centered and have the tendency to concentrate on the male public sphere and consequently collect information primarily from male informants while ignoring women. This problem also applies to male researchers' encounter with female informants (Koskoff 1987; see also, Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974 about the problem of anthropologists in writing about human culture; and Babiracki 1997 for reflection on gender and research). To get rid of this problem, some researchers had to employ different strategies. For instance, ethnomusicologist Carol Babiracki reveals in her 1997 work that she had to cross gender boundaries by taking up mixed gender roles in musical performances such as alternating female and male roles in those performances. By doing so, she participated in both male and female aspects of Mundari music culture. On another level, Ziegler (1990) and Reinhard (1990) had to employ team-based cooperative fieldwork effort strategies to enter physically separated gender-based musical performances. In the same vein, Sugarman (1997) had to study both female and male musical spaces during her research of the Prespa wedding.

Theorizing Masculinity: Natural Construction of Masculinity; Psychoanalytic Construction of Masculinity; and Social Construction of Masculinity

There at least three viewpoints that can be identified in which the debate on masculinity has been fiercely engaged: the natural or anatomical paradigm; the psychic or psychoanalytic paradigm; and the social paradigm. A forcefully argued analysis of each of the paradigms is David Gilmore's (1990) oft-cited monograph *Manhood in the making: Cultural Concepts of Masculinity*. Gilmore's work is one of the attempts to explore the different approaches various scholars over the years have adopted to address masculinity. In his analysis, he highlights both the weaknesses and strengths of those approaches, and he finally settles on one as most applicable. I do not intend to repeat Gilmore's well crafted analysis but I find it rewarding to summarize briefly the main arguments that fall under the three paradigms mentioned earlier.

The anatomical paradigm, which emerged in the nineteenth-century mechanistic period, presented a binary view of male and female "nature" and "principle." Most overarching were the notions of the "universal man" and "universal woman." Such notions were strong and widely accepted at the time when modernist philosophy of "universal principles of masculinity and femininity" were based on biological and psychological determinism (Gilmore, 1990, Treitler 1992; Price and Shildrick 1999)**.** It was from this paradigm that people's perspectives on manhood emerged. It had the scientific backing of biologists and psychologists who held that "aggressiveness of masculinity" was largely biologically determined by male anatomy and hormones (Gilmore 1990:21). As such, men's fondness of challenges in life resulted from their natural given. Many scholars, including some feminists such as Simone de Beauvoir (1953); Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere (1974); and Sherry B. Ortner (1974), subscribed to this philosophy. In her pioneering work, *The Second Sex*, Beauvoir

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articulated three propositions that suggested preeminence of sociocultural universals as being at the center of universal sexual asymmetry. First, the conformity of symbolic structure that defines the masculine and the feminine in terms of unchanging binary oppositions; second, association of the masculine with culture and the feminine with nature; and finally, males occupying a dominating and exploitative position over women as culture does to nature.[34] Likewise, the givennes of gender and gender relations permeate the work of Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo's (1974) "Woman, Culture and Society: A Theoretical Overview" and Ortner and White's *Sexual Meanings: The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality*, upon which various criticisms have been leveled.[35]

From 1960s onward, however, this line of thinking came to be the target of severe criticism from scholars of the postmodernist era, including feminist scholars. The binary biological determinist paradigm was attacked for being reductionist and irrelevant. These scholars argued that sex (biological inheritance) and gender (cultural norms) are distinct categories that may be related but not in an isomorphic identity. The idea was that biological determinism was flawed first because biology is incapable of shaping human behavior, and second because cultural meanings used to refer to sexual roles and division of labor differs from one society to another (Gilmore 1990; Butler 1990; Sanday 1990; Price and Shildrick 1999). As such, gender was considered as a symbolic, socially constructed category and thus unstable. The viewpoint of scholars of this school is to foreground multiplicity, fluidity, contradiction, and the performativity of identities.

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[34] I owe my observation of this argument to Peggy Reeves Sanday's critique of Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*. For further reading see "Introduction" in *Beyond the Second Sex* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1990): 1-19.
[35] See, for example, Sanday (1990) and Silberschmidt (1999).

Another controversial perspective on the genesis of masculinity is Freud's psychoanalytical paradigm known as the Oedipal complex. This paradigm stresses less the other aspects of male development than the psychic side of individual development of manhood. The Oedipal complex maintains that "the normal child develops a sexual attachment to the opposite-gender parent, and competitive anger and fear toward the same-gender parent. The conflict is normally resolved through renunciation of the desire and identification with the same-gender parent" (Freud 1996: 216).[36] According to this theory, masculine attributes in men the world over develop out of men's defense "against castration fears as a result of identical oedipal traumas in psychosexual development" (Gilmore 1990: 25).[37] Similar to the anatomical paradigm, which places a high premium on the prowess and hormonal drive of the male body, psychoanalysis fails to address social constraints that underpin male conformity to ideals of manhood in which boys are socialized and inscribed with culturally defined markers of manhood.

The emergence of several post-Freudian schools of thought addressing masculinity illustrates the grim philosophical battles among Freudians. These include, among others, the post-Freudian ego psychologist and revisionist schools. The ego psychologist school, for example, preoccupies itself with "the special problems attached to the origin of masculinity as category of self-identity distinct from femininity" (Gilmore 1990: 26). This theory assumes that both female and male infants establish a primary identity, as well as a social bond, with the mother. As such, this model moves away from the classic Freudian model which had three assumptions: first, that a boy's male identity

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[36] Unfortunately, Oedipal complex, Freud's theory of childhood development, fails to tell us about girl's development because the theory's subject of attention is the boy.
[37] For details see Stephen 1967; Kline 1972.

is marked right after being born; second, that the boy has a natural heterosexual relationship with his mother that progresses into Oedipal conflict; and finally that a boy's male identity is definitive (Gilmore 1990: 26).

The theory assumes that both female and male infants establish a primary identity, as well as a social bond, with the mother. In addition, the theory outlines two critical stages of the child's psychic development, namely "primary narcissism" and "separation-individuation." The former stage involves the psychological disillusionment in which the child "fails to distinguish between self and mother," whereas the latter stage brings the infant to psychic awareness of the separation from the mother, as well as attainment of physical mobility and motoric exercises of independence. Such development, according to this theory, is rewarded and encouraged both by parents and other members of society (Erikson 1950; Gilmore 1990: 26-27), and explains that both boys and girls pass through these same steps and are required to conform to social demand for gender-appropriate behavior. However, while the girl's progress towards her feminine identity is unconstrained due to the natural "symbiotic unity with her mother," the boy faces "special problems" in achieving independent selfhood, inscribed by his culture as manhood. This is largely due to the amount of energy that is required of him to break his unity with the mother. For this reason, "to become a separate person the boy must perform a great deed" (Gilmore 1990: 28).

By contrast, scholars of the revisionist school, such as Gerald Fogel (1986), Arnold Cooper (1986), and Roy Schafer (1986), place a higher premium on questions of regression and its relation to social role than on questions of gender identity and castration. These theorists consider the struggle for masculinity as a battle against the

regressive wishes and fantasias, as well as a repudiation of the longings for childhood. Gilmore concludes his brilliant analysis of the psychoanalytic construction of manhood with an emphatic endorsement of the revisionist school. He sees the revisionist paradigm as possessing two strengths. First, it helps untangle the mystery of manhood from the psychological viewpoint; and second, it offers a site for a sociological understanding of meaning of manhood rather than individual functions (1990: 29).

The view that masculinity is a social construct rather than a natural or a psychoanalytic one brings us to the third widely accepted paradigm (Gilmore 1990; Sanday 1990; Courtnay 2000; and Brown et al. 2005). As Peter E.S. Freund et al., assert, "societies do not literally make or produce bodies, but they can influence, shape, and misshape them" (2003: 3). This paradigm, the social construction of masculinity, views masculinity as a social construct because it is a culturally imposed ideal to which men must conform to prove their manliness. Thus, masculinity "is not simply a reflection of individual psychology but a part of public culture, a collective representation" (Gilmore 1990: 4-5; see also Zimbalist Rosaldo 1974: 28[38]). Bill Brown and his colleagues perceive masculinity in terms of the "achieved status which almost universally includes toughness, aggressiveness, stoicism and sexuality" (Brown et al. 2005: 586). All scholars attached to this paradigm speak of masculinity in terms of what men do to show off their manliness. Simply put, the performativity of what are considered as male attributes is key to the recognition of male identities. For this reason Michael Herzfeld uses the expression "being good at being a man" (19985: 46) as an appropriate way of describing markers of

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[38] In "Woman, Culture, and Society: A Theoretical Overview" in *Woman, Culture, and Society* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974): 17-42., Rosaldo also emphasizes masculinity as a public culture to be achieved by each individual male member of society.

manhood among Glendiots in Crete. According to Herzfeld, for the Glendiots there is less a focus on "being a good man" than on "*being good at being a man*" (my emphasis). In this society, people are socialized less on noticing *what* men do than on *how* the act of manhood is performed. In a somewhat similar vein, Matthew Gutmann (1997a) offers a brilliant summation of how to conceptualize masculinity. He suggests that masculinity can be conceptualized in terms of what men think and do to be men; what it means to be more or less manly; and finally, how masculinity relates to female-male relations. That is, masculinity is conceived of anything that women are not (Gutmann 1997: 386).

Having overviewed the construction of masculinity from diverse perspectives, the question becomes what is my position regarding the same? Here I briefly provide my own opinion about the various views seen above in terms of how they relate to my current project. First, I find Gilmore's analysis to be profound and erudite. I also find his definitions of what constitutes masculinity to be very informative and well argued. However, I want to dissociate myself from Gilmore's unquestioning endorsement of the revisionist theory despite the obvious strengths of the theory and its validity. For one, I find the theory to enact gender exclusivity in that it fails to demystify the evolvement and performance of masculinity by females. This theory, similar to others attempting to define masculinity, seems to be blind to the sociopolitical and economic transformations that occur in society in which "masculinity is [consequently] shaped in relation to changing ideas about [not only] womanhood [but also manhood] in relation to emergent female's masculine roles and attributes" (Meintjes 2004: 177). It is within this changing situation that men's positions as legislators and heads of households become insecure, and their masculine attributes not only deteriorate but are also constantly questioned and

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challenged (Oliver 1988; Walser 1993: Gutmann 1997b; Silberschmidt 1999; Louis Meintjes 2004; Fox 2004). I would like to look briefly at such scholarship that has attempted to show how socio-economic transformations play an important role in the shaping of gender ideals and concepts in society.

As Margrethe Silberschmidt has noted in Kisii, Kenya, socioeconomic changes in society have resulted in alterations to the social obligations and economic expectations, resulting in an atmosphere in which men's roles and identities are challenged and undermined while those of women have been reinforced (1999: 7). This state of affairs has generated an alternative means of performing male identity reflected in a heightened masculine sexuality and control over women's sexuality and reproductive behavior. It can also be linked to increased instances of alcohol abuse, violence, and rape. Writing on the postwar class compromise in America in the 1970s, Aaron Fox sees similar changes in the gendered roles and positions among Texan male and females based on adverse economic conditions. This led to white working-class women taking traditionally male jobs, and subsequently supplementing husbands' insecure high paying jobs (2004: 254). According to Fox, affirmative action programs played an important role in American women's contribution to household economic survival by offering new avenues of employment. This development of "women being the everyday money managers in many working – class families" in America exerted a profound influence on the psychological dynamics of gender in families (2004: 254). When Guttmann discovered a similar trend during his ethnography of working-class neighborhoods in Mexico City he concluded, "Manhood and womanhood are culturally variable, and sexual practices and beliefs are contextual" (Guttmann 1997a: 390).

Such a perspective is missing in Gilmore's work, as well as that of anatomists and psychoanalysts. They all have failed to address the socio economic conditions that cause the performance of masculine attributes by females. Consequently, such theories have ignored the question of performativity of gendered identities. They have also failed to account for the female subversion of patriarchal gender identities in the context of music performance. In this next section I will attempt to address this gap.

Masculinity in Music

The discourse on masculinity and music has received significant attention in various disciplines in the last three decades, including such diverse and inspiring works from scholars of various disciplinary backgrounds: Ruben George Oliver (1988) of anthropology, and Robert Walser (1993), Sheila Whiteley (1997), and Mary Clawson (1999) from sociological and popular music studies. In musicology we find such works by Lawrence Kramer (1990), Susan McClary (1991 and 1992), Leo Treitler (1992), and Judith Tick (1992), while in ethnomusicology the work of Louis Meintjes (2004) must be singled out. Various factors served as springboards for this development of discourse on gender and masculinity, including the emergence of critical theory in 1960s; the development of feminist theories and women and gender studies in the 1960s and 1970s; and postmodern theories (Koskoff 1987 and 2005; Bowers 1989; Kramer 1990; Moisala 2000; Bernstein 2004). I will limit my brief discussion of the rise of the discourse of masculinity and music to the disciplines of musicology and ethnomusicology, while cutting across all disciplines that have treated the subject matter as shown above. I will start by looking briefly at the evolution of the feminist perspective in music before

moving on to explore the manifestations of masculinity in musicology and ethnomusicology.

The development of a feminist perspective in music was largely spawned by second-wave feminist scholarship in the social sciences and the humanities during the 1970s and 1980s. The main agenda pursued in those fields was to inquire about the place of women, their representations, and the manner of their representations. Many of the earlier works in musicology, and later ethnomusicology, were concerned with addressing these issues as well as acknowledging the contributions of feminist scholarship to music. Inspired by the feminist critique of the biologically-deterministic philosophy of gender dualism, music scholars embarked on the same mission of questioning the authority of such philosophy in the field. Gender binarism, which originated with Descartes' mind-body philosophy, holds that "human consciousness is divided in two permanently antagonistic parts, and that reason (rational) and sensuality (sensual) are mutually opposed" (Treitler 1992). This opposition is characterized by the duality of the masculine and the feminine. The connection of the "rational and the sensual" with that of the "masculine and the feminine" is considered to be deeply entrenched in the music traditions of Western societies (McClary 1991; Solie 1992; and Tick 1992). In line with this viewpoint, music history was believed to have been guided by gender duality in its description, evaluation, and narrative (Bowers 1989; McClary 1991; Solie 1992; Treitler 1992).

One of the classic examples linking music and notions of masculinity and femininity in musicology is the feminization of any musical work that does (or did) not match Beethoven's and/or Wagner's musical virility - for example, the music of Chopin

and Schoenberg. Beethoven was likened to Apollo - a mythological Greek god considered to be protector of music, and as a symbol of strength and masculinity - indexing Beethoven's possession of the vital masculine attributes of European music (Treitler 1992: 35). Likewise, because of its recursiveness and ornamentation, pre-Gregorian chant (the Old Roman tradition) was considered effeminate in contrast to the Gregorian Chant, a later development, because it was "disciplined and ordered – a product of rational thinking, thus masculine" (Treitler 1992: 35).

In a somewhat similar vein, the attack of feminist music scholars on the valorization of the "canonical" musical texts by male "master musicians" presents one of the sharpest critiques to date on music and masculinity. This is reflected in the work of scholars such as Jane Bowers' "Feminist Scholarship and the Field of Musicology: I & II" (1989); Lawrence Kramer's "Liszt, Goethe, and the Discourse of Gender" (1990); Suzanne G. Cusick's "Gender, Musicology, and Feminism" (1999); and Susan McClary's *Feminine Ending: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (1991). Of these four scholars I will briefly focus on Kramer, who was one of the earliest feminist musicologists to produce musical criticism with a gender focus.

Kramer's work revolves around Liszt's "Faust Symphony," a prominent illustration of the nineteenth-century genre known as program music. Kramer argues that Liszt's presentation of metrical gendering of themes through Faust's masculinity and Gretchen's femininity was in conformity with patriarchal representations of sexual difference. This was the chief ideology of nineteenth-century representational practice. In this symphony, the juxtaposition of masculinity and femininity is done via a number of musical and performative devices, including stylistic and terminological conventions in

which masculinity is often characterized as being mobile, diverse, active, and having more contrast. Femininity, on the other hand, is featured as being immobile and weak, and hence a form of lack. Gretchen's immobile movements and conjunct motions were intended to portray feminine fixity as a mark of sexual purity, erotic passivity and self-abnegation.

Aaron Fox's *Real Country: Music and Language in Working-Class Culture* (2004) examines how significant sociocultural, political, and economic transformations affected gender relations in one of the Texas' working-class communities, Lockhart. *Real Country* is an attempt to intersect musical and linguistic approaches to culture. It unifies "two discourses on voice": first, "phenomenological concern with voice as the embodiment of spoken and sung performance," and second, "metaphoric sense of voice as a key representational trope for social position and power"[39] (Feld and Fox, 1999: 26). This unity is profoundly found in the country music tradition, a music genre that fuses the "sung" and "spoken" voices in representing gender-based contestation of social positions and power. It is through these two vocal devices, the sung (songs) and spoken (unsung verbal text), that the performance of masculinity is enacted by drawing upon gender conflicts in the everyday life of the working-class people of Lockhart. The discourse of masculinity presented here shows an assortment of themes ranging from the portrayal of the manliness of working-class men who have sex with women of wealth, to attacks leveled at the mischief of lovers or spouses (2004: 250).

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[39] For a detailed discussion on this subject see Stephen Feld and Aaron Fox "Music and Language" in *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23 (1999): 25-53.

What interests me most, especially with regard to my present work, is the way in which Fox uncovers gender conflicts and the subsequent mutation of gendered roles, and renegotiation of social spaces between men and women under the formidable socioeconomic forces that swept across the United States beginning in the years after WWII. As Fox asserts, "under the ideological hegemony of the American 'postwar class compromise,'...gender ideology is a key symbolic domain in which class experience is expressively reflected" (2004: 250). It is natural, then, that the creation of country music interlocks with issues that pertain to the gender ideology of American society, and subsequently affect its development. Such a view suggests an interwoven affinity between performance and everyday social rituals. Because of this, a clearer understanding of the history of country music can be attained by looking at the backdrop of its changing interface with socioeconomic and political practices, including gender relations of American society during the course of the twentieth century (2004: 250).

For the same reasons, Fox's analysis of the discourse of masculinity within contemporary country music focuses on the structure of gender relations in postwar American society in an attempt to demonstrate ideological changes that have taken place over the years with regard to gender relations and power as reflected in the expressive culture. As such, themes of gender-based conflicts reflecting the lived experience of working-class society in Lockhart permeated country music performances there. Patterns of name-labeling from one gender to another reflected such conflicts. Men labeled women as spendthrifts, pesters, and religious. Women did the same by referring to men as contemptuous, workaholics, defenders of machismo, drinkers, and abusive (2004: 251). Such male credentials combined with a vocal gift were "lionized" and iconized by

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the patriarchy as bearers of cultural identity. However, in Fox's analysis, country music reveals a paradoxically fragile, frustrated, and insecure male - far from the valorizing of masculine attributes typically mapped onto performers. This can be seen from the nostalgic feeling shared by both men and women that is embedded in both the song and speech of men.

The socioeconomic downturn of America and the subsequent deterioration of living standards throughout the country due to factors such as changing job schemes and stagnant wages, the closure of manufacturing complexes, and job loss, was probably the chief reason for the evolution of this nostalgia. The act of women securing better-paid positions in traditionally male domains, and their subsequent assumption of new social roles as household bread-winners compounded the situation. This development ushered in "the psychosocial dynamics of gender in the families," thereby posing multiple threats to male identity (2004: 251). Moreover, this development raised the demand for the renegotiation of gendered spaces and the redefinition of gendered roles.

Situating the body as the space for the display of tensions between personal psychological conflicts and external multiple geosocial, political, and economic forces is the central theme of Meintjes's "Shoot the Sergeant, Shatter the Mountain: The Production of Masculinity in Zulu Ngoma Song and Dance in Post Apartheid South Africa" (2004). Positioned within fragile post-Apartheid South Africa wrecked with a high rate of unemployment, AIDS prevalence, and violence, the study examines the dilemma of the Zulu male body as it struggles to maintain its expressive power of manliness, which is under constant threat. At the same time this body attempts to negotiate a middle path through which it may accommodate a new social reality, but

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without completely relinquishing its expected standard of male authority. In regard to this state of affairs, Meintjes categorically states how she sees this dilemma. "[H]ere I look at the creative process through which ideas about men's authority are produced in a context in which ideas about men's authority is so easily taken away" (2004: 177). Under such circumstances, "*ngoma* singing and dancing," Meintjes suggests, operates as a "source of authority in the face of these struggles" (2004: 192).

Her theoretical approach toward this subject matter is profound. She not only chooses to theorize the body phenomenologically, thereby situating it politically within a *ngoma* performance as a vehicle through which assertions of manhood and attainment of power are both artistically and politically channeled, but provides the ways in which such powers are negotiated. She suggests two ways: first by the dancers' prior self-conscious manipulation of the artistic principles; and second, by spontaneous unpremeditated strategies (2004: 175). This provides us with a solid ground for the complex study of the politics of power negotiations within a musical situation.

Following the leads of such scholars as Feld (1996), Porcello (1998), and Downey (2002), whose works were profoundly influenced by scholars of phenomenology such as Alfred Schutz, Roland Barthes, and Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Meintjes combines theories of ethnomusicology and phenomenology with the intention of bringing into play the confluence of the body and sound. Specifically, Meintjes is concerned with the lack of attention given to the "analysis of artistic performance of masculinity." She devotes a large part of the work to phenomenologically describing a live *ngoma* performance by extensively outlining techniques and devices employed to enact manhood. This kind of analysis is substantially lacking in much of the literature dealing with masculinity.

Highlighting the construction of socialized bodily movements together with sound as an inter-subjective process is another important strength of this analysis. Intersubjectivity, within a musical setting, is a collective process in which socially-sanctioned values and ideals are artistically inscribed and displayed in the performers physiologically-expressive bodies. This implies that the shaping of gender sensibilities in artistic practice is a collective social responsibility. As such, the making of masculinity is done in concert with ever-changing ideals about society, including notions of "womanhood" as well as "in relation to aesthetic expression of the feminine" (2004: 177). Finally, the analysis suggests that the role in which the apartheid regime played in configuring race and class positions, which had a profound bearing on the ideals of gendered identities as well as constructions of ethnicities (2004: 190), may also provide us with a fuller understanding of the formation of masculine attributes throughout South Africa.

Robert Walser's *Running with the Devil: Power, Gender, and Madness in Heavy Metal Music* (1993) is another text that deals with the question of gender relations by focusing on the performance of masculinity in the context of music. The book presents us with a complex analysis of masculinity in the American male-dominated youth music-culture of heavy metal. Walser's analysis of the construction of masculinity within heavy metal's constantly changing world order(s) is very intriguing because, as he suggests, the markers and rules chosen to represent manhood are both "conflicting" and "problematic." He gives two reasons for this. First, in a world such as this in which change is a constant, it is more logical to talk of "multiple orders" than a single "world order." Second, because the paraphernalia or techniques employed to clothe the expected or imagined

order are too fluid to warrant fixation. For one, such markers are constantly subject to interrogation and transformation as society transforms, and such are the volatile markers of masculinity embedded in heavy metal, as Walser attempts to unfold.

Far from subscribing to the essentialist biological determinism of gender fixity as a universal phenomenon that is musically replicated in the gendered roles and identities of societies, Walser advocates a postmodernist perspective in which contradictions, fluidity, and multiplicity of identities are forcefully upheld. This is revealed in the manner in which "male" masculinity is simultaneously celebrated and undermined. The celebration of masculinity is marked by the "exscription" of women as both performers and audience members (1993: 109-116) in heavy metal. According to Walser, exscription of women serves a dual purpose. First, it provides a fairly adequate space for the display of masculinity by means of an array of visual and audio devices, including the phallicized guitar, elaborate body movements like leaping, and masculinized fear-instilling costumes (1993: 109). Second, it concretizes heavy metal manliness by distancing and shielding male musicians and audience members from the perils of female sexual attraction (1993: 116).

However, Walser's analysis suggests that such male euphoria in glorifying heavy metal masculinity is always artificial and short-lived, especially in a situation in which even musicians themselves make sense of the volatile and marginal socioeconomic positions they occupy and the power they possess in society. As such, exaggerated male displays of violence, horror, and spectacular paraphernalia only serve to fulfill three purposes: doing "identity work" as a means to conform to socially-sanctioned attributes of manhood; concealing insecurity; and finally, instilling fear in women, though heavy

metal is no longer an all-male musical genre as female musicians have recently found a place in heavy metal. This development serves to foreground exactly how artificial and fragile a male-acclaimed invasion-free zone is.

The foregoing is part of the literature I have acquainted myself with for the purpose of undertaking this project. These authors serve as a foundation upon which the various issues addressed in this project are structured. I began this chapter by exploring texts that present ethnomusicological approach to the study of healing towards maintenance of community and individual health with an emphasis on the efficacy of music in the healing process. Among other issues we have seen that notions of healing in the context of HIV/AIDS are associated with the larger social transformation rather than personal transition and that the social political suffering is an integral part of the process. In respect to gendered identities, the literature has shown that these are cultural constructs, and, therefore, variable and challengeable. Finally, we have explored notions that pertain to knowledge network between various entities and have seen that by nature networking is complex and characterized by institutional isomorphic pressure. These issues cut across the chapters of this dissertation.

Chapter Three: "Beyond the Flip Chart"—Artistic Responses towards HIV/AIDS in Tanzania

In this chapter I will focus on the production of health knowledge through performances in Tanzania. In order to get a better sense of this issue I will start with the moment when HIV/AIDS broke out in Tanzania, and the subsequent diverse artistic efforts involved in combating the pandemic nationally and at an individual group or institutional level. I will then discuss two performance groups, KAKAU and Chang'ombe Youth Theatre, which are the focal point of my ethnographic study. Although the focus is primarily on the two groups, I will occasionally oscillate between other groups for ideas and experience as they relate to the production of health knowledge. The chapter stretches further the questions the previous chapter has raised, including: the effectiveness of music in the creation of knowledge and information society in the context of HIV/AIDS; the form of knowledge networks that are involved in the process of knowledge production; and, the impact of the knowledge network on the creative process. Other crucial questions include the following: why are musicians engaging in performances about HIV/AIDS? On whose initiatives? What forms of working networks are involved in the creative process? Finally, I will explore popular perception of musical performances as healing.

Since the discovery of the first cases of HIV/AIDS in the 1980s, the artistic response to the pandemic has taken many forms: campaign tours by theatrical groups; theater festivals and competitions; and music festivals, competitions, and concerts. Other forms include musical advertisements and spots, special TV and radio programs on HIV/AIDS featuring musical compositions on the pandemic, and community-based

workshops employing theater for development approach.[40] Usually, the theater for

development approach provides a composite sort of a performance, which includes

different types of performing arts such as drama, music and dance, choral music, heroic

recitations, and story-telling (Mlama 1991). Out of the diverse responses mentioned

above, two approaches can be selected to provide an evolutionistic development of

artistic activities against HIV/AIDS in Tanzania. The first approach is by looking at

trajectories of knowledge design and development about HIV/AIDS, and the second

approach is by focusing on major national artistic activities designed and carried out

since the out break of the pandemic in Tanzania.

From the knowledge production viewpoint, two phases can be identified: the

period between 1980s and early 1990s, and from the mid-1990s up until the present day.

The first phase, according to the views of some people, is referred to as *Kipindi cha*

Kuomboleza na Kukata tamaa (The period of mourning and desperation),[41] while the

latter period is refered to as *Kipindi cha matumaini* (the period of hope). The period of

mourning and desperation is regarded as the period in which presentations of works of art

consisted largely of artists crying and mourning on stage or on their recorded works. It is

further described as the period in which most works of arts ended up asking questions

without offering answers to the problems. The larger part of the dance, music, and

dramatic work addressing HIV/AIDS awareness among the people was done by non-

religious groups. The themes of these works focused on existence, symptoms, and means

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[40] Theater for development is a form of popular theater, which is a conscious attempt to bring to the fore the voice of the poor people about their own problems and engage them in the process of improving their way of life. In popular theater, people research into their problem of life, discuss and analyze them, identifying their root causes and suggesting their possible solutions. Popular theater makes use of performing arts as its main methodology.

[41] This view is shared by a larger number of people I talked to.

of spread of HIV/AIDS. Some of the songs under this category put the blame on prostitution, especially women, as vectors of HIV/AIDS, thus suggesting its spread as a female-gendered activity (Setel 1999; Mutembei 2003). During this period, some musicians like Remmy Ongala–whom I will discuss in more detail in chapter six - had attempted to take a hardline approach by addressing the question of sexuality and reproduction in relation to condoms and HIV/AIDS head on. Since the socio-cultural and political norms of Tanzanian society regard public discourse of sexuality as taboo,[42] such songs have been barred from public broadcasting. This puts the HIV/AIDS prevention through education intervention at risk (Stambach 2002; Kirkegaard, 2004). In addition, some of the traditional musics in the rural areas have associated HIV/AIDS with sorcery, while others blame the disease on acts of incest. The few religious choral and dramatic works that dealt with the pandemic ended up berating God as well as asking for His divine intervention.

In view of this, the arts were considered unable to trigger behavioral changes. "They were dry and ignorant of health theories," as some people suggested (Interview with Mgunga Mwamnyenyelwa and Clement Matwanga, December 17 and 18, respectively). Likewise, the emergence and failure of the Information, Education, and Communication (IEC) message paradigm added tragedy to this period (see below the difference between IEC and BCC). The IEC paradigm was, and still is, criticized for its failure to address behavioral change education, thus being unable to induce expected behavioral change among the people. Because of this gap, artists and other practitioners

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[42] Public talk of HIV/AIDS and sexuality as taboo is not uniquely Tanzanian. Victor J. Seidler (2008) reports similar experience in Kenya in which the talk of sexuality is not only taboo but also shameful and embarrassing even among men. Explaining this reality Seidler writes, "But men often conceal their own ignorance and do not want to acknowledge their own lack of knowledge for this can also threaten their male identities and image within community cultural traditions enhancing masculinity"(2008: 154).

dealing with HIV/AIDS were said to be at fault and incapacitated. As Mgunga suggested,

"People cannot change their behaviour by simply listening to a song about HIV/AIDS. It

is necessary that you as a singer and composer of the song be knowldgeable of behavioral

change concept" (Personal inteview, 17 December 2008). Mgunga goes on to add that

artists dealing with HIV/AIDS should be well-versed with the Behavioral Change

Communication (BCC) paradigm.[43]

In addition to the above remarks, in many instances works of arts were

incorporated in the HIV/AIDS campaigns as crowd-pullers. Far from addressing

HIV/AIDS related issues during events organized around HIV/AIDS, most performing

groups played the mere role of attracting people's attention to the events. The role of

artists was to entertain, thereby leaving the educational component of the event to health

officers. This manner of proceedings, as it was suggested, was largely attributed to

artists' lack of the necessary knowledge about HIV/AIDS that would transform them

from being mere entertainers to edutainers.[44]

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[43] Behavior Change Communication (BCC) is defined as "the strategic use of communication to promote positive health outcomes based on proven theories and models of behavior change" (Centre for Global Health Communication and Marketing, 2005). It employs a systematic process that begins with formative research and behavior analysis, which is followed by communication planning, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation. BCC also involves careful segmentation of audiences, pre-testing of message and material, and the use of mass media and interpersonal channels to achieve desired behavioral goals. BCC contrasts itself from Information, Education and Communication (IEC), an earlier strategic use of communication to promote positive behavior upon which BCC builds, as it moves beyond the stage of developing communication strategies. That is, it creates supportive environment that enables people to not only initiate but sustain positive behavior. IEC is criticized for insisting on the provision of information and teaching people to change their behavior without providing supportive environment in collaboration between various sectors in society. By supportive environment it implies the creation of synergy between the provision of necessary information, on the one hand, and the formulation of development strategies, provision of health services, and the integration of community and society to provide supportive environment necessary for behavioral transformation, on the other.

[44] Conversations with Professor Eustace Muhondwa, Rashid Masimbi, Mgunga Mwamnyenyelwa, and Ghonche Materego. Muhondwa is a Professor of Public Health at the Muhimbili University of Health Science. Since the out break of HIV/AIDS in the country he has conducted extensive research on HIV/AIDS and has participated in numerous HIV/AIDS campaigns that have employed performance as a medium of education. Masimbi, on the other hand, is a retired long-serving civil servant. Before his

"The period of hope," by contrast, is characterized by works of art that aim at giving hope to the society. Of most importance regarding this period is the adoption of an artistic participatory methodology during its earlier stages as well as the introduction of the BCC paradigm much later. In the workshop organized by the Family Health International, which Chang'ombe Youth Theatre and I attended, BCC was described to comprise five stages: pre-contemplation (information and education to trigger recognition of need to change); contemplation (persuasion or incentives to activate desire or intention to change); preparation (opportunities to acquire skills needed for new behvaiour); action (social support and services for adoption and maintance of new behavior); and maintenance. Under the BCC paradigm, guidance performing groups are instructed in steps to follow during the creative process so as to be able to induce expected and required behavior.

The second approach of taking a look at major activities designed and implemented nationally, can be done by taking stock of activities organized nationally by various recognized artistic organizations. These include the National Arts Council of Tanzania (NACT or BASATA) in collaboration with the National AIDS Council Programme's (NACP) festivals and theatre tours; Tuseme and Childrens's Theatre Projects organized by the University of Dar es Salaam in collaboration with the Ministry of Education's festivals; and Tanzania Theatre Centre (TZTC) in collaboration with

retirement, he held various high positions in the government, especially in the ministry responsible for culture and education. For years he served as the Principal of the Bagamoyo National College of Arts before he was transferred to the headquarters of the ministry to deal with, among others, planning and policy issues related to culture. At the time of the interview he was the Executive Secretary of the Tanzania Theatre Centre. Mwamnyenyelwa is an active performing artist and director of an artistic NGO called Parapanda Theatre Lab. His NGO, which deals with music, dance, and poetry, has worked extensively with various international and local organizations on diverse issues, including HIV/AIDS. At the time of the interview he had just been elected as a member of the Board of the National Arts Council. Materego is the Executive Secretary for the National Arts Council of Tanzania.

UNICEF, which included training workshops on participatory methodology, and festivals.

"The National Artists Campaign Against AIDS," was initiated between May and June 1989 in Dar es Salaaam and later replicated in all regions of Tanzania, was perhaps the hallmark of artistic acitivities against HIV/AIDS in the country. This project, which was first started in October 1987, was organized in collaboration between NACP and NACT/BASATA in two phases. The project identified three broad objectives: to institutionalize the involvement and collaboration of artists in HIV/AIDS control and health promotion; to educate the general public about HIV infection and AIDS with a view of creating public opinion that sanctions high-risk behavior; and finally, to educate high-risk groups of people on their life styles and social situation with a view to persuading them to modify, if not, abandon high risk behavior (National Arts Council of Tanzania 1989: 1). Considering the view that artists were also said to belong to sectors of society vulnerable to HIV/AIDS, the project aimed to equip the artists with the necessary knowledge on the pandemic so as to enable them "modify if not to abandon high risk behavior in order to remove dissonance between what they say to others" through their various artistic medium and "what they practice" (National Arts Council of Tanzania 1989: 2). It should be noted, however, that this view of placing artists among the most vulnerable groups to HIV/AIDS is less of an accident than by design. It is also historical and cannot go unchallenged.

Here I provide a brief historiography of this phenomenon among African societies. It is widely known that although the contribution of artists to the well being of society is significant and acknowledged in various societies over the world though their

social status is low. Artists, especially musicians, hold an ambivalent position in society. This ambiguous position of musicians results from the general and historical stereotypal view of some societies on them as a "deviant" social group, and, thus, capable of bringing about calamities upon themselves and to society at large. Charles Cutter (1968) and Allan P. Merriam (1982) provide an excellent picture of this phenomenon in their studies of traditional musicians in Africa. In his study of the role of musicians among the Mande of Mali, Cutter notes that inspite of the immense contributions the *griots* were making to the societal well-being, paradoxically, not only were these musicians considered socially and politically inferior, and ranked lowest among the lower occupational castes. Even their dead bodies were not allowed to touch the earth. Instead, they were buried in the middle of the baobab trees to protect the land from barreness that might result from contact with their remains (Cutter 1968: 38). Similarly, among the Songye of Central Africa, Merriam notes that the deviant behavior of the Bala musicians was considered to range from heavy drinking, laziness, family irresponsiblity, and economic dependence, to being "ordered about people," and, most disgustingly, promiscuity (Merriam 1982: 339-346). Because of musicians' abnormal behavior, musicianship was considered an undesirable occupation. Ironically though, Songye society considered musicians not only "the most important people in society" (Merriam 1982: 342), but also a social group whose "deviant" behavior could be tolerated. Merriam makes an interesting statement about the Bala musicians: "Bala musicians seem to be fully aware of their ambivalent position in society and take advantage of it in a variety of way… *and that the stereotype tends to be a reasonably accurate reflection of the musician's actual behavior*" (Merriam 1982: 344, 341; emphasis mine). Merriam's assertion resonates with the current public's view of the

role and social status of artists in Tanzania generally, and related to HIV/AIDS in particular.

Although my interviews with various people, including artists themselves, reflected contesting views about such a phenomenon in Tanzania, the views of those who still hold such a primordial and negative perspective on artists is worth attention. They not only consider artists as deviant people, but they also think that their participation in the campaign against the HIV/AIDS pandemic may sometimes be suspicious. Those who hold this view based their reasons on the "large" number of artists who are considered to have died or are dying from this pandemic. Since the main means of HIV/AIDS transmission is considered to be through homo- and heterosexuality, deaths of artists caused by HIV/AIDS-related complications were linked to their promiscouity. Those who hold this view took for granted that the death toll from HIV/AIDS has involved people from various sectors, professions (including the health sector), and social economic classes.[45] I want to suggest that this view of placing artists as one of the most vulnerable group or even as vectors of disease, is nothing short of a form of stigma.

Since its outbreak three decades ago, HIV/AIDS has been used to stigmatize certain groups. As Barnett and Whiteside (2006: 71) have suggested, epidemics have histories and "[h]istories always depend on how they are told, by whom, and for what

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[45] Professor Muhondwa brought up this issue during our discussion. Initially, he also held the questioning view of the relevance of artists to participate in the campaign against HIV/AIDS as he thought they were incapable of presenting themselves as role models. But later he realized that even the people in his profession, the health sector, were also dying in large numbers. Although he finally ruled out the association of HIV/AIDS-related deaths of artists with HIV/AIDS as a factor that disqualify their attainment of the role-model status, he still questioned some aspects of dance movements such as waist wriggling during the campaign, which he thought heightened sexuality rather than discouraging it. I explore this issue further in chapter six when discussing interpretation of problems regarding meaning in music with reference to *Mambo kwa Soksi* and *Usione Soo Sema Naye.*

reasons." They continue to assert that "HIV/AIDS mixes sex, death, fear and disease in ways that can be interpreted to suit the prejudices and agendas of those controling particular historical narratives in any specific time" (Barnett and Whiteside 2006: 71). Stigmatization as a social process and a feature of social relations, therefore, mirrors the tension, conflict, silence, and hypocrisy endemic in any human society and culture (Barnett and Whiteside 2006: 71). Because of this, in my view, the stigmatization of artists and artistic work may also operate as a systematic way of attempting to separate this sector from taking an active role in the war against the pandemic. This state of affairs departs remarkably from the current worldwide holistic strategy against the pandemic. My position, therefore, is to deflect the view Merriam offered above. I contend that what some people in society think of or say about the artists' bad conduct may not necessarily constitute *a reasonably accurate reflection of their actual behavior.* Instead, artists should be considered to be just as important people as any other social group in society whose contribution to a healthy society is equally important. This disertation serves to demonstrate that contribution. I would like now to go back to my earlier discussion of the national artistic campaign against HIV/AIDS organized by the National Arts Council of Tanzania.

A number of activities were carried out during the implementation of this project in both phases. Activities that were implemented in phase one included the national inaugurational festival featuring a wide range of artistic expressions from music (taarab, choral, dance music, and traditional dances), mass rallies, poetic recitation, acrobatics, exhibitions (painting, posters and artwork on local crafts), plays, training workshops, and performances of various forms of arts in and around Dar es Salaam. Except for special

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sessions, such as training workshops and organising meetings, all activities were open to the public free of charge. Activities of Phase Two involved country tours of one selected play performed by the Bagamotyo College of Arts and regionally organized programmes, which included touring of selected works of art in all districts, and the distribution of condoms. The project ceased immediately after Phase Two.

The national arts festival and competitions organized under the Cultural Programme by the Directorate[46] of Culture Development in the Ministry responsible for culture provide another major national program in which the theme of HIV/AIDS has invariably been addressed. The cultural program, which was launched in 1980, had four objectives: first, to provide entertainment for the people and build a spirit of appreciation to see, buy, and value art; second, to build a spirit of co-operation and competition among artists as well as to give them incentives to develop skills, while at the same time the program served as an avenue for artists to learn from each other; fourth, to provide a venue for cultural officers to meet and exchange views and to advertise, develop, and preserve cultural heritage (Lihamba 1985: 366). The festivals and competitions were interchangeably held annually depending on the financial position of the Ministry responsible for culture. It was through these festivals and competitions that educational messages about HIV/AIDS were communicated. All performances were free of charge.

A third, notable example of artistic intervention against HIV/AIDS is the "Youth to Youth Communication on AIDS Program" conducted in collaboration between Tanzania Theatre Centre (TZTZ) and UNICEF. Established in 1999, the program focused

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[46] I prefer to use the officially designated name of the department responsible for culture, "Directorate," than as a "Ministry" because since its inception in 1962 under the Ministry of Culture and Youth, this directorate has experienced inter-ministerial transfers.

on out-of-school children and adolescents. Young people and children targeted by this project were considered not only to be at high risk, but were also lacking information and education on HIV/AIDS. The program, therefore, aimed at enhancing "sustainable change in sexual behaviour and attitudes among sexually active girls and boys, women and men, thus reducing the rate of HIV/AIDS prevalence (Tanzania Theatre Centre n.d. 4)." Based on the Knowledge, Attitude and Practices (KAP) model, the program sought to complement earlier findings obtained through quantitative methods with a more qualitative participatory-based research. This qualitative participatory approach was considered useful in enhancing understanding of the KAP findings in terms of young people's attitude and practices, as well as the impact of traditions on youth sexual practices.

To accomplish the set-goals, the program designed and carried out a number of activities, including providing in-depth information on KAP to the participants and training earmarked peer educators, health personnel, and other actors in the skills of art for development so as to enhance behavioral change among themselves as well as among people in society at large in relation to HIV/AIDS risk. In addition, the program assisted the participants in the creative process and performance at the village level as well as by organizing district art festivals. The performances held in the villages and during the district festivals addressed issues revolving around risk behavior among out-of-school children and adolescents. All performances were intended for free public view. The program was carried out in such districts as Musoma Rural (Musoma Region 1999); Kisarawe (Coast Region 1999); Masasi (Mtwara Region 2000); and Temeke (Dar es Salaam Region 2002). As the program expanded to cover the entire country, UNICEF

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decided to welcome on board individual artists as opposed to a single institution to carry out the tasks of the project regardless of their institutional affiliation. The official collaboration between UNICEF and TZTC expired in 2002.

Tuseme is another program that approached the battle against HIV/AIDS in an artistic way but from a gender perspective, mainly focusing on young people. The program was established by the Department of Fine and Performing Arts of the University of Dar es Salaam in 1997 and was run in collaboration with the Ministry responsible for Education and Culture. This program, together with its sister project, Children's Theatre Project (CTP), was officially integrated in the projects of the Ministry responsible for education and culture in 1999. Following its success in Tanzania, the Secretariat of FAWE voted *Tuseme* as one of the best practices for girls education, and thus had it replicated and mainstreamed in the education systems of various African countries, including Kenya, Zambia, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Senegal, Gambia, Ethiopia, and Guinea, to name only a few.

Tuseme was designed to empower secondary school girls to comprehend and overcome hindrances to their academic and social development. It specifically aimed at providing the girls with a voice to speak out and express their problems, find solutions, and take initiatives to solve the problems raised. Specifically, the program aimed to make girl-students vocal about and critical to issues that they perceived to be the sources of school dropouts, poor academic achievement, school pregnancy, sexual harassment, and any other gender related problems. During the process, students are empowered to deliberate on the best possible means to combat the problems that they have identified. *Tuseme* employs art for development process, as an artistic participatory methodology

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and as integrative and driving engine towards achieving its set goals. This process is now popularly known as the *Tuseme* Process in Tanzania and other African countries.

As has been the case with the TZTC's participatory process, *Tuseme* Process starts with training workshops both with teachers and students, and culminates in an annual festival that brings together representatives of all participating schools in order to share social and academic experiences through musical and dramatic performances: symposium: exhibition: training workshops on the arts: verbal and writing skills: and discussion with selected people considered to be role-models. While HIV/AIDS was a recurring theme in many of the activities of the program in the participating schools because of its relationship with sexual harassment and young people's sexuality as factors to poor academic achievement, the program activities of the 2001 focused on the pandemic. Thus, HIV/AIDS featured as the central theme of the sensitization workshops in schools and the subsequent national *Tuseme* festival that took place in March 2001.

CTP, the sister program to *Tuseme*, followed suit in focusing its activities of the year 2001 on HIV/AIDS, including its regional and national festivals. All such events were organized by the University of Dar es Salaam in collaboration with the regional authorities. Unlike *Tuseme*, which mostly covered selected all-girls and gender-mixed secondary schools, CTP covered primary schools in the neighboring regions of Dar es Salaam, Morogoro, and Coast. Furthermore, while *Tuseme* used art for development purposes, CTP focused on performance by putting the children themselves at the center of the creative process. The similarities between the two programs could be seen in terms of the sort of activities involved and the groups targeted. Both programs focused on young people within a confined school setting, and emphasized regular training for

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teachers and pupils/students through facilitators and conducting annual festivals.

Other than the above stipulated institutional national artistic strategies, performers – working individually or in groups – both in rural and urban areas have invariably addressed the question of HIV/AIDS pandemic. Some artistic groups exist as independent artistic entities while others operate as registered non-profit organizations (NGOs). Other groups operate in affiliation with religious or faith-based institutions (FBOs). For example, Chang'ombe Youth Theatre and Parapanda Art Lab Theatre exist as NGOs, while KAKAU and the CARITAS women choir operate under FBOs affiliated to the Roman Catholic Church. Other groups I worked with, such as Lugoroile and Abaragomora, are registered artistic groups working independently and purely on artistic basis.

Another important activity worth mentioning here is the Sabasaba HIV/AIDS Art Festival sponsored and organized annually by the Tanzania Commission for AIDS (TACAIDS). The festival is held during the International Trade Fair that takes place annually in the month of July in the International Trade Fair Grounds located in Dar es Salaam city. The festival, which takes place inside a mini-theater hall built much closer to the TACAIDS pavilion, features a plethora of artistic performances ranging from dramatic sketches, *muziki wa dansi* (dance music), taarab, rap, choir, acrobatics, and dance-drama. Most of the groups involved in the festival hail from Dar es Salaam. The festival serves two purposes. First, the artistic performances operate as crowd-pullers. That is, musical performances function to draw people's attention to visit the TACAIDS pavilion to see activities of the organization. Second, the festival operates as a channel through which information and services on HIV/AIDS-related issues are provided to

artists and the public at large.[47]

Of utmost importance to this festival is the need to prevent new HIV infections whose infection rate is put at 400 people per day countrywide (TACAIDS 2008). However, unlike the other artistic interventions described above, entrance to the TACAIDS Sabasaba festival is indirectly charged. While the purpose of the trade fair is to provide an international avenue for negotiation on trade and business through fair exhibitions of various industrial and handcraft products, all entrants other than the exhibitors have to pay a daily entrance fee.[48] As a result, many people from low income families the majority of whom live within close range of the trade fair grounds cannot afford the entrance fee. This denies them the opportunity to access HIV/AIDS education through artistic performances.[49]

A recent development is the growing interest of musicians of Christian music to address the question of HIV/AIDS through various spaces, including live performances during church services, music concerts and competitions, and in public HIV/AIDS campaigns. The musical performances by religious groups have approached the pandemic as the product of adultery and hence the punishment by God (Mbilinyi and Kaihula 2000; Mutembei 2001). This viewpoint ends up suggesting Jesus Christ as the only solution.[50] Given the complexity of approaches to HIV/AIDS education as reflected in the

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[47] Personal conversation with festival organizers at the headquarters of TACAIDS, April 28, 2009.
[48] The minimum entrance fee is approximately $2-3 daily, which is too high for the average Tanzanian.
[49] Conversation with the festival organizers, and festival reports, April 28, 2009.
[50] The use of Christian music (sometimes known as gospel music) as a divine solution to insurmountable worldly tragedies is also reflected in Mai Palmberg's work on music and crisis with the experience of Zimbabwe. In this work titled, "Music in Zimbabwe's Crisis," Mai Palmberg sees gospel music as a "swelling middle ground" that "reflects despair but does not take overt standpoints." For details on this see *Sounds of Change – Social and Political Features of Music in Africa*, edited by Stig-Magnus Thorsen (Uppsala: SIDA Studies) 2004: 18–46.

expressive culture, including Christian music, and the existence of a multiplicity of understandings of and strategies against the pandemic, I was interested in examining how the state and Christian ideology impedes or supports HIV/AIDS education. I was particularly interested in investigating how this ideology affects the creative process of popular Christian musical performances engaged in HIV/AIDS at the level of social interactions during rehearsals and performances, performance styles, and context of performance.

An Ethnography of KAKAU and Chang'ombe Youth Theatre

Here I present a detailed musical theater performance named *Kibanda* as performed by Chang'ombe Youth Theatre. Although the performance focuses on the theme of sexuality in relation to multiple concurrent partnerships and HIV/AIDS, the incorporation of the dance of affliction at the beginning of this performance is strikingly phenomenal as it presents a body of composite knowledge both indigenous and biomedical about sexuality, HIV/AIDS, and healing on the one hand, and indigenous musical traditions on the other.

Kibanda is a dance-drama or musical theater performance centered around highest risk sexual behavior, namely multiple concurrent sexual partnerships (MCP). It is performed by Chang'ombe Youth Theatre, an artistic group located in Temeke municipality, one of the three municipalities of Dar es Salaam City. *Kibanda* focuses on three characters, Majuto, Kidawa, and Tabu. Majuto, the protagonist womanizer male character is portrayed as going around with a number of women, including Kidawa and Tabu. Some of these are friends, but they do not know that they are involved in on-going

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triadic sexual network inside the *kibanda*. Majuto's virility is illustrated both musically

through songs he himself sings and those of the entire chorus, on the one hand, and

speech, his own, and those of other characters, on the other.[51] Kidawa, a faithful, strong,

and beautiful young woman finds herself sandwiched between her deep love for the

unfaithful Majuto, and the urge from an older female friend to adhere to the traditional

teachings of multiple partners traditionally known among the Zaramo and other coastal

people as *mafiga matatu*, and these days as *kidumu.* These traditions are said to have been

encouraged, especially among young women during puberty.

In addition to the three main characters there are two other important characters: a

male and a female, making a total of five characters. However, in the course of the

performance, other musicians occasionally join the actors during the dancing moments,

and the actors likewise move back and forth between acting and playing on musical

instruments. *Kibanda* ends with three resolutions. First, Kidawa decides to find *kidumu*

(another male sexual partner) as a way of revenge against Majuto. Second, Tabu demands

Majuto to ask other women to withdraw from the sexual network and to go for voluntary

counseling and HIV test (VCT). And finally, Majuto decides to go for VCT. The end of

the performance allows the discussion to take place among the audience members. The

discussion is led by a jockey or a moderator, usually a member of the performing group.

Kibanda deploys an array of choreographed movements embedded within various

indigenous dances and songs from different ethnic groups in Tanzania, but chiefly from

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[51] The integration of musical and non-musical components of social life in a musical event such as speech
formed one of the central observations of Ruth Stone in her study of Kpelle Music. This observation
culminated in Ruth Stone's statement that "most ethnomusicologists assume that music performance is
distinct from other activities in a culture" (1982: 2). As seen in the case of Chang'ombe Youth Theatre,
Stone's observation is not uniquely Kpelle.

the coastal regions and southern parts of Tanzania (Mtwara, Lindi, and Ruvuma). As mentioned earlier, the dance movements and songs are combined with speech by means of acting. The musical ensemble that accompanies this composite performance comprises five musicians that play different musical instruments. The instruments ensemble consists of a Zaramo tuned xylophone; a set of *ngoma za mapipa* (barrel drums); a *djembe*, a globally popular West African drum; and an assortment of shakers such as *manyanga* (gourd and tin shakers). As discussed below, a total of five short traditional songs plotted between several moments of actions over the span of the production are deployed. Costume is a very important component in the performance of *kibanda*. Except for performers taking up different characters in *kibanda* and putting on different costumes, all performers are clad in *vitenge,* a wrapper for women, when performing various dances. Musicians maintain appearing in *vitenge* throughout the performance. Unlike other characters that put on costumes with a mixture of normal colors, Kidawa and Tabu, except for the moment of dancing, wear black gowns. In most of the performances of Chang'ombe Youth Theatre, women, young people, and children constitute the majority of the audience members.

A typical performance of *kibanda* is preceded by a number of indigenous dance and songs of various ethnic groups from southern Tanzania. The entire event climaxes with a post-performance discussion between members of the audience that focuses on major issues raised in the production. The description that follows is centered on one event that took place at Sandari, one of the 16 areas where the performances of *kibanda* were done. Instead of describing all the musical performances that take place as a means of drawing the attention of the people to the performance, I will start with one of the

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central moments that precede *kibanda*, the make-shift performance of a trance dance.

This dance serves to prepare the atmosphere of the entire performance as it draws the

psychological attention of both the performers and the audience members prior to the

actual performance of *kibanda*. Then an exorcism dance follows beginning with the

following song:

> Leader: Ukipata twende ukikosa twende, usilale mchana?
> (If you get let's go, If you miss it let's go, don't sleep in the afternoon)
> Chorus: Ukipata ukikosa twende, usilale mchana
> (If you get let's go, If you miss it let's go, don't sleep in the afternoon)

When this song is sung an *mganga* (a traditional healer), accompanied by a male

assistant, enters the stage. He is dressed in white tunic with a black headscarf. The face is

painted with short white powder stripes. On his hands he holds a gourd shaker. In the

company of his assistant the *mganga* vigorously struts about the performance space,

violently shaking the gourd while muttering unintelligible words. While doing this, the

assistant shakes the whiskey he holds in his hands to various directions as if to clean the

space. Then the *mganga* motions to the assistant to sit on the ground. The assistant obeys,

sitting on the ground in a stride position with the torso slightly bent forward. The *mganga*

sprinkles some articles on the back of his assistant and quickly departs the performance

space. He leaves the assistant scratching the earth with his buttocks in back and forth

movements. No sooner does the *mganga* leave the performance space than another song

is introduced:

Bendera ya subiani[52] mwaiona ina rangi x2
(You see, subiani's flag has colors)
Subiani eeeh tukawinde ndege eee
(Subian, let's go hunt birds)
Subiani eeeh tukawinde ndegee eee
(Subian, let's go hunt birds)

This song brings in the entire group of six dancers—three female and three male dancers to dance in two files, one for the male and the other one for the female dancers. The dancing style comprises long steps forward, two short steps back, arms lifted up and down. Upon reaching the center of the performance space, the dancing movements include faster clockwise and counterclockwise spins done several times. This cycle is finished with an emphatic halt and the torso bent ninety degrees to the ground, supported by arms rested on the knees. These movements are executed many times until the *mganga*, in a trance state, runs onto the performance space from the *kibanda* and falls prostrate on the ground to the shock of the dancers. Surrounded by the dancers shocked by the turn of events, the *mganga*, very slowly and seemingly with much difficulty, starts crawling forward. At this juncture the assistant recklessly keeps moving around the possessed *mganga* probing him to speak something. But instead of speaking, he starts singing a song, which is responded by the assistant and the dancers:

Mganga:	*Nitakipataje kisiwa kile*
	(How can I get [to] that island)
Chorus:	*Ujue maji kuogelea, ujue maji kuogelea*
	(You should know how to swim)

After several rounds of call and response between the *mganga* and the chorus, the *mganga,* through his assistant, begins to say something using unintelligible words. The

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[52] Subiani is the name of an evil spirit associated with possessing people and inflicting them with illness.

main dialogue between the *mganga* in his unconscious state and the assistant is about the reason people had gathered there. He wants to know why the gathering has taken place without the permission of the spirit world. Representing the people in attendance, the assistant responds saying that they had come there to talk about HIV/AIDS. And, after an extended dialogue, the guardian spirit of the area is satisfied and approves the event, promising that he too will be there to see to it that people will listen. The following is a selected section of the dialogue.

Assistant:	*Taratibu taratibu mkubwa hapa kuna watu pamoja na watoto* (*Easy, easy the powerful, here there are people and children*) *Munaona mimi niliwaaambia musifanye mambo bila ya kuwashirikisha wenyewe,* (Turning to dancers and the audience: You see, I told you don't do things here without involving the owners) *mnaona wenyewe wamekuja! Wamekuja!* (You see, now they have come)
Mganga:	*Mmekuja kufanya nini, mmekuja kufanya nini?* (What have you come for here? What have you come for here?)
Dancers:	*Tumekuja kusikiliza mambo ya ukimwi* (*We have come to listen to the talk about AIDS*)
Mganga:	(Singing) *Hayo maneno yenu mumeyataka wenyewe sasa mwaiona ngondo mwafunga virago* (Those are your words, you wanted these things, now you see the consequences and you start packing)
Assistant:	*Ni hivi mkubwa hapa kuna mambo ya vijana kama unavyouona huu mtaa, vijana tunataka kuuelimisha* (You see the powerful; here there are things that pertain to young people. As you see how things are in this street, so we want to educate the people of this street)
Mganga:	*Sasa mnapiga mangoma bila ya kutuarifu sisi wakubwa* (Then why do you beat drums without letting us know?)
Assistant:	*Hilo tumekosea, sisi hatukujua kwamba huu ni mwamba wenu?* (In that regard, we are sorry, we did not know that this was your area)
Mganga:	*Mimi nimekuja kutembea hapa,… kama mtu analeta ujinga, ujinga hapa…watajua mimi au siyo?* (I have come to visit… and if someone brings stupid things here then they will get to know me properly, right?)

Assistant:	*Ndiyo ….tutawaambia lakini usiwafanye vibaya watu wa mtaa huu…*
	(Yes, we will tell them, but please do not bring them any harm)
Mganga:	*Basi muendelee kusikiliza habari muhimu, habari ya ukimwi*
	(*Okay proceed listening to important issues on AIDS*)
Assistant:	Ndiyoo!!
	(Okay)
Mganga:	*Basi nipo na ninyi*
	(Then I will be with you)

After this, the *mganga* sings a short song:

Kwa heri tutaonana mwakani kinjeri kinjenje eee njenje x2
(Goodbye, we will meet next year)

This song is picked up by the dancers and the *mganga* stands up and bends forward in a

ninety degree position his head facing the ground. Then he stretches out both of his hands

to dovetail with those of the assistant's, who is also posing in the same posture. They

begin pulling each other gently for a moment before they come to a complete stand still

for a fairly extended time before the *mganga* collapses to the ground, and immediately

returns to his conscious state. Immediately after this development, the *mganga* walks

straight to the *Kibanda* and disappears inside. Meanwhile the dancers continue to dance

while singing the song *kinjenjenje*, accompanied by an array of choreographed dance

movements until they exit. As the other dancers exit, one male dancer remains on the

performance area displaying various break-dance movements to the applause of the

audience, until he signals the musicians to stop playing.

Immediately after the end of the dance, Clement Matwanga, the leader of the

group, enters the performance space, greets the audience, and makes a brief speech

requesting people's attention for what he called *kile ambacho kimeandaliwa* (that which

has been prepared). In his speech, Matwanga urges people to be attentive by watching and listening so that they can be able to participate in the discussion after the performance. Upon finishing his brief speech Matwanga exits, and *kibanda* starts.

The above scenario is an example of a dance of affliction, a traditional healing practice related to the intervention of super natural power (cosmological physical), which is also identified as *ngoma* discussed in chapter two. We have seen that this kind of healing practice consists of musical performances that are performed around rituals in which the ancestral spirits are integral (Lihamba 1986; Roseman 1989; Janzen 1992; Friedson 1996). The core function of the dance of affliction, as noted earlier, is the articulation of the process of personal transition in which knowledge about causes of the disease is divulged by the healer/sufferer (Janzen 1992; Van Dijk et al. 2000). Although this type of dance of affliction seems to take a similar pattern of a single-sufferer centered approach, it falls short of accomplishing its main goal of transforming the sufferer into a healer. In addition, here the dance was not aimed at providing diagnostic information of the disease. Rather, it illustrates the power and authority of the supernatural in the daily happenings of the natural world, including various sensitive issues such as the public discourse on sexuality.

As stated in the previous chapters, and as discussed throughout this dissertation, in most African societies, public discourse on sexuality as well as other socially-sensitive issues such as death and certain aspects of health is taboo. Such discourses, through performance, were and still are taking place within highly-organized restrictive ritual contexts that operate as potential carriers of knowledge. These are done within a hierarchy of ritual contexts such as initiation rites for adolescents, for newly-wed couples,

for the first pregnancy, infant rites, and so on. These practices still take place a great deal

in the areas in which the performances of Chang'ombe Youth Theatre group were done in

the urban areas of Temeke District. Dominant ethnic groups such as Zaramo[53] and

Ndengereko, who are the traditional inhabitants in the large part of this district, still

observe these rites. Symbolically, therefore, this particular opening dance of affliction

served to endorse public discourse about sexuality by seeking and then being granted the

approval of the ancestors.

Kibanda, which is a metaphor for a male person with multiple sexual partners,

starts with a musical background, mainly a percussive section set in Zaramo musical

tradition. The musical section is followed by a series of short choruses sung mainly in a

call and response form. As the percussive musical background continues, a male

musician on the xylophone calls (sings) loudly:

Caller:　　　Oyeee
Response:　　Yeeeee!!!
Caller:　　　*Oyee jamani kibanda kinalipa jamani kibanda kinalipa eee eeeee*
　　　　　　　eeeeee
　　　　　　　(Folks the hut pays off, the hut pays off)
The chorus:　Yeeeeee

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[53] Among the Zaramo, for example, sexual discourse takes place during coming of age rites called *jando* (for boys) and *mwali* (for girls, following their first menstruation). In her book *Blood, Milk, and Health: Body Symbols and the Power of regeneration Among the Zaramo of Tanzania* (London: Bergin & Garvey,1995), Marja-Liisa Swantz provides a comprehensive account about secret sexual teachings provided to girl initiate (*mwali*) during their seclusion. Such teachings include sexual reproduction, menstrual cycle, and expertise in sexual intercourse. In addition to specific sexual teachings given to the *mwali* by closest female relatives, the rite of abuse is another space for public sexual discourse. This event also takes place within the ritual context of *mkole* after the completion of private sexual teachings to the initiates. It serves as the public celebrations of the *mwali's* maturity. It brings together both men and women from close relatives. It should be noted, however, that the sexual discourse in the context of the rite of abuse is only done within the context of musical performance through songs using words that usually are not spoken in ordinary conversation. Likewise, the *jando* institution (boys' initiation rites) puts emphasis on sexual aspects of life. The boys receive instructions on sexual behavior and biological facts in addition to the expected manner of relationship toward older women, and his future wife and in-laws (See also Swantz 1970).

This pattern is repeated several times while two female dancers enter the performance space, briefly executing very slow choreographed movements before they exit. When they exit, a song *Kila mlango una mwenyewe* (Every door has its user) is introduced and the other dancers swarm the performance space and dance randomly:

<div style="margin-left: 2em;">

Caller: *Kila mlango una mwenyewe*
     (Every door has its user)
Chorus: *kibanda kimoja*
     (One hut)
Caller: *Kila mlamgo una mwenyewe*
     (Every door has its user)
Chorus: *Paa moja*
     (One rooftop)
Caller :   *Kila mlango una mwenyewe*
     (Every door has its user)
Chorus: *Kitanda kimoja*
     (One bed)

</div>

This song too is repeated several times, accompanied by an array of choreographed dance movements. The song is followed by an extended dialogue between Majuto and Tabu about the former's virility. The scenario ends with a song in which Majuto sings a sexual advance to Tabu:

<div style="margin-left: 2em;">

Majuto: *Ewe dada yangu sikia, nina maneno kidogo,*
     hebu sogelea na njia nikunongo'neze kidogo x2,
     (Hey my sister listen to me, I have a few words
     Come closer to me so that I can whisper a small thing to you)
     Ee Tabu ee sogea kidogo x2 *Nikunong'oneze.*
     (Oo Tabu come a bit closer to me Let me whisper to you)

</div>

As Majuto sings, Tabu seems to be unable to resist the charm of the song and slowly and willingly follows Majuto. The more Majuto keeps singing the song, the more Tabu gets softened Finally, Majuto grabs Tabu and they quickly disappear into the *kibanda*. As

Plate 1. Chang'ombe Youth Theatre during the performance at Temeke.

Plate 2. Musicians of Chang'ombe Youth Theatre during the performance.

Plate 3. A cross-section of the audience watching the performance of Kibanda at Chang'ombe.

Plate 4. Audience members and Chang'ombe performers interacting during the post-performance discussion.

Plate 5. Chang'ombe Youth Theater rehearsing at their office, Chang'ombe.

Plate 6. Clement Matwanga, Director of the group (far right) speaking during the rehearsal.

Majuto and Tabu enter in the *kibanda,* another song is sung in repetition, as a commentary to Majuto and Tabu's sexual relationship.

> *Safari ni safari bora ufike salama*
> *Salamu kwenu kibanda chabeba maisha mema*
> (A journey is a journey what matters is to arrive safely
> Receive our greetings for *kibanda* carries good life)

The following scenarios portray Kidawa, another sexual partner of Majuto, engaged in a conversation with various characters complaining about the latter's sexual behavior. Another woman persuades Kidawa to look for *kidumu* to rid herself of Majuto's problems. Seeming undecided whether to dump Majuto or look for *kidumu*, Kidawa decides to keep quiet as revealed in the following song:

> *I keep it in my heart, I keep it in my heart*
> *A grown up girl child has to keep things secret*[54]

This song is followed by other rounds of dialogue between Kidawa and other characters questioning whether Majuto will change or if he uses condoms. They also discuss the catastrophe that will befall all those people sharing Majuto's sexual behavior. Tabu demands Majuto to "reduce" the number of his sexual partners and to go for VCT if he wants her to continue with their relationship. Majuto gives in but is afraid of VCT; nevertheless, he decides to go. Kidawa, on the other hand, vows to voluntarily withdraw from Majuto's sexual network, but she also looks forward to finding *kidumu*. As the production ends, Clement Matwanga comes in, now as a jockey, to lead the discussion with the audience members about major issues addressed in the production.

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[54] *Namezea mwenzenu namezea, namezea*
Kimwane mkulu nogela kumgongo namezea

Kibanda, as noted earlier is part of the broader project referred to as "Addressing Multiple, Concurrent Partnerships towards HIV/AIDS Preventions among Young People." This project is conducted by Family Health International (FHI) in Tanzania.[55] It primarily aims at young people aged 15–24 years old living in the four wards of Temeke municipality: Temeke, Tandika, Sandali, and Chang'ombe. The aim was to reach a total of 4000 young people of that age range after the completion of the project. As indicated in their report, the reason for establishing this project arose from the fact that "in generalized, high prevalence epidemics many new infections result from multiple, often concurrent sexual partnerships and informal transactional sex within the general population" (Chang'ombe Youth Theatre 2009: 3). It is considered that often individuals in such relationships do not perceive themselves as being involved in high-risk behavior. And, according to a quotation in the Chang'ombe Youth Theatre report, these "behaviors are believed to be one of the key drivers of the HIV epidemic in sub-Saharan Africa, especially among young women, who have disproportionately higher HIV prevalence rates when compared to men of similar age groups" (Chang'ombe Youth Theatre 2009: 3). In addition, the report notes that as men and women often have multiple concurrent partnerships and a number of life-time partners which can overlap for months or years, more often than not such "relationships often evolve into trusted partnerships over time, with consistent condom use declining substantially" (Chang'ombe Youth Theatre 2009: 3). It was under such circumstances that Chang'ombe Youth Theatre geared itself to addressing the MCP sexual behavior among young people in Temeke under the BCC framework. As we have seen previously, BCC aims at improving attitudes related to

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[55] Chango'mbe Youth Theatre's "End Report: Addressing Multiple, Concurrent Partnerships towards HIV/AIDS Preventions among Young People in Temeke Municipality," 2009.

reducing multiple concurrent partnerships and risks of HIV/AIDS infections within such relations.

Representation of Sexuality in Kibanda

As I have demonstrated in the foregoing, and as shown throughout this study, music performance is considered an avenue that provides one of the best contexts for observing and understanding the gender structure of any society (Koskoff 1987; McClary 1991; Tick 1992; Erlmann 1996; Sugarman 1997; Moisala and Diamond 2000; Magrin 2003). Also, there is a close relationship between music and sexuality in which men and women's sexuality and culturally-designated sex roles and relations and music behaviors are spelled out. The use of music in human intimate relationship, especially courtship, is perhaps an old tradition in various societies. More importantly, music, compared to other arts, is perhaps the only artistic medium through which open and metaphoric expression of sexuality and desire is done at greater freedom (Koskoff 1987; McClary 1991; Walser 1993; Walton and Muller 2005). I explore this issue in an attempt to respond to the question: What aspects of musical performance can be considered to demonstrate the construction of sexuality?

Three contexts can be identified in which the correlation between music and sexuality is done: performance context by discursive means and symbolic representation of musical aspects. The performance context features bodily movements and use of metaphorical devices embedded in song texts to express erotic and sexual desire (for example, Swantz 1970 and 1995; Lange 2002; Askew 2005; Edmondson 2007). In some societies, however, sexual bodily movements embedded in restricted or open ritualistic

musical performance such as initiation rites, are less meant to be sexual than for fertility purposes (Blacking 1973). In other societies, the same movements performed in the same context are meant to provide reproductive health education prior to marriage. Conversely, the musical expression of sexuality can be seen in the way certain musical genres are used as the space for demonstrating sexual orientation and identity (Brett, 1994 [2006]; Nannyonga-Tamusuza, 2006).

Discursively, musical concepts associated with sexual identity, such as femininity and masculinity, have been employed in the intersection with sexuality to maintain male hegemony (Koskoff 1987; McClary 1991; Whiteley 1997; Tick 1992). In addition, various musicologists, following the leads of literary theorists, have not only explored the representations of sexual climax (the common ideology and practice in nineteenth-century music traditions)[56], but also the ways gender and sexuality have been constructed throughout music history. The influence of queer theory on musicology scholarship is evident in the study of public self-acclaimed homosexual composers such as Benjamin Britten, as well as in the politics surrounding the theoretically heated debate on the disclosure of sexual orientation of the Russian composer Tchaikovsky against the "strategic covering" of Robert Schubert's (Philip, Wood, and Gary 1994 [2006]: 15). In western popular music, the construction of femininity and masculinity in relation to sexuality find its expression in various musical genres, including rock or metal music (Whiteley 1997; Straw 1997; Cohen 1997; Walser 1993). Scholars such as Sheila

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[56] However, this line of thought of associating musical release and eroticism – sexual release – has not gone unchallenged. For example, in his work titled "Construction of Desire in Early Baroque Instrumental Music" Andrew Dell'Antonio (2002: 199-226) rejects the idea of associating musical desire, that is, "an ebbs and flow of musical tension and release," with sexual release. He argues that "musical desire of this sort is by no means equivalent to erotic desire." However, a link between the two can be forged in respect of their metaphorical use of the term "desire" (2002: 199).

Whiteley (1997), Robert Walser (1993), and Mary Clawson (2002), have viewed rock music culture not only as an ideological and cultural form, but also both as a form of sexual expression and sexual control. Among other things, as explained the exploration of Walser's work on metal music, the expression of male's masculinity is achieved by means of the guitar, which connotes both masculine properties and also as a form of sexual expression of male's virility - the phallus, to use a psychoanalytic term (See Butler 2006). Finally, symbolic representation of music can be found in the ways certain aspects of music such as instruments, and even bodily movements as suggested above, have been associated with sexual organs or acts of sexual intercourse (See for example Merriam 1964; Koskoff 1987; Basso 1987; Swantz 1995).

In the case of *kibanda*, the construction of sexuality is done through the combination of musical text, that is, song lyrics, speech, the physical structure of a building, and bodily gestures. *Kibanda* employs the use of both explicit and coded metaphorical devices through aural, visual, and gestural representations. Aurally and visually, sexuality is expressed through both the song texts (as the songs such as *kila mlango una mwenyewe kibanda kimoja*, *safari ni safari bora ufike salama*, and *tabu sogea kidogo nikunong'oneze*) and the structure of the hut itself. The lyrics are invariably accentuated with speech and the structure of the hut. As a structure, *kibanda* is used metaphorically to offer layers of implied meanings with regard to notions of sexuality pertaining to the traditional cultures of the areas. I suggest that first, *kibanda* as a shelter might imply a socially-sanctioned private space in which sexual intercourse is done as

opposed to other places such as in the forest as has been the case in some societies.[57]

Thus, being a private space for sexual intercourse, *kibanda* suggests that sexuality is also

a private activity.[58] *Kibanda* as a structure may also denote dual meanings in relation to

sexuality. It may be viewed as a symbolic female body, the inside of which multiple

functions are fulfilled: as symbolizing the female principal of renewal and growth, as

well as procreation. The openings, the doors, through which the man get in and out with

multiple female sexual partners may symbolically be likened to the female reproductive

organs, whereas the back and forth movements (going in and coming out of the hut) is

symbolic of sexual intercourse.[59] Finally, the outer vertical part of the physical structure

of the *kibanda* may be viewed as a marker of male's virility.[60]

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[57] In some societies such as the Beng of Papua New Guinea in which sex is considered symbolically dangerous, copulation in the forest is taboo. It is considered that such an act may offend deities who are the rulers of the earth, who are worshipped by the Beng (Gotlieb 1990: 124-125). This is contrary to Anthony Seeger's ethnographic experience among the Amazonian where sexual intercourse is usually done in the forest (2004). I would like, however, to note that the interpretation I make here needs further anthropological study on this aspect among the cultures of the coastal areas of Dar es Salaam and Coast Regions. Anthropological research around the coastal people of Tanzania, especially Dar es Salaam and Coast Regions is not explicit on this aspect of social life.

[58] It should be noted, however, that traditionally among the Zaramo, sexual intercourse was encouraged immediately after initiation rites for both boys and girls for reproductive purposes, whether or not the sexual partners were officially wedded (Swantz 1995). In view of this, the possibility of the act of intercourse between the unmarried sexual partners occurring in places other than a house could also be possible.

[59] According to Marja-Liisa Swantz, among the Zaramo numerous acts or movements serve to symbolize sexual activities. These include winnowing, eating, rolling, cutting, jumping over, as well as beer brewing. Additionally, beer fermenting is considered as the main symbol of reproduction. Pairs of symbols such as the cooking pot and the wooden spoon for making stiff porridge or *ugali,* the mortar and the pestle plus the act of pounding, together are considered to produce an act of symbolic of intercourse (Swantz 1970).

[60] Among the Zaramo, Swantz notes, "things which stand up, and are long or hard, signify male elements. In shape the male element is represented by long things on the one hand and round on the other hand" (Swantz 1970: 277). While the outer of the hut is not categorized to represent maleness, I suggest, following Swantz's description of maleness through verticality and roundness of object, it may denote male sexual virility. Conversely, bowl-shaped objects or containers, enclosures, the center of which is fixed, are imbued with female symbolism. Other studies, which provide similar symbolic representations of sexuality, manliness, females, and/or fertility through features of the physical structure of the house, enclosures, openings, and vertical and horizontal objects, include Berglund (1976, in Erlmann 1996: 179); Comaroff (1985) among the Tshidi of Botswana; Boddy (1989) among the Hofriot of Sudan; and Carlson (1989) and Weiss (1996) among the Haya of Tanzania.

A Brief History of Chang'ombe Youth Theatre

Chang'ombe Youth Theatre is probably one of a few performance (musical theater) groups in Dar es Salaam to be a full-fledged, registered non-governmental organization dealing with health issues, among others,[61] including HIV/AIDS. It was registered a non-governmental organization in 2006, seven years after its establishment in April 1999. Since its formation, Chang'ombe Youth Theatre aimed at promoting cultural practices, especially performance through theater for development. It began to involve itself fully with HIV/AIDS activities years later when many other performing groups across the country began taking this direction. In order to effectively accomplish such an undertaking it was felt important that Chang'ombe Youth Theatre become an NGO. When I asked Clement Matwanga why and how exactly Chang'ombe Youth Theatre decided to become an NGO, he offered me two reasons. First, owing to the expansive trend of the activities, the group needed a NGOs status so as to assure them of reliable financial access. The second reason was mounting pressure from stakeholders, mainly funding agencies.

> It was revealed that we don't do only theatrical activities, but there are other activities that have no direct relationship with theater despite the fact that we use theater in the implementation. Therefore, in order to create trust we had to register[62] [as an NGO]. This is because at that time we were already involving ourselves in various activities such as behavior change communication workshops, meetings and conferences which usually ended with theatrical activities. But also, some people came to us. It was also pressure from our partners. They say that "we sponsor you as a theater organization. Yes, you are doing a good job. But we advise you that you have to register [as an NGO].

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[61] Having multiple flexible focuses of activities is one of the major features of any NGOs. Other activities included by the Chang'ombe Youth Theatre are youth empowerment and employment, environment issues, and civic education.
[62] This was the second registration after the previous one that is done at the National Arts Council of Tanzania. Registering at NAC is a compulsory for all artistic groups prior to carrying out their activities.

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Because there comes a time…. there shall come a time, when some people will be doubtful of you. He will say "Can theater truly do this? But if you are a big organization, an NGO!!!! Then if you say 'we use theater' [as a means of implementing our activities]… then certainly, people will understand [you].[63]

When I asked Matwanga who determines the agenda of the project, he said that while this varies from one partner to another, it is the development partner who decides what agenda should be disseminated. In the case of *kibanda,* it was FHI that determined the agenda and made sure that the guidance was followed. According to Matwanga, the main agenda of FHI is AB message, that is, Abstinence and Be faithful. This was largely influenced by the legacy of George W. Bush when he was President of the United States of America. The "C" message, on another level, is addressed as "other preventive methods." I asked two of the FHI American representatives that conducted the Behavior Change Communication workshop at Super Rose Garden Hall as to why *kibanda* was also promoting the use of condoms while FHI was not in favor of the "C" message. The representatives attributed that change to the change in the American government, citing the new administration as being in favor of the ABC message in contrast to the previous one. The BCC handouts distributed to the workshop participants had four emblems on them: USAID, the Court of Arms of the United Republic of Tanzania, FHI, and the U.S. President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief. The message contained in the handout

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[63] *Ilionekana hatufanyi shughuli za ki-theatre tu, lakini pia kuna shughuli nyingine ambazo hazihusiki moja kwa moja kabisa na theater pamoja na kwamba katika implememntation yake tunatumia theatre ….. Kwa hiyo ili kupata uhalali wake ilibidi kusajili. Kwa sababu tulikuwa tunafanya "behavior change workshops, meetings and conferences" na mwishoni tukawa tunafanya maonesho ya theatre. Lakini pia tulifuatwa "of course!" …. ilikuwa ni msukumo wa wadau wetu. Wanasema, "sisi tuna-sponsor ninyi, lakini 'we sponsor you as a theatre organization.' Ndiyo, mnafanya kazi nzuri lakini tunawashauri musajili kwa sababu, 'there comes a time …. there shall come a time,' mtu mwingine atakuwa na utata. Atasema mmhh? Theater kweli inaweza hiki kitu? Lakini mkiwa hivyo, .. 'big organization, NGO!!!' …then if you say 'we use theatre' [kama njia ya utekelezaji wa shughuli zetu] eee hapo mtu anaelewa …"*

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insisted that people make the use of condoms the new norm, but only in the context of high risk sexuality—MCP.

However, in spite of the fact that it is the funding partner who determines the agenda of the project, Matwanga told me that the creative process is usually left in the hands of the performing group. According to Matwanga, this arrangement is due to mutual trust between the two partners that has resulted overtime from working together. Speaking along the same line, and insisting on the inevitability of such relations, Mgunga Mwamnyenyelwa, Director of Parapanda Theatre Lab, remarked that NGOs have agendas while performers create art. Under this circumstance the relationship between the two entities exists only on a business basis. Reflecting on what he referred to as his group's manifesto, Mwamnyenyelwa said that "the meaning of being hired is that you go to do something that you do not have, [and we do that] in accordance with our clients. But the clients do not take part in the creative process."[64]

KAKAU Band

KAKAU Band is one of six main program activities conducted by KAKAU, an acronym for "KANISA KATOLIKI DHIDI YA UKIMWI" (Catholic Church against AIDS). "It is an Aids Control Programme which was established in 1991 by his Lordship Bishop Nestor Timanywa of Bukoba Catholic Diocese. KAKAU aims at coordinating internal and external resources to prevent the spread of AIDS and its effects in society."[65] KAKAU came about as one of the multi-sector efforts by various organizations in Kagera

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[64] *"Unapokodiwa unaenda kufanya kitu ambacho huna. Parapanda tunafanya kazi kwa mujibu wa wateja wetu. Lakini wateja wetu hawaandai onesho."*
[65] Bukoba Catholic Diocese: AIDS Control Programme – KAKAU n.d.

Region to combat the AIDS pandemic. The fact that the first cases of HIV/AIDS in Tanzania were found in Kagera region at Bukoba Regional Hospital in 1983 makes the establishment of KAKAU program a viable and timely measure. Combined activities by various stakeholder agencies such as the government and international and local institutions, including KAKAU, made substantial contributions to the reduction of HIV prevalence from above 12% decades ago to only 3.5% - 4.0% as of mid 2000s (Bukoba Catholic Diocese: AIDS Programme -KAKAU n.d.). In addition to KAKAU Band, other main program activities include "send me to school"[66] (sponsoring school going needy orphans); children's sponsorship; groups for people living with AIDS (PLWA); peer education; and income generating activities. All these activities are organized under the five objectives of the KAKAU program: create awareness for action on the HIV/AIDS epidemic; coordinate efforts within and outside the diocese in order to render efficient and effective services to HIV/AIDS victims; establish pastoral programs for HIV/AIDS victims; to mobilize the community and public towards taking positive action on meeting the challenge of HIV/AIDS; and to seek and offer assistance (material or financial) to HIV/AIDS victims in order to help them to meet their basic needs.

KAKAU was established primarily to cater for public awareness projects aimed at influencing behavior change by "enabling attitude and practices that minimize peoples' vulnerability to infection with HIV/AIDS" (Bukoba Catholic Diocese: AIDS Programme -KAKAU n.d.). Composed of about 20 performers, KAKAU preoccupies itself with

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[66] According to KAKAU, this activity enables some school-going needy orphans in primary and secondary schools to obtain school necessities like uniforms, pens, pencils, and exercise books. Most of these children are from single-parent households (headed usually by women), child-headed households, or disintegrated families whose school continuation is threatened by lack of funds and other school necessities.

mobilizing the masses against HIV/AIDS and its effects through songs, traditional dances, drama, slogans, and distributing HIV/AIDS related literature and paintings. Through such activities, KAKAU mobilizes the communities and challenges them to critically review their life and living, identify problem areas, and finally, deliberate on the steps to be taken. According to the group administration, KAKAU Band does as many as 60 public awareness events each year, which attract a lot of people. Musically, since its establishment ten years ago, KAKAU Band has composed a total of six songs about HIV/AIDS. These songs, which are very popular in Kagera region and beyond, are included in their two musical video albums. *Maisha* (1999), which includes *Garuka* (Come back–song text not included in appendices); *Omwana Womwiru* (Son of the servant–see song text in appendix two); and *Naita* (I call–see song text in appendix four). The second album, *Nyota*, features *Huliliza* or *Ensi Egi Olagimanya* (Beware of This World–see song text in appendix three) and *Timpya Tinsorora* (Nothing Will Go Wrong, also known as I Neither Get Burnt Nor Perish–see song text in chapter four).

The impact of KAKAU Band's affiliation to or being under the leadership of the Church can be felt, albeit minimally, at three levels: the type of knowledge included in the performances, strict adherence to Church doctrine and major events, and financial dependence. With regard to the first component, I would suggest that while largely adopting biomedical discourses sanctioned by various institutions dealing with the pandemic globally, the creative process of KAKAU Band performance, especially in regard to the production of knowledge, adheres to the ideological position of the Roman Catholic Church. This is reflected in the musical and dramatic works of this group. In addition to the non-integration of the condom discourse in their production, a major

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stance of the Roman Catholic Church worldwide, repentance, returning to God, and observation of Christian moral standards are considered central resolutions in addition to other biomedical teachings. All six musical compositions stated above reflect, at varying degrees, this perspective. While this perspective does not permeate the entire lyrics, the inclusion of this doctrine in a verse or two serves to highlight this situation. The following examples can serve to demonstrate this situation. The song *Huliliza* or *Ensi Egi Olagimanya* (Beware of This World), which has six verses, uses the fourth verse to focus on God in contrast to the second, third, fifth, and sixth verses that explain the opposite, worldly living. Moreover, while the verses caution the people to "live with purpose," not to kill themselves, and "walk with caution…carefully," the entire song is centered on the need to adhere to the Christian doctrine of "self denial."

Similar to *Huliliza* is verse one and four of the song *Timpya Tinsorora* (see chapter four for the entire presentation of this song). Even the type of language used to express some issues capitalizes on the discourse of morality. For example, the use of the word "immoral" reiterates this perspective. The same can be said of *Omwana Womwiru* and *Naita*. The second and third verses of *Omwana Womwiru* restate the centrality of repenting and returning to God as the best solutions. While the other songs remain mute with regard to the issue of condoms, it is the third verse of *Omwa Womwiru* that categorically illustrates the ideological position of the Roman Catholic Church in respect of the use of condom as means for combating HIV/AIDS. "Certainly, condom is not medicine" (*Hakika Kondom siyo dawa*), the verse states. And then the verse goes on warning other people before the person depicted in the song concludes by confessing his

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sins to God and asking for forgiveness. The verse, however, does not say exactly whether

or not the person used condoms before or after contracting the disease.

Explaining the reasons for not inserting or promoting condom use in their

performances, Andrew Kagya, Director of KAKAU Band, had the following to say:

> In fact, for us KAKAU, the discussion on condom is not a priority. And as a
> Catholic organization we have not put energy to discuss it or encouraging people
> to use them. Absolutely No! But what we do is giving people the opportunity to
> discuss questions at hand, and reach solutions that they think appropriately protect
> them from AIDS. We don't want to influence results. And when it happens that
> the question of condom is raised during the discussion our work is to see to it that
> solutions come from them. In addition to that, always during our activities we
> have an expert dealing with AIDS-related issues accompanying us. He talks to
> them about various ways he thinks are appropriate in accordance with his
> profession. But we as a Church cannot go there and encourage people to use
> condoms.[67]

Kagya's remarks reflect the official position of the Church and other Christian

denominations worldwide, and in Africa in particular (Becker and Geissler 2009: 6; see

also *Catholic Bishops of Africa and Madagascar Speak Out on HIV/AIDS* Revised

Edition 2006).[68] A recent event that transpired in Dar es Salaam in which a Roman

Catholic-linked faith-based NGO led a bold campaign to oppose condom use illustrates

this unwavering position of the Catholic Church. An anti-condom billboard, which was

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[67] "*...Kwa kweli kwetu kama Kakau (kondom) siyo jambo la kulizungumzia kwamba tutumie au tusitumie, na wala hatujaweka nguvu katika hilo kwa sababu kama shirika la Kikatoliki hatuna jinsi ya kusimama na kusema tutatumia kondom. Au tunahitaji watu watumie kondom. Hapana. Lakini tunachofanya kwa kweli … tunawapa watu nafasi kujadili ili wao wafikie mwafaka kuona kwamba tunafanya namna gani, kwa kuangalia njia zote zinazoweza kuwasaidia katika kujilinda dhidi ya UKIMWI. Iwapo inatokea kwenye mjadala watu wakalileta suala la kondom, sisi kazi yetu ni ku-'facilitate' shughuli nzima ya mjadala na hatutaki ku-influence matokeo ya mjadala. Tunaacha suluhisho litoke kwao. Wao ndiyo wanasema suluhisho lipi linawafaa. Pia mara nyingi huwa tunaenda na mtaalamu ambaye anazungumza nao kuhusiana na njia zozote zile ambazo anaona zinafaa kwa upande wa kile anachokisimamia. Lakini kama kanisa hatuwezi kwenda pale na kusimama na kusema tafadhali muwe mnatumia kondom.*"

[68] It should be noted that the anti-condom expressions and movements are not only confined to Christians in Tanzania. As will be shown in another chapter, other denominations and organizations within Islam have expressed similar expressions by using various means. The most notable instance is the public slapping of Ali Hassan Mwinyi, the former president of Tanzania, by a young man during a Eid El Fitr assembly in which he was invited to officiate on behalf of President Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete.

designed by Human Life International (HLI) was at the center of this development. The billboard was erected in the compound of a faith-based Secondary School located in Temeke Municipality in Dar es Salaam. It portrayed a human skeleton with the message that read, "faithful condom user." From the analytical point of view of some in the mass media, the billboard had sent a strong and "chilling message that condom use could lead to death" (Athumani 2008: 1-2). The erection of this anti-condom billboard with such a message, *The Citizen* newspaper suggested, had "caused ripples in public health circles, with the government said to be contemplating on how to deal with HLI, whose local affiliate, HLI Tanzania, erected" it (Athumani 2008: 1-2).

Responding to accusations from different stakeholders involved in the war against the scourge,[69] the Dar es Salaam Auxiliary Roman Catholic Church Bishop Methodius Kilaini was of the view that despite the fact that HLI was an independent non-profit organization that practiced within its rights to express its own ideas concerning the matter, the organization's ideas were in line with the Catholic Church's position. That is, "the only way to effectively fight HIV/AIDS was through abstinence and faithfulness" (Athumani 2008). The kind of knowledge networking KAKAU and is involved in, especially with faith-based institutions such as the Roman Catholic Church, compels it to strictly adhere to the guiding doctrine of the latter in the production of knowledge. However, it should be noted that this strict adherence pertains only to the question of condom use. As we have seen, most of the songs presented have continued to include,

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[69] The organizations that reacted to anti-condom billboard included Tanzania Commission for AIDS (TACAIDS), the United Nations Development Programme UNDP, United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), Family Health International (FHI), Population Services International (PSI), and several other NGOs.

though minimally, other aspects of biomedical discourses such as means of transmission, symptoms, and methods of protection.

Regarding adherence to Church doctrine and major religious events, and the connection with financial dependence, both issues are in a way an extension of the first. First, KAKAU Band as an affiliate of a faith-based institution that has to observe major religious events is neither a surprise nor an insignificant issue. Perhaps this is the second matter that shows how in some way the interdependence between the two entities affects each other. The Roman Catholic Liturgical Calendar outlines a number of annual major holy events, which include Easter. The Easter Holy Day is preceded by a number of other events (the Holy Days of Obligation), which include, among others, a forty-day period of fasting. During this time Christians are supposed to refrain from food and worldly things, including participating in music that is categorized as secular. As part of this religious community, KAKAU Band was obliged to observe this order. And it was obliged to do so for the entire period the Band was on leave. Explaining this to me, Andrew Kagya said they have to do so in line with Catholic teachings in which musical events other than those pertaining to church services are prohibited.

However, during my stay in Bukoba around this time, I observed KAKAU Band breaking this religious obligation when it occasionally continued with rehearsals (see photos on plates 7-8). When I inquired about the reasons KAKAU Band was doing rehearsals during this time contrary to the order, Kagya ventured that there was an urgent need that could not wait until the *Kwaresima* or the Holy Period ended. The band was training a new singer to replace Sara Ibrahim, the highly dependable lead singer and dancer who was going away for studies for the next six months or so. Since musical activities of the

group were expected to resume immediately after *Kwaresima* in the absence of Sara, it was considered important to replace her by someone else. After all, Kagya continued to explain, the rehearsals were involving only a few performers, the new female singer, the pianist, drum player, basest and solo guitarist. In addition, regardless of the powerful sound the music system was making, by doing so the band was not contravening *Kwaresima* as they were just "rehearsing" and not "performing." It is perhaps worth noting that during this time, save for a few individuals like Kagya himself and others, it was very difficult to schedule an appointment with the performers whom I wanted to talk to about their musicianship. While some had moved out of Bukoba to make ends meet, those who remained in town declined an interview with me on the same ground of observing *Kwaresima*: "*Lakini si unajua sasa hivi tuko kweye Kwaresima*" (But I think you know that we are now in a Holy Fasting Month). Financial dependence on foreign donors was an issue that both my friends in KAKAU Band and myself saw as a hindrance to KAKAU activities for the entire period I was in the field (from September 2008 until May 2009). During this entire period KAKAU was able to make only one performance. This performance took place on the World AIDS Day on December 1, 2008.[70] As shown above, KAKAU has a total of approximately 60 activities taking place annually, including performances. According to Kagya, many of the activities had come to a standstill due to financial constraints apparently caused by the global economic crunch. For the past nine years, KAKAU activities have largely depended on Kolping Society, a German-based donor, for its financial support. But since the recent global financial

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[70] This does not suggest that lack of funding for AIDS activities meant KAKAU Band had stopped all artistic activities. Occasionally, as a group KAKAU continued to receive invitation, or were hired, to perform in various social events in and around Bukoba save for the period of *Kwaresima*.

Plate 7. Performers of KAKAU Band rehearsing at the office in Bukoba.

Plate 8. Performers of KAKAU Band rehearsing at their office in Bukoba.

downturn, the donor, according to Kagya, has been unable to disburse funds in a timely

fashion. At first the fund was supposed to be disbursed in January 2009 to enable the

usual annual massive campaigns to take place. But by the time I finished my fieldwork in

May 2009, according to Kagya, funds had not been disbursed despite the ongoing

promises from the donor that everything was going to get well soon.

It should be noted, however, that the worldwide impact of the financial crisis on

socioeconomic activities, and especially HIV/AIDS campaigns through the arts in

Tanzania, was not confined to KAKAU. Chang'ombe Youth Theatre, the other artistic

NGO in Dar es Salaam went through the same experience. Chang'ombe Youth Theatre

had to stop performance activities from November 2008 to March 2009 after sending its

performers on long vacation following non-availability of funding. The activities of

Chang'ombe Youth Theatre resumed in mid-January 2009 when rehearsals started

regularly but without any funding. However, Chang'ombe Youth Theatre, having a

different donor, secured funds quite early that enabled the group to resume public

performances by mid-April 2009 instead of early January as initially planned. Yagi-Ishi

Rap-and-Drama Group, another artistic group in Bukoba, was not immune to the

financial shockwaves either. Yagi-Ishi remained on a long vacation from November 2008

until mid-March 2009 or so when it resumed its regular activities after getting donor

financial support. Yagi-Ishi is a youth group organized under the Zam Zam Youth

Centre,[71] an NGO based in Bukoba which deals with youth reproductive health, including

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[71] Zam Zam Youth Centre is one of the six similar projects operating in Kagera region. In Bukoba this project operates under Bukoba Municipal Authority. The focal point of the project is on youth reproductive health with the aim of reducing the spread of sexually transmitted infections. Yagi-Ishi Rap-and-Drama group is one of the various empowerment activities conducted by the youth at the center. Other activities include a library, games and sports, voluntary testing, and treatment. Through rap and drama and other

HIV/AIDS. Just like many other NGOs in Tanzania, Zam Zam relies heavily on financial support from local and international institutions. Locally, the center is under the office of the Director of Bukoba Municipal Authority, whose financial support is usually far from satisfactory. The Family Health International organization has appeared to be the alternative main donor. This was explained to me during several of our conversations with Zeituni Bahati, Project Manager of Zam Zam Youth Centre.

Making Sense of Healing in Performance on AIDS

AIDS is both a "product and cause of globalization" and "the effect of modernity" (Altman 1999: 564; Dilger 2009: 259). In other words, it is the result of the process of neoliberal sociocultural transformation, which has not only operated to disrupt social reproduction, but also to disintegrate the entire order of social, material, and moral forces (Comaroff and Comaroff 2004: 336). The reference to AIDS as "the modern disease" (*Ugonjwa huu wa Kisasa* – see Dilger 2009: 259) by many people in Tanzania does serve to not only illustrate how far reaching the impact on local life of this disease and the sufferings associated with globalization and modernity are perceived to be, but also how "inclusive" and "exclusive" it is in the process of comprehending it.

Lamenting on the maladies associated with neoliberalism, Brad Weiss remarks, "neoliberalism is [sic] marked by a distinctive range of contradictions ...and tension … the contradiction of *inclusion* and *exclusion*" (emphasis mine, 2004: 3, 7 In what form and how does this contradiction between "inclusion" and "exclusion" appear under neoliberalism? It happens, as Weiss suggests, when African societies at large find

activities such as debates and mega festivals, Yagi-Ishi reaches out to their fellow young people in and outside school environment with the message of abstinence, restraint, and safer sex.

themselves integrated into the new forms of identity and affiliations as facilitated by various means of global mediation and when, unfortunately, this process culminates in concentrating "the means required to participate in these modes of interconnections" (and in the context of AIDS is about the sharing of biomedical information) in "an ever-narrowing range of people" (2004: 8). As such, this state of affairs increases the tension between "participation" and "marginalization" - that is, participation of the privileged few, and marginalization of the underprivileged majority in the production and sharing of biomedical knowledge about HIV/AIDS. This process is affected by means of reconfiguring activity once considered public and collectively shared into private activity of the privileged few. This new exclusive form of relations, which is endemic in the neoliberal economy, sets itself antithetically against what Weiss, following Victor Turner, refers to as "collective, ritual acts aimed at recapturing the lost, occluded, or ensnared powers of full social participation and reproduction" (Weiss 2004: 2).

How did such asymmetrical sharing of information lead various stakeholders to adopting performance as an effective alternative approach to campaign against HIV/AIDS? Through their stories, Clement Matwanga (Chang'ombe Youth Theatre) and Andrew Kagya (KAKAU Band) attempt to demonstrate how musical performances organized by their groups serve to bridge that gap. They show that besides being participatory rather than alienatory, musical performances retain the social utility of being a form of collective knowing (Zirimu 1973: 61). They do so by remaking old songs, fitting them with new text embedding notions of biomedical discourse on HIV/AIDS. In this way they show how private spaces (conference rooms, training workshop, and rehearsal halls) can be aligned with the public spaces (streets, market places, play

grounds, and any other public open grounds) where knowledge production is collectively processed and disseminated. This discussion is predicated on an understanding that music is a communicative mechanism "whose meaning is created by participants in the course of social interaction" (Stone 1982: 7). Since there are many layers of participation in a musical performance that encompass performers and numerous categories of audience, and since all these make their own interpretations, it will be worthwhile to listen to representative interpretations from all such categories. What follows here are selected views of various people representing various layers of performers, participant-audience or observer-participants, and other stakeholders in various capacities at NGOs, government personnel, or as members of communities.

Clement Matwanga and Andrew Kagya narrate stories as to why and how their groups decided to adopt performances as one of the interventions in combating HIV/AIDS. They do so by illustrating the difference between performances and other conventional means. As Matwanga explains:

> We decided to use performances in the campaigns against AIDS so as to break the wall that stood between the people and knowledge about AIDS. So we use performances to reach out to those people who are truly the target group for this type of knowledge. Performances are one of the media which reach many people at once in a very powerful way. They reach them very easily. They are acceptable without using "flip chart."[72]

When I asked Matwanga to tell me more about the "breaking the wall" phenomenon, and what they specifically saw to be the problem prior to their decision, he said that:

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[72] "*Tuliamua kutumia sanaa katika kampeni dhidi ya UKIMWI ili kuvunja ukuta uliosimama kati ya jamii na elimu hii ya UKIMWI. Kwa hiyo tunatumia sanaa ili kuwafikia wale ambao kweli wanatarajiwa kufikiwa. Kwa hiyo sanaa ni chombo kimojawapo ambacho kinafika kwa nguvu zaidi kwa jamii. Inafika kwa urahisi. Na inakubalika bila kutumia "flip chart,"*

Before the emergence of the whole concept of the use of performances in the campaign against AIDS many people and organizations used seminars, symposiums, and meetings, but mostly seminars. And as you know those who can afford to attend those events are special people. These events involve very few people, not as many, so as to facilitate easy interaction. There usually is a moderator standing in the front, and there is also a flip chart. Therefore you can see that it's a setting of a kind; peculiar, [and] special…. It is also facilitated with AC. And even the one who comes there belongs to a particular class. So, if you compare the level of understanding of those people who attend those seminars and symposiums and that of the larger group of people left outside the margins of those venues you will find that the gap is too big.[73]

Matwanga continued to explain to me that in comparison with the first method, that is, the use of performance, it is very difficult for these people who spend their time sitting in special rooms to get messages across to such a larger group of people at once. Stressing on the centrality of using performances in breaking the wall, Matwanga continued:

There are sorts of arts that people like, and not only these people love them, but these types of arts are also practiced in their communities. They are not new to them because they have the same sorts of arts. The only difference [between our arts and those of the people in communities] lies on [aesthetic] expertise. If you go to a community and perform dances from various ethnic groups, you will find that the people identify themselves with the dances that come from their community. You may also find that there are people who may not necessarily belong to such *ngoma* traditions but have seen them and are familiar with them.[74]

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[73] "*Kabla ya kuibuka dhana ya nzima ya kutumia sanaa watu wengi walikuwa wanatumia sana semina, makongamano, mikutano, lakini nyingi zilikuwa semina. Na kama unvyojua semina inafanyika katika ukumbi mdogo, wanaoingia pale ni watu maalumu. Zinahusisha watu wachache, siyo wengi, kusudi ili kuwe na 'easy interaction'. Kunakuwa na mwezeshaji kule mbele, kunakuwa na 'flip chart.' Kwa hiyo unaona ni 'setting' fulani, it's a peculiar, special…' …ya kipekee na 'venue' yenyewe ina 'AC'. Na hata mtu anayekuja pale ni mtu ambaye ni wa 'class' fulani. Kwa hiyo utakuta kwamba….. …… ukiangalia uelewa wa wale wanaoingia kwenye hizo semina na makongamano, na ukalinganisha na uelewa wa wale walobaki nje ya hizo 'venues' ambalo ni kundi kubwa sana, utakuta kwamba 'gap' ya 'understanding' [kati makundi haya mawili] ni kubwa mno".*

[74] "*Kuna sanaa ambazo jamii wanazipenda sana na siyo kuzipenda tu, hizi sanaa, … hata ukienda kwa jamii utazikuta. Siyo mpya kwao kwa sababu na wenyewe pia wanazo kama hizo. Tofauti tu ni ufundi. Ukienda kucheza ngoma za makabila fulani unakuta (kwamba kuna) watu wa kabila lile au watu wengine (ambao siyo wa kabila lile) wameshaona ngoma ya kabila lile na wanaifahamu ngoma ile … ila tofauti ni ufundi*"

In somewhat similar terms, Andrew Kagya speaking of KAKAU Band had this to say:

> We were contemplating about the best way to educate society about AIDS. This is
> because you find yourself in a situation in which most often people did not want
> to talk about this disease. So we asked ourselves what ways we should adopt to
> break this silence so that people can start talking about AIDS without forcing
> them to do so. We also thought that seminars we were conducting involved only a
> few people, and were very expensive to run. So we realized that performances
> were the best means to attract many people and get the message across.[75]

From that time onward KAKAU Band has continued to perform both modern and

indigenous music to attract people from all walks of life, Kagya insisted. Considering the

achievements that KAKAU has made since it began employing performance as an

intervention against AIDS in Bukoba, Kagya had the following views:

> Firstly, statistically, we can say that we are proud to be part of the success in the
> reduction of HIV/ADS prevalence in our region, especially in those areas we have
> been working. Here in Bukoba, for instance, HIV/AIDS prevalence has gone
> down from initially 12% four year ago to somewhere below 7%. But we have also
> contributed in one way or another to making people start talking about AIDS. At
> the beginning, AIDS was not a disease that was talked about. But now people
> have started to come in public about it. That is a huge success. In our meetings we
> encourage discussion among audience members, and you feel really happy when
> you see people are really open discussing AIDS. At the beginning when we were
> starting our performances people were not coming forward in a great number to
> discuss the scourge. But as of now many people attend our performances, and
> many of them come forward and share their views. So, again, for us this is a huge
> success because we have been able to break the silence, and people have started
> talking. In addition, a considerable achievement has been recorded in the area of

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[75] "*Tukawa tunafikiria njia bora ya kuweza kuelimisha jamii [kuhusu UKIMWI]. Kwa sababu unajikuta
kwamba ugonjwa wa ukimwi watu walikuwa hawapendi kuuzungumzia mara kwa mara. Ndiyo tukatafuta
njia ya kuweza ku-'break the silence.' Sasa tutawezaje ku-'break the silence' ili watu waweze kuanza
kuzungumzia swala la UKIMWI bila ya kuwaeleza nini kitu cha kufanya, lakini kuwafanya wazungumze
masuala mbalimbali kuhusiana na UKIMWI? Pia tukaona kwamba semina tulizokuwa nazo zinahusisha
watu wachache na ni gharama sana kuziendesha. [Kwa hiyo] tukaona kwamba njia ya sanaa ni rahisi
kuwavuta watu wengi na kuwapa ujumbe kwa wakati mmoja.*"

voluntary testing in our area. As a result of this achievement many institutions have invited us to educate and encourage people on voluntary testing.[76]

Speaking about her experience on the World AIDS Day anniversary that took place at Buyekela Sokoni in Bukoba, a woman who introduced herself to me as Jessica John (about 38-40 years old), was of the view that performances make it easier for the messages to reach people. It tells them the importance of testing their health. Jessica's remarks were restated by scores of other people that I talked to about the same issue. Another woman, Judith James (between 40 and 45), who introduced herself to me as a widow and a committee member of the local government at cell level, said, "What has impressed me the most is the way our performers have encouraged people to be open and go for voluntary HIV test. It is encouraging that at least men this time have put voluntary testing as a priority."[77] Judith ended by explaining to me that she herself had taken the test and the results were negative.

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[76] "*Kwa kuanzia tunapoangalia takwimu [za UKIMWI] za mkoa wetu, … tunaweza kusema kwamba tunajivunia kwamba tunachangia pia sisi katika kupunguza kuenea kwa ugonjwa wa UKIMWI katika mkoa wetu, hasa katika maeneo ambayo tunafanya kazi. Kama hapa mjini Bukoba kiwango cha maambukizi kimepungua sana. Miaka minne iliyopita ilikuwa inakaribia asilimia 12 sasa hivi tuko chini ya asilimia 7. Lakini pia tunachangia kwa namna moja ama nyingine kuweza kuwafanya watu waweze kuzungumzia ugonjwa wa UKIMWI. Zamani ulikuwa ugonjwa wa kuficha. Kwanza hata ulikuwa hautajwi mara kwa mara. Lakini sasa watu wameweza kujitokeza kwa uwazi kuzungumzia ugonjwa wa UKIMWI. Ni mafanikio makubwa sana. Kwenye mikutano yetu kwa mfano tunahamasisha mjadala miongoni mwa watazamaji. …. Na wewe unafurahi kwa kuwa unaona kwamba watu kweli wako wazi. Mwanzoni wakati tunaanza… maonesho watu walikuwa hawajitokezi kwa nguvu sana kuzungumzia. Lakini sasa hivi hata ukiwa kwenye mkutano watu ni wengi, lakini watu wanachangia mawazo yao. Ni mafanikio makubwa kwamba walau tumeweza 'break' ile 'silence' na watu wameanza kuzungumza. Pia hata kuhusiana na suala la upimaji. Kuna ongezeko zuri sana la upimaji katika eneo letu, na hata mashirika mbalimbali wanatualika mara kwa mara kuzungumzia na kuhamasisha juu ya upimaji wa hiari.*"

[77] "*Kitu ambacho kimenivutia hapa kwa kweli ni wasanii wetu kuhamasisha watu kwa uwazi juu ya suala la kupima. Angalau hata wanaume hasa wameweza kuwa na kipaumbele katika suala la kupima kwa kuweza (kujitokeza) zaidi kuliko wanawake katika kupima.*"

Reiterating what previous speakers had said, Willibald Emmanuel (between 45 and 50 years old), a middle aged man and resident of the same area of Buyekela Sokoni saw that the *tamasha* (festival) was different from the previous years because many people, both youths and olds alike had come forward to take voluntary testing. He attributed that development to regular campaigns conducted in the streets accompanied by performances. By doing so, Willibald asserted that these activities helped people see HIV/AIDS as no longer a death sentence but as a normal disease. He also asserted that in addition to encouraging people to go for voluntary HIV testing, performances help make people remember something about HIV/AIDS. Because of this significant contribution he requested that the government should step up its support for performance groups involved in such activities. In his view, the government had not done enough to recognize efforts made by such groups. Maliki Yango (between 38 and 40 years old), another man and resident of Buyekela Sokoni, thought that music worked at two levels: first, as a magnetic force, and second, as a channel through which information can be delivered. As a magnetic force, Maliki suggested that music attracted many people to come to the AIDS Day event. Also it caused passersby to stop, forget their destination for a while, and listen to the music, while at the same time getting their portion of the message.

The following summarized account reflects the views of most individuals working with NGOs and other government personnel whom I talked to about reasons their institutions employ musical performances in battling HIV/AIDS. These included Mary Zabuloni (Senior Program Officer for Family Health International), Jovina Tibenda (Research Monitoring and Evaluation Director for Tanzania Marketing and Communication Company Limited), Festos Kaiza, Jacinta Rwehika (World Vision Zonal

Director for HIV/AIDS and Malaria Response), Zaituni Bahati (Project Manager for Zam Zam Youth Centre), and Bahati Maregei (Grant Officer for Rapid Fund Envelope). The individuals outlined three major reasons: first, music is a magnet force; next, it is an effective and easy way to teach and reach a large group of people at once; and third, music imprints lasting memory on the mind. In reference to her working experience with young people in Ujana program, Mary Zabuloni, Senior Program Officer for Family Health International, said that it is difficult to work with young people if one does not have something that appeals to the youth. The youth are easily attracted to music and they love it. In addition, music is part and parcel of the youth's everyday life. This view was shared by Zaituni Bahati, Project Manager for Zam Zam Youth Centre, who also works with young people in the area of reproductive health and HIV/AIDS in Bukoba.

With regard to the second point, all these people articulated that it is easy, effective and cheap to use music to teach and reach many at once than public meetings, conferences, or booklets. Expounding on this, they asserted that young people and adults alike do not like *hotuba* (speech). Often times many people who attend public meetings begin to walk away when the guest of honor starts to make his/her speech. But, if one tells the people that musical performances will resume immediately after the speech, then they will calm down and wait. And even those who have departed from the area do come back when they hear music being performed, they said. As Festos Kaiza opines:

> The message from an artist reaches faster. It is intimate and more easily understood than anyone's speech. Even if a leader comes and makes a speech for even three hours; and an artist take the same speech and put it in a two minute

song, it is the message from the song that would be easily understood by the society than the three hour speech.[78]

This assertion reminds me of an event on the World AIDS Day in Bukoba on December 1, 2009 when the master of ceremony (the Bukoba Municipal Cultural Officer) of the event had to intervene upon realizing that the people in attendance began to walk away once the music had ended and as the guest of honor had started to make his speech. It was only after he announced that more performances would resume immediately after the speech that the people decided to remain. During my discussion with him the following day about the efficacy of music in AIDS education campaign the Municipal Cultural Officer reminded me:

> You saw it yourself yesterday. When there was a performance, people were coming, even small children. But when other things happened, like the speech, people just walk[ed] away! So, through the arts the seriousness of the business is attained.[79]

With regard to music and memory, they claimed that music is powerful because it gives people as much pleasure as knowledge. As Zabuloni remarked, "It is very different from seating in a classroom and listening to a lecture. You know, people do not like classes. They like to learn in a funny environment. Music gives people fun."[80] Jovina Tibenda,

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[78] "*Ujumbe kupitia kwa msanii unafika kwa haraka, kwa karibu na kwa kueleweka vizuri zaidi kuliko hotuba ya mtu yeyote yule… hata kama angekuja kiongozi yoyote yule akahutubia masaa matatu, lakini msanii angeichukua ile hotuba akaiweka katika wimbo wa dakika 2 itaeleweka vizuri zaidi kwenye jamii na itafika haraka zaidi kuliko hotuba ya masaa matatu*".

[79] "*Mwenyewe uliuona jana; ilipokuwa inaingia sanaaa, watu wanakuja hata vijana wadogo. Lakini ilipokuja vitu vingine kama kuna risala watu wanatoka. Ka hiyo inaonekana kwamba 'useriousness' wa kitu unafikia malengo*".

[80] "*Ni tofauti na kukaa darani, na kusikiliza lecture. Unajua, watu hawapendi kukaa darasani kujifunza mambo kama hayo. Wanapanda wajifunze katika mazingira ambayo, full of funny. Muziki unawapa watu burudani.*"

Research Monitoring and Evaluation Director for Tanzania Marketing and

Communication Company, was of the view that their organization was basically

interested in evaluating the number of people who attend the campaign events. To

achieve that, the company employs music to draw people's attention to the event as well

as to dispel boredom.

Conclusion

In this chapter I focused on the production of health knowledge through

performances by looking at artistic efforts, both in an individual group and at the national

level, deployed in combating HIV/AIDS. The chapter has surveyed two phases in the

battle against the pandemic: the period of mourning and the period of hope. We have seen

that the former period was characterized by desperation while the latter was characterized

by works of arts that aimed at giving hope to society rather than fear and desperation. In

addition, through Chang'ombe Youth Theatre and KAKAU Band the chapter has

demonstrated how knowledge networks impact the creative process in terms of the

selection of the content of the knowledge at hand as well as in determining when

performances should take place. The chapter has also highlighted the reasons

performance groups and organizations that deal with HIV/AIDS use the arts as a means

of combating it.

Chapter Four: *"Omukazi Azina, Tagaruka"* (A Woman Can Sing and Dance but Cannot Dance with High Leaps into the Air) ─Performing Identity in Musical Performances of HIV/AIDS

The scene is Bulinda village, one of our destinations, on the evening of Monday, March 30, 2009. My friend and host Mzee Festos Kaiza had told me earlier that he had arranged a trip for me to visit some areas of Bukoba District, which had tourist attractions. This trip, he told me, would take us as far as Bulinda village (about 45 kilometers away from Bukoba Township), where we would watch a musical performance he had arranged. So Mzee Kaiza Nestory, his son, who served as both the driver of the trip and my research assistant) put ourselves in a Toyota pickup and set out. Our car passes on a winding road through thick banana groves. "Do you see this house, and that one, and another one over there?" (*Unaona hii nyumba, na ile, na ile nyingine upande ule*?), Mzee Kaiza asks me. Yes! (*Ndiyo*], I respond, fanning my head this side and that in the direction of the houses to which Mzee Festos is pointing. "They are empty" (*Ni tupu*), he says. "The owners of the houses are all dead. Died of AIDS," (*Wenye nyumba wenyewe wamekufa. Wamekufa kwa UKIMWI*) he adds. "If we were to go round the entire village we would have seen many houses either completely without inhabitants or being occupied with children alone having lost their parents to AIDS."[81] After this, a long silence follows until the car stops in front of an open area teaming with beautiful assorted grasses, and a good number of *mivinje* (cassowary) trees standing high. A few yards away are school buildings. Not far from the school buildings is a group of people, mostly men─ some standing, some seated on green, grassy ground. The car pulls close to this group of

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[81] "*Na kama ingekuwa tuzungukie kijiji kizima tungeweza kuona nyumba nyingi ambazo ama hazina watu au ambazo ni watoto tu wamebaki baada ya kupoteza wazazi wao kwa sababu ya UKIMWI.*"

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people, and Mzee Kaiza tells me "we have arrived" (*sasa tumefika*). Most of the people there begin to walk towards us as we set out to meet them.

We exchange friendly greetings, and begin to get to know each other. Mzee Kaiza starts this session by introducing me to the dancers as both a researcher from the University of Dar es Salaam, and a student from the University of Texas. He also explains why I visited Bukoba. He invited me, he tells them, to see how the group was involved in performances about HIV/AIDS. Mzee Festos says that the group was initially composed of two different groups─Abarakimara and Lugomola. The two groups merged in 1992 to form Abaragomora, which is an amalgamation of the names of both groups. The first part of the name "abara" stands for the first three syllables of Abarakimara, while "gomora" stands for the last three syllables of "Lugomola."

After a long and detailed introduction, the performance is ready to start. Two dances, each spanning approximately 10-15 minutes, are performed one after another. Both are about HIV/AIDS. The first dance, called *balibona ninkenyuka* begins with the dancers entering the performance space, while singing, in two lines. The dance consists of one step forward with the right leg in front, slightly grinding the ground, a waist-shake, then one step back with the torso bent downward allowing both hands to reach out and touch the ground, the left leg hitting the ground, and then up the torso goes followed by a step forward. This pattern goes on until the dancers get to the middle of the performance area, where they form a semi-circle facing the direction where the musicians–a drummer and one playing shakers–and I were positioned. The dancers move to a kneeling position and they start clapping to signal the commencement of *kukuta* (stomping the ground), a form of solo dancing. It is here where the sweetness and mastery of the Haya dancing

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resides–a moment for the display of individual dancer's skills. The emphasis is on both energetic stomping and grinding of the ground. The stomping legs movement corresponds very closely with the shake of the waist. This movement of the waist is usually amplified by the vigorous rotation of *vishenshe* (raffia skirts) tied on the dancer's waist.

Dancers take turns in entering the middle of the semicircle to improvise various patterns of the *kukuta* motif (see photos on plates 9-12). The patterns range from single-leg stomping with a straight torso or a coiled torso that is vigorously moving forward and backward with suspended makeshift fall-off-on the ground movements, to leaping high in the air with a thudding two-leg landing, Kuu! When performing these patterns the dancer's space moves between the middle of the semicircle to the very front of the musicians. The performance of the single-dancer solo pattern is followed by a one-on-one contest, with each dancer attempting to outsmart the other by performing high upward leaps and heavy ground-pounding movements, decorated by a variety of bodily gestures and movements. At this stage the intensity of *kukuta* performance is highly motivated by the shouts and clapping of the fellow dancers sitting in the semicircle, and the musicians whose drumming patterns resonate with the movements of the dancers.

After finishing the performance of *kukuta*, the dancer moves back to his position in the semicircle. In some cases the dancers exchange positions with musicians. That is, the dancer takes up the musician role by playing drums or shakers while the musician moves into the dancing arena to display his or her craft of *kukuta*. It should be noted that the female dancer's movements were more or less the same but with an emphasis on the waist. Most of the dance movements involving hard thudding of the ground and high

leaps were performed by male dancers. However, if one was to determine differences in the manner of executing the "hitting-and-grinding-the ground" movements between those of the female and male dancers it would be utterly difficult. After all dancers have performed their solos, they stand up and start to exit the performance space using their entry dance.

The entry pattern for *akanana*, the second dance in the performance, is similar to that of the first dance, *balibona ninkenyuka*. It also utilizes a semicircle formation and clapping. However, a series of different songs and rhythmic patterns are introduced. After the dancers have entered the performance space and formed the semicircle, Mzee Kaiza introduces another song, "*akanana*", which is then followed by "*Omukama Tulinde*" (God Protect Us). At this stage the dancers raise both of their eyes and hands to the sky. Then comes a moment when the dancers stop executing the leg movements. They come to a stand still and go down to their knees, while maintaining their raised hands. Then the dancers start another pattern in which, while in a kneeling position, they make side and forward bowing movements with both hands touching the ground. The pattern changes abruptly to that of hands thrown up and down with the backward movement of the torso, and then forward to a bowing position, ending with both hands beating the ground in the front. This pattern is repeated over and over again unaccompanied by singing, until another pattern is introduced in which the dancing position changes from that of kneeling and leaning sideways and forward, to a sitting position whilst maintaining the side and forward movements. Instead of beating the ground, the dancers clap their hands accompanying a new song, "*arooo weee*." After several rounds of the performance, a new rhythmic pattern is introduced, which makes room for the performance of *kukuta*. A new

Plates 9-10. Abaragomora Performers at Bulinda executing *kukuta* motif.

Plates 11-12. Abaragomora performers at Bulinda.

rhythmic pattern follows after several rounds of *kukuta* performance. This time the rhythm, accompanied by another short repetitive song *"kubabaliyo la kubabaizile,"* takes the dancers out of the performance area. The dancing pattern takes the form of a limping person hurriedly moving forward.

During our discussion after the performance, I asked the dancers if they could identify any differences between the males' and females' dancing movements. Although the manner of expressing the differences varied from one speaker to another, there was a unanimous consensus that men can leap high while women cannot. To drive the point home, Mzee Kaiza responded by using a Haya proverb, *"Omukaza azina, tagaruka"* (A woman can sing and dance but cannot dance with a leap).

This chapter discusses the performance of gendered identities–namely, masculinity and femininity, but with an emphasis on the former–as enacted during musical performances on HIV/AIDS. I will demonstrate how these identities are negotiated or deconstructed by various means, including bodily movements, dress, and positions traditionally associated with one gender but taken up by another, or shared between them. Various social, cultural, and economic factors that have influenced such changes will also be examined. The opening scenario serves as a stepping stone to the discussion on how performers engage in competitive dance traditions regarding HIV/AIDS among the Haya in Bukoba Rural and Bukoba Urban districts to construct and reconfigure gendered identities. Through the performances of Abaragomora, a dance group in Bulinda Village in Bukoba Rural district, I intend to show how the dance patterns uphold expected gendered roles in the performances. Then I will examine the performance of masculinity in KAKAU, a popular music band in Bukoba Urban district,

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and show how women dancers challenge and deconstruct the established order within the context of a musical performance. The dance patterns in which women execute movements involving high jumps, which traditionally are the privileges of the male dancers, demonstrate a deviation from the expected social norms in which women are supposed to execute restrained dancing patterns. By so doing, this chapter wishes to demonstrate that female dancers are contravening expected social norms, revealing the ways in which cultural spaces created through music on HIV/AIDS can serve to redirect patterns of social instruction.

The Performance of Masculinity among the Haya

An understanding of Haya masculinity should take into account the gender constructs and activities occurring in Haya everyday life. These constructs can be observed in political life, work, and expressive culture. With regard to gender ideals, patriarchal authority is still considered decisive and is very strongly observed. This is evident even in the inheritance traditions pertaining to land and other properties and the provision of education in which, more often than not, male rather than female children are preferred (Corry 1971; Weiss 1996; Lugalla et al. 1999: 388). Gender ideals are also central to issues governing economics, politics, sexuality, and the division of labor (Carlos 1989: 103-152; Lugalla et al. 1999: 387-392; Mutembei 2001).

Traditionally, Haya men were supposed to spend much of their time at the palace. This is because of the social division of labor and the services offered to the King[82]

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[82] Among the Haya, Omukama was regarded as a divine being, a living spirit. He was endowed with the power to legislate all legal issues brought to his attention, and had absolute authority to "pass the death

(Omukama), in which each clan had to perform certain assigned tasks for him. According to this arrangement, men annually took turns in staying and working for a month in the King's palace (Cory and Hartnot 1970 [1945]: 265; Carlos 1989: 122). Major activities of men in Haya society, during the chieftainship and probably modern times, consisted of fetching firewood, taking care of cattle, hunting, and participating in warfare.[83] Other male activities included "pottery manufacture, iron-smelting, manufacturing tools and weapons, fishing, house building, palace construction, bark-cloth making, boat-making and carving wooden milk bottles" (Carlos 1989: 123; Culwick and Culwick 1940: 171-173).

In contrast to men's activities, which take them beyond the *ekibanja*[84] (banana plantation) system, women's traditional activities were executed within the confines and context of the *ekibanja* (Carlos 1989: 123-124). Apart from working on the banana plantations, women preoccupied themselves with other activities such as handcrafts (basketry or making skirts from banana or raffia palm fiber) and collecting *ensenene* (locust) (Mutembei 2001). They also collect various types of grasses for numerous uses, including mulch as a flooring substance inside the traditional house, and thatching. Other

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sentence" (Carlson 1989: 8). He not only provided for welfare and fertility in the Kingdom as a whole, but also to his court expressed his control over the fertility of women.

[83] After the abolition of chieftaincy in Tanzania during the early days of independence, men's involvement in warfare became a national obligation, but other activities, such as fetching firewood, remain largely a male domain. This was evidenced by my conversation with various men and women.

[84] *Ekibanja* is a banana plantation owned by individual members of Haya society. It serves as space upon which multiple cosmological, sociocultural, and economic activities and strategies related to the Haya daily life and survival are enacted. Apart from being a major source of staple food and a space upon which production of other crops took place, a banana plantation operates as a sacred place for worshipping ancestors. It also serves as a space upon which transaction and inscription (on the body) of sociocultural values and norms of society such as the construction of the body and symbolic gender relations, and performance and negotiation of marriage practices took place. Finally, but not least, the banana plantation operates as an avenue for the performance of folklore and expressive culture. For details about different functions of *ekibanja* see Carlson (Seitel 1972, 1980, and 1989: 6-7).

activities include cooking, fetching water, and washing. While explaining this

arrangement of work between men and women, Carlos referred to women's work as "*less*

varied" (Carlos 1989: 124) in comparison to men's activities, which are seen to be

diverse. According to Carlos, men's activities aimed at the market exchange beyond

ekibanja while women were in charge of the daily maintenance of *ekibanja* system and

production of commodities for immediate consumption (1989: 124). This work

arrangement however, changes much later with the introduction by the colonial

government of coffee as a cash crop among the Haya, in which women also became

"major producers"[85] although men continued to be controllers of the revenues obtained.

Work arrangement based on gender difference and physical spaces is typical of

most cultures in sub-Saharan Africa. As Jean Comaroff has noted in her study of the

Tswana in South Africa, women were responsible for shouldering "the physical

subsistence of the community" while men were concerned with activities considered

masculine and geared at enhancing the permanence of social values. Therefore, cattle

herding, mastery of verbal art (a point I will return to below), and commerce, among

others, were considered indispensable for the social reproduction and maintenance of the

polity (1985: 80-81). In this regard, the social value of activities performed by men and

women was measured in terms of permanence and variability, which were associated

with men's activities, and repetition and instability, associated with women's activities.

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[85] I am using these terms to denote women's active involvement in the labor force on the coffee plantation in a non-monetary sense.

As has been the case with the Tswana men, the "mouth" is one of men's sources of power and authority over women among the Haya.[86] The male space and power was not only confined to the physical labor performed beyond the *ekibanja*, but was also manifested in the mastery of verbal art. For example, Haya men of the ruling class (*abamanyi*) were considered to be "those who know" (Seitel 1972: 100). This implies that they were expected to be more skillful in the use of language, especially figurative language (*oku-fomola*). Although this was the prerogative of the men of the noble class, Haya men from other social classes including courtiers (*abakale*) and other grown-up men, were also considered to possess a certain degree of proficiency in the verbal art. Likewise, boys were in some cases socialized and encouraged to master the verbal skill categorized as *ebijume*, "verbal abuse" (Seitel 1972: 100-112). The verbal abuse, which was exercised by boys "beyond the earshot of adults" during goat herding, aimed at equipping the male youth with verbal techniques through the use of figurative speech (Seitel 1972: 112).

In contrast, while women were not prohibited from gaining such skills, and their possessing the same did accord them with the status of "knowers," by "male standards," they were nevertheless, considered to occupy a low social position (Seitel 1972: 108). Speaking of returning Haya women from cities in East Africa where they engaged in commercial sex, Seitel remarks that such women retained dual images amongst the Haya: first as "knowers" because of their travelling experience and proficiency in the Kiswahili language; second, as people of low social status because of being both women and

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[86] See also Coquery-Vidrovitch (1994).

prostitutes. The reason for associating women with low social position in relation to their verbal proficiency was meant to function as a form of disempowerment. As Seitel shows, the association between women's social position and their verbal ability is employed to abuse women considered to display too much verbal agility. If a woman is proficient at getting her way through language, a purpose which proverbs often serve, another woman may abuse her with "you have words like a prostitute," or "you have a capacity for getting things like a prostitute" (Seitel 1972:115). However, it should also be noted that the only women who were considered to be equally skilled at verbal art as men thus according them status of the "knowers," were female slaves (*bazana*) working in the court of the King. Nevertheless, these women slaves were considered to be of low social ranking. Under such circumstance, in order to maintain their socially stipulated and recognized womanly status, women possessing verbal agility could opt to either restrain their speech, or decide to purposefully display their verbal expertise and risk labels like slaves or prostitutes (Seitel 1972: 13-115). Likewise, while young boys were encouraged to skillfully use the verbal art, as pointed above, it was considered improper for young girls to do so (Seitel 1972: 112).

Another important work that defines gendered division of labor among the Haya that is of significant interest in this study as far as music making is concerned, is the activity of making beer. According to many people I talked to with regard to this subject, beer making is an exclusively male domain; women and children are involved peripherally, through fetching grass and fresh water used in the production process, and through peeling bananas. But the actual work of making beer (*rubisi*) referred to in the Haya language as "*okunjuga orubisi*," which means "stomping or crushing banana beer,"

is left to specialized Haya men. I will explain the reasons for the privileging of men in the beer making business below.

My interest in the examination of this type of work stems from the conversations I had with various people after watching a musical performance by Abaragomora, a performing group at Bulinda village in the Bukoba Rural district as shown above. After that performance in which only one female dancer participated, a lengthy discussion followed between the dancers, musicians, and me. Part of our discussion was about the stylistic differences between female and male dance movements. Based on this discussion I conjectured that stylistic dance movements performed by male dancers were associated with what constitutes "being a Haya man," and those by women associated with "markers of Haya feminine attributes." During this discussion, one performer stated in Haya, "*omukaza azina tagaruka,*" and he repeated the same words in Kiswahili by saying, "*mwanamke anaweza kuimba lakini hawezi kuruka juu*" (A woman can sing but cannot dance with high leaps)." It is from this proverb that this chapter owes its title. When I asked what meaning this proverb conveyed among the Haya, Mzee Festos Kaiza had this to say:

> In the Haya language there are words which say "a woman can sing but cannot dance with high leaps." In addition, according to Haya traditions, a woman is not allowed to enter in a canoe that is used to make beer and start crushing banana beer with her legs. Here, among the Haya, banana beer is made by crushing ripe banana by legs and not by squeezing with hands. But there are also scientific reasons why women are not allowed to dance with high leaps. [For example], a woman might be "on her period," so, if she decides to jump, and unfortunately the

"thing" falls off her body, this might cause a lot of embarrassment and shame. So there are also scientific reasons to that.[87]

Verbal arts are considered as expression of both psychological conflicts engendered in the socialization process and indigenous philosophical systems (Seitel 1972: 2). And as some scholars have also suggested, the study of dance should take into account a wide range of ordinary bodily movements involved in various types of socially constructed space because dance translates daily experiences into movements (Fodeba 1959; Green 1996; Erlmann 1996). Since proverbs are traditionally used situationally to create an understanding of cultural systems, it is important that we explore how this is reflected within the context of musical performance, especially in relation to the execution of gendered bodily movements. To do so, I suggest, it would be useful to take a look, albeit briefly, at how beer making influences bodily movements, and how these bodily movements are translated into musical performance.

In his well-researched work on beer-making among the Haya titled *The Haya World Views and Ethos: An Ethnography of Alcohol Production and Consumption in Bukoba,* Robert Carlos offers similar information about the exclusion of women from the crushing of beer bananas (*embiile*, also known as *enkundi*). In this study, Carlos further suggests that there are socio-biological reasons for prohibiting women from participating

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[87] Mzee Kaiza: *Katika Ki-Haya kuna maneno yanayosema hivi: Omukaza azina tagaruka.. maana yake kwamba mwanamke anaweza kuimba lakini hawezi kuruka juu." Hiyo moja, pia katika Kihaya, mwanamke alikuwa haingii katika mtumbwi[87] kukanyaga pombe…pombe za huku kwetu za ndizi, [huwa] tunakanyaga kwa miguu siyo kwa kutengeneza kwa mikono. Lakini la tatu ambalo ni la kisayansi [ni kwamba] inawezekana mwanamama yuko katika "period," sasa kwa bahati mbaya anaweza akaruka …. hicho kitu kikaachia; itakuja kuleta fedheha na aibu. Kwa hiyo kuna mambo ambayo ni ya kisayansi [kuhusiana na jambo hili]*

in the crushing of banana in the canoe. "[O]ne of the reasons women are not allowed to

prepare banana beer is because of the impurity associated with menstruation" (1989: 134-

135). According to Carlos, menstruation among the Haya had a double social

significance: first, as a sign of impurity and pollution; and second, as a symbol of female

power and fertility. As a sign of impurity, menstruating women were considered to be

causative of pollution and hence capable of threatening the established order. Since

banana beer among the Haya was considered to play a mediating role between symbolic

domains such as clans, ancestors, and the king, it was feared that any contact between the

beer and menstrual blood would have resulted in inexpressible social and spiritual

catastrophe.[88]

As a sign of symbolic power and fertility, menstruating women were considered

to be in such a heightened spiritual state that protection of others not in the same state

was necessary. Similar examples of associating menstruating women with spiritual power

that is considered detrimental to social and political stability–the male domain–can be

drawn from various societies throughout southern Africa and beyond. Among the

Tswana, women were considered to carry in their enclosed body "the polluting effects of

heat"[89] (*bothilo*) capable of destroying ritualistic activities associated with the polity

(Comaroff 1985: 57). According to Comaroff, the "heat" was considered "the inevitable

concomitant of physical reproduction and ensured that efforts were made to constrain the

mobility of adult women within public space; hence, they were restricted in their access

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[88] Among the Haya**,** banana beer is considered not only to be a secular refreshment, but it also forms an integral part of all celebrations and life cycle rituals. Social activities such as matrimonial negotiations between clans, paying a traditional tribute to the king, and propitiation of ancestors would not take place without it. For more details, see Carlson (1990: 297-311).

[89] In contrast, among the Beng of Cote d'Ivoire heat is associated with infertility while cold with fertility.

to the open pathways and banned entirely from entering the chiefly court" (Comaroff 1985: 57). Similarly, among the Beng of Ivory Coast in which a menstrual blood was regarded as a symbol of fertility, a menstruating woman was disallowed to enter the forests and fields, spaces in which expression of differential kinds of fertility are believed to be enacted (Gotlieb 1988: 75 as cited by Carlos 1989: 125). In the same way, among the Haya, out of fear of the spiritual power of menstruating women, different forms of seclusion and control of such women were adopted beyond the beer making process. These included disallowing them to come close to the ancestor shrines or even touch sacred objects, touch a man's hunting weapons, or enter the king's palace (Carlos 1989: 134-135).

Elsewhere in some societies, menstrual blood is associated with notions of sexual taboos, and physical and social illness. As such, measures to avoid its consequences are put in place. Among the Karanga people in Zambia, for instance, men are instructed to avoid sexual contact with a menstruating woman so as to avoid physical illness due to contact with "svina" ("dirty blood"), thereby preserving sexual health and fertility. Likewise, among the Beng, a woman who is not pregnant but has not experienced her menstrual cycle for several months is considered infertile, and thus, a medical ritual is supposed to be performed on the woman's body to remedy the situation, by taking the sterilized blood out of the body (Gotlieb 1990: 120).

Unfortunately, the above analysis of associating menstrual blood with pollution and catastrophe presents only a rigid bipolar viewpoint that preoccupied earlier anthropological debates on gender symbolism. Such a viewpoint led to "models" that ended up categorizing what were considered given and fixed female and male traits that

relegated women to weaker positions and qualities (weak, passive, polluting, unstable, repetitive, and immobile, to name but a few). It is for this reason that Gotlieb (1990), in her "Rethinking Female Pollution: The Beng Case (Côte d'Ivoire)," challenges the outdated classic gender analogy, "that male is to female as pure is to polluting". As she opines, "If such "facts" are culturally constructed, those very constructions may be unstable. Substances that are seen as symbolically polluting in some contexts may be symbolically neutral, or even purifying, in others" (Gotlieb 1990: 117). Following the leads of various scholars such as Meigs (1984), Bledsoe (1984) and Smith (1978 and 1981), Gotlieb maintains that "both masculine and feminine elements are seen as pure or polluting, depending on the context" (1990: 117). And Smith asserts that "There is nothing that is inherently sacred or profane. These are not substantive categories, but rather situational or relational categories, mobile boundaries which shift according to the map being employed" (1981: 115; and see Smith 1978: 291). How does this lead to my discussion on music and masculinity? How is this reflected in music?

The Manifestation of the Everyday Bodily Movements in the Dance Performance

Dancing is both embedded in ordinary social relations and a special mode of social interaction by itself. To dance is to produce not only signs but also social experience itself (Erlmann 1996: 183). The act of producing signs and social experience is explicitly demonstrated in the dance movements in the performance of the dancers of Abaragomora mentioned above. A comprehension of the dancing patterns of Abaragomora requires an examination and comprehension of socially normative behavior and experience on the one hand, and the interconnectedness of these with "the configuration of space and movements" as strongly dictated by the social and economic

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activities on the basis of the gender divide, including beer making. The dancing

movements and patterns performed by male dancers were intended to display attributes

considered in keeping with the Haya viewpoint of masculinity, while the movements of

the lone female dancer denoted femininity.

I suggest that the male dancers' energetic movements that are performed during

the solo dancing, *kukuta*, are intended to serve double purpose. First, they serve as an

expression of symbolic re-enactment of men's involvement in beer production in which

bodily energy, especially the one "emanating from the male body," is required. It is

suggested that besides the high degree of purity, which is an important factor in the

production of *orubisi*, bodily strength is equally important. This is expressed in the

manner of crushing (with the feet) beer banana (*okujunga orubisi*): "Before crushing the

bananas, a man washes his feet and legs thoroughly. The man may hold onto the bamboo

support while he crushes the ripened banana with his feet and legs to release the juice.

The tough grasses aid in breaking the bananas apart. This is an arduous task that

requires a great deal of strength and endurance" (Carlson 1989: 106–emphasis mine).

Two reasons that pertain to the need for masculine energy in the beer making process can

be deduced here: the need to deal with the tough grasses, and the execution of the entire

task. Because among the Haya, just like in many other societies worldwide, women are

considered a weaker sex (see Lugalla et al. 1999) both anatomically and in terms of

rationality, they are deemed unsuited for such a task. As a result, women (together with

children) are only allowed to take part in the peripheral, yet no less laborious and

repetitive, activities of the beer making process. I also suggest that the act of crushing the

banana (*okujunga*) can aesthetically be compared with the act of stomping the ground

during the moment of *kukuta* in a dance performance, in which male dancers make stylized elaborate leap movements that end with powerful hitting of the ground, "thiiii!" It should be noted that although women do participate in the dancing of *kukuta*, their dancing patterns are circumscribed to *kulibata*, a term used to associate women with the task of grinding *enshoro* (*kulibata enshoro*), a type of crop from the peanut family. The process of grinding the *enshoro* does not allow high-rising movements of the legs, so as not to crush the nuts. It is the tender movements of the legs that are required, which normatively appear to be found in female bodies. It is therefore hardly surprising that the Haya culture places a high premium on emphasizing restricted movements of the female body as a marker of femaleness: "Females are required ideally to exercise more self control in relation to males [as well as having] a set of habitual, repetitive time-consuming tasks to perform in order for life to follow" (Carlos 1989: 145-154). This is in stark contrast to men who "are accorded more freedom of movement with regard to the ways they use their time …as representatives of the *ekibanja* system" (Carlos 1989: 145-154).

This brings me to the second purpose of the male dancers' performance of energetic movements during the moment of *kukuta*, compared with the soft and restricted movements of the female dancers–that is, as has been the case in the beer production, to exclude women from participating in the central part of the dance. It could be suggested that the strategic exclusion of women from the central focus of the dance serves various purposes. First, as a way of showing women's inability of doing what men are capable of, and second as a way of reminding women of their socially expected, gendered normative mannerism. As pointed out above, women are expected to observe their socially

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prescribed behavior in every aspect of their daily lives, including dressing, manner of

talking, and walking. This means that the body has to adhere to the socially constructed

principles. This is in tandem with (as it has been suggested elsewhere) the suggestion that

"meaning," to use Jane Cowan's views, "does not lie in the body" (1990: 25); rather

"ideas about the body must be very closely linked to ideas about society" (Gotlieb 1990:

128; see also Douglass 1970; Maus 1979); and so are notions of gendered behavior. As

Cowan has shown in her book *Dance and the Body Politic in Northern Greece* (1990), a

dance-event is a space where the display of gender differences and inequality–that is

dominance and subordination–and sexual and gender interrelations are effected. In light

of this, dancing in particular serves as an activity in which the body is both a site of

experience and a site in which sexuality is negotiated.

Following the lead of Pierre Bourdieu, Cowan views the body as the surface upon

which the inscription of ideology, culture, and body techniques are made. However, she

notes that this inscription, while a conscious process, is largely the work of the habitus.

Cowan's notion of the production of habitus as a "conscious process" by the individuals,

departs remarkably from Bourdieu, who views it as a constituent of mechanisms that are

strategically unknown to the individual. Bourdieu maintains that individuals are always

subjected to circumstances in which they are unaware of the future outcomes. As a result,

individuals have to devise strategies that may be employed to function in particular

situations. Such strategies, he suggests, are considered to be objectively organized

without the individual's consciousness (Bourdieu 1977: 72, and 2000: 82-83).[90] Thus,

with the perspective of habitus and embodiment as something that is consciously

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[90] See also Skegges (2004: 75-95).

produced, Cowan suggests that rather than viewing the body as merely a read sign, it should instead be regarded as a process of inter-subjectivity (1990: 24).

In a somewhat similar vein, Sugarman (1997) articulates this perspective by viewing the body as a surface for the display of contrasting natures between women and men through singing. Focusing on gender relations among the Prespa of Albania within the context of wedding ceremonies, Sugarman identifies several factors that support this view. Two important features are relevant to this study: first, singing is done in groups segregated by gender; and second, the singing styles of men and women are viewed as embodying their contrasting roles as singers.

Similarly, the responses of the people I talked to probably reflected the shared view of "the body as a surface for the display of contrasting natures between women and men through singing [and dance]," and of the "dance-event as a space for the display of gender differences and inequality–dominance and subordination" as Sugarman and Cowan have respectively suggested. While I strongly agree with the idea that ideologies and notions of gender should not be used as a framework for studying other societies, such ideologies and notions may serve as possible analogous means to reflect on the same in another culture. When I was talking to the dancers at Bulinda about whether it was possible for men *and* women to perform elaborate high leap movements, the following views were advanced:

> Mzee Kaiza: Yes they can, but the way they jump [is not like we men] even if we would ask this woman to jump, it would be very different from the way we [men] do. First, she can't go up as high as we do, she can simply go a little higher [*at*

this juncture he demonstrates how high women can jump]. But as for us**,** we jump very high.[91]

Another man responded:

> In the dances we were dancing, there is a dance in which we used to jump high. That dance is for the men, and that's where the difference is. Now, there are other dances which are for women alone, performed during their activities. They wrap themselves with clothes, and their dance patterns do not involve jumping. So, the [dances] ones which involve jumping are the men's.
>
> You know, according to our traditions here in Bukoba, the sorts of dress we used to put on, especially those of women, did not allow them to jump high because if they tried to do that, and unfortunately, it happens that the clothes moves up and above the head of the dancer leaving her naked …[92]

The only female dancer who was present during the performance had the

following response:

> It is true that usually we female children do not jump high as they [men] have said. But it is not because of what they said. [The reason is] Even our strengths are not just as men's. I do not have the same speed as that of men. Well, I can jump, but I might have chest problems such as shortness of breath. And this is completely different from men. So, for us women, our dancing patterns are the normal ones [without jumping], but those with jumpings we cannot do.[93]

Such remarks reflect the stereotypes that Jane Cowan and Jane Sugarman have

advanced as seen above. They categorically reflect how gender ideals and ideologies

within a dance context are closely related to the wider sociocultural ideals. However, this

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[91] Ndomondo*: Lakini sasa hivi si inawezekana wanawake wanacheza kwa kuruka?*

Festos: *Wanaruka.. lakini urukaji wao hata kama tungemruhusu akaruka huyu mama ni tofauti na tunavyoruka sisi. Kwanza haendi juu sana, anaweza akaruka kidogo tu [anainuka kuonesha kwa mfano anaruka kidogo] Lakini sisi unaruka juu kabisa …*

[92] *Katika ngoma tulizocheza kuna ngoma tuliyokuwa tunaruka juu ile ni ngoma ya wanaume hiyo ndiyo tofauti…Sasa kuna nyingine za kina mama wakiwa peke yao labda kwenye sherehe zao wanajifunga wanacheza kwa chini. Sasa zile za kuruka juu ni za wanaume. Unajua katika asili yetu Bukoba, na mavazi yetu tuliyokuwa tunavaa [hasa] wanawake, ...sasa mwanamke akiruka juu inawezekana ileo nguo ikaruka juu ikamfunika mpaka kichwani na kusababisha kuonekana sehemu zake za ndani….*

[93] *Mchezaji ngoma wa kike:*
Ni kweli sisi watoto wa kike huwa haturuki kwenda juu kama walivyosema. Lakini siyo kwa ajili hiyo waliyoisema, hata nguvu zetu ni tofauti na za wanaume. Mimi sina speed kama ya wanaume. Sawa nitaruka, lakini kifua kwanza kitabana, tofauti na mwanaume kabisa, kwa hiyo sisi ngoma za kucheza ni hizi za kawaida hiyo ya kuruka juu huwa hatuwezi.

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general view of gender ideals contrasts remarkably with the views of other people I talked to and the type of musical performance that KAKAU performed on the World AIDS Day at Buyekela, in Bukoba District. My conversation with Getruda Kokushobera, an old woman of about eighty years old, at Kagondo Village, in Muleba District, and Francis, a man who accompanied me on my trip to visit this old woman, probably provides a good starting point for this discussion. My discussion with Bibi[94] Getruda involved a wide range of the Haya traditions, including gender issues, wedding and music, and teachings for newlywed couples, socialization of young people, the relationship of music and dance and illness (in particular HIV/AIDS), and expressive culture generally. I asked Bibi Getruda if there are any differences between male and female dancing styles in the Haya dances. Immediately, Francis, the man who accompanied me in this trip, came forward with this response:

> Francis: Yes, there is a difference, especially during drum beating. The way the drummer beats the drum may change when a woman enters [on the dancing space], because a woman dances on the ground [dance movements restrained], but a man often jumps high; he jumps because of his energy/strength. Now the woman dances [the way she does] because she is a woman.
>
> [At this juncture Bibi Getruda stands up and begins to dance and sing a song and suddenly begins to talk]
>
> Getruda: [She speaks emphatically] There is no difference. Everyone dances the way they want. [I ask her if the dances she was dancing were designed for men or women] All of them! One by one enters the arena and dance.
>
> Francis: So, he wants to know the difference…the dance you have just danced. How do women and men dance?
>
> Bibi: They just dance!
>
> Francis: Do they dance in the same manner?

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[94] Bibi is a common title used to refer to an old woman (for example, a grandmother).

Bibi: Yes, provided they all follow the rule [she beats the rhythm by hand clapping].

Francis: *So in this case the difference is that a woman dances slowly and the man dances with energy because he is a man* [Emphasis mine].

Bibi: [Interrupting and emphatically rejecting] Mmm…everyone dances the way they want.

MN: Then why women do not jump as high as men do?

Bibi: They jump...if they have energy. I used to jump when I was still a child. It is not prohibited. [So for Bibi, energy is more related to age rather than sex]

Francis: [Interrupting] It is not prohibited, but let's say this, the kind of dress women put on are the problem. You see, a woman is dressed in a gown, is that right? [Bibi interrupts]

Bibi: Even us we used to put this kind of dress [tightening her dress properly] this way. Don't just look at these days dress. During those days there were no the kind of dress we have today. We used to put on *kishenshe* [raffia dress]. It was long enough, from here [demonstrating the length] the waist to the ankle. So even if she dances there was no problem.[95]

At this juncture I begin to feel as though I had reached a crossroad. I had assumed

that Bibi Getruda, being an old woman who strongly cherishes the Haya gender ideals, as

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[95] Francis: *Utofauti upo kwa sababu hata wakati wa kupiga [ngoma], anavyokuwa anapiga ile ngoma, akiingia mwanamke anavyokuwa anapiga, anaweza ku-"change" kutokana na kwamba yeye anachezea chini, lakini mwanaume mara nyingi anarusha miguu, anaruka kwa sababu ya "nguvu" yake ile. Sasa mwanamke anacheza kutokana na yeye mwanamke [bibi anaingilia kati na anaanza kucheza… na kuimba …halafu anajibu*
Bibi: *hakuna tofauti; kila mmoja anacheza anavyotaka*…[I ask her if the dances she is dancing was designed for men or women]
wote wote mmoja mmoja anakuja anacheza.
Francis: *sasa anataka kujua tofauti ... hiyo ngoma uliyoicheza mwanume anachezaje na mwanamke anachezaje….*
Bibi: *wanacheza*
Francis: *wanacheza sawa?*
Bibi: *eeh kwa sababu ni moja tu bora wafuate sheria… [anapiga rhythm kwa makofi]*
Francis: *kwa maana hiyo tofauti hapa ni kwamba mwanamke anakuwa anacheza taratibu mwanaume anacheza kwa nguvu kutokana na kwamba ni mwanaume.*
Bibi: *[anaingilia kati kwa msisitizo] Mh…mh kila mmoja anacheza anavyopenda eeeh..*
Mathayo Ndomondo: sasa kwa nini wanawake hawaruki juu kama wanavyoruka wanaume?
Bibi: *wanaruka…wakiwa na nguvu na mimi nikiwa mtoto naruka ,…haikatazwi sasa –…..*
Francis: *anaingilia] haikatazwi, lakini sasa tuseme yale mavazi wanayokuwa wamevaa …[ndiyo tatizo/kikwazo] unaona sasa mwanamke amevaa gauni si ndiyo…[Bibi anaingilia kati]*
Bibi: *eeeh na sisi tu[likuwa]…navaa hivi,.. usione hivi ya leo …siku zile na nguo hazikuwepo alikuwa anavaa kile kishenshe kinatoka hapa*
[anaonesha kwa vitendo] anafungia humu kinafika pale [chini] hata akiruka kinafanya kazi …

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it was revealed in her conversation that was heavily spiced with a bodily illustrative demonstration, would have talked about gender ideals in relation to women's participation to expressive culture in a way that would less challenge than uphold it. So I kept asking myself what was really revealed in the conversation between Bibi Getruda, Francis and myself, regarding the question of gender ideology as a social construct vis-à-vis the actual manifestations of the same**,** both in ordinary life situations and in expressive culture, especially music and dance. I also kept questioning myself what role expressive culture plays in the everyday life of the Haya women, especially in relation to the war against gender discrimination generally, and against the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

While it is true that an understanding of people's social structure and organization can be achieved by investigating the gender structure of society, an explanation of the daily social practices that are in opposition to the declared ideals might nevertheless be overlooked (Koskoff 1987; Gutmann 1990; Sanday 1990; Cowan 1990; Sugarman 1997). While the majority of Haya people have upheld the gendered spatial and ideological divide of their culture as demonstrated in their daily social practices, including folklore and expressive culture, it may be suggested, as has been the case elsewhere that such a division may clearly reflect the ideological system of gender relations that the Haya uphold, but is not in itself a representation of the Haya gender identities. For gendered identities and roles are socially constructed, and are hence as fluid, variable, and contradicting in everyday life as in musical performances. They are bound to take up new forms and meaning. As Sanday has suggested, "gender representations are multifaceted and must be understood first in terms of context in which they appear and second in terms of their fit with other representations in other contexts" (1990: 8).

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It is imperative from this perspective, to distinguish between what is said about gendered identities and roles and what occurs in actual practice. An interrogation that goes beyond what men say about women and about themselves on the one hand, and about what women say about themselves and about men, on the other, is of paramount importance. Such an understanding can explain why an individual, as in the case of Bibi Getruda, can state ideas that represent socially sanctioned notions but are completely inconsistent with the declared ideal (Gutmann 1990: Gilmore 1990; Kopytoff 1990, Ntarangwi 2003). Because of this fact a musical performance can be a space in which such contradictions can being acted out (Koskoff 1987; Robertson, 1987; Sugarman 1990; McClary 1991; Moisala, et al. 2000; Ntarangwi 2003; Bernstein 2004; Fox 2004; Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2005). So, where does this discussion takes us?

In accordance with the above discussion, I view Bibi Getruda together with other female musical performers as an embodiment of determined and transformative actors, not only in the process of articulating gender equality in the everyday social practices in the context of the entrenched and highly respected Haya gender ideals, but also in the war against HIV/AIDS through music. Moreover, the action of Bibi Getruda to cherish the patriarchy and simultaneously challenge it in the context of a musical performance is of great importance. This forms the central discussion of the next section by drawing on the musical experience of the KAKAU Band's performance on the World HIV/AIDS HIV/AIDS Day, which took place on December 1, 2008 in Bukoba District. The section will attempt to explore if there are any changes that have taken place with regard to gendered roles and identities in the context of music as compared with the previous performance by Abaragomora, and in terms of the ideals of the society. Moreover, the

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section will examine what these changes are, what they signify and, finally, what the sources are.

Deconstructing Gendered Roles and Identities through Dance Movements and Dress: The Setting of the Performance

The place is Buyekela Ward, one of the high-density suburbs in Bukoba Urban District. It is about ten minutes walking distance from the center of Bukoba town and about the same distance from the district's main offices. The actual place where the annual World AIDS Day anniversary takes place is Buyekela Sokoni (Buyekela Market). The dusty and busy road cuts across this area composed of a mixture of brick and mud houses with rusty-corrugated iron-rooftops into two sections, east and north. As I ride on a bicycle that takes me from the city center to this place during the hot afternoon, I can see, as one would expect to see in Bukoba, houses surrounded with thick bushes of banana trees and scattered large and small avocado trees. The pavements of some of the houses have been turned to serve as *vigenge* (small markets) where food items such as fruit (bananas, avocado, oranges, etc.), an assortment of spices, and other locally made ingredients are sold. The front sections of a good number of houses, especially those facing the street's main road, have been redesigned to serve as shops and mini-wholesale shops.

Another notable feature of Buyekela is a number of guest houses and pubs where people go to get an assortment of services, including a variety of factory made bottled-liquor, roasted chicken, cow and goat meat as well as playing pool games. Small wooden *vibanda*) (huts)**,** usually located in the inner parts of this suburb**,** serve as places where locally made beer and roasted meat are served. Buyekela could be typically considered as one of the most impoverished but famous sections of Bukoba town.

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The event takes place right in front of Buyekela Sokoni areas. Many small shops housed in various structures ranging from large used cargo containers, wooden huts, pieces of old iron sheets, and fronts of the houses are still operating at the time (12:00 p.m.). Some business people, including women and young people, conduct their petty businesses under large umbrellas. The large tent designed to accommodate the guest of honor, the district dignitaries, and a few other invited guests is erected to the east of the Buyekela road facing west where the market is. On the right-hand side of the tent, there stands a powerful sound system that keeps blasting an assortment of music, including popular music numbers ranging from Congolese dance music, traditional and modern Haya music, a variety of popular dance music styles by various Tanzanian popular music bands, and *bongo flava*. The volume emanating from the PA system aims to entertain the people already in attendance and attract the attention of people in the distant areas of the ward, or the passers-by around the event. The effect of this strategy is soon realized as more people began to fill the ground gradually, although the total number of those in attendance was not quite as high as I had expected. I move to one of the musicians of KAKAU Band who is busy unloading the amplification system, musical instruments, and props from the truck belonging to the band, and ask him if more people are expected to attend the event. He tells me that "people will come when the music starts. Just keep waiting" (*watu watakuja wakianza kusikia muziki, wewe subiri tu*). Satisfied with the response, I take another look at the tent. It is half-filled but lively, thanks to the large group of women living with AIDS (*Akina Mama Wanaoishi na Virusi ya Ukimwi -* AMWAVU) and the CARITAS women's choir group who occupy the larger part of the tent**.**

In addition to the women from AMWAVU and CARITAS, the district officials clad in white caps and blue T-shirts printed with words associated with that years' HIV/AIDS theme, *Ongoza, Endesha, Timiza* (Lead, Execute, Fulfill) as well as those in ordinary civilian clothes, can also be seen either seated, or arriving at the scene by government vehicles, motorcycle, and even on foot. Besides the tent, a fairly large number of people most of whom are children, followed by a relatively large section of young people both men and women, and a few old women could be seen in attendance. The majority of the people constituting this section were seated on the pavement and verandahs of the houses facing the road.

Just across the road in front of the tent is an area designated for musicians to put up their sound systems, instruments, and props. The area between this place and the front of the tent, including the whole section of the road, is reserved to serve as a performance space. I come to realize later on that only KAKAU Band and Rinaz Band used that area. Other groups present in the event such as Lugoroile dancing group, Yagi-Ishi Rap-and-Drama group, AMWAVU Poets, and CARITAS choir have occupied different positions around the place. Yagi Ishi group has positioned itself on the right hand side of the tent just behind the PA system, while Lugoroile takes its place behind the tent. Two other groups, namely, CARITAS choir and AMWAVU, both composed of women, are seated on the back rows on the inside of the tent, as mentioned earlier.

At a little distance, about fifteen meters away from the back of the place designated for Rinaz and KAKAU bands**,** stands a shabby house with a small, narrow pavement (see photo on plate 13). A piece of white cloth printed with a red ribbon is suspended across this small pavement to create a room where counseling and voluntary

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testing services are done with same-day results. I visit this place and find a line of people waiting their turn to see the experts. I take a glance at the activities going on inside the enclosure, exchange greetings with a few people standing in the line and then I leave the place, unsure of the confidentiality of the people's results as there was no partition between the experts and the people waiting for the testing service. Despite this situation, many people seemed to eagerly await the results about their health status.

By 1:00 p.m. KAKAU Band has completed arranging the sound system and fine-tuning the musical instruments. By 2:00 p.m. the number of people in attendance had significantly increased, and Evarista Rugeiyamu, the District Cultural Officer, grabs a microphone and starts to explain the order. He announces the kind of events that would take place, and finishes his brief announcement with the remark, "these groups will be offering entertainment as we are waiting for the guest of honor" (*vikundi hivi vitakuwa vinaburudisha wakati tukiwa tunamsubiri mgeni rasmi*). He then urges the groups to start "giving the entertainment." The Yagi-Ishi Rap and Drama group raises the curtain with a rap song. It is followed by Rinaz (see photo plate 14) , a one-man band, who performs one song, and is followed by a traditional dance by the Lugoroile dancing group. While Lugoroile continues to perform a traditional Haya dance, the guest of honor arrives. No sooner does Lugoroile exit than the guest of honor accompanied by some of the districts officials goes to the HIV testing center to officiate the children's vaccination season. As this activity goes on, background music airs through the PA system. The number is "Starehe," a very popular *bongo flava* song about HIV/AIDS. Many young people could be seen singing or nodding to the song. KAKAU performs their first number *Timpya Tinsorola* (*Siungui Siteketei*, or "I Neither Get Burnt Nor Perish) as soon as the guest of

Plate 13. People waiting their turn to see health experts at a pavement used for counseling and voluntary testing during the World AIDS Day at Buyekela, Bukoba on December 1, 2008.

Plate 14. RINAZ Band performing during the World AIDS Day ceremony at Buyekela, Bukoba on December 1, 2008.

Plate 15. CARITAS choir performing during the World AIDS Day ceremony at Buyekela, Bukoba on December 1, 2008.

Plate 16. A cross-section of the audience members at Buyekela during the World AIDS Day ceremony at Buyekela, Bukoba on December 1, 2008.

Plate 17. A cross-section of the audience members at Buyekela during the World AIDS Day ceremony at Buyekela, Bukoba on December 1, 2008.

Plate 18. KAKAU Band performing drama during the World AIDS Day ceremony at Buyekela, Bukoba on December 1, 2008.

honor takes his seat back after returning from the testing center. At this juncture the people standing or sitting far away begin to throng the performance space so as to have a proper view of the KAKAU performance. After KAKAU, Yagi-Ishi Rap-and-Drama group returns to the stage with another rap song "*Batelele Akagoma*" (Beat the Drum to Them So That They Can Know).

The first round of the dance and musical performance over, the testimony from the women living with AIDS (AMWAVU) is up next. Two representatives of the AMWAVU members take the microphones and tell their stories. The testimony is followed with a poem by the same group but recited by a small group of women. A choir performance by CARITAS (see photo on plate 15) follows next. The CARITAS group is followed by a drama put on by KAKAU (see photo on plate 18). The drama centers on stigma and discrimination issues, in which a woman contesting for a political position is stigmatized because of her seropositive status. The drama is followed immediately by a post-performance discussion in which the group jockey or moderator of the discussion encourages people to participate in the discussion about the central issues portrayed in the performance. The post-performance discussion is followed by the annual report of the HIV/AIDS status in Bukoba District as read by the DistrictAIDS Controller. The distribution of food and other items donated by the DistrictAIDSCommittee to the orphans living in Buyekela Ward is the next event. A list of representative names of orphans is read out by the emcee, the District Cultural Officer, as the named children come forward accompanied by relatives to receive their share.

This event is followed by the report of the voluntary testing that took place at the testing center located within the ground, and the speech of the guest of honor (see photo

on plate 22). Here I would like to record a few words included in the guest of honor's

unwritten opening remarks:

> I would like to thank all groups that have given us today's message and for
> accepting our invitation to participate in this activity. We are proud of these
> groups. When we have groups such as these, they help us in a great deal to
> educate the people. Even if we will give speech (just after the performance, in
> actual fact), we think the message had already been delivered [by these groups].
> The message has been obtained–sent home.[96]

These motivating words are followed by a written speech, and the people start to

leave. On seeing this, the District Cultural Officer grabs the microphone and makes an

important announcement, "Fellow countrymen do not leave, please, be patient.

Immediately after the guest of honor's speech our artistic groups will continue to give

entertainment…"[97] Despite this announcement, some people decide to move away from

the anniversary grounds, but many of them decide to wait for another round of the

performance. The guest of honor's speech is followed by Yagi-Ishi, a drama addressing

the use of the condom. After the drama performance, KAKAU closes the event by their

number "*Naita*" (I call), a song which uses a Gogo[98] melody and costume. Having looked

at the general setting of the performance of this event, let me now focus on the

performance of masculinity by KAKAU female dancers as a means of deconstructing

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[96] *"Nivishuru vikundi vyote ambavyo vimetupa ujumbe wa siku ya leo na kukubali mwaliko wa kuja kufanya shughuli hii. Tunajivunia vikundi. Tunapokuwa na vikundi kama hivi vinatusaidia sana kuelimisha wananchi. Hata kama tutatoa hotuba lakini tunadhani kwamba ujumbe ulikwishafika. "Message" imeishapatikana"*

[97] *"Ndugu wananchi msiondoke, naomba muwe na subira, baada ya hotuba ya mgeni rasmi tu vikundi vyetu vya sanaa vitaendelea kutoa burudani…"*

[98] Gogo, or in Kiswahili *Wagogo* means "the people." It is a one of the ethnic groups occupying the central area of Tanzania, but mainly in Dodoma Region. The Gogo people are mostly reputed for their musical heritage popularly known and even performed by various dance and music groups within and outside Tanzania. Gogo music formed an integral part of canons of the traditional music of Tanzania performed by the then National Dancing Troupe. It is from this music tradition where the late Dr. Hukwe Zawose, one of the most celebrated Tanzanian musicians, came from.

male hegemony. The focus of this analysis is a music performance titled "*Siungui Siteketei*."

Timpya Tinsorora: **KAKAU Band Performance at Glance**

Before the performance starts, Claudius, one of the solo singers of KAKAU grabs the microphone and speaks, "Honorable Guest, invited guests, ladies and gentlemen…" (*mgeni rasmi, wageni waalikwa mabibi na mabwana…*)." He pauses, and then begins yelling, "Up with AIDS!" (*Ukimwi Oyeee*!). No response is given! He turns his head here and there trying to anticipate responses from the audience. As he hears no response he repeats the yelling, "*Ukimwi Oyee*!**"** This time a faint male voice is heard "*Oyee*!" (Yes, AIDS Up!). At this juncture Claudius burst into a louder laughter and he comments, "Oh! If I saw the one who said 'Oyee,' I would give him a reward, but I didn't. So, today is not a ceremony on AIDS, but it is a sad day. However, in spite of being a sad day we take the opportunity to educate one another in an entertaining manner. What is important is for you to listen and take note of what you think is important to you. Don't just let yourself be entertained and forget the message offered."[99]

After he finishes speaking, he yells, "*twende Kakau*" (Let's go KAKAU, which means "let's start the music KAKAU"), and the performance starts. But before I proceed describing the performance**,** I will briefly talk about the composition of the KAKAU performers. These include a keyboardist, percussionist, solo guitarist, rhythm guitarist, and bassist player. All musicians are dressed in their ordinary civilian styles. Standing behind the microphones are four singers: two male and two female. The male singers are

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[99] "*Hee! Huyo aliyesema oyee ningempa zawadi, lakini sikumuona. Kwa hiyo leo siyo sherehe ya Ukimwi ila ni siku ya masikitiko; lakini pamoja na hayo tunaelimishana katika burudani ya aina Fulani. La msingi kamata yale unayosikia [kama] ni ya msingi kwako,..usiburudike tu, ukasahau ujumbe unaotolewa.*"

dressed in *kitenge* long -sleeve shirts, casual pants, and shoes. The female singers on the other hand, have put on a costume of green-and-black *kitenge* style for the free size short-sleeve blouse and the pants. Tied around the waist on top of the pants is a dyed *kishenshe* (raffia skirt). In contrast to the male singers who have put on shoes, the female singers are barefoot.[100] In front of the musicians and singers standing in a line facing the side where the tent is erected are four dancers, are two male and two female. Like the female singers, the female dancers are dressed in multi-colored short sleeve blouses and pants, and dyed *vishenshe* tied around the waist. The length of the pants of the female dancers is slightly high from the ankle. The male dancers' costume consists of blue T-shirts and multi-colored pants similar to the female pants, but theirs are tagged on with rags left hanging from the knee downward. They too have *vishenshe* decorated with an assortment of colors tied to their waists.

The music starts with an instrumental part, which ushers in the dancers with the first pattern of dance movements: left and right swaying of the body, and then a light waist-and-foot-work in the middle with arms rigorously swung up and down. Then Claudius interjects "AIDS is dangerous, if you don't test your health you will perish."[101] This is immediately followed by a female singer singing in Luhaya, a development which leads to a change in the dancing pattern, one step to the left and one step to the right making a pause in the middle where hip swaying and waist wriggling is done. This is done repeatedly even as the chorus is sung:

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[100] I came to learn later that the reason the female dancers did not put on shoes was because they regularly joined the other dancers.
[101] *"Ukimwi ni Hatari! Usipopima afya yako utakwenda na maji"*

You are always saying that nothing will go wrong, but still you are not changing your lifestyle. The outcome of your immoral life will be disastrous,
You will perish like a breaking grass,
You will be seen drying like a leaf.[102]

The keyboard comes in and plays its part briefly, and the female singer takes over

with another verse. The new verse signals a change in the dancing pattern in which

intricate footwork with raised legs for both female and male dancers is introduced: three

steps left and waist work, and repetition of the pattern to the right.

You are always called upon to change your attitudes, but you can't listen!
Why can't you listen to your parents, religious, and political leaders or your elders?
You don't even listen to the Almighty God.[103]

The chorus that follows this verse signals more changes in the dancing patterns.

Here we see footwork intensified and arms waving up and down, until the keyboard rolls

in again only to introduce another dance pattern when the dancers make a rigorous

backward turn with a raised leg. This pattern, too, keeps repeating while the keyboard

and the female singer work together. More patterns are introduced.

Please look around and see how the world is on fire,
Your life style is increasing the spread of AIDS.
Your life style will increase the number of orphans in our community
Your life style will bring deep sorrow to your family and the community at large.[104]

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[102]*Oti timpya tinsorora, Otye endyamiti zigwomubisibu iwee,*
Balibona nohendeka nkakalibwa – balibona nonkenyuka,
Balibona noshenkuka nk'egilasi – balibona noyatika,
Balibona nosorora nkashansha – balibona nonongoka nkakanembe
[103] *Bagamba balemesibwa, emihano yabulikiro,*
Tolikwenda kwefutatira, niobakweta kyalemire,
Abazaire nobagaya, abatwazi nobagaya,
Abakuru nobagaya, na Mungu nomugaya bojo.
[104] *Burura olebe iwe, lebensi nesorora,*
Noyanga kwekunira, nabandi nitwechura,
Endwara nobagara, obunaku nobagara,

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The male singer comes in as soon as the female singer finishes her part. But

instead of singing in Luhaya, he sings in Kiswahili.

> The problems you are putting yourself into can easily be a burden to others
> The moment you become ill you will require care,
> Your family members will abandon other economically productive activities to
> take care of you
> This will affect not only the economic situation of your family, but also that of the
> nation.[105]

Another dance pattern (pattern five) is introduced here. The movements now

become more varied and rigorous. The dancers stomp the ground and push their legs

sideways before making a powerful raised backward kick as the torso slightly bends

forward. The backward kick also makes the dancers turn backward and come face to face

with the singers and musicians. The pattern is sustained in the stretch of the male singer's

part until the keyboard rolls in again to bring back the female singer. Here the dancers

revert to pattern four of the dance movements.

> We know that it's your obligation to look after your life
> But we would like to take this opportunity to caution you on the most destructive
> aspects in life
> Always live a life with purpose, avoid immoral life.
> Be serious with what you do, avoid destroying your life.[106]

The interjection of the keyboard brings the entire pattern of the music to a

complete turn. The rhythm changes and another male singer comes in and begins to rap in

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Entabwa nobagara, namajune nobagara bojo
[105] *Enaku ezolikushaka, nabandi nobashakira,*
Koraba washegire, noyenda kujanjabwa,
Emilimo notwitira, emilebe notwitira,
Abawe nobaitira, n'eyanga nolitira bojo.
[106] *Buli lisho kwelira, chonka ichwe nitwijukya*
Olenge kwekunira, ang'ensi elakumira,
Amairu otaishure, obujanga otaishure,
Eikuru otaishure, ebyensi otaishure bojo

Swahili, while the dancers and the female singers join together to perform elaborate high leaps, (movement pattern six). At this juncture, this pattern is not done in a particular formation; rather the dancers are scattered all over the performance space walking three steps and all at once high into the air they leap, and finish with a soft landing (see photos on plates 19-20). Then the female singer returns to the second verse:

> You are always called upon to change your attitudes, but you can't listen!
> Why can't you listen to your parents, religious and political leaders or your
> elders?
> You don't even listen to the Almighty God.[107]
> [Repetition of the chorus]

Here pattern 4 is repeated, but many other new patterns, which are generally short motifs, are presented here: rigorous waist work, running several steps back and forth, and then moving around the performance space in a circular formation while stomping the ground hard. After such a cocktail of movement patterns the original single line formation is briefly retained only to be replaced with another new pattern in which the dancers move into face to face male-female pairs performing an assortment of movements.

At this stage, the female singer brings back the first part of the vocal section and more patterns are introduced. It is the moment for dancing the *kukuta* motif. No single style of the *kukuta* motif can be defined here because the dancers may dance in whatever style they want, in duets or solo. But there is virtually no clear distinction between *kukuta* patterns designated for men and those for women. If it is hard stomping or grinding

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[107] *Bagamba balemesibwa, emihano yabulikiro,*
Tolikwenda Kwefutatira, nibakweta kyalemire,
Abazaire nobagaya, abaytwazi nobagaya,
Abakuru nobagaya, na Mungu nomugaya bojo.

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(*kulibata*) the ground then both female and male dancers can be seen doing it in the same manner. So, female and male dancers take turns in dancing the *kukuta* motif until all are done. It is the dance pattern of the *kukuta* motif performed by the female singers that brings the performance to an end.

Having looked at the description of the performance above, a few questions arise: what meanings can be extracted from the complex patterns of dance movements and formation, the uniformity of female and male dancers' movements, style of clothing, and code-switching[108] between Luhaya and Kiswahili as it alternates between the female and male singers throughout the performance? And how do such meanings relate to the construction and deconstruction of gender roles and identities? In addition, one would also want to know as to what meanings could be deduced from the unscripted speech by the guest of honor on the role of music in the war against HIV/AIDS, and even the positioning of the musical-cum-dramatic events within the larger schedule of this special occasion. These questions have been adequately answered in the previous chapter. I would now like to focus my analysis on two issues in the former category, namely, dance movements and formations, and clothing.

Dance Movements and Dress: Construction and Deconstruction of Gender

In the previous section we have seen that a dance event is considered as a space where the display of gender differences and inequality is done, and that the body operates as the surface upon which the inscription of ideology, culture, and bodily techniques takes place**.** We have also seen how the performance by the Abaragomora dance group

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[108] While this phenomenon is important**,** its discussion is beyond the scope of this study.

has functioned to confirm such assertions. I would now like to expand that discussion by taking a look at how this is manifested in the performance of KAKAU. However, I refuse an all-encompassing pursuit of the idea of dance or musical performance as a mere space for displaying gender disparity, and also of the body as a mere site for displaying the inscription of ideology, culture, and body techniques as suggested above. Instead I want to join those scholars who view dance as a performance art, which serves first as a vehicle and context of social action (Martin 1990; Cowan 1990), and therefore as a driving force of "the bodily construction of worldview in all its fluidity and heterogeneity," and second "as a special form of human communication that has implication beyond its immediate social uses and functions" (Erlmann 1996: 183). By social action as invariably mentioned in the foregoing, I imply seeing it as a space upon which "public space, knowledge and social meanings are contested" (Ntarangwi 2003: 254).

In her discussion of the relationship between gender ideology and music, Koskoff identifies four categories of music performed by women; performances that confirm and maintain the established social/sexual arrangement; performances that appear to perpetuate established norms so as to protect most appropriate values; performances that protest, yet maintain, the order; and, finally, performances that challenge and threaten this order (1987: 10). Although KAKAU provides a gender mixed performance it seems to me that it falls under a mixture of the four categories outlined above. Contrary to Abaragomora dancing group's "confirming and maintaining" the established norms, KAKAU through the lens of female dancers and singers does two things at a time. Not

Plate 19. KAKAU Performers executing high leap movements during *kukuta* moment on the World AIDS Day ceremony at Buyekela, Bukoba on December 1, 2008.

Plate 20. KAKAU Performers executing high leap movements during *kukuta* moment on the World AIDS Day ceremony at Buyekela, Bukoba on December 1, 2008.

Plate 21. KAKAU performer executing shuffling *kukuta* motif during the World AIDS
Day ceremony at Buyekela, Bukoba on December 1, 2008.

Plate 22. The Guest of Honor speaking during the ceremony at Buyekela, Bukoba

on December 1, 2008.

only does their performance reproduce the socially accepted normative experience, but it also operates toward the deconstruction of the same.

During one of several conversations I had with Sarah, one of the singers and dancers of KAKAU, months after this event, and also after watching the performance by Abaragomora and the discussion that followed, I mentioned to her my interest in knowing the differences in dancing styles between female and male dancers in the musical tradition of the Haya in general, and in their performance on the World AIDS Day in particular. Sarah told me that "usually men make high leaps into the air but a woman was not allowed." When I asked her to tell me the reasons for that state of affairs she responded by saying that:

> You know, the biological set up of the woman does not allow her leaping into the air; [in the past] there were no pants. It was only a skirt. So if a woman leaps under such circumstance then the skirts will move up high thereby leaving the dancer naked. *But now we leap into the air because we dress something that protects us; so, why shouldn't we leap*? But in some places [here in Kagera] a woman is not allowed to leap. Many women of KAKAU do leap. *We do that to let people know that even we women can leap. So, even us KAKAU, are fighting against [gender] discrimination.* You know what…, even during the moment of *kukuta*, the emphasis is for all.[109]

I would like to relate Sarah's remarks to the idea of subjugation of the body and the challenges that this subjugated body present in raising public awareness and agency due to the various social, political, and historical forces. I would like to specifically

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[109] *Sarah: Kwa kawaida Wanaume wanaruka juu; mwanamke hakuruhusiwa?*
[Mimi nauliza]: Kwa nini?
Sara: Unajua, maumbile ya mwanamke hayamruhusu kuruka, hakukuwa na suruali. ni sketi tu, sasa akiruka si inapanda juu. Sasa hivi tunaruka kwa sababu tunavaa kitu kinachotuhifadhi, sasa kwa nini tusiruke? Kwa sehemu zingine mwanamke huruhusiwi kabisa kuruka. Wanawake wa Kakau wengi wanaruka; hiyo ni kuonesha kwamba hata sisi pia tunaweza kuruka. Hata Kakau tunapiga vita unyanyasaji. Tunaruka ili watu watambue hata sisi tunaweza kuruka. Katika uchezaji msisitizo ni kwa wote.

connect this idea of subjugation of the body to notions of colonization and domination as various scholars have analyzed.

The notions of colonization and domination, resistance and human agency, are central to Jean and John Comaroff's work *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (1991). These notions are also reflected in Jean Comaroff's *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance; the Culture and History of a Southern African People* (1985). According to the Comaroffs, colonization involves the suppression of the body and the domestication of the mind. In the case of South Africa, the bodies of the Black male and female subjects were subjugated to provide labor to the emerging colonial industrial economy. Spiritually and culturally, the subjugated bodies were subject to new values to which they did not merely consent, but on the contrary, which they strongly disliked. The emergence of religious movements among the Tshidi illustrates not only the mounting awareness among the people of the structure of oppression, but also the growing, albeit covert, resistance to the cultural forms of colonialism through ritual and iconoclasm (Comaroff 1985: 194).

Following the lead of Hebdige (1979), Comaroff suggests that "those marginal to the established hegemonies frequently challenge authority in the medium of style" (Comaroff 1985: 196). Through the use of signs as "the objects of contest," Comaroff continues, "the battle waged at the level of symbol expresses a more fundamental confrontation" (Comaroff 1985: 196). My analysis of the performance of masculinity by the female dancers of KAKAU is based on this notion of "challenging authority in the medium of style" and "at the level of symbol**.**" As Doris Green suggests, in view of dance choreography, "...dance is ...a source of communication through which it is possible to

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demonstrate emotion, sentiment, beliefs and other reactions through movement" (1996: 13).

Similarly, as Sarah has clearly indicated in her remarks above, musical performance about HIV/AIDS can serve as a suitable avenue to challenge and propose a transformation in the Haya worldview by foregrounding gender-based contradictions that are insufficiently dealt with by the established ideology. This can be best done through the female performers' appropriation of dance styles, which are traditionally meant to be performed by male dancers, and through the medium of clothing. In addition, this female choreographic manipulation of the "female" body to embody "male" masculinity expresses a multilayered meaning, including among others, an expression of the autonomy, variability, progress, and modernity of the female self. The defiant embodiment of masculinity by females also serves as a way of deconstructing the entrenched normative model of masculinity. As shown in the study of religious Kwaya traditions in the Lutheran Church of Tanzania, Barz conceives of the introduction and development of European "*Kwaya*" from two different viewpoints: as a systematic and integral part of "the colonization of and domination of land and people, body and spirit" (2003: 20), and, as an instrument of reclaiming sociocultural and political self-determination against foreign domination during post-independence Tanzania.

The use of dance and clothing as a means of foregrounding resistance to and suggesting reformulation of the dominant ideology is not unique to KAKAU. Isicathamiya, one of the most celebrated dance traditions in South Africa, comes to mind here:

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Through dance and dress Isicathamiya performers seek to reform the offending system by rehabilitating the body. Isicathamiya choreography and dances uniforms reinsert the body's potential for symbolic representation. The bodies of Isicathamiya dances cease to be the mere individual parcel without social historical referent to which they have been reduced in the factories and become potent metaphors evoking the lost continuity between the bodies social and natural. (Erlmann 1996: 182)

Likewise, the bodies of KAKAU female dancers are geared toward "reforming the offending [patriarchal] system" by defiantly "rehabilitating the body" through appropriation of male dance style, and dress. Throughout the performance of *Timpya Tinsorola,* the vocal parts of the female and male lead singers interlock. The female singer opens and closes the vocal part of the entire performance while the male singer only appears in the middle of it. In addition, more often than not, the change in the pattern of dance movements occurs during the appearance of the voice of the female lead singer. Such a pattern could be interpreted as symbolic of social transformation, in which the woman ceases to be considered as a mere passive actor. Instead she becomes progressive and a marker of human agency. While this may also be interpreted as a reflection of gender complementarity[110] among the Haya, it may also serve to index the leading role women have taken through various means and, especially expressive arts in the battle against HIV/AIDS in the region of Kagera, Tanzania, despite their subjugated socioeconomic position. As Barz has illustrated in the Ugandan context, "[m]usic, dance and drama have been (and continue to be) deep cultural resources and instruments of survival in the confrontation with the ongoing HIV/AIDS crisis…" (2006: xxvi). The participation of women [and young people] in combating HIV/AIDS in Uganda,

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[110] In accordance with the Haya world view, Haya men and women are considered to be normatively related both complementarily and hierarchically (Carlos 1989; Mutembei 2001). Such complementary relations of men and women do not necessarily arise out of joint participation in a particular activity, but in regard to disaggregated domains of creativity, productivity and human fertility as previously shown.

according to Barz, has been far more effective when expressive arts rather than other conventional biomedical approaches were applied. This illustrates how performance has played a central role in numerous local initiatives and media to disseminate information, mobilize resources, and raise awareness.

In a similar manner, the participation of women and young people through the use of music, dance, drama, and poetic recitations in the war against the HIV/AIDS pandemic has increased markedly in Tanzania as the World AIDS Day anniversary in Bukoba has demonstrated. While the majority of the performers were women, men were minimally represented. This general non-active-participation of the older men in the war against the pandemic became the point of attack of one of the verse embedded in the poetic recitation of women living with AIDS (AMWAVU):

> When it comes to health testing, men are difficult,
> In matters of education, women are number one
> Lead and enable, fulfill your promise

The use of music, dance, drama, and poetic recitation on gender and health issues by women and young people has been a growing phenomenon in Tanzania, though hardly new. Traditionally, women have used dance and music for empowerment and didactic purposes for individuals and society at large. This is contrary to the deep-seated general belief among development and communication agents that women are incapable of engaging in the process of communication for development. As Penina Mlama (1994: 51) demonstrates, "[w]omen are said to be timid, lacking the confidence to speak, especially in public or in the presence of men and even when given the opportunity to communicate. On the contrary, the sociocultural factors that relegate women to a subordinate position to

men are at the root of the communication inactivity among women (Mlama 1994: 51). Furthermore, the systematic exclusion of women from participating in the entire development planning process, and the lack of access to conventional media by the majority of women in the rural areas, due to diverse sociocultural and economic factors, both as communicators and audience, have compounded the situation. As such, the use of indigenous expressive arts, including music and dance, have been the sole effective means for women and marginalized people to communicate about and participate in development. As Carol Robertson (1987) has noted, music and musical behavior can be manipulated to enhance or inhibit the social, ritual, and political access and awareness of all people in society regardless of their sex or age. Thus, if well-exploited, music serves as a means to empower women and thus enable them to set in motion social change. In an era in which HIV/AIDS in Bukoba, as elsewhere in Tanzania and beyond, continues to pose a great menace to women's health and lives, music and dance serve as one of the effective channels of voicing concerns. This is especially the case in the circumstances where the women's disempowered position denies them capacity for safer sexual negotiation with men (Seitel 1999; Lugala et al. 1999; Mutembei 2001; TGNP 2007).

Because of the socioeconomic advantage they have over women, men are reported to be one of the obstacles to a successful combat against HIV/AIDS in many parts of the world, and Kagera is no exception (Irwin et al. 2003; Farmer 2005 Barnett and Whiteside 2006 [2000]; Baylies et al. 2000). Gender inequality in Buhaya society, which plays a central role in all aspects of the people's socioeconomic and political lives, including sexuality, deprives women of their freedom and power to sexual matters (Lugala et al. 1999: 387). HIV/AIDS in Kagera is considered to have been introduced by

abakukomera,[111] young businessmen, who then spread it to their female sexual partners.

Despite this background, it has been reported that fingers are pointed at women as vectors of the disease[112]: "Our findings indicate that women are often accused of bringing HIV/AIDS into the family if they fall ill or begin to show symptoms of HIV/AIDS before their husbands do. When this happens they are likely to be kicked out of the household and sent back to their parents or relatives" (Lugala et al. 1999: 389-90). As a result, some women do not want to participate in voluntary HIV/AIDS testing because they are afraid of testing positive. The question of associating HIV/AIDS with women as vectors was confirmed during my conversation with members of AMWAVU:

> If your husband dies of AIDS, it is the woman who receives most of the blame. They say, it is the woman who brought the disease. So you are told, "it is you who killed their son." And even before the burial has taken place, you see that they start locking the bedroom. They say that you are the one who have killed our son.

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[111] The onset of HIV/AIDS in Kagera is attributed to both political and economic reasons (Schoepf, 1988; Kilewo et al. 1992; Lwihula 1992; Weiss 1996; Lugala et al. 1999; Mutembei 2001; Barnett and Whiteside 2006 [2002]). Economically, the HIV/AIDS pandemic is linked to the deteriorating economic status of the country in the early years of the 1980s. in which scarcity of essential commodities resulted in the emergence of cross-border black marketing between Uganda and Tanzania, especially in Kagera region. *Abakikomela*, the young and sexually energetic wealthy businessmen, were considered the principal participants in this cross-border black marketing transaction. According to Lwihula (1992) NOT IN BIB and Lugala et al. (1999), *abakikomela* are considered to be one of the central sources to the spread of HIV/AIDS in Kagera because of the high mobility and permissive sexual behaviors and life styles these young businessmen had, and especially with regard to the mode of migration that was involved between the two countries. The nicknaming of the new disease HIV/AIDS as "Juliana," a brand name of imported shirts involved in the cross-border business between Uganda, Burundi, Rwanda, and Tanzania at the time, and the association of *abekikomela* with the outbreak of this disease in the Kagera Region serves to show how closely linked the movements of these young people were to the onset of the disease.

[112] Men are accused of being the least responsible, rigid, and inactive in observing safer sex or even commitedly participating in the war against the pandemic. It was because of this situation HIV/AIDS activities of the year 2002 in Tanzania were devoted to enhancing increased awareness and participation of men, featuring the theme "men are the source of change in AIDS transmission." Perhaps resulting from sustained efforts by the government and NGOs dealing with HIV/AIDS, men have started to show some sort of commitment to this war; at least by looking at the number of people who participated in the voluntary testing on the anniversary day in which men outnumbered women: out of 256 people who volunteered take the test there were 142 men and 114 women. While this is a positive development, much more is still needed on the part of men in the war against the pandemic, including educating fellow men about how to live with HIV/AIDS status. As pointed out earlier, it was women living with HIV/AIDS who participated in large number in the anniversary to publicly give their testimony about their HIV/AIDS status.

You know, some people conceive of this disease as if it were very strange, and or as a sexually transmitted disease; and if it is so, then the woman was thought to be adulterous.[113]

It was against this background that AMWAVU was established in order to equip seropositive women with various means to face HIV/AIDS-related problems such as stigma, lack of economic power, and discriminatory legal traditions regarding inheritance following a husband's death. According to AMWAVU, women need to be properly educated about HIV/AIDS related issues that affect them in order to effectively face their problems and improve their own lives and those of others. The arts, including music, serve as one of the means AMWAVU uses to educate fellow women living with HIV/AIDS, and the entire society at large about the importance of testing, and living positively with HIV/AIDS. "We educate people through our personal testimonies, and through various arts such as recitation and choir. When a woman is educated and becomes knowledgeable, no one can touch or discriminate her."[114]

This reminds me of my previous conversation with Mama Peregia Katunzi, a woman living positively with HIV/AIDS for the past twenty one years since she lost her husband in 1988 to HIV/AIDS. She is currently working with World Vision in Bukoba as a project counselor on HIV/AIDS. My meeting with Peregia, and the conversation that followed, was unplanned. I had just finished my conversation with Jacinta, one of the staffmembers at the premises of the Zonal World Vision Organization, when she asked

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[113] *Kama mume wako amefariki kwa ukimwi, anayelengwa sana kwamba ndiyo ameleta ugonjwa ni mwanamke. Sasa hapo unaambiwa wewe umeua mtoto wao. Kabla haujazikazika wanshaanzaa kufunga chumba. Wanasema kwamba huyo alyemuua mtoto wetu hawezi kuriti mali ya mtoto wetu....Huu ugonjwa watu wengine wanaushikilia kama ugonjwa ni wa ajabu, au ni ugonjwa wa zinaa, [kwamba] huyu mama, mwanamke, alikuwa ni msharati.*
[114] *"Tunawaelimisha watu kwa kutumia shuhuda zetu binafsi na kutumia sanaa mbalimbali ikiwemo shairi na kwaya. Mwanamke akishapata elimu na kuelimika huwezi kumgusa, kumnyanyasa hivyo."*

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me if I wanted to talk with the people dealing with counseling on HIV/AIDS. I quickly agreed and she took me there and introduced me to five women; Peregia Katunzi, Victoria Kalungula (the poet with AMWAVU), and two other women whose names I did not record. Upon seeing me, Peregia who looked very healthy and spoke very cheerfully, introduced herself and the other women, including Victoria, to me. And then she quickly began speaking, "You are at the right place. And let me tell you this, there is only one sure treatment to AIDS. It is accepting it!"[115] Then she proceeded to tell me that she has been advising people living with HIV/AIDS to consider acceptance as the most important step in dealing with it.

Peregia also, tells me that advising seropositive women on a wide range of other things such as inheritance issues, and financial and educational support both for themselves and their children is part of her duties. In addition to face-to-face counseling services on HIV/AIDS that she offers to the people, writing poetry for the same purpose is her favorite preoccupation. After our conversation, Peregia asks me to go to the nearby bookshop and get a copy of a poetry book she had written addressing HIV/AIDS-related issues. Furthermore, as she understands from our conversation that I was present during the World AIDS Anniversary day, and that I took some photos and videos, she asks me if I would show them the recordings. Because I had my laptop and all the field recording gear with me in my backpack, I agreed. She goes out and invites some other people interested to come over and watch some of the recorded clips of the performances.

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[115] *"Umefika mahali sahihi. Na ngoja nikuambie kwamba, dawa ya Ukimwi ni moja. Ni kuukubali ukimwi!"*

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Apart from the initiatives by women living with in combating the impacts of HIV/AIDS-related problems affecting mostly women among the Haya, education and economic independence have been pointed out as the most effective means women use to protect themselves from the risk of HIV/AIDS. As Lugala (1999) has noted, "women who have reduced their risk [to AIDS contraction] or are capable of doing so are those with decision-making autonomy, which has been achieved by being educated as well as being economically independent." Unfortunately, the number of women having adequate education and independent economic power represents only the minority and are found especially in the urban areas, while the number of those who remain unable to access such benefits represent the majority and come from both urban and rural areas. While the importance of economic power and education for women's development scarcely needs to be emphasized here, the importance of the arts as effective means of empowering women to fight against HIV/AIDS should also be strongly taken into account. The efficacy of the arts in the campaign against HIV/AIDS in Bukoba is also very well-reflected in the remarks by Jacinta Rwehika, the World Vision Zonal Gender Coordinator, during my conversation with her. Jacinta informed me that World Vision had adopted a number of ways to educate the people in the rural areas about HIV/AIDS. The program started by using workshops and the dissemination of books, leaflets, and brochures. But they came to realize much later that publications were not an effective means of disseminating information on HIV/AIDS in rural areas, because many people living in those areas lack education. "You know people like funny things such as cartoons and music. But when you send them books, leaflets or brochures, they don't read them. So, because of this situation we have decided to use arts group such as drama, heroic

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recitation, and dance to educate the people."[116] [Personal conversation with Jacinta Rwehika, March 27, 2009 at Zonal World Vision Office, Bukoba]

In view of this, if those women who live in the rural areas are given the opportunity to use the arts─music and dance, recitation, and drama─as vehicles of correct information on prevention of and education about HIV/AIDS, then the effectiveness of the war against this pandemic would be more than doubled. As has been shown in Uganda, "[c]ritical responses by women in particular to the AIDS pandemic in the form of musical performances are one of the most significant means of constructing localized knowledge concerning disease prevention and health-care education in this area of the world…" (Barz 2006: 3). By so doing, women would cease to appear as passive creatures unable to decide their own fate. This development has started to take shape in various ways.

In much the same way as the economically and educationally independent and autonomous empowered women, I consider the female lead singer of the KAKAU Band, through her engendering of changes in the choreographic patterns of dance movement and through the manipulation of her voice, and the lyrics that channel HIV/AIDS education, to be an agent of change in a society towards gender equality. Here, the female body operates as both "vehicles and processes through which meaningful action is manifest and in which powerful capacities of production, reproduction, and representation are located" (Setel 1999: 11). In contrast, while I consider the male singer

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[116] *"Unajua watu wanapenda "funny things" kama vile cartoon na muziki. Sasa ukiwapelekea vitabu, vijarida, au vipeperushi hawavisomi. Kwa hiyo tumeamua kutumia vikundi vya sanaa, kama drama group, majigambo, na ngoma katika kuelimisha jamii"*

to represent a number of relatively responsible and active men's participation in the war against the pandemic, his limited vocal part sandwiched between the multiple variations of the female lead voice index men's ambiguous status. I would like to suggest two interpretations in this regard. First, it demonstrates men's rigidity to change, and secondly, it shows the precariousness of male power. As has been shown elsewhere, in the face of rapid social, economic, and political changes, men's roles and identities have been challenged, threatened, and weakened, while those of women have, to a certain degree, been improved (Silberschmidt 1999: Lugala 1999; Lihamba and Mulokozi 2007; Fox 2004; Meintjes 2004).

On another level, the juxtaposition of the female and the male voice in the song suggests the social transformation that has been taking place, albeit gradually, in which negotiations between women and men on a number of things are a reality now.

Deconstructing Gender Identities through Dress

Having looked at the dancing body, let's now turn to the clothed body and the role it plays within and beyond the performance space in relation to the wider social fabric. I will specifically focus on clothing, especially the pants of the female dancers of KAKAU in comparison with the traditional Haya female [*vishenshe*] clothing, and the layer of meanings that they project. Here I would like to broaden my previous discussion a little further regarding the use of "style" and "symbol" as a means by which sentiments and anti-hegemonic action are expressed. Thus, in addition to the foregoing components, and in spite of a plethora of definitions and meanings given to dress, here I choose to regard it not only as a space upon which power is represented, constituted, articulated, and contested (Allman 2004), but also "the interpretation of the social relations that give rise

to it and the social relations that it creates" (Coolchestro 2003). Nonetheless, despite this viewpoint, I refuse to subscribe to the paradigm that perpetuates fixed inherent meanings in clothing. Instead, I maintain the variability and multiplicity of meaning attached to clothing in relation to locality and time (Mead 1963 [1933]; Durham 1999; Allman 2004). As Allman has suggested, "[t]he meanings of one particular item of clothing can be, and often are, completely transformed when moved across time and space" (Allman 2004: 6). It should be noted however, that while the dressed body is just as important and an integral part of music performance as the singing and dancing body is, adequate analysis about it is still lacking. In this brief section, it is from this background that I attempt to examine this crucial component of music performance.

Broadly, studies about dress [and fashion] fall under two paradigms: those that take a cultural studies or historical approach to dress and those that follow an anthropological and ethnographic approach to dress (Allman 2004: 2). With the former school of thought, the dress has been considered to be a manifestation of the rise of capitalism and Western modernity, while the latter paradigm has preoccupied itself with dress as "an assemblage of modifications of the body and/or supplement to the body" (Eicher and Sumberg 1995: 298). The first group may include such representative scholars as Sundkler (1980), Jean Comaroff (1985), Erlmann (1996), Renne (2004), Hay (2004), Ivaska (2004), and Byfield (2004), whose works feature the association of clothing with ideas of colonial domination, capitalist consumption, and cosmopolitanism. I will briefly survey a few selected texts here.

For Sundkler (1980), the onset of missionary settlement activities and the subsequent introduction of the "new faith and western clothing" among the Haya under

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the veneer of Christianity was not only "ridiculous behaviour," but an attempt to make people, especially young men, break away from their past, thereby making them new men–"the image of modernity" (1980: 69-70). This "ridiculous behaviour" and "the image of modernity" are not circumscribed to the new faith and clothing, but stretch further to encompass "the new book," "the new words, the language," and "the new square house" that substituted the traditional round hut, *emushonge*. It is for this reason Sundkler laments, "on free and strong naked bodies these Europeans put shirts and shorts, and stiff close-fitting jackets of wool and cotton" (1980: 69).

Likewise, Comaroff (1993), speaking of the South African colonial conquest, considers the colonial onset as a fertile ground in which "new commodities and new regimes of local consumption" stimulated new desires, tastes, and "even forms of society" (Comaroff 1993: 1 in Erlmann 1996: 196). For Erlmann, fashion is a process of consumption, which is considered "a sphere of social practice in which identity is achieved through the individual accumulation of otherness" (1996: 196). Simply put, clothing appears to be a key signifier of the social.

Although there is much scholarly work that represents the second paradigm, I would like to briefly highlight a few selected works (for example, Durham 1999, Hanse 2004; Allman, 2004; Ivaska, 2004; Byfield 2004; Mora 2008). Much of the viewpoints represented by these works can be summarized as follows: clothing is a medium designed to enhance visibility and symbolically assess gender relations and identity; it is also a means of expressing social status, and national, cultural, and political identities. I find Deborah Durham's interpretation of Herero women's dress especially interesting.

In her study Durham uses the concept of "sparkle" as a "visual metaphor," an idea she borrows from one of Bakhtin's linguistic works. Durham stretches this idea of "sparkle" from a linguistic notion to that of meaning generated by embodied sensibility (1999: 390). In explaining this concept Durham writes, "for Bakhtin, intended meanings, utterances, are inevitably distracted by a 'a tension-filled environment of alien words, value judgments and accents'" (1981: 276); this atmosphere of contestable and contested meanings "makes the facets of the image sparkle" (1981: 277) as the image resounds with other meanings, values, and situations (1999: 390). Durham sees the basis of Bakhtin's multiplicity of meanings as a result of the "fragmentation of the social world into language communities, originating first, in "a primordial struggle between tribes, people, cultures and languages" (1981: 11, 50). Bakhtin's concept of "multiplicity of meanings" strikes a chord with Jean and John Comaroff, who view meaning as "unfixed, resisted, and reconstructed" in much the same way as signs, social relations, and material practices are constantly subject to transformation (1985: 18). "At any particular moment, in any marked event," the Comaroffs assert, "a meaning or a social arrangement may appear freefloating, underdetermined, ambiguous" (1985: 18). Likewise, Durham considers much of the diverse meanings of the Herero women's dress to arise from the social contests and the changing positionality of persons entangled in "the web of group-affiliation" (1999: 390-1). Following this lead, I too, am concerned with an exploration of the ideas of contested meanings that result from the shifting positionality, which serve as the source of the "sparkle," with regard to clothing within a musical performance.

I would like to use the notion of the "sparkle," specifically to refer to the effects that the pants of KAKAU female dancers in combination with the bodily movements offer to the Haya society, in general, and within the context of music performance in particular. The sparkling moment appears when the female costume (the pants) combined with the bodily movements (exaggerated high leaps) transgress the traditionally established dressing code, and dancing aesthetics of the Haya society. As pointed out earlier, traditionally and even in contemporary times, Haya women are not allowed to put on pants let alone perform high leaps and elaborate bodily movements. But this was not the case in the performance we have seen above, in which both pants and high leaps formed an integral part of the dance for both male and female dancers. In addition, I see that much of the "sparkle" that the costume (the pants) of KAKAU female dancers generate arise from the multiple social positions these dancing female bodies engage in: as artists and social educators; as any other bonafide female member of society; as believers of the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church (the chief sponsor of the group); and, also as citizens of Tanzania. So, in keeping with Christian morals or dress codes in particular, careful covering of the body is immensely important. For this reason, the pants, as opposed to skirt-type attire, become the best choice. The skirt, while it is the most popular costume worn by female dancers in many other music and dance performing groups, has become the target of wide criticism as it is considered inappropriate and indecent on account of exposing sensitive parts of the female body (Allman 2004: 109). So, putting on pants allows women to adhere, albeit "rebelliously," to the Christian dress code, thereby displaying a mark of chastity. I have used the term

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"rebellious" because for most conservative Christians in Tanzania,[117] regardless of the denomination one belongs to, pants are not considered proper attire for women. It is regarded especially improper for women to wear pants during church service. But the debate over the inappropriateness of women in pants goes beyond the spiritual realm– outside the church, as it was depicted in the early years of post-independence Tanzania.

Campaigns against foreign-inspired improper dress, including men's tight pants or dresses, mini-skirts, and a host of other outlawed clothing (short shorts, wigs, and other cultural products),[118] and the heated debated that arose for and against it, date from the late 1960s through post-independence Tanzania. The 1968 so-called indecent cloth ban campaign, popularly known as Operation Vijana, was done under the spirit of "building national culture" vis-à-vis the hazards of "foreign influence," a debate that I do not wish to repeat here (Allman 2004). However, it would be insightful to highlight, however briefly, the major issues involved in the movement. Although the campaign was said to target men and women offenders, a section of society considered it a gendered action. That is, it was an all-male affair primarily directed against women since the campaign was manned by all male enforcers (Allman 2004: 1). While the campaign was considered an expression of confrontation between notions of modernity and the prevailing ruling party's (TANU) project of "national culture," the whole scenario was also thought to be

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[117] As a point worthy of mention I know of a very popular and increasingly growing Charismatic Church in Dar es Salaam that encourages female singers (I am not sure about the remaining part of the female congregations) to costume in pants-coat suit attire, a tradition that has received mixed reactions from various sections of believers of the Christian religion. The performances of this religious choir in a variety of this kind of attire are broadcast everyday over the church owned TV station. Since I have not done any formal research on this issue it suffices to end on this note.

[118] Other foreign cultural products involved in the ban included soul music, beauty contest, and movies cast in racial terms, and magazines, most of which were unsuccessfully removed, and today, especially the fashion and beauty contest, they abundantly make an integral part of nationally recognized and supported culture.

situated "at the intersection of anxieties over women's work and mobility in urban space, and the politics of sex in Dar es Salaam" (2004: 4). This was depicted even in the manner in which the debate over the campaigns through newspapers was conducted. The focus was on deprecating women's bodies and clothing, and this was followed by physical violence against them.

My present discussion of KAKAU's female dancing cloth, however, deviates from taking such a focus. I suggest that while the adoption of the pants by KAKAU's female dancers might entice contested and ambiguous meanings for the performers themselves, the use of this attire serves as a mark of empowerment. This is because it enables the women singers to actively participate in the process of educating society about HIV/AIDS through performance. I also suggest that this development indexes the massive changes that transcend subjective bodily sensibility to include changes that have transpired even within the Roman Catholic traditions in Tanzania and perhaps beyond with regard to the role and use of music for different purposes. Looked at historically, the action of the Roman Catholic Church in Bukoba to sponsor non-religious popular dance music and drama to educate the people about HIV/AIDS is a remarkable development. For one, traditionally, popular dance music or *muziki wa magitaa* [music that uses guitars] was considered inappropriate and un-Christian. To date, by and large**,** *muziki wa magitaa* does not form an integral part of church service in most, if not all, Roman Catholic churches in Tanzania compared to other Protestant and Pentecostal Churches such as Lutheran (especially, Evangelist choirs), Anglican, Mennonite, and Assemblies of God Churches, all of which make use of *muziki wa magitaa* as an integral part of the main Sunday services and those of other weekdays.

Paradoxically though, while I do not know of any other Roman Catholic Church in Tanzania than Bukoba Roman Catholic Diocese that has employed non-Christian dance music as one of its major means of fighting the HIV/AIDS pandemic, I have never heard of any similar attempts made by Churches in the other denominations. The need to use contemporary cultural materials to speak to the contemporary audience (Barber 1987 and 1997), especially those that for various reasons cannot or do not go to church, about HIV/AIDS constitute the reason why the Roman Catholic Church in Bukoba adopted the popular band style in their campaign against the pandemic. This need is vividly reflected in the remarks Bishop Nestor Timanywa of Bukoba Diocese, who is also the director and guardian of KAKAU, provides:

> In the effort to participate as a church [in the war against HIV/AIDS], The Bukoba Diocese, has created an entity/instrument called KAKAU which means Roman Church against HIV/AIDS. This entity does that work by means of songs and dances, and at the same time giving hope to those people who have lost hope. This entity uses modern [musical] instruments, contemporary compositions, and popular songs that have a strong appeal and much attraction to people who would not otherwise be able to come to Church and listen to the preaching using other common ways. It is our hope that this will challenge everybody to participate in the war against HIV/AIDS and even in other developmental work. May God Bless us and give us a much longer life.[119]

Bishop Timanywa's remarks point out the very important role that religious and faith-based institutions, can play in the battle against the pandemic through cultural interventionsbeyond the pulpit. It suffices here then to return to the discussion on the multiple positionalites of the female dancing and dressed body and the meanings

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[119] *Jimbo la Bukoba katika Jitihada ya kushiriki katika kazi ya kanisa, limeunda chombo cha Kakau chenye maana ya Kanisa Katoliki dhidi ya Ukimwi. Chombo hicho hufanya kazi hiyo kwa njia ya nyimbo ngoma, na wakati huo huo ukiambatana na kuwatia watu moyo pale ambapo inaonekana kuna kukata tama. Chombo hiki hutumia vyombo vya kisasa, tungo za kisasa na nyimbo ambazo huwavutia wengi ambao wasingeweza kufika kanisani na kuweza kusikiliza mahubiri kwa njia za kawaida. Ni matumaini yetu kwamba.. hii itatusaidia kumchochea kila mmoja mwenye mapenzi mema kushiriki katika vita dhidi ya Ukimwi na pia katika kazi zinazoleta maendelo. Mungu atubariki na kutuweka salama.*

generated thereof. Having looked at the ambiguous positionality of the female dancing body as a member of religion in relation to the dressing code, and the resultant ambiguous meaning, let us briefly take a look at another angle of positionality: the artist as a social educator.

Rather than viewing clothing as a physical impediment that restricts social movement as Durham (1999: 390) has suggested, I want to view the pants that KAKAU female dancers have adopted as a medium through which the display of an empowerment of body mobility, strength, and as a source of agentive autonomy can be achieved. In this regard, the "sparkling" effect of the dress reinforces the dancers' sense of agency by actively engaging in the musical performance both for aesthetic (beauty and entertainment) and didactic purposes in the war against HIV/AIDS. In this vein, clothing serves as a means of furthering "the embodied practices of independence and self determination, of mastery of space and time" (Durham 1999: 391). By doing so, the dress takes part in the constitution of subjectivity of "embodied consciousness possessing purpose and will and capable of agency" (Turner 1995).

Chapter Five: Gendered and Spiritual Identities in Christian Singing about HIV/AIDS

Two related religious events organized around the use of music for HIV/AIDS education and prevention took place during my fieldwork in Dar es Salaam, from February to May 2009. On the Saturday, February 28, 2009, I attended a religious music competition organized by the Eastern Diocese of the Lutheran Church of Tanzania in collaboration with the Rapid Fund Envelope.[120] The competition took place at the Mbezi Beach Lutheran Church, a huge newly-built multi-million shillings building in Kinondoni Municipality. Thirty-four singing groups from the three municipalities of Dar es salaam City were involved. Two types of singing groups, Kwaya Kuu (choral music without or with musical instruments chiefly drums and shakers) and Kwaya za Uinjilisti (choral music with electric musical instruments), were involved, bringing together approximately 1000 singers. Other people in attendance, who also formed a small section of the audience, included photographers, church leaders, and a small number of members of the press, notably from Christian newspapers and radio stations. The first session of the competition began with Kwaya za Uinjilisti, which was followed by Kwaya Kuu. As I watched the singing groups performing at the pulpit, one group after another, I realized that all of the groups except one were led by male conductors. The group having a female conductor, which appeared to be one of the Kwaya Kuu groups, was from Msasani Lutheran Church. I was interested in knowing the reasons for such a composition of about 1000 singers, the majority of whom were women, should have only one singing group with a female conductor.

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[120] RFE is an NGO dealing with funding activities concerned with AIDSHIV/AIDS and poverty alleviation in Tanzania.

The second event took place on the Sunday, May 10, 2009 in the same municipality at the Landmark Hotel and was organized by a family-based NGO named the Medical and Media Research Associate Company Limited (COMERA). This event was heavily advertised on the radio, both Christian and non-religious stations. The event was labeled "*Tamasha la UKIMWI na Nyimbo za Injiili*" (["AIDS Festival and Gospel Songs). A number of popular and sought-after after "gospel" music singers were advertised for the event. As such, I expected to see a large turn-out for the event. The event was set to start at 4:00 p.m. and I arrived at 3:30 p.m. and quickly bought my ticket, which was set at Tsh. 5,000/- (about $4). I found my way inside the hall and took my seat right in the front row of the auditorium. Many people, especially women and a few couples turned up, but not as many as I had expected. As I watched the performances, I realized that except for one or two songs most of the songs did not address HIV/AIDS. Instead, they were about praising God as a healer, a comforter, and a vindicator, as much as invoking Him to intervene in their socioeconomic situations. A few songs focused on how to face the challenges of social life, encouragement, and women empowerment.

The event was characterized by people watching, singing, and participating in the performances of individual gospel singers' spirituality through their songs.[121] To some extent I was disappointed because my expectations were to see singers coming up with songs about HIV/AIDS, thereby providing me with another opportunity to explore how live Christian singing addresses the pandemic. But this was not the case. The singing

[121] Most of the invited singers were said to be born-again Christians, and I assumed that a large section of the audience was composed of born-again Christians. My assumptions were based on the way the audience responded to the musical performances. When the songs were slow and about either praising or asking God's intervention on the singers' and people's lives, the audience joined the singers both by standing and singing, sometimes with their hands raised. I also saw some people weeping in the mood of player. These characteristics are often associated with Pentecostalism. .

event was closed by the inauguration of COMERA, a non-profit organization that expected to deal with HIV/AIDS among Christians. The inauguration activities ranged from brief unscripted speech to introduction of the founders of the NGO and a short video about HIV/AIDS. I sought out the organizers of the event and selected singers to talk about the direction the event took- for not focusing on HIV/AIDS (see my conversation with the organizers below).

This chapter discusses the performance of gender, religious, and spiritual identities enacted by Christian groups during musical performances about HIV/AIDS. It stretches the question of gendered identities that was started in chapter four; but here the emphasis is on masculinity as it is contextualized within the Christian music traditions. The question of masculinity will be explored around the choir conducting tradition as observed during the Lutheran Church choir competitions on HIV and AIDS, while spirituality will be explored within the second event, *Tamasha la UKIMWI and Nyimbo za Injili* (AIDS Festival and Gospel Songs). Regarding the first event, I will show that despite the fact that choir conducting still seems to be a masculine activity in the Church, as it was clearly demonstrated during the choir competitions, gendered roles and identities are fluid and negotiable. This discussion, however, shows that the question of gender in respect of musical performance in the Church generally, and in relation to HIV/AIDS, in particular, is more complex than it can be imagined. In the second event, which focuses on the performance of spirituality, I wish to demonstrate that spiritual identities constructed under the influence of faith-based institutions play central role among individual musicians or members of the congregations in creating and manifesting varied sorts of actions and attitudes towards HIV/AIDS. The manifestations of such

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identities towards HIV/AIDS may create multiple interpretations among observers. Finally, I show that religious events organized around HIV/AIDS, but which involve musical performance, may also sometimes serve as spaces for attaining multiple personal and institutional fulfillments.

The two religious musical events organized around HIV/AIDS provide a glimpse into how individuals and communities in faith-based institutions, specifically in Christian organizations, use expressive culture and engage in divergent ways to address the pandemic. Besides providing some useful insights into the relationship of music, religion and the roles of NGOs in addressing HIV/AIDS, the two events operate as ideal spaces for the manifestations of multiple identities. Two types of identities, namely, gender (especially male) and spirituality, are the focus of my interest. I explore the performance of masculinity by looking at the tradition of choir-conducting, which is usually considered a male domain, as for example, in the first event—the Lutheran Church singing competitions on HIV/AIDS at the Mbezi Beach Lutheran Church. The second issue I examine is the performance of spirituality by individual gospel singers. Here I will focus on the second event at the Landmark Hotel. It should be noted, however, that although the question of the relationship of religion, music, and HIV/AIDS is central to both events, I will pay attention to identity formation and the performance of it at the individual level. To a certain degree, the relationship of religion, music, and HIV/AIDS is an issue that is discussed in chapters three and six and to some extent in other chapters as well. However, at time and to some degree this issue might be recurring in other chapters in the course of the discussion.

Here I beg to ask a couple of questions: Why is it important to look at gender (specifically conducting) and spiritual identities in a study that deals with music and HIV/AIDS? In what ways do both contribute to an understanding of music and HIV/AIDS? It would seem that an understanding of the ways gendered roles and identities, that is, choir conducting as a male domain are performed in the context of music about HIV/AIDS and how gender and spiritual ideologies contribute to subject formation, are crucial to gauging the relationship of music and HIV/AIDS, and the attitudes of people towards HIV/AIDS.

Following Barz (in reference to the choral tradition in the Lutheran Church of Tanzania in Dar es Salaam) who draws on Sondra Schneiders's use of the term "spirituality," I too, use the term "spirituality" to denote the way individual singers within a religious institution or a religious community in its entirety make meaning out of belief systems in everyday life (Barz 2003: 108). And I use the term "spiritual identities" to denote the manifestations of the institutionally-sanctioned internalized meanings constructed through the process of individuation (Castel 1997). As Manuel Castel suggests, "identity [is] the process of construction of meaning on the basis of a cultural attribute, or related set of cultural attributes, that is/are are given priority over other sources of meaning. Identities can also be originated from institutions, they become identities only when and if social actors internalize them, and construct their meaning around this internalization" (Castel 1997: 6-7).

Choir Conducting, Gender, and HIV/AIDS

Choir competitions are a long standing tradition in the Lutheran Church and other Christian denominations in Tanzania. Besides serving as avenues for praising God and fostering social cohesion of choir communities in the context of musical performances, choir competitions have operated as vehicles for government and NGOs to get information across to the people about various issues, including HIV/AIDS. In addition, the question of choir competitions featuring all-male conductors, except for only one female conductor (just like the one organized around HIV/AIDS), is not an isolated phenomenon. That choir conducting in the church is a gender issue in Dar es Salaam is something that Barz (1995 and 2003) and Sanga (2001) have reported, especially in the churches whose singing traditions capitalize on Western Hymnody. With regard to gender relationships in choir music, especially on hierarchy and social organization of *kwaya* groups in Dar es salaam, Barz reports that "[i]n my research with kwaya here in Dar es Salaam I have yet to encounter a female *mwenyekiti* [chairperson], *mwalimu* [teacher] or conductor" (Barz 1995: 78). Six years later Sanga restates the same experience: "I have been a judge in choir competitions for Lutheran, Anglican, and Roman Catholic Churches in Dar es Salaam. The competitions may bring from 15 to 20 choirs together. I have never seen in any of these competitions a female conductor, although women were the majority in most of these choirs" (2001: 4). Since Barz's observation in 1995 positions such as *mwenyekiti* and *mwalimu* or *mwalimu msaidizi* (assistant teacher) have been occupied interchangeably, or shared between, men and women. Sanga's study, too, reflects such changes, but it seems although only a few females participate, choir conducting remains largely a male domain.

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My respondents, who participated in the choir competitions about HIV/AIDS, including organizers, judges, and members of the singing groups, offered a number of reasons that account for this situation. These included the inherited patriarchal gender perspectives and practices inside and outside of the church, which have led to the development of a sense of fear and lack of confidence among women to stand in front of a choir; the lack of music education; and the lack of adequate time for women to learn and practice music skills due to family responsibilities. Sabinus Komba refers to making music (especially conducting) being a male domain as a "chronic disease" and "a hang over from past practices, especially within the church:

> Certainly, this is almost a chronic disease. It is fortunate that among those choirs at least, there was one female conductor. Events like this one may have a larger number of participating music groups, but all with male conductors. This is probably a hang over from past practices especially within the church. We have a sort of inheritance that gravitates towards making music as a male domain. And basically people almost accept the status quo. You don't have to query[122] (Personal conversation May 14, 2009).

According to Komba, the church has put efforts in place to promote female musicians and conductors even as the end results have always been disappointing. Komba, working with the Lutheran Church in Dar es Salaam, has trained conductors with an emphasis on females. The churches are the Buguruni Lutheran Church, and the Eastern and Coastal Diocese of Lutheran Church. The first event had 80 trainees (20 being females), but at the end of the training two years later, only 20 participants, all males, managed to finish the

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[122] Kwa kweli hiki ni kitu ambacho kimekuwa "almost" ugonjwa wa kudumu. "It was even fortunate that" katika zile kwaya ngapi sijui kulikuwa na "at least one female conductor". Wakati mwingine inaweza kuwa choir 30 lakini all male conductors. Sasa hii ni kitu ambacho labda kwa namna fulani ni "hang over from past practices especially within the church". Tumepata urithi wa namna fulani ambao unaelekea bado kufanya "music as a male domain." Sasa "basically almost" watu wana-"accept status quo. You don't have to query."

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training as the other participants had dropped out. The second training had larger number

of trainees, but with fewer women, slightly above ten. This time the training ended with

only one woman who finished as the best student.[123] Komba found it difficult to establish

what the possible contributing factors were behind the women's dropping out. He cites

domestic responsibilities and traditional stereo-types as possible factors behind the

practice: "Women think they do not have the authority to lead men." Komba's remarks

resonate with the views of Linda Madete (the choir conductor of *Kwaya Kuu* of Msasani

Lutheran Church, the only *kwaya* that featured a female conductor in the competitions

about HIV/AIDS), and those of other respondents with whom I spoke.[124] However, Linda

Madete thought that fear and a host of underlying factors was at the root of this

phenomenon. These include the role of seminaries, which usually were all-male

institutions where music was taught; lack of motivation for women; deep-seated

tendencies pertaining to Western music traditions, where most conductors are male; and

lack of music education.[125]

All these factors have in some ways contributed to the situation. But perhaps the

most telling statement that supports Komba assertion on women lacking authority to lead

[123] Komba did not say how many male of the 60 or so trainees managed to complete the training.

[124] Other people I talked to about these issues included choir members of Ubungo Kibangu Lutheran Church, the winner choir of the competitions; individual singers of different choirs, and some members of the Music Committee of the Lutheran Church in the Eastern and Coastal Diocese.

[125] Linda Madete explained to me that she had multiple sources of musical background: the Korean Cultural Center where she learnt playing piano and other musical instruments; participating in women's choir,; and music and conduct skills that she obtained at Chiriku music center where she was able to sit for the grade III music examination. From such a diverse musical background she can read and play music. Linda Madete's musical background, contrasts sharply with Rose Muro's of Kigogo Lutheran Church, another woman singer considered to be among the few reputed female conductors in Dar es Salaam Lutheran Churches. Rose Muro told me that she does not have any formal Western music background. Therefore, she cannot read and sing out of staff notation system. She told me that the reliable source of her musical career is her sikio *la muziki* (musical ear). When I asked her how she manages to conduct music based on staff notation system, one of the principal criteria for participating in and even winning choir competitions, she said that first she just listens to the fellow (male) choir teacher teaching the song for the first time and at least two or three more times. After she has internalized the song, then she is ready to do the conducting.

is offered by Rev. George Fupe, the Assistant to the Archbishop of the Lutheran Church of Tanzania. First of all, Rev. Fupe asserts that the church fully supports women's participation in various activities, including singing. However, he states that although God gifted both women and men with singing talents, *it seems that women are gifted to sing by being led by someone else*, *while men are gifted to sing and to lead* (emphasis mine). This view was challenged by many female singers and men of *Kwaya Kuu* of Ubungo Kibangu (the winning choir of the competitions on HIV/AIDS) during an interview session with the entire *kwaya* at the church. The views of women included: domestic responsibilities, which prevent them from undertaking serious training in conducting skills despite many efforts of the teacher and conductor of the choir; lack of morale due to the general thought that music is not an important career like other professions; and inherited fear based on traditions that discourage women from speaking in public and leading. Also, the female singers thought that the church was not doing enough to encourage women's participation in various areas, including preaching, an area still dominated by men. On their part, the male discussants submitted the following: *Ushabiki* (rivalry) between competing choirs and the need to win culminates in sidelining competent female conductors in favor of male conductors who at times are hired elsewhere at exorbitant fees. Other factors include inherited patriarchal gender ideologies that associate images of bravery with men, thus resulting in women lacking confidence to speak in public.

With regard to the attitude of capitalizing on male preachers at the expense of women, the male discussants thought that this was the result of the general attitude of society that speaking in public is the prerogative of men. But the men were also of the

view that insofar as the success of church activities was concerned, women were always at the center. Such activities include choirs, both in rural and urban areas, which have always developed and survived owing to women's efforts.[126] Perhaps this view of women as the strength in the church resonates very well with Rev. Fupe's opinion about women's participation in music. Rev. Fupe stated that he was surprised at the thought that women are incapable of leading evangelistic choirs, though in many traditional music events women are seen leading and even playing drums. Barz's earlier suggestion is instructive. He submits that "[t]he performance of individual and communal spirituality in *Kwaya* music (in Tanzania) occurs within the framework of an inherited musical tradition, that of European and American mission hymnody" (2003: 108), and whose mastery of conducting requires a background in Western music education.

In sum, it is clear from the foregoing that gender disparities do exist in choir conducting. A gender perspective reveals the existence of gendered identities and relations within the choir tradition, and apparent varying degrees of transgression of these identities. And as I have suggested throughout, the HIV/AIDS competition was not an isolated phenomenon. It only served to reveal the underlying gender ideologies portrayed within the inherited and foreign musical tradition as well as within the church community and society at large. The problem of Western hymnody and its attendants in discouraging women's participation in choir conducting underscores Carol Muller's observation of a

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[126] It was also explained to me during this conversation that female conducting is very common during local church events and especially during church services. However, the women who lead choir during competitions do so under certain circumstances, either in the absence of dependable male conductors or if there are no other competent male conductors in the kwayas. The other situations are when the kwayas have confidence in those particular female conductors. My Sunday visits to a select Lutheran churches (Msasani, Kigogo, and Tabata Mawenzi) confirmed the assertion that women do lead choirs: both all-women and mixed gender ones.

similar experience in the performance of the hymns of the Nazareth Church in South Africa. This led to an "emphasis on orally transmitted messages, on the power of human utterance over readable texts, [which] was key to the success of prayer, preaching and hymn singing among largely uneducated African women" (2004: 192). Nevertheless, the choir competitions on HIV/AIDS serve to demonstrate that gendered roles are performative, situational, fluid, and contestable. Although most of the singing groups during the competitions had male conductors, the act of having one female conductor served to support this view.

The competitions serve only "to scratch the surface" of the gender-based problem with regard to the war against HIV/AIDS: such was the view of Neema Laideson, the Project Manager for *Mradi wa Kuzuia Maambukizi ya UKIMWI kutoka kwa Mama Kwenda kwa Mtoto* (Prevention of Mother to Child Transmission (PMTCT) of HIV), a project the Lutheran Church in the Eastern and Coastal Diocese. One of the main activities of the project, according to Laideson, is to address gender disparities that occur in dealing with the scourge by encouraging men's participation. This measure was taken after it was realized that the participation of men in the war against HIV/AIDS was far from satisfactory when compared to women. Thus, gender and HIV/AIDS were among the themes that were supposed to be addressed in the music competitions but, surprisingly, were not. When I asked Laideson about this, she expressed surprise at the turn of events. Gender and HIV/AIDS was among the top agendas that were discussed during the week-long training workshops that brought together representatives from all participating choirs in preparation for the competitions. So, sidelining gender and HIV/AIDS during the choir competitions was something which was unexpected.

Surprisingly, even the song *Ndugu Yangu Wee Mpendwa* (My Beloved Brethren) by the winning choir did not mention the relationship of gender and HIV/AIDS, but focused on other issues including, the importance of living a Christian life as a way of protecting against HIV/AIDS; openness about HIV/AIDS; voluntary testing; taking care of those living with HIV/AIDS; and taking a stance against stigma:

> ***NDUGU YANGU WEE MPENDWA***
> My beloved brethren come closer and let's talk
> I would like that we talk about our life as disciples
> Listen to me, hearken your ear to me
> There is a bad virus
> It has interfered with our life
> That virus
> It has conquered the world (that virus is AIDS)
> Let's be careful
> AIDS is dangerous
> It has reduced our life span
> We have lost many of our beloved
> AIDS AIDS
> Let's stop adultery and look at Jesus the Savior (Savior)
> The Son of God
> My brother/sister let's be bold to live for the faith
> Let's be faithful, let's test our health.
> Christ wants us to live the way it pleases Him so that we may be His true people
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> My beloved brethren come closer and let's talk
> I would like that we talk about our life as disciples
> Listen to me, hearken your ear to me
> There is a bad virus
> Now we have a responsibility
> The responsibility to take care of the victims
> These people
> All are part of us in the Church (Church of Christ) Let's be together and cooperate
> We should not discriminate against them (they are part of us) Let's be truly merciful
> Those not yet affected and those already infected are alike as the children of God
> Let's us serve them properly those suffering from this disease
> My brother/sister let's respond to helping the needs,
> Serve the victims through education, treatment, and diet.
> Jesus commanded us to serve the sick, this is the true love.

I brought up this issue in a conversation with the winning choir, Ubungo Kibangu, and I was struck by the mixed reactions among the choir members. First, the concept of "gender" was in itself as problematic and as confusing to many participants, leading to varied understandings and reactions. Most female respondents thought that the use of such a concept in the competitions aimed only at humiliating women by seeing them as vectors of the disease. If gender is to be addressed in the competitions, the women suggested that great care be taken to consider the role both genders play in the transmission of the disease, where in many cases men, and not women, are at the center. For their part, men were of the view that addressing gender issues in relation to HIV/AIDS in the songs was very difficult because of the lack of scientific data that points to that issue. The discussion on this subject ended with a note that recommended the church to step up efforts to address the synergy between gender and HIV/AIDS and Church-sanctioned HIV/AIDS testing for their congregations, prior to including it in the choir competitions.

I would like to conclude this section by reacting to two points raised above: non-availability of scientific data on gender implication on HIV/AIDS, and church-sanctioned HIV testing. Here I want to argue that the claims that scientific data on gender implications surrounding HIV/AIDS in Tanzania society is unavailable reveals the ills of the conventional methodology that over the years has been used to address the subject. The fact that much scientific information on this subject has been offered worldwide and Tanzania in particular, yet is unavailable to the large majority of people evokes suspicions on such methods of dissemination. More often than not such information is negotiated in seminars, workshops, and symposiums in which the privileged few

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constitute the principal attendees. In addition, such exclusionary rituals are always followed by the sealing of the information in the form of reports and publications, which often are inaccessible to the general public. Perhaps it is high time that other methods of dissemination for such important information be put in place for people's benefit. The request by the singers above that the church should do more to address gender and HIV/AIDS, and also in encouraging people to go for HIV testing, demonstrates how much the church has to do, especially with regard to openness about the pandemic. In my view, the church could make use of musical performances, in addition to other means, during the services to disseminate such information.

In respect of church-sanctioned HIV testing, so far, I am aware of some churches, if not all, where the practice is mandatory for the bride and the groom prior to marriage. Usually, the church refuses to marry off people diagnosed HIV/AIDS. However, I am not in a position to ascertain the degree of strictness practiced in the concerned churches in the urban and the rural areas. However, I do know of a church in Dar es Salaam that refused to conduct a wedding service after the groom was found seropositive. Unsatisfied with the church's decision, the couple went to another church of the same denomination in the same city where they were allowed to marry. The husband died a few years later of AIDS-related complications. This brings up again the discourse of the views of the church regarding the use of condoms between spouses when one is found seropositive. So far the church's position on this matter regardless of their denominations is unclear. I briefly address this issue below.

"The Heavens have not been opened to let me sing about AIDS": Music, HIV/AIDS and Spiritual Identities

In my attempts to establish the reasons for the *Tamasha la UKIMWI na Nyimbo za Injili* not featuring music on HIV/AIDS, and why people attended such an event and how they made sense of it, I talked to a number of people during the event. These included the singers, the emcee, members of the audience, and organizers of the event. My discussion with the selected singers (Upendo Nkone, Christina Shusho, Emmanuel Mbasha and his wife Flora, and Dokii) revealed similar views. Upendo Nkone explained that she thought the organizers were at fault to invite them because she does not have songs on HIV/AIDS. In addition, she did not feel like addressing such an issue in her songs because, as she said, the "heavens have not been opened to let me sing about AIDS."[127] She suggested that it would be better if the organizers invited singers who had compositions that address such an issue. Upendo Nkone[128] stated, "We compose in accordance with the inspiration we get about something. As for me, I am more inspired to encourage and give hope to people who are going through difficulties. I think this is

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[127] "*Mbingu hazijafunguliwa kuniambia niimbe juu ya UKIMWI.*"

[128] "Mungu Baba" is the song that carries the name of Upendo Nkone's first album "Mungu Baba" (God Father). This song is the first in the album. The song starts with a clip featuring an introductory speech by the singer herself explaining the reasons she composed the song. She says that she composed the song following hard difficulties (*mateso magumu*) she went through after her husband died leaving her behind with two children. Although she does not say what exactly happened to her, she calls upon all those people (widows, widowers, orphans, those who lost loved ones and property, etc.) going through such difficulties not to lose heart. They should instead depend on God. Upendo dedicates the album to God, whom, as she says, came to her rescue when she was passing through the difficulties. It is this song that brought this singer to the gospel stardom, and ever since she has been on singing tours across the country. Before this occasion I saw Upendo in Singida, one of the central regions of Tanzania, leading what was called a week long gospel singing festival that took place in an open public arena. This happened during one of my cross country travels during fieldwork for this dissertation. I decided to stop for a short while in Singida on my way to Dar es Salaam from Bukoba.

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because I have been through the same experiences."[129] Christine Shusho, another

independent gospel singer, restated Upendo Nkone's response with regard to the

organizers problem not relaying clear information to them about what they should sing

about: "The organizers of the event did not specify which songs we should prepare for

the event."[130] But, she added, "We brought what we had and what our music lovers like.

After all, very few gospel singers have compositions on AIDS. I think the problem is the

church. They [the church] do not want to admit that there is AIDS in its midst. Therefore,

we end up singing about Jesus as the healer, the comforter, etc."[131]

Christine Shusho's views are in accord with the position of The Circle of

Concerned African Women Theologians' (The Circle) stated during one of its

consultation conferences aimed at drawing strategies to respond to the HIV/AIDS

pandemic. During this conference, the Church of Africa came to the realization that the

Christian church has played a role in the spread of HIV/AIDS. Explaining this church's

realization about the state of affairs, Isabel Apawo Phiri asserts, "They acknowledged

that the way the scriptures have been interpreted and the emphasis on the theology of sin,

among other issues, have helped to promote the stigmatization, exclusion and suffering of

people with HIV and AIDS" (2003: 7). Furthermore, it was realized that HIV/AIDS was

already in the church among the children of God. According to The Circle, negligence on

the part of the church to address gender issues and its rigid adherence to certain doctrine,

among others, fueled the spread of HIV/AIDS in the church, especially among married

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[129] "*Tunatunga kutokana na* "inspiration." *Mimi nimekuwa* inspired *zaidi katika kuwatia watu moyo wanaopitia kwenye mapito zaidi kwa sababu mimi mwenyewe nimepitia kwenye mapito*
[130] "*Waandaaji hawakutuambia tuandae nyimbo gani kwa ajili ya tukio hili*"
[131] "*Tulileta kile tulichokuwa nacho na kile ambacho wapenzi wetu wanakipenda. Ni waimbaji wachache sana wa nyimbo za injili ambao wameimba kuhusu UKIMWI. Nadhani tatizo liko kwenye kanisa. Hawataki kukubali kwamba kuna UKIMWI katikati yake. Kwa hiyo tunaimba kwamba Yesu ni mponyaji na mfariji*

people. Drawing on van Woudernberg's 1998 report, The Circle saw that HIV infections are becoming more prevalent among women than any other group. Notwithstanding the centrality of marriage in the African community, the Circle views marriage as center of patriarchy and constructs the subordinate position of African women. The Circle cites Christian teachings such as the emphasis on women's submissive sexual role to their husbands who deny women the right to negotiate for safer sex through the use of condom. This is especially the case when their spouses are already infected with the virus. Apparently, it is because of this situation that The Circle considers morality and religion, among others, as the major challenge that faces African Christian women.

I also talked to Emmanuel Mbasha and Flora, his wife, who are a couple who sing together in a gospel music group known as "Flora Mbasha." Although I was aware of Flora Mbasha's song on HIV/AIDS, at this event their songs featured what they referred to as "those things that our fans want."[132] Among these numbers were "Mwanamke" (A Woman) and "Adui Yako" (Your enemy). The couple did not perform any songs about HIV/AIDS. Regarding the reasons for not singing about HIV/AIDS, the couple shared the views of the other singers as I previously discussed: "They did not tell us to sing about AIDS. We sing those things our fans want."[133] In addition, Flora told me, "we are also doing business. So, we have to satisfy our customers" (*lakini pia tunafanya biashara. Kwa hiyo inatubidi tuwaridhishe wateja wetu*).[134]

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[132] "*Vile vitu wapenzi wetu wanataka*"

[133] "*Hawakutuambia tuimbe UKIMWI. Tunaimba vile ambavyo wapenzi weu wanataka.*

[134] I stretch a little bit this subject of gospel music as a means of livelihood later in this chapter.- what do you mean by this statement? It is unclear. [I mean to expand the discussion of the subject later]

The views of these gospel singers reflect a type of spiritual identity that scholars of religion and HIV/AIDS, especially those whose focus is on Pentecostalism, refer to as "rupture" and "anesthesia" that have to a greater extent been influenced by the ideology of the churches they come from (Dilger 2009 and van Dijk 2009).[135] It is therefore noteworthy to examine more closely these notions in order to see their manifestations in relation to religion and HIV/AIDS as well as to the spirituality of individual Christians, especially musicians.

Rupture and Anesthesia: Christianity and HIV/AIDS

It is common knowledge that for years the church's ideological position with regard to HIV/AIDS has been to see it as a divine punishment. As such, abstinence, marital faithfulness, and healing prayers have been considered to be remedies that are consistent with the scriptures (Becker and Geissler 2009; Dilger 2009). However, while abstinence and faithfulness seem to be shared inter-denominationally, healing prayers for HIV/AIDS is considered to be an ideology embraced only by the churches identifying themselves with the ideology of salvation, popularly known as Pentecostalism (Becker and Geissler 2009; Dilger 2009; van Dijk 2009). The claim by the Pentecostal churches to have the power to heal HIV/AIDS has triggered as much research on the subject matter as criticism. Much of the criticism is leveled at the so-called spiritual superiority performed by the churches over other denominations, especially on the subjects of healing HIV/AIDS. As Rijvik van Dijk (2009: 283) maintains, "With the arrival of HIV/AIDS, the Pentecostal Project of demonstrating spiritual superiority. . . [is] in many

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[135] See also Meyer (1998).

cases continued by the claim to be able to deal with, or even cure the disease" (See also van Dijk 2000: 132-154). As van Dijk suggests, this sense of spiritual superiority through the discourse of the ability to "healing the disease" is in addition to the ideological emphasis on "rupture" or "complete break with the past" as the only effective protection against the pandemic (see also Sadgrove 2009: 223-254; and Dilger 2009: 255-282). The ideology of rupture, as van Dijk, following the lead of Joel Robbins (2007), suggests, constitutes the necessary condition for the identity formation of adherents of Pentecostalism in the context of HIV/AIDS (2009: 284). This kind of identity manifests itself in the form of "social anesthesia," the tendency of indifference to a range of things in sociocultural life.

For all I know, all these musicians come from the churches that are said to believe in salvation and "rupture," and divine healing of diseases, including HIV/AIDS. As discussed above, the ideology of rupture or complete break with one's past life forms the basis of the teaching of salvation and is considered the best way for protection against the disease. To the believers, HIV/AIDS is not a problem. As had been suggested in the sermons of many churches in the early years of the disease, HIV/AIDS is a sin-related disease, a God-sent plague, contracted through ungodly bodily union. The work of the church, therefore, had been to oversee behavioral changes, that is, a complete break with the former life and the need to inscribe oneself with the new man.[136] This ideology is profoundly reflected in the expressive culture of the church as the study by Marjorie

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[136] Here I do not imply Hansjorg Dilger's sense of being a new in the context of modernity, in which followers of these churches are suggested to be in search of economic gain and health.

Mbilinyi and Naomi Kailua (2000: 87), "Sinners and Outsiders: The Drama of

HIV/AIDS in Rungwe" illustrates:

> In Rungwe, AIDS discourse is also permeated by Christian views of morality, especially amongst adherents of the more fundamentalist sects. Religious songs of the Galilee Youth (Assemblies of God) condemn, 'the evil of AIDS' as the product of an 'adulterous life.' Youthful members of their congregations often take the lead in these denunciations as if to distance themselves from the generally negative views of the youth. Church members and leaders in Rungwe not only blamed the youth and the unfaithful for their sinning ways, but also parents for being negligent in offering their children moral education.[137]

As Mobility and Kailua suggest, the views expressed in the songs and in the attitude of

congregations reflect the general ideological position of Christian leaders in Tanzania

(2000: 87). This reminds me of Shusho's remarks that perhaps the Church was distancing

itself from the reality as if the scourge was not in its midst. Shusho's remarks precisely

dovetailed the view of Rev. Mgonja, the Senior Pastor of Msasani Lutheran Church,

during our conversation. Rev. Mgonja, who is the Secretary to the Music Committee of

the Eastern Diocese of the Lutheran Church of Tanzania, asserted that the reason the

Diocese had initiated the music competition was to deal with this spiritual stigma in the

church towards HIV/AIDS as the disease was thought to be affecting those outside the

church, "the Others and not Us." Rev. Mgonja saw the HIV/AIDS with , "the Others and

not Us" mentality as having lost sight of the disease already being "among us," claiming

the lives of the congregation or their relatives and affecting the church in several ways.

Upon this realization, therefore, the Lutheran Church in collaboration with the RFE

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[137] The study by Aldin Mutembei, *Poetry and AIDS in Tanzania* restates similar views about early church music's reaction towards HIV/AIDS in which HIV/AIDS was perceived to be a divine punishment. The song *Yesu ni Jibu (UKIMWI)* (Jesus is the Answer (AIDS) by Kinondoni Revival Choir provides a good example of such a trend.

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established the music competition under the Church's HIV/AIDS project mentioned earlier, PMTCTC, under the theme of "prevention, care, and support."[138]

Although some of the songs performed during the competitions still apportion blame somewhere else - to "them" - and refuse to consider other possible means of transmission of HIV such as blood contact during accidents and so on, most of the songs portrayed this ideological shift. This shift in the Lutheran Church's perspective on HIV/AIDS in viewing it as the problem outside the realm of the church that affects only "them" to a perspective that sees it as existing "among us," is also reflected in the musical groups of other denominations, including those adhering to Pentecostalism. The song, *Yesu ni Jibu* of Kinondoni Revival Choir, a popular group in the Assemblies of God Church, reflects many of the issues explained above.

> Folks, there is mourning
> It is mourning x3
> And women are dying
> It is mourning x3
> And men are dying
> It is mourning x3
> And young people are dying
> It is mourning x3
> These deaths are brought out by AIDS
> Folks there is mourning in Tanzania
> It is mourning, mourning, mourning in Tanzania
> Folks, Africa
> It is mourning, mourning, mourning in Africa
> Folks, World
> It is mourning, mourning, mourning in the world
> Jesus is the answer, my folks let's go back to God so that He may heal us
> This disease is bad
> AIDS does not discriminate by face

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[138] I had a lengthy discussion on this program with the project manager Neema Laideson. According to Laideson, in addition to music competition, project conduct HIV/AIDS education programs with pastors and other church workers on clinical skills, against stigma and discrimination, and men's participation in the war against the disease (March 03, 2009).

AIDS does not discriminate by race
AIDS does not fear position
It takes even the rich
It doesn't even spare the poor
And the children remain orphans
This disease is bad x2
Please my folks let's go back to God
Pleases my folks say no to sin
You men say no
You women say no to sin
School children say no to sin
You Presidents say no
And you ministers say no to sin
And you members of parliaments say no
You ambassadors say no to sin
Servants of God say no
Church say no to sin
My folks say no
Because Jesus is the answer
He is our answer, He is the answer
He is the answer
He is the answer, Jesus is the answer
He is the answer to your problems
He is the answer, Jesus is the answer

Yesu ni Jibu situates the AIDS pandemic in religiously, culturally, and politically

terms of person, place and time. The song informs us about many of the components of

HIV/AIDS in relation to the changing Christian religion's ideological position towards

HIV/AIDS as previously discussed: blame and warning, which constitute what Farmer

(1992:192) calls, in reference to Haiti, "accusation – the assertion that human agency had

a role in the etiology of AIDS." But the song also offers encouragement, advocating

divine healing as much as proselytization. Most importantly, however, it points a finger

both to "them" and then back to "us," the church.

This mentality of "us" and "them" could be associated with what van Dijk,

following the lead of Allen Feldman, writing on the use of cultural anesthesia, refers to as

"social anesthesia", which implies "turn[ing] a blind eye" to an array of aspects of sociocultural life in addition to keeping "out of touch with the reality of others and no longer to see their plight."[139] However, while I find van Dijk's use of "social anesthesia" useful in describing the tendency of indifference amongst adherents of Pentecostalism towards a range of aspects of cultural and social life, I hesitate for a wholesale association of the term with the performance of religious spirituality in the case of *Tamasha la UKIMWI na Nyimbo za Injili* to denote "keeping out of touch with the reality of others and no longer to see their plight." As I see it, what could be interpreted as the expression of being "out of touch of reality of the other and no longer to see their plight" could reflect something completely different. It could be suggested that the musical performances during this event are less about social anesthesia or social distancing than about the manifestations of "rupture," or what van Dijk referred to as "ripening" or "maturing in faith" (2009: 83). Instead of viewing "ripening" as denoting only the attainment of a "moral status" and as a mark of superiority as van Dijk has it, the manifestation of a sense of reverence and spiritual maturity rather than superiority and indifference would be more appropriate. Spiritual maturity and reverence as Dijk suggests, "make adherents perceive things differently" (Dijk 2009: 285), aware of the spiritual powers of healing, and thus subjecting them to a position of seeing God being in control of the healing process (Dilger 2009: 279). As Castel has suggested in the case of American Christian Fundamentalism, it is a kind of "personalized relationship to God, and to God's design, as a methodology for solving personal problems in an increasingly unpredictable and uncontrollable life" (Castel 1997). The sense of maturity and reverence

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[139] However, van Dijk differs slightly from Feldman's "essentializing," as seen in his (van Dijk's) use of "cultural anesthesia" to denote total absence of empathy towards the suffering of the other.

embolden adherents even in the face of HIV/AIDS. Though HIV/AIDS is a threat to humanity, many born-again Christians tend not to see it on such a scale. They would instead cluster it together with other diseases and malcontents of life, "wounds of modernity,"[140] which can easily be warded off by divine intervention (Dilger 2009). This state of affairs is reflected as much in Christian sermons as in some of the songs they sing. *Tamasha la UKIMWI na Nyimbo za Injili,* therefore, was not an exception. A number of the songs performed in the event were of this nature: from the quartet, Dadas Da's *Shida za Dunia* (Tribulations of the World); Nkone's *Usifurahi Niangukapo* (Do not rejoice when I fall); *Baba Mungu* (Father God); and Shusho's *Unikumbuke* (Remember Me), to name only a few.

Finally, perhaps the lack of clear directives from the organizers of the event on what exactly the singers were supposed to sing could have contributed significantly to this situation. As the organizers explained, the event was less about "gospel music and AIDS" than it was an "AIDS festival" with "gospel music." This implies that the focus of the event was on the inauguration of the NGO, and music served only as a means to an end, and not an end in itself. According to Gervas Liyenda, Public Relations Officer with COMERA, the reason behind the invitation to the musicians to grace the event was to serve both as educators and audience pullers. However, the latter was the chief reason. Liyenda states that were it not for the popular gospel singers, people would not have

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[140] Dilger uses this expression to refer to the social, economic, and spiritual drawbacks, inequalities, and impoverishment caused by globalization and modernity. This is a result of the integration of African communities into the global market economy and the introduction of structural adjustment programs. According to Dilger, in the context of such a situation, Pentecostalism does not only provide moral and spiritual explanations on how modernity and globalization have, in myriad ways, affected the population, but it also provides directions in which its adherents, in the midst of "powerlessness and frustration," deal with the situation (2009: 258).

shown up at the event. He went on to reveal that though bringing musicians to such an event is incredibly costly, it is far better to accomplish one's goals than attempting to avoid the cost and end up with failure.

James Mwang'amba, the master of ceremony of the event, also referred to the gospel singers invited to the event both as entertainers and crowd pullers: "Musicians were invited because of the role they play as entertainers and crowd pullers." My discussion with some audience members, mostly women, confirmed this view of the organizers. However, they varied slightly in terms of the reasons for attending the event. Their attendance in the event was to listen to the music, while the teachings about HIV/AIDS were secondary. They stated that had it not been for the singers who were featured in the event, they would not have come and paid their money only to listen to the teachings on HIV/AIDS. Thus, the occasion clearly operated both as an avenue for performing multiple dimensions of spirituality in relation to God, and as a space for meeting individual's multiple needs for healing, including spiritual and career fulfillment, as well as economic upward mobility.

Before I conclude this section I would like to go back to the question of gospel music as business, an issue that Flora Mbasha introduced earlier. This issue was also touched upon in a way by Gervas Liyenda, one of the organizers of the AIDS Festival and Gospel Songs event. Instead of expanding on the discourse about how to distinguish between market and evangelical driven gospel music (the two categories of this type of music as identified by some Tanzanians), my interest is to illustrate, however briefly, the evolvement of commercial gospel music in the context of the neoliberal reforms in Tanzania.

The use of gospel music for commercial purpose is an issue that has generated intensive debate among Christian popular musicians, Christian congregations, and a section of the general public in Tanzania, including the media. The main question has been why people engage in gospel music. Some Christians have gone as far as categorizing gospel musicians into two groups: "serious" gospel musicians and those considered not "serious." The "serious" gospel musicians are synonymously referred to as those "called by God" for the singing ministry to distinguish them from the "not called." This categorization of gospel musicians arises from the attempt to distinguish between those who engage in gospel music for evangelical purposes and those who do so for commercial purposes amid the growing number of Christian popular musicians. This development stems from the fact that gospel music is one of the fastest growing and most popular music industries in Tanzania, such that it has attracted the attention of many artists, both male and female. I would like to argue that this development has a discursive background. It has to be examined against the backdrop of the neoliberal reforms in Tanzania in the late 1980s and early 1990s that started with the introduction of the structural adjustment engineered by major International Financial Institutions (IFI) such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. Structural adjustment in Tanzania was followed by the rejection of the Arusha Declaration (the Tanzanian manifesto that outlined the principle of Ujamaa, Nyerere's version of African socialism, which aimed at developing the nation's economy) by the incumbent leadership President Ali Hassan Mwinyi in 1992. Here I would like to expand upon my earlier discussion of the characteristics of neoliberalism that I introduced in chapter three. I noted that neoliberalism is characterized by a plethora of tensions of contradictions that are

manifest, on the one hand, through increased mobility, inclusiveness, and open markets. On the other hand, these characteristics are faced by and are in contradiction with new forms of exclusion, marginalization, and constraints (Geschiere and Nyamnjoh 2000; Weiss 2004 and 2009).

The far reaching impact of the political and economic restructuring under global neoliberal regimes for developing countries need not be overstated here. They were both negative and positive. On the one hand, Tanzanian society witnessed the influx of media, goods, and new ideologies, while at the same time it saw a steep decline in state subsidy in basic social services such as health and education (Weiss 2009). On another level, reduction in the civil services, and privatization or liquidation of hundreds of major state-owned business organizations culminated in the collapse of a wide range of employment opportunities that resulted in massive inflation and record unemployment rates since independence.[141] The decline in civil services and employment in privatized or defunct parastatal organizations led in turn to the emergence and growth of private enterprise and an array of informal practices that serve as means of survival (Weiss 2009).[142] Culturally, the impact of structural adjustment was felt with the introduction of a wide range of

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[141] Some of the retrenched employees were members of cultural troupes involved in performing traditional dances, *taarab*, *kwaya*, dance-music, acrobatics, and drama. The cultural troupes were initiated and sponsored by various parastatal organizations such as Tanzania National Bank of Commerce, the National Insurance Corporation, the Cashewnut Authority of Tanzania, and the Tanzania Harbors Authority. Most of these troupes were used to advertise their respective organizations through ordinary artistic performances and competitions. The National Bank of Commerce was one of the most leading patrons of parastatal *kwaya* groups in the country. It had *kwaya* groups established in various NBC branches all over the country. The NBC *kwaya* groups were used to go into villages to mobilize people to join NBC bank services. According to the NBC administrations these campaigns were successful. Some of the retrenched artists established private cultural troupes while others joined longstanding cultural troupes and dance music bands as alternative means of gaining their livelihood. I gathered this information during my interviews with the administrations of the concerned organization when I was doing research for my B.A. Music Dissertation in the mid-1990s. For more information on this subject matter see Ndomondo (1994).
[142] Weiss (2009) provides a wealth of information on this subject in Tanzania with a focus on barbershops, saloons, and hip hop in Arusha.

media and recording infrastructures. Media, such as cable and satellite television broadcasting, an increased number of both state-owned and private (FM) radio stations, and recording infrastructures for audio and video music, facilitated not only audiences' easy and cheap access to various types of music, but also a growth of interest among many people to engage in the music business as an alternative means of livelihood. In view of the foregoing, I want to suggest that the evolution of commercial gospel music should be linked to the broader neoliberal socioeconomic conditions prevalent in urban Tanzania.

In Tanzania, gospel music, through sales of records, paid-invitations to music concerts, and various religious and social events, provides one of several public spaces in which female musicians not only express their spiritual identities, but it also serves as a means of achieving economic upward mobility.[143] The AIDS Festival and Gospel Song event provided one of many examples of events through which gospel musicians gain their part of their livelihood. As I mentioned earlier, Flora Mbasha, one of the female gospel singers during the AIDS Festival and Gospel Song event told me that "doing business" (kufanya biashara) was one of the reasons why she engages in gospel music. She told me that she attended that particular event under a certain contractual agreement. Usually she prefers full payment before she accepts any request to perform. However, she did not disclose to me how much she was paid. However, Gervas Liyenda, one of the organizers of the event, told me that each gospel star singer was paid not less than Tsh.

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[143] While I am not in a position to ascertain how many female musicians are involved in commercial urban popular music activities in Tanzania, I could suggest that gospel music has the largest number of female singers both young and old. It is followed by *taarab* in the second position, and hip hop and dance music, in the third and fourth positions, respectively.

500, 000.00 (about $375.00). Liyenda also lamented to me that they could not reach an agreement with another top gospel star singer in the country as her fee was unaffordable. Missing her was a big blow to his organization and the event at large as many people would not attend because of the absence of this gospel music star. According to Liyenda, this top star gospel singer demanded Tsh 2,500,000 (about $1875.00), an amount that the organization could not afford.

Another way in which gospel music singers make money during these events in addition to the live performance they make is by selling records. These appear in various formats such as CD, DVD, VCD, VHS, and audio tape cassettes and are displayed and sold at the entrance and/or often times inside the music hall. The success of this business of selling records is also dependent on the intersection of the entrepreneurial skills of the gospel musicians and those of the emcee. Usually it is the emcee who advertises the records on sale in the course of the event. Holding the records high and waving them to the audience the emcee advertises the name of the album, title of the numbers in the album, and the price. Finally, the emcee urges the audience to buy the album while at the same time letting them know where the records can be purchased inside the hall. The sale of the records in the inside of the hall is usually done by a special group of people who are commissioned to do this business. They usually employ two strategies: first, by passing the records among the audience members while the performance goes on; and second, by setting up a table in a strategic position where all the people entering or going out of the main hall can see.

Unfortunately, some of these records are dysfunctional, or "fake" to use a term commonly used in the industry to describe poor quality product. Consider the following

example. During this event I decided to buy one CD by a female gospel singer. Upon reaching home, eager with excitement to listen to one of the numbers I heard at the concert, I put the CD on the player. No music, no sound whatsoever could be heard from the CD. After many unfruitful trials that night and the following days, I decided to call the musician and inform her of the problem. She told me she was on her way to a remote part of the country where she was invited to give a concert and would not be back until after two weeks or so. Since I realized that my departure date back to Austin was in less than ten days I decided to buy another CD from one of the reputable record dealers in the city. After some days while back in Austin I tried to play the CD, but to my surprise, again, no sound came out. I got frustrated.

This account was nothing short of what Comaroff and Comaroff, describing the state of law and disorder in the postcolony, referred to as "counterfeit modernity" (2006:13). According to Comaroff and Comaroff, a counterfeit modernity or a modernity of counterfeit is one of the putative characteristics of the postcolonies. They use the phrase to imply an assortment of false, fictitious, and fake representation of documents, products, and brand names, including pirated drugs and movies, and a host of other kinds of appropriated intellectual property (2006:13). Although the fakery or "genuine fake" products are considered to provide consumers with items they could not otherwise obtain, and thereby filling the gap between globally driven desires and local shortage (Comaroff and Comaroff 2006:14), I consider this kind of practice, which in a way looks like legitimate, to a certain degree to be detrimental and infringing. Although I am not certain whether my two "fake" CDs, which cost me about Tsh. 12,000 (about $10.00), were by design or accident, I argue that the practice of counterfeit benefits mostly the middle men.

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I do not intend to engage a lengthy discussion on this matter now for to do so would require a much more in-depth and far reaching analysis of patent and intellectual property rights in the country. My brief discussion of this matter serves only to highlight, albeit minimally, the deep-seated problem of infringement of not only music consumers' rights but also those of the practitioners of music industry and other arts at large in the country.[144] In conclusion, one can see that the occasion clearly operated both as an avenue for performing multiple dimensions of spirituality in relation to God, and as a space for meeting individual's multiple needs for healing, including spiritual and career fulfillment, as well as economic upward mobility.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I focused on two religious musical events that illustrated how Christian religion employs expressive culture to address the HIV/AIDS pandemic. I have indicated that in addition to demonstrating the relationship of music, religion, and HIV/AIDS, the two musical events served as spaces for displaying multiple gendered and spiritual identities. With regard to the former, I focused on the performance of masculinity through choir conducting, which is considered a male domain. I have argued that the choir competitions have demonstrated that gendered roles and identities are performative, shifting, and contestable. I have also shown that the concept of gender and its relationship with HIV/AIDS is still slippery among the many people involved in the competitions; thus, more effort on the part of the church is required to make it

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[144] I explored this issue in my B.A. music dissertation (1994). Alex Perullo (2005) provides a comprehensive analysis of this phenomenon in Tanzania.

comprehensible. In terms of spiritual identity, I have also highlighted contesting perspectives on religion and HIV/AIDS among individual Christians and Christian denominations. These differences are largely attributed to the competing discourses on dealing with the pandemic within the church: the HIV/AIDS and morality discourse, and the "rupture" and anesthesia discourse. I have shown that the former discourse, which considers HIV/AIDS a sin disease, is shared by all denominations. The latter discourse which identifies itself with the healing power of the church is associated with Pentecostalism. Both discourses have a profound impact on the creative process of musical performances about HIV/AIDS. I have also demonstrated that some spiritual events organized around HIV/AIDS and music serve as avenues for achieving multiple needs at individual and institutional levels.

Finally, it should be noted, that far from viewing the church as antithetical to the struggle against the pandemic, in view of competing ideologies within the church itself and against those of other institutions dealing with the pandemic, I consider it central and instrumental in organizing HIV/AIDS-related interventions. The use of various formats of musical performance such as concerts and competitions as well as other numerous interventions against the pandemic, provide good examples of the agency of this institution in this war.

Chapter Six: "…Those Who Did It Have Power…" ─Music, Health and Hegemony

In this chapter I will extend the examination of power relations with regard to the creative process of musical performances on HIV/AIDS. As mentioned previously, the study of HIV/AIDS is the study of power relations at multiple levels. So is the study of the creative process of music in general and that which concerns HIV/AIDS in particular. The focus of this chapter is on the intersection of the state and religion in musical performances that deal with HIV/AIDS education. This inquiry of power relations in music grapples with the question of the dialectic of social forces and practices of individuals, and how both impact one another (Turino 1990; Buchannan 1995; Seeman 2000; Rice 2001). In ethnomusicology, the concern has been on how this phenomenon is reflected in the process of cultural practices. In this respect, there have been attempts to comprehend how the social, political, and historical forces impact the creative process (Turino 1990 and 2000; Waterman 1990; Buchannan 1995; Erlmann 1990, 1991, 1996; Askew 2002; Seeman 2002; Rice 2003) as well as the process of musical signification (Turino 1999; Rice 2001, 2003; Clayton 2001), especially on referential meaning: who creates meaning, what meanings do they create, why does the same musical work spur multiple meanings, and who controls meaning? Both issues form the basis of this dissertation. Following Turino (1990: 407) and Buchannan (1995: 385), I want to show that first, the dialectic between the social forces and cultural productions in the context of HIV/AIDS in Tanzania should be viewed from a broader context, that is, within the context of the internal sociopolitical hegemony, and within global economic and political

power relations. Second, the move by the government to prohibit the performance of certain musical works on moral grounds and later to allow both foreign and local modes of expression in similar fashion result from contradicting interpretations accruing from individual interpreters' diverse social and historical positions (Rice 2001).

Specifically, I seek to show the role of the state in shaping culture, and how negotiations between religion and the state influence decision-making in health education on HIV/AIDS in Tanzania. Moreover, I will show the precarious position of government decisions as it implements HIV/AIDS education programs while struggling to adhere to its decisions and simultaneously deferring to externally driven forces operating through international religious organizations. Using two musical pieces, namely, *"Mambo Kwa Socks"* (Things with Socks on) and *"Usione Soo, Sema Naye* (Do not Feel Shy, Speak to Him/Her [or, Negotiate Sex]) I will demonstrate the controversy surrounding condom use and communication about sexuality. Both musical pieces, the former an audio music rendered in dance music style, and the latter a music video in *bongo flava* style, have been banned by the government from public broadcast. The two musical pieces aimed at creating a dialogue about HIV/AIDS education with the focus on "safer" sex. Their ban should be examined against the backdrop of the government's laxity in the administration of both foreign and locally made TV programs or advertisements that communicate implicit sexuality, and furthermore, the recent government's decision to permit the broadcasting of similar condom-related promotional programs.

Since *Mambo Kwa Socks* and *Usione Soo, Sema Naye* were produced and banned years before this project was conducted (in 1998 and 2004, respectively) I will adopt a historical approach to do the analysis.[145]

To date *Usione Soo Sema Naye* and *Mambo kwa Socks* are still prohibited from being broadcast and hence, systematically removed from the ongoing interventions against HIV/AIDS. Ironically, similar expressions have arisen and are forcefully presented. One can consider this development against the backdrop of the past as well as in the ongoing and shifting dialectics between the sociopolitical hegemony, and cultural productions, which offer a space for comprehending the historical past, and historical present in regard to the place of performance on the war against AIDS.

In his book *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the Nation-State* (1997) 1996, Michael Herzfeld restates anthropologists' most enduring perception of nationalism: that the state is a hostile and intrusive presence in local social life. Herzfeld observes that while a sector of citizens avows "officially sanctioned cultural and legal norms less willingly than do others" the same nonconformists, paradoxically, are more often than not "the most loyal of all citizens in most crises" (Herzfeld 1971: 1). Although the notion of conformity seems to be shared by many scholars, it might have to be examined as one of several means by which people seek to insulate themselves from the state machinery. It is

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[145] This move runs counter to the normative ethnomusicological performance practice centered approach. The performance practice centered approach, which is considered a way through which the study of cultural expression as emergent rather than static can be done, stresses the specific performance event. Gerard Behague's *Performance Practices: Ethnomusicological Perspectives* (1984), and Norma McLeod and Marcia Herndon's *The Ethnography of Musical Performance* (1980) provide classic examples of earlier work in ethnomusicology with such a focal point. My historical approach to this analysis is not exceptional. Waterman's *Juju: A Social History and Ethnography of an African Popular Music* (1990), Erlmann *African Stars: Studies in Black South African Performance* (1991), Robin Moore's *Nationalizing Blackness: Afrocubanismo and Artistic Revolution in Havana 1920-1940* (1997), and Turino's *Nationalists, Cosmopolitans, and Popular Music in Zimbabwe* (2000) used the historical approach also.

a form of national harmony deceptively performed as a transparent surface (1997: 3). This feigned national harmony, then, conceals the real underlying fissures. This applies as much for Gramsci's theory of reciprocity and alliance between the dominant and subordinate as it does for Ernest Gellner's "top-down," and Terence Ranger's and Hobsbawn's "invention of tradition," as for any nationalistic theology of nationalist hegemonic power. They all demonstrate, in divergent ways, how the state wishes to erect its "destructive regime of violence" (Mbembe 1992: 103).

With regard to postcolonial Africa, Achile Mbembe notes that "in the post-colony, the commandment seeks to institutionalize itself, to achieve legislation and hegemony, in the form of fetish" (Mbembe 1992:103). The symbols that the post-colony produces are not only imbued with a plethora of meanings that are indisputable, but these symbols also demand people's unquestionable allegiance to them. Such symbols and meanings could denote what Herzfeld considers "the local idioms of morality" (Herzfeld 1992: 7). According to Mbembe, "no challenge takes place, the champion of the state power invent entire constellations of ideas; they adopt a distinct set of cultural repertoires and powerfully evocative concepts" (1992: 103).

While to a greater degree Mbembe's assertions resonate with the "realities" of post-colonial Africa, they cannot, however, go unchallenged. I think challenges to hegemonies in the post-colony have been taking place in divergent ways, but only to the peril of the challengers. While such challenges may more often than not appear sacrilegious to the challengers they still deserve credit. They may not necessarily surface in the form of physical or any manner of conspicuous confrontations, but they may appear in the form of silence, a shield that "subserves as mockery" (Herzfeld 1997: 21).

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Although I differ slightly with Mbembe on the above account, I find his mapping of the mechanism the post-colony employs to effect its legitimacy interesting and resonating. He argues that the Post-colony creates meanings and protects them by means of administrative and bureaucratic practices (1992: 7).

Mbembe views the relationship between the dominant and the dominated as being grounded less in resistance and collaboration than in conviviality, as the commandment and the subject share and occupy the same space (1992: 104). This sharing of space, as Mbembe has it, ends up in zombification and impotence of each, which means equal power. In addition to the preceding points, Mbembe foregrounds the juxtapositions of multiple spaces instead of a single public space that the post-colony attempts to negotiate power relations between the subjects within the local scene and beyond (1992: 104).

Things with Socks

Remmy Ongala's song was composed in 1989 and recorded by his popular musical group Super Matimila Band, six years after the first three cases of HIV/AIDS were reported in the country in Kagera Region in 1983. The composition of the song resulted from various efforts by arts groups in Tanzania, as discussed earlier, to combat the pandemic. Metaphorically written, *Mambo kwa Soksi* aimed at raising awareness of the hazards of HIV/AIDS, but more importantly, imploring sexual partners to use condoms. The release of *Mambo kwa Soksi* triggered a great deal of controversy because public talk about condoms, let alone sexuality, was considered morally deviant by many Tanzanians (Stambach 2000; Kirkegaard 2004; Hilhorst 2009; see also Illife 2006). Despite much criticism from various circles of society, and especially Christian and Islamic religious organizations and politicians, which culminated in its ban from play on

government broadcast stations,[146] *Mambo kwa Soksi* pioneered initiatives for local and international opinions and advocacy for public talk about sexuality and safer sex in Tanzania, and perhaps in neighboring countries. Although *Mambo kwa Soksi* was banned, its effect continued to be felt in the country as "*mambo kwa soksi*" remains a popular catchy phrase to denote safer sex among young people and adults alike (See also Mutembei et al. 2002). The banning of *Mambo Kwa Soksi* at a time when the manifestation of the impacts of HIV/AIDS on Tanzanian communities had reached an alarming rate, higher "than any other country in Africa" (Setel 1999:1), not only served to show how ambivalent and indecisive the Tanzanian government was with regard to its stance against the pandemic, but it also constituted a bottleneck to open debate over the pandemic. In other words, a culture of silence about HIV/AIDS characterized not only the ordinary citizens of Tanzania, but also the entire government (Illife 2006 in Hilhorst 2009). This action stemmed from the fact that HIV/AIDS in Tanzania, as was the case in many other countries in the world, was considered a product of immorality, and thus associated only with certain sexually-deviant members of society (Parker and Aggleton 2002; see also, Setel 1999; Baylies et al. 2000; Irwin et al. 2003; Barnett and Whiteside 2006[2002]; Illife 2006).

The delay and hesitancy on the part of the Tanzanian government to respond to the disease forcefully by promoting public debate about sexual practice and sexuality stemmed from reasons shared by many African governments and the international

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[146] At the time of banning of *Mambo kwa Soksi*, Tanzania had only two government-owned radio stations: Radio Tanzania (RTD) and Sauti ya Tanzania Zanzibar (STZ). Radio Tanzania was based on the mainland Tanzania under the patronage of the Union Government. It had sub-stations in various regions of Tanzania. Sauti ya Tanzania Zanzibar was stationed in Zanzibar under the direct supervision of the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar.

community. Two main reasons[147] could be identified. First, HIV/AIDS was associated with the immoral minority. In the case of Western countries, for example, the minority group comprised homosexuals, especially men having sex with men (MSM) and intravenous drug users (IDUs) (Purtzel 2003). In many developing countries, including Tanzania[148] HIVAIDS was associated with heterosexual relationships, but particularly with female sex workers. Secondly, public officials feared opposition from religious leaders who viewed sexual practices as affairs of individual behavior and, thus, unsuitable for public discourse and action (Putzel 2003). In most cases HIV/AIDS was associated with the woes of unrestrained urban sexuality, particularly amongst female sex workers popularly known in urban Tanzania as *changudoa*. Seeing *changudoa* as vectors of HIV/AIDS and thus a threat to the general health of Tanzania, a sustained anti-*changudoa* war in Dar es Salaam was launched but without any success. Moreover, the characterization of female sex workers as vectors was stretched to include any other woman considered to practice unrestrained sex.

To problematize the issue further, HIV/AIDS was viewed as a consequence of immorality. As a result, this perception of women as vectors of the disease was discursively reflected in various ways in Tanzania, including cultural productions. To cite an example, many popular songs by young people, especially *bongo flava* music during this time, heaped blame on young women as vectors of the HIV virus. Songs such as

[147] Other reasons in addition to those named above include underestimation by economists early literature about the impact of HIV/AIDS on macroeconomic patterns of development; the concept that HIV/AIDS was a medical issue to be handled by the medical profession thus ignoring socio-cultural issues; and the complexity of the problem itself following World War II (See Putzel 2003: 3)

[148] The 2001 National AIDS Policy of Tanzania considers heterosexual intercourse as the major means of HIV transmission, and it accounts for about 90 percent of all infections. Other sources of transmission include mother to child, and infected blood products. MSM and IDU practices were not considered part of the means for HIV transmission in Tanzania.

Mateso Zaidi ya Yesu (More Sufferings than Jesus), *Nimenasa* (I am Trapped), *Ingekuwa Afya Yake* (Were It Not for Her Health), *Sister Sister*, and *Haijalishi* (It doesn't Matter) are prominent examples. Christian choral groups, too, while not blaming women in particular, were largely critical of immorality.

The association of HIV/AIDS with immorality was also reflected in various official documents, including research and national HIV/AIDS policy.[149] In this case the public discourse on condoms was, politically and religiously, kept at bay. Therefore, the attempt by *Mambo kwa Soksi* to launch a public discourse about the use of condoms was considered to have overstepped the authentic practices of the indigenous cultures of Tanzania, and was thus banned.

There are two versions of *Mambo kwa Soksi*'s composition. The first version, which was in Kiswahili, has never appeared in any recorded form. It was not available in any recording because it was banned before it was recorded for mass distribution. Nonetheless, it continued to be performed in various social halls during the band's daily recitals. A fragment of the song, called Part Two, appears on the YouTube website. The second version, which appears on the *Spirit of Africa* (2004) album, is bilingual in that it alternates between Swahili and English. The first part of the Swahili-English version is entirely in English. With a few exceptions, it retains much of the content of the first Swahili version. The second part, the refrain, is sung in Swahili, and differs markedly

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[149] Later research reports have identified an array of sociocultural and gender factors, which include, among others, alcohol consumption, early sexual debut, multiple and concurrent sexual partners, polygamy, traditional dances, mobile markets, video shows, widow inheritance, divorce and remarriage, and commercial sex. See for example, TACAIDS report, *Socio-cultural and Gender Factors Fueling the Spread of HIV and AIDS in Tanzania: A Review of RFA Reports and Workshop Presentations* (2008); see also Illife (2006).

from the first version in terms of areas of advocacy. It is the first version (the banned one), however, which was, and still is, popular in Tanzania.[150]

The Swahili version of *Mambo kwa Soksi* is full of wordplay and allusions, as has been the case with many of Remmy's songs. The song appears in both speech and singing in alternation. Performed at a steady, fast pace throughout, *Mambo kwa Soksi* starts with the vocals accompanied by instrumental background. Remmy Ongala laments about the dangers of HIV/AIDS:

> AIDS is dangerous people
> I am afraid of things
> With socks
> Folks, things!
> With socks
> Things of these days (or modern things)[151]
> With socks
> Our love making
> With socks
> Has changed
> With socks
> Uncle and Aunty
> With socks
> Grandpa and grandma
> With socks
> You there in the village
> Put on socks [laughter]
> Our sugar
> With socks
> Has become poisonous
> With socks

As one can see, the selected text expounds on the changing nature of sexuality, from the perception of it as a source of pleasure to something that should be associated with

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[150] It should be noted that the second version, too, remains unheard of in the public circles of Tanzania despite its wide popularity in the world.

[151] The phrase can be interpreted both as "things of these days" to mean today's "type of [exotic] sexuality," or "modernity" to denote HIV/AIDS as an outcome of modernity as various scholars have suggested (see for example, Setel 1999; Weiss 2004; Comaroff and Comaroff 2004; Dilger 2009).

danger. And this was the theme that permeated daily talk about HIV/AIDS. The phrase, "sugar has become poisonous," is a reiteration of the words spoken earlier by one of the first individuals to be diagnosed with the HIV virus in Kagera Region, and who was, at the time, terminally ill in bed. This interview, which was filmed and disseminated throughout the country as part of educational campaign against the pandemic, was aimed at making people "see for themselves"[152] the maladies of HIV/AIDS. "*Sumu imeingia mahali patamu*"[153] (poison has entered the sweet place) was the catch phrase first spoken by this dying person. It denoted that poison has occupied a physical space, which is absolutely impossible to stay away from because of its sweetness. It was no wonder Remmy picked up the theme and played it louder warning people about the "poison" and how to avoid succumbing to it.

The second part of the song features a dialogue between two people, both men, about the strangeness of the *soksi* phenomenon and the context of its use. This is where the play of words and allusions by means of manipulation of the human voice becomes manifest. Metaphorically spoken, but with great humor, here the *soksi* is unveiled, questioned, and visualized. By so doing, it could be suggested that it served to make people aware of the materials from which it is made, and its shape, availability,

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[152] My view is that while this film was meant for educational use, it also served to induce fear amongst the people about HIV/AIDS. Death was viewed as the ultimate punishment for indulging in unrestrained or socially and religiously inauthentic sexuality.

[153] This phrase became a household theme and received much attention in the various public mediums including publications, debate, and the media community. Published in 2002, *Sukari Yenye Sumu* (The Poisonous Sugar) is a book written by Pelegia A. Katunzi, a woman living with AIDS for more than twenty one years. Katunzi lives and work in Bukoba as an AIDS Counselor with World Vision, a faith-based organization. This theme is also replicated in *Usione Soo Sema Naye*, a song that is also addressed in this chapter.

convenience, and safety. In other words Remmy was, for the first time, "converting sex ...

from a physical activity into a subject of discourse in African cultures" (Illife 2006: 87).

> **Scenario One**
> *First Singer:* Ee friend,
> *Second Singer:* Yes,
> *First Singer:* You really surprise me. I am told these days if you go to that place, with socks, and on your way back with socks. If you take another short cut, with socks. Tell me are the socks made from sack materials or plastic?
> *Second Singer:* Made from plastic
> *First Singer:* [Repeating the question with humor] Eeeh!
> *Second Singer:* [Also responding with humor] Plastic!
> *First Singer:* How does it look like
> *Second Singer:* It resembles a nipple of the baby bottle
> *First Singer:* And where do you buy it?
> *Second Singer:* In drugstores, or Muhimbili[154], or in any other hospital where they are given freely…
> *First Singer:* No, these days [condoms] are sold…even in the liquor clubs and guesthouses they are available…

The other issues that are addressed in scenarios two and three of the song include gender-

based problems related to the manufacture of condoms[155], and the ambiguity and

dilemma involved in whether or not to use it. First, it was felt condoms interfered with

procreation of (infected) married couples. Second, not wearing it during sexual

intercourse would lead to death. Most of these things have become normative themes in

public discourse on sexuality and condoms with regard to HIV/AIDS today.

> **Scenario Two**
> *First Singer:* Which team puts on socks?
> *Second Singer:* Father's team [or male's team].
> *First Singer:* Which team does it play against?
> *Second Singer:* They play with mother's team.
> *First Singer:* Now father's team plays with socks…

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[154] Muhimbili is the name of the national referral hospital of Tanzania. It is located in Dar es Salaam.
[155] The only condoms available at the time were for males. The unavailability of female condoms until recently sparked highly charged debates over the gender bias in condom manufacturing. Decades later, female condoms are now available in Tanzania and are publicly promoted through television programs and in public social and health-related events.

> *Second Singer:* Mother's team plays barefoot …
> *First Singer:* And on which playing ground do they play this barefoot game?
> *Singer Two:* On the carpenter's playing ground…Do you want to play barefoot?
> …You will die.

> **Scenario Three**
> *Singer One:* Do you know the impacts of [putting on] socks?
> *Singer Two:* No!
> *Singer One:* If you put on socks you won't bear children, and I just married.
> *Singer Two:* And if you stop putting on socks there is an insect [the virus] waiting for you …and you are dead!

The last line ends with the first singer suggesting that he has found the cure for HIV/AIDS, and it was available in Bagamoyo.[156] The song, however, does not explain what exactly the cure is, but it is suggestive of masturbation. The pronouncement of the alleged cure is followed by a long "break section," [or instrumental interlude] lasting about five minutes before it ends with the final spoken ask-and-answer statement, *"Mambo yenyewe kwa vipi*? *Kwa soksi"* (How should the things go about? With socks!).

It should be noted that *Mambo kwa Soksi* is the first of two songs of Remmy Ongala to be banned by the government of the ruling party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM). The second song, "Mrema" was banned in the mid-1990s for political reasons whose discussion deserves another space. Here, suffice it to say that most of Remmy Ongala's songs aim to address the social ills that affect the common person, people he likes to refer to as *wanyonge* (those with no power) or *walala hoi* (those who sleep with no hope) (Graebner 1989; Kirkegaard 2004; Hilhorst 2009).

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[156] Bagamoyo is one of the districts of the Coast Region. Why exactly Remmy decided to use Bagamoyo as the hope of the doom is still unknown. But for many years Bagamoyo is talked about as being a place where many people, especially politicians run to for magical charms to protect themselves against black magic, access luck, and assure upward mobility. For details about this subject, see Brain (1982: 371-384).

Remmy Ongala's engagement in public discourse about HIV/AIDS through music echoes similar efforts by other African popular music musicians, including Luambo Makiadi (aka Franco). While approaches to treatment of this subject matter differed at certain levels among musicians, the engagement of musicians in addressing HIV/AIDS served to portray how the music sector was central to the whole debate over the pandemic. Franco's "*Attention na SIDA*" [Beware of AIDS], aimed at drawing people's attention to the dangers of HIV/AIDS and the need for reasoned action and shared education (Eaton 2008: 316-318; Hilhorst 2009: 115). But *Attention na SIDA* also has a lot in common with Ongala's bilingual, second version of *Mambo kwa Soksi.* Themes such as stigma, the indiscriminatory nature of HIV/AIDS, the need for speeding up research on and manufacture of anti-retroviral drugs, and the disintegration of families due to HIV/AIDS, form the basis of both songs. Ongala and Franco are diametrically opposed to Fela Anikulapo-Kuti, the Nigerian musician who until his death in 1997 kept denying the existence of HIV/AIDS although he himself died of it (2006: 81). Having looked at *Mambo kwa Soksi,* let me now turn to another song *Usione Soo Sema Naye*.

Usione Soo Sema Naye

This song was a *bongo flava* music video produced in collaboration with a group of young musicians that would later become known as "Ishi Stars." The Ishi Stars group was sponsored by the Ishi Project administered by FHI, and the Benchmark Production Limited studio. It was produced in 2004 featuring some of the most celebrated figures in *bongo flava* music in Tanzania, and perhaps the entire East Africa hip-hop scene at the time. *Usione Soo Sema Naye* was a reflection of the second phase of the Ishi Program, which aimed at educating young people on HIV/AIDS prevention. *Usione Soo Sema*

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Naye aimed specifically at *kuvunja ukimya* (breaking the silence) about discussion on sexuality among young people, and between parents and their children.[157] Some of the central issues underpinned by the slogan of *kuvunja ukimya* permeate the song: frankness and boldness in discussing safer sex, faithfulness, and abstinence or use of condoms. The song's title, which became another household phrase among not only young people, but alsoadults, was short-lived following its ban by the government three months after its debut. The following are selected verses of *Usione Soo Sema Naye*. Each verse is flanked by the name of the singer except for the chorus, which is collectively picked up.

> *Solothang:* (rapping) Ah don't feel shy. Talk to him/her. Wait, you and you there. Use condom even with the one you love. Do not even dare to meet her/him dry [without condom]. It is better to break up, come on.
> *Twisha Mrisho:* (singing) There is nothing more important in life than being faithful, oooh. Don't be afraid to say wait, be faithful or use condom, hoo hoo!
> CHORUS: Don't feel shy, talk to him/her about waiting, being faithful, or using condom (x2)
> *Pauline Zongo:* (Talking) Talk to him/her.
> *Mr Paul:* (singing) Hi friends, the "sugar" is contaminated. Let's move forward. Don't feel shy!
> *Banana Zorro:* (singing): Let's talk about waiting.
> *Mr. Paul:* (singing) Friends, don't feel shy.
> *Banana Zoro:* (singing) Let's talk about "tools"!!
> *Rah-P:* (rapping) Aaah! Don't feel shy, talk to him/her. Speak openly to the one who loves you.
> DA TAZ: Protection!
> RAH-P: If he/she doesn't like to talk then just stay away from him/her. Be faithful, so as to avoid catastrophe. Many have died and other have gone. For us is to protect ourselves. Condom, abstinence, faithfulness, [and] don't use your weakness as an excuse aaah!
> *Benjamini:* (rapping) This pandemic is for us all. What do we do to get rid of it? If you cannot use protective gear, then wait, hey young man! You have seen a beautiful young woman or you have seen a handsome young man, and all of a sudden you feel like loving him/her. How will you know he/she doesn't have *ngoma ha yayaya*!

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[157] Interview with Mary Zabuloni, Senior Program Officer of UJANA Program conducted by FHI [December 18, 2008].

Banana Zorro: (singing) Even if he/she wears an awesome smile, this doesn't mean he/she cares! Even if it is as sweet as honey, it is up to you whether or not to taste it. Don't trust words. Don't make yourself a byword my sister!
CHORUS
Banana: Don't be blindfolded by her magnetic beauty brother!
Solothang: (rapping): Even if he/she is visually unbelievably awesome, don't love at sight. That is not good, why should you die of *ngoma*?
I love to live, I don't like burial!
We will perish if we keep a deaf ear!
Don't feel shy to talk to your partner
AIDS doesn't like jokes.
Stay with him/her, live longer and with faithfulness.
What we are saying is the perfect protection.
Pauline Zongo: (singing) The more days pass by the more things get worse
We young people are perishing from that dangerous disease. AIDS kills. Use Condom or be faithful!
CHORUS
Banana Zorro: To express yourself is the best way of living and protect yourself from AIDS transmission.
Twisha: Talk to him/her!
Banana Zorro: (speaking) Which way do you choose to live?
RAH-P: (speaking) Don't feel shy to talk to him/her about waiting, being faithful or using condom.
All: ISHI [LIVE]

What Went Wrong?

The ban of these two musical pieces poses more questions than it provides

answers. An endless list of questions might be formed differently by different people.

Here are mine. My first central question is what went wrong? Other questions are

ancillary to this one although they are of no less significant. Such questions may include:

who is behind the ban, and under what capacity? Were there similar expressions at the

time that received similar attention? What were these expressions or programs? What did

the musicians do and say (and are still saying) after the ban? What were (and are])

reactions of other people towards the ban? What is the situation now? What led to the

current situation? I do not intend to answer all these questions, but only to provide some

insight and perhaps to provoke more questions for furthering the discourse. In doing so, I will adopt various approaches. Firstly, I will use a triangulation of the theoretical framework mentioned above to support and guide the discussion. Secondly, I will integrate the insights of some people with whom I spoke during fieldwork as they reflected on these issues. These people come from diverse capacities: As performers, personnel in organizations involved in HIV/AIDS-related activities, researchers, and other members of the public.

Responses to the Banning of Mambo kwa Soksi and Usione Soo Sema Naye

The ban of the two songs triggered numerous reactions from people within Tanzanian society and beyond. A few of the reactions are scholarly (for example, Stambach 2000; Kirkegaard 2004; Hilhorst 2009). For some reason all of these works mention *Mambo kwa Soksi* but are silent on *Usione Soo Sema Naye*, although the former was not the main focus of the discussion. Stambach's work appeared four years before *Usionee Soo Sema Naye* was composed while Kirkegaard's was published the same year the song was composed and banned. All the works emphasized the importance of *Mambo kwa Soksi* on HIV/AIDS education in terms of openness, honesty, and the metaphorical use of language to refer to various issues, including *soksi* itself. Moreover, all these scholars are quick to highlight the danger of Remmy's "honest" approach and "openness" in this process but connect it with Remmy's musical approach. Notwithstanding the social relevance of *Mambo kwa Soksi,* the government disallowed its broadcast on Radio Tanzania. Ironically, though, it appeared that the song garnered popularity in various parts of the country as it continued to be played in private homes and small stores. Many people, including these scholars, have considered the Roman Catholic Church's strong

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position in Tanzanian politics and its opposition to condoms as having had a hand in the

banning of the song. But Hilhorst, following the lead of Illife (2006) sees the religious

influence on HIV/AIDS education as not only emanating from the Roman Catholic

Church but also from the Islamic *Ulamaa* (2009: 116), which strongly favors abstinence

over use of contraceptives.

Reacting to the banning of *Mambo kwa Soksi,* some people were quoted as saying

that Remmy was out of touch with the majority of Tanzanians as they never use

condoms. That is, "he was singing about socks just to generate controversy" (Stambach

2000). While such people disapproved *Mambo kwa Soksi* for generating "controversy," in

actual fact he did exactly what Tanzania's Third Phase President Benjamini Mkapa came

to promote several years later, as "*kuvunja ukimya*" (breaking the silence). This statement

of *kuvunja ukimya* appears on the signed (by the president himself) preface of the Swahili

version of the National HIV/AIDS Policy of Tanzania of 2001. It categorically stipulates

the importance of "breaking the silence" with regard to discussing the pandemic:

> It is a must that we break the silence about AIDS. It is a must that we shun taboos
> that prevent open discussion in the family, villages, communities and work places
> about protection from AIDS transmission. It is a must that we discuss openly and
> seriously the social, economic, and cultural environments that fuel transmission
> through sexual immorality (2001: vii)[158]

Ironically, this statement by the Head of State, which has become a popular

national slogan calling for openness and seriousness in combating the pandemic, seems to

contradict itself, or rather it is contradicted by a series of events that were engineered by

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[158] *"Lazima tuvunje ukimya kuhusu Ukimwi. Lazima tuache miiko inayozuia majadiliano ya wazi katika familia, vijiji, jumuia na sehemu za kazi jinsi ya kujikinga na maambukizi ya virusi vya UKIMWI. Lazima tujadili kwa uwazi na kwa makini mazingira ya kijamii, kiuchumi, na kiutamaduni yanayochochea maambukizi yanayoletwa na zinaa* (2001: vii)

the government itself. A notable example is the ban of *Usione Soo Sema Naye* only three years after the launching of the National HIV/AIDS Policy that contained the president's statement of *"kuvunja ukimya."* This raises some questions: In the first place, why did the government come up with National HIV/AIDS Policy that forcefully called for open discussion on HIV/AIDS while initially it was reluctant to do so? Second, why, even after such a strong statement by the President himself did the government through its agencies decide to revert to its previous stance against open expression about the disease? That is, by prohibiting the performance of *Usione Soo Sema Naye*, but at the same time, allowing similar kinds of expressions to go public?

In the previous chapter I have illustrated, through knowledge network between organizations dealing with HIV/AIDS, how power relations are central to music-making. I have argued that the study of HIV/AIDS is indivisible from the discourse of power relations and suggested further that it is important to look at this question from a much broader perspective, that is, in the context of international sociopolitical and economic relations. With this concept in mind, I argue that an examination of the emergence of the National HIV/AIDS Policy of Tanzania and that of most developing countries should take into account the interface of multiple, and sometimes conflicting local and global forces. It is the juxtaposition of several spaces, "each having its own logic yet liable to be entangled with other logics" (Mbembe 1992: 104). In other words, this entanglement of the "logic" of several spaces is what the world system scholarship refers to as world polity.

As Jason Beckfield has shown, entanglement in international organization shapes state policy in numerous spheres (2003: 401). Each entangled state and society strives to

be in command of such a network of governance structure, but the rules of the game,

remain unchanged. It is always the core states that remain in command of most of world

political power (Boswell and Chase 2000 in Beckfield 2003: 402). Since governments of

most developing countries, including Tanzania, were and still are overwhelmed by the

cost of handling the HIV/AIDS pandemic, interventions by various international

organizations were considered critical and timely (Altman 1999: 559; see also Illife

2006). However, as I argued in the previous chapter, the nature of this kind of networking

between developing countries and the West as mediated by development agencies in the

context of HIV/AIDS, serves to unleash some kind of asymmetrical international power

relations. And as long as developing countries are still at the mercy of the West, the

former cannot but learn to bargain (Mbembe 1992: 104). In view of this, the formation of

the National HIV/AIDS Policy of Tanzania came about as the result of a coalition

between many stakeholders: the government itself, other local participants (certainly

including religious organizations), and *wahisani*, or donor agencies (See National

HIV/AIDS Policy of Tanzania 2001: viii). During such a process, more often than not,

certain things are impositions.

I cannot ascertain what exactly transpired in the process of preparing this

important policy document. In any case, it would seem that some stakeholders with

power, such as religious leaders and religious-political-leaders, were influential regarding

the treatment of certain religiously, socially, and culturally sensitive issues in the

document (see for example, Putzel 2003[159]; Beckman 2009; and Svensson 2009).

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[159] In his article, which focused on HIV/AIDS and governance in Uganda and Senegal, James Putzel clearly
outlines problems associated with religious organizations with regard to the handling of the pandemic as

The discontent of religious institutions with regard to the state's call for the unrestrained discussion of factors surrounding the spread of the pandemic became much more evident recently. As I have demonstrated in chapter three, and as invariably stated by other scholars, the friction between the Roman Catholic Church and the state lies on the condom controversy. This controversy was intensified by the anti-condom campaigns by the Roman Catholic Church. It became even more sustained recently when it resulted in the public slapping of Ali Hassan Mwinyi, former President of the United Republic of Tanzania, during an important Islamic ceremony in Dar es Salaam. The incident took place during my fieldwork, on March 10, 2009. To many people, the incident was extraordinary, unbelievable, and historic.

The day in question was a religious holiday in which Muslims in Tanzania and the world over were celebrating the birth of the Prophet Muhammad. The retired President being a Muslim himself, was invited to preside at the function, a Baraza (Islamic gathering), on behalf of President Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete, who also happens to be a Muslim. As Mwinyi was addressing the audience, a young man emerged from the crowd, walked to the front where Mwinyi and other dignitaries were seated, and climbed onto the podium. Appearing as if he wanted to talk to the Chief Sheikh the Supreme of the Tanzania Muslim Council (BAKWATA), the young man suddenly. And to the surprise of the former President's security personnel, swiftly turned back and slapped Mwinyi[160] in full view of the TV cameras and the rest of the members of the press

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well as impositions of organizational templates on recipient countries by the World Bank and Global Fund. Nadine Beckman highlights the discourse on HIV/AIDS among Muslims of Zanzibar, Tanzania, while Jonas Svensson does the same in Kisumu, Kenya.

[160] See *The Citizen* (March 11th and 12th 2009) and IPPmedia (15th March 2009).

covering the event. The culprit was swiftly apprehended.[161] The incident was broadcast over all TV and radio stations, and for weeks it remained the focus of the press   and in other circles of communications.

Among the things that the former president underscored in his speech were two important issues. He spoke about the importance of Tanzanians living together peacefully regardless of their diverse religious backgrounds. With respect to the war against HIV/AIDS, the former president urged devout Muslims to take care of themselves against the scourge by observing strict morals. Concerning those who could not abstain from sex, Mwinyi advised Muslim clerics to find a way for discussing the use of condoms to reduce the spread of the disease (*The Citizen* March 12, 2009). According to reports widely circulated in the news media, during his prosecution the assailant was quoted as saying that slapping the former president was attributed to both issues (*The Citizen* March 12, 2009). Slapping the former Head of State was meant to "send a 'powerful' message" (*The Citizen* March 12, 2009). Even though the Islamic Council of Tanzania condemned the incident, still a section of hardline Muslims hailed it, demanding that Mwinyi owed an apology to the entire Islamic community of Tanzania.

What does this incident tell us? First and foremost it illustrates the ongoing disagreement between the state and religious institutions about how to handle the pandemic. Second, it portrays the state's precarious position in implementing HIV/AIDS education programs as it struggles to remain firm on its decisions while simultaneously bowing to external pressure such as public opinion and international institutions. The

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[161] He was later sentenced to one year in prison.

government's failure to adhere to decisions it has made about HIV/AIDS education, or its

acceptance of agendas or certain forms of expressions proposed externally but

disapproving local ones, is a big concern for a number of people I spoke with during my

fieldwork. Religion was considered to have had a profound influence on the ban of the

two songs. Those interviewed were of the view that some politicians (and policy-makers)

are so religious that it is sometimes difficult for one to ascertain in what capacity the

official statements they make are based. Do they do that as policy-makers or as members

of a particular religion? It, therefore, becomes even more difficult to figure out the motive

behind such political figures' actions, that is, whether it is religiously or politically

motivated. Mary Zabuloni provides an excellent example of such views:

> You know, there are some politicians who are religious. So, they see that the best
> space they can introduce their religious agenda into a national agenda is through
> the political realm. But they don't do that explicitly as representing religious
> interest lest they are told to leave such issues under the state's surveillance. So,
> they do that as part of their political agenda.[162]

Elaborating on this issue, Zabuloni identified three categories of politicians:

hardline religious politicians, moderate religious politicians, and those who are neutral.

She regarded the first category as the most difficult in the debate over condom use and

expressions that aim at promoting condoms. Speaking along the same lines Herbert

Makoye, who belonged to the committee that issued the political statement leading to the

ban of U*sione Soo Sema Naye*, remarked that the move aimed at neutralizing conflicts of

opinion between the state and religious leaders with regard to the subject matter:

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[162] "*Unajua kuna wanasiasa ambao wanadini. Kwa hiyo mahali pa kupeleka ajenda zao pengine ni kwenye siasa hukohuko. Haupeleki kama mwanadini, kwa sababu akifanya hivyo ataambiwa kwamba hili swala ni la kiserikali. [kwahiyo] analipeleka kama mwanasiasa*"

Actually it was us who banned them [referring to Usione Soo Sema Naye].[163] And I was in the committee. We were told! In this society if someone like a Minister says something, it is final! If religious people make a statement, then it is final! This is because the government doesn't want to antagonize such people.[164]

The state's move to use its agencies to exercise surveillance over expressive arts is not uncommon in Tanzania and predates the HIV/AIDS era.[165] This phenomenon echoes what Buchannan (1995) refers to as the establishment of a hegemonic cultural administrative network, which comprises different state agencies. The government aims at setting standards by which cultural forms are not only aesthetically evaluated, but also, evaluated for socially and politically acceptable content. In other words, it is an attempt by the state to appropriate for its own purposes "the local idioms of morality" (Herzfeld 1997: 7).[166] This process of appropriating the local idioms of morality is part of the properties of "cultural intimacy." According to Herzfeld (1997: 9), cultural intimacy primarily concerns itself with the "familiarity with perceived social flaws that offer culturally persuasive explanations of apparent deviations from the public interest," such as the one explained above. It should be noted, however, that while Herzfeld's nationalist cultural intimacy and Mbembe's banality of power in post-colony Africa foreground the supremacy of the state power, or "the aesthetics of vulgarity," to use Mbembe's expression, they both remain mute about the tremendous power of religion in influencing

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[163] *"Actually sisi ndiyo tuliowafungia. Na mimi nilikuwa katika hiyo kamati. Tuliambiwa! Kwenye jamii hii akishasema mtu kama Waziri si ndiyo final bwana!?. Wakishasema wazee wa dini huko ndiyo final! Kwa sababu government sasa haitaki ku-antagonize na watu wa hivyo"*

[164] This is according to one of several interviews with Dr. Herbert Makoye, former committee member of the Tanzania Communication Regulatory Authority Content Committee.

[165] For more details about this subject in Tanzania read, Songoyi (1988) and Askew (2002).

[166] See also Turino (2000) and Bender (2004) for similar treatment of the subject matter in Zimbabwe and Somalia, respectively.

the political processes of a country. The Tanzanian experience with regard to this matter is just an example.

"That Popular Word That Was…": Musical Signification and Problems of Interpretations

Explaining what prompted the people who are both politicians and religious to ban *Usione Soo Sema Naye*, Makoye said that it was largely an interpretation issue. A number of those with whom I spoke about the matter restated Makoye's remarks but with mixed feelings. Most of them showed feelings of dissatisfaction regarding the bans.

Doris Green, an ethnomusicologist an expert of Labanotation, and a pioneer of ethnochoreographology, studied dance movements in African dances. Her research took her to various parts of Africa, including Tanzania. In the course of the research she was "perplexed" by the preponderance of "pelvic contraction in African dances" (1996: 15). She noted that the movement was used "in all categories of dances," including those of the warriors, recreational dances, religious dances, and ritual rites (puberty). On seeing this she inquired about the reasons for such a phenomenon. "I demanded an answer and found out that many of my younger cultural informants did not have a *plausible*[167] answer and had accepted the answer of a "sexual" notion to explain the existence of this movement" (Green 1996: 15). Unsatisfied by the sexual connotation of the movement as the young cultural informants suggested, Green asked them again, "if so, then why does it happen in your war dance?" She got no answer to that. She then turned to "older cultural informants" who associated the movement with techniques used to play certain types of musical instruments accompanying the dance. Alternatively, they pointed to secondary

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[167] Emphasis is mine.

rattles worn on the body as in the case of Nigeria or to the way Ghanaians satirically

remember events that implicate men imitating women's hip movements (1996:16). If

Green were to have continued pressing the same question further in other countries, she

would have received a host of answers both "plausible" and "implausible": all

interpretations. In the case of Tanzania, for example, pelvic contraction[168] has created a

lot of controversy between various groups of people: politicians versus cultural personnel

and practitioners; among cultural practitioners themselves; and recently between various

actors involved in HIV/AIDS education programs.[169] Some scholars, too, have put the

issue at the center of their work (see for example, Laura Edmondson 2008[170] and Siri

Lange 1994).

Green's experience shows how volatile the question of musical signification is,

especially when the meaning or interpretation is given by various people. Green's search

for a "plausible" answer from older, experienced cultural informants did not consider the

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[168] In Tanzania this body movement is popularly called *kukata kiuno* (cutting the waist) which actually means rotation of the pelvis. The right way of saying it in English is probably "rotation or wriggling of the waist" rather than "pelvic contraction."

[169] There have been mixed feelings among the people dealing with AIDS education campaigns through the use of dance and music performances that involve this body movement. The controversy lies in the interpretations they make about the waist rotation. Some people are of the view that waist rotation during performance related to HIV/AIDS encourages rather than discouraging sexuality not only among the performers but the audience as well. Because of this view they suggest that such movements should be discouraged from performances. Conversely, other people, especially cultural specialists and practitioners consider such interpretation to be baseless, misguided and inappropriate. They consider it to be the problem of the interpreters themselves. They argue that people having such perspectives suffer from two problems: first their ignorance of the aesthetics of dances in relation to their original context, and second, the cultural background of the interpreters.

[170] The first paragraph of the introduction of Edmondson's *Performance and Politics in Tanzania: The Nation on Stage* opens by capitalizing on waist rotation, "simulated sexual intercourse," in a dance performance during an important political event in Dar es Salaam. Thereafter the waist wriggling movement becomes the basis of an entire chapter she entitles "National Erotica" (66-84). Edmondson's treatment of waist movement stretches earlier work by Siri Lange entitled *From National Building to Popular Culture: The Modernization of Performance in Tanzania*, in which waist wriggling or waist rotation is referred to as "hip-swaying" (1994: 70). Lange considers "hip-swaying" as a way of sensualizing dance movements for commercial reasons.

problems embedded in this phenomenon. For one, any answer could be "plausible"

depending on various determinants: social and historical spaces, context, interpreters' age

and social position, and the multifaceted nature of music (Turino 1997; Rice 2001; see

also Richard Taruskin 1982). Following Turino (1997) and Rice (2001), by multifaceted

nature of music I mean the constitution of music by numerous musical elements such as

melody, rhythm, timbre, loudness, dynamics and texture whose simultaneous occurrences

may constitute multiple and shifting meanings. However, in addition to the elements I

have just mentioned, body movements, lyrics of the songs and even costume are also

central determinants in deriving meaning as seen in Green's case. Meaning is assigned by

various interpreters in contact with a particular performance, and thus, result in multiple

meanings as well as discord and contestation in society (Rice 2001: 34). Despite the

multidimensional signification of performance as discussed above, it is the state, through

its agencies, that "attempts" to control meaning (Mbembe 1992; Buchannan 1995; Rice

2001). Havel (1991), Foucault (1990), and Bourdieu (1990) have invariably viewed such

a move as the state's attempt to perpetuate its hegemony by means of relentlessly

reproducing dominant interpretation of social reality as cultural truth. Scores of people in

different capacities have reflected this state of affairs. Herbert Makoye explains the

interpretational crisis associated with the ban of *Usione Soo Sema Naye*:

> You know, people came up with their interpretation of the song saying that the
> expression, don't feel shy, talk him/her was meant as an encouragement. That is,
> telling people don't feel shy making sexual advances because there is condom.
> Just let's go on with life and only be cautious ….that is how they said it in the
> Parliament.[171]

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[171] *Kwa sababu watu walifanya tafsiri wakisema Usione Soo Sema Naye, kwamba inahamasisha kwamba
yaani wewe mtongoze tu, tongoza tu kwa sababu condom ipo tu. Kwamba hayo Bwana ni kuendela … no
problem, mambo ya maisha kaa sawa. Ndivyo walivyosema Bungeni.*

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When I asked him about his personal views of the song he said:

> I had a different interpretation because even the image that accompanied the TV spot for the program stated that "Say whatever you feel. If you mean I don't like it, it means you don't like it. And if [the issue is] 'let's use condom,' then let's use it. In fact, it went further suggesting that there is no need to feel shy expressing one's feelings [for or against sex] because the situation is not good [regarding HIV/AIDS]. Be open. It also suggested that you have all the alternatives [at hand] either to say no, or let's use protective gear, or to say let's wait. That is what my interpretation was.[172]

Restating Makoye's views, Mary Zabuloni provided three objectives of *Usione Soo Sema Naye*. First, it aimed at asking people not to feel shy talking about sexuality. Secondly, it aimed at young girls' empowerment because it was felt that young girls were always at a disadvantage in negotiating sex. So the best way was to ask them to wait, be faithful, and to use condoms. And thirdly, the program asked society [parents] to start talking with their children about sexuality. It was also a way of stressing President Mkapa's appeal to the Tanzanians to "break the silence." Zabuloni asserted that:

> Just as other programs against AIDS are about breaking the silence, *Usione Soo* too, aimed at breaking the silence. But unfortunately, politicians did not understand this interpretation.[173]

On another level, Zabuloni likened musicians to prophets. She thought that musicians have the capacity to foretell things that may happen in society in years to come. According to Zabuloni, society was too myopic to realize the prophetic power of music. Giving an example of this assertion, Zabuloni spoke of a number of other programs that have sprung up which in actuality restate what early initiatives by

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[172] *Mimi tafsiri yangu ilikuwa tofauti. kwa sababu hata ile "image" ilikuwa tofauti kwa sababu mimi tafsiri yangu nilikuwa naona walikuwa wanasema "Say whatever you feel; kama sitaki, sitaki. Kama let's use condom, let's use it. Yaani hakuna kuona soo kwa sababu hali siyo nzuri. "Be Open" …kwamba you have all alternatives: Ya kusema hapana, au ya kusema tutumie kinga, au ya kusema subiri kwa hiyo usione soo. Hii ndiyo ilikuwa tafsiri yangu.*
[173] *"kama zilivyo program zote za Ukimwi zinavyolenga kuvunja ukimya, Usione Soo pia ililenga kuvunja ukimya. Lakini kwa bahati mbaya wanasiasa hawakuielewa hii tafsiri.*

musicians such as Remmy Ongala and Ishi Stars had attempted to do all along. These early calls were ignored and discouraged, however. New interventions explicitly promote condom use, and advocate openness in discussing sexuality and they were the very issues the two songs were addressing. Most of these condom-promoting programs are broadcast in various major television stations in the country, including TBC1, the national television station. Some of these programs are foreign-made while others are local.[174] Similar local programs are also aired over various radio stations as short spots. In addition to such programs, there are other TV soap operas that address certain aspects of sexuality quite openly, but the government has decided to cast a blind eye on such programs. Feelings of dissatisfaction and ambivalence about the ban of *Usione Soo Sema Naye* and *Mambo kwa Soksi* surfaced also during a discussion I had with some members of staff at the Tanzania Commission for HIV/AIDS. Speaking in their individual personal capacities, they were of the view that Ishi Program (*Usione Soo Sema Naye*) was not at fault despite much criticism and the subsequent banning by Members of the Parliament. They restated religious ideology as a driving force behind the move. They had the same view about *Mambo kwa Soksi* and thought that perhaps since things have changed so

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[174] "Scenarios from the Sahel" is probably one of the programs that Zabuloni and other people refer to. It is one of the popular video programs in Tanzania and other African countries that fight against HIV/AIDS. The program, which was developed in Francophone-West African countries, Senegal in particular, produces films that address strategies that can be used to face the pandemic. Condom use is one of these main strategies. These scenarios have been adopted in Kiswahili and are broadcast on the mentioned television stations. "Scenarios from the Sahel" was produced in the late 1990s in collaboration between various international organization such as UNFPA (United Nations Population Fund), ODA (UK Overseas Development Administration) COMIC RELIEF (a UK-registered charity), USAID/Peace Corps Senegal, PLAN International Senegal, and the National AIDS Control Committee of Senegal. "Kengele", on the other hand, is probably another program that also aims at condom promotion through various ways, including video and television scenarios. This program is locally produced by Tanzania Marketing and Communication Company (T-MARC).

much today, there probably would be no problem if they were rebroadcast.[175] Speaking

along the same line, Eustace Muhondwa, Bakari Mbelemba,[176] and Clement Matwanga

suggested three reasons. First, Tanzanian society, and especially its leaders, was not

ready to face facts. Second, society frequently resents being preached to by artists. And

third, society was not a good critic in that responsible people in the government

purposely shied away from interrogating the facts from musicians themselves.

In contrast to the above views, a few people I talked to thought that musicians

were at fault, and thus, the creators of their own problem. That is, they suffered both from

the lack of the "economy of performance" and "sensitivity." According to Rashidi

Masimbi, "the lack of economy of performance" stemmed from doing a performance

beyond expected limits. By this he meant overdoing the performance and deviating from

observing authentic social norms. In regard to "insensitivity," on another level, Mgunga

Mwamnyenyelwa meant that artists did not "measure the social temperature"

(*hawakupima temperature ya jamii*) of the time. That is, they did not consider the public

impact of their productions before they were performed for public use. In actual fact, both

views, which came from experienced veteran performers and long serving civil servants,

pointed toward this contravention of social norms.

Cross-generational interpretation was another factor that some people thought to

be a central element of the controversy. The view was that the older generation tends to

generalize their own perception by imposing judgments or interpretations on the younger

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[175] Conversation with Mama Bagumya and Amina Kawawa of TACAIDS on 28 September 2009.
[176] Longstanding performing artist and Director of his performing group Mandela Theatre. The group performs both theater (drama and traditional dance) and music (dance music or *muziki wa dansi*) and taarab. At the time of the interview he was also serving as chairperson of a small committee responsible for organizing performances for Sabasaba festival [or trade fair] in the Tanzania Commission for HIV/AIDS.

generation. Among those who expressed this view were two musicians involved in the production of *Usione Soo Sema Naye:* Banana Zorro and Stara Thomas. Banana Zorro explained:

> The work was a real hit, well-accepted to the extent that we used to sing it in our normal shows. And that "word" became very popular. "*Usione Soo Kusema naye*" (Don't feel shy to speak to her/him) implying that don't feel shy to talk to anybody about AIDS. But after three months we were told the work was no more. We just heard that the former president [President Benjamin Mkapa] mentioned something about the song…that the song meant we should not feel shy about AIDS. I think he didn't understand this. But he didn't say the show should be banned. There was no statement whatsoever! This move disheartened most of us because we spent a lot of imagination and energy…There were experts in Swahili language to help us with language issues. It would be much better if they were consulted. Alternatively, either we should have been involved [in deliberating the content of the song] or the work should not have been banned. We could have changed certain things…that would be pretty easier.[177]

In view of how they felt and what they decided to do after their hard work was banned, Banana Zorro, lowering his voice, told me that

> Well, I am not a politician, but I think during the previous system[178] [government] there was not enough freedom of expression as it is now…People were afraid. [But] it doesn't mean that the government was threatening people…but now people are stronger. Of course, people now know their rights. [Therefore,] everyone wanted to be close to the government by all means even if it meant one losing all their properties, provided he/she stays closer to the government. as they don't understand the meaning then let it be so. [That is], it is they who have not

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[177] *Banana Zorro: "Kazi ile ili-"hit" sana mpaka tukawa tunaimba hata katika shoo zetu. Haijawahi kutokea". Lile "neno" likawa maarufu sana. Usione soo kusema naye" ikiwa na maana usione aibu kuongea na mtu yeyote kuhusu Ukimwi …" Ghafula baada ya miezi mitatu …. Tukaambiwa ile kazi haipo. Tunasikia Raisi Mstaafu alizungumza ..juzi akiwa na maana ya kwamba tusiuonee soo Ukimwi , [nadhani] hakuelewa …na wala hakusema kwamba shoo izuiwe …. Hakukuwa na statement…. Hakuna kitu chochote! Wasanii wanakata tama. .. imevunja moyo sana. Walitumia akili nyingi sana. …wataalamu wa Kiswahili walikuwepo. Basi wangeulizwa wataalamu, au tungeshirikishwa au basi isingezuiwa. Tungebadilisha kitu kidogo…Na hiyo ni kazi rahisi sana.*

[178] In Tanzania, the English word "system," in some contexts and in Swahili normal conversation, is most often used to denote intelligence organs or secret service. Often times many people don't make a distinction between system as a secret service or operating government machinery. But in the act the act of Zorro lowering his voice during the conversation of this matter, was in reference to both.

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understood [the message]. That is how it works; regardless of the fact that I certainly know that that was not what I meant. So you end up saying I am the one who is at fault.[179]

Restating the views of Banana Zorro as quoted above about the subject, Stara Thomas, a female independent recording musician who identifies herself with *zouk* beats, asserted that *Usione Soo* aimed at saving young people from HIV/AIDS. She noted that the discovery by the government that young people were the most affected[180] group was at the center of the launching of a youth-led campaign against HIV/AIDS. Stara asserted that *bongo flava* was considered the best way to reach young people because it was the sort of music genre that so much appealed to young people in Tanzania and beyond. The fact that the song was cast by a group of the most celebrated young musicians in the country and east Africa in general made the use of *bongo flava* the best and effective way. According to Stara, the move to incorporate young musicians in addressing the pandemic served two purposes. It would make the young audience realize the seriousness of the war against the pandemic because the information is communicated to them through the mediums that appeal to them. Also, it would make young people identify with the musicians involved because they were speaking the language that the youth understand. Stara also noted that *Usione Soo* served to make older people realize the potential of young people in battling HIV/AIDS through the mediums that appeal to them:

[179] *Aah ah…Mimi siyo mwanasiasa… nafikiri hapa nyuma system iliyokuwepo … hakukuwa na uhuru sana kama sasa… uhuru wa vyombo vya habari. Watu walikuwa wanaogopa [issue mpya]. Siyo kwamba serikali ilikuwa inatishia watu. "Of course" sasa watu wana nguvu, wanajua haki zao. [Kwahiyo] kila mtu alikuwa anatamani kuwa karibu na serikali kwa namna yoyote ile ikiwezekana apoteze kila kitu chake, lakini awe karibu na government. Kwahiyo hata kama ikionekana labda hawajaeleweka ule ujumbe ulikuwa unamaanisha nini, lakini mtu anaona "aahhh lakini "as long as" hawajaelewa acha iwe hivyo [kwamba] wao hawajaelewa. Ndivyo ilivyo! Japokuwa ile haikuwa maana yangu. Mimi ndiyo niliyokosea.*

[180] According to the National HIV/AIDS Policy, by 1999 youth accounted for an estimated 15% of the total population (about 2 million) infected with HIV.

Ishi tried to see how we young musicians can use music that will both educate young people, and make them realize that we young musicians also "do care" [TUNAJALI[181]]. And at the same time, the fact that we are still very young people [yet we are involved in the campaign], this would be a great opportunity for older people to listen to us and try to make sense of what we were talking about. So, when old people listened to us, and young people saw us [through the video], I think it made a significant contribution in reducing HIV/AIDS transmission, one way or another. That is why the song clearly said "ISHI" [LIVE]. It said wait, have one partner, be faithful or use condom. So, in accordance with the program's theme, these three things were considered appropriate in helping young people protect themselves from AIDS."[182]

Speaking about the impact of the song on the Tanzanian population, Stara

commented on the song's success of the song among young people and children.

"The impact was tremendous because even children on the streets were singing the song…The song had a major role to play in changing peoples in society because to a greater degree it was children who captured it the most. So, as children grow up, that thing [knowledge] would grow up with them. This would have impacted the children tremendously. But we were disappointed that all of a sudden the song disappeared."[183]

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[181] "TUNAJALI" is a catchy slogan that Family Health International uses to encourage a state of responsibility among young people in regard to sexuality and reproductive health vis-à-vis HIV/AIDS.

[182] *…..Ishi wakajaribu kuangalia ni jinsi gani sisi wasanii vijana tunaweza kutengeneza wimbo ambao kwanza utawaelimisha vijana [na pili] utawafanya waone kwamba wenzao sisi tunajali."And at the same time" sisi kwa sababu ni wadogo kuna wale watu wazima ambao wanatuzidi, kwamba na wao kutusikiliza, hivi hawa vijana wanazungumzia nini. Kwa hiyo kwa wao kutusikia sisi, na vijana kutuona [kupitia video] …. nafikiri ilikuwa inachangaia kwa kiasi kikubwa kusaidia katika njia moja au nyingine kupunguza hali ya maambukizi ya UKIMWI. Na ndiyo maana ule wimbo unasema Ishi, usione soo sema naye…. Ule wimbo ulisema …kwamba usubiri, uwe na mpenzi mmoja kuwa mwaminifu au utumie condom. Naona [kutokana na program] wakaona kwamba kwa vitu hivyo vitatu vinaweza kuwasaidia vijana waweze kuepukana na UKIMWI.*

[183] *Impact ilikuwa kubwa sana kwa sababu hadi watoto walikuwa wanaimba mitaani….. Ule wimbo ulikuwa na nafasi kubwa sana ya kuweza kuwabadilisha watu wengi kwa sababu wimbo ulikuwa umeshikwa na watoto kwa kiasi kikubwa. Kwa hiyo kwa jinsi wanavyozidi kukua ile kitu [elimu] inakua nao. Nina uhakika ingesaidia kwa kiasi kikubwa zaidi kwa watoto. Lakini"suddenly" wimbo ukawa haupo tena.*

When I asked Stara about the reasons that led to the ban of the song, she asserted that they were told that it was on political grounds, the kind of issues that she said they as musicians did not like to look into. But she said there was a real big issue behind the banning. "The big issue that they said [why they banned it] was that the song was contributing in the transmission and increase of AIDS prevalence."[184] Stara was unequivocally averse to the allegation. She reasoned that it was impossible under the sort of the creative process that the production of the song went through for such a thing to happen.

As Stara has it, the process was so collective and involving that it would be impossible for the musicians to allow such controversial issues to happen. She added saying that everything that was involved in the production process was subject to rigorous scrutiny.

> We knew the things that were mentioned in the song. We sung them when we were very much at our best sense, and we saw them from the beginning. We interrogated them. That is, if there were to be issues that we thought would trigger controversy in society we wouldn't have sung the song. But the real problem of the song was that "it was shaming the adults" because it attacked [what she called] *"mambo yao machafu"* [dirty things].[185]

Stara states that the song was effective in attacking such people since it was so ubiquitously presented that it was difficult for one to run away from hearing it.

> "This is because, if one goes to the clubs, she/he will hear it being played. It was played on the radio. It was played on the television in the house. Everywhere the song was playing. So, you find that when an old man is somewhere planning to do

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[184] *"Lakini kikubwa walichosema ni kwamba eti wimbo ulikuwa unachangia kwa kiasi kikubwa kuambukiza na kuongezeka kwa Ukimwi."*

[185] *..kwa sababu vitu vilivyotajwa mule ndani na sisi tulivyoviimba kama wasanii tulikuwa tunaupeo na tuliviona kuanzia mwanzo na tulivikagua kwa maana kwamba kama tungeona kuna hitilafu yeyote ya kuweza kusababisha kuongezeka kwa Ukimwi sisi watu wakachukulia tofauti sisi tusingeimba.*

some thing [dirty], the song was sort of jeering at him/her. That is what people said!"[186]

Stara complained that she still did not see any problem with the song. "I have the CD, and until today I don't see any problem with it." She questioned the double standard of the government banning the song while at the same time allowing TV programs that feature advertisements that promote condom use. Some of these programs are explicitly more suggestive than *Usione Soo*. Finally, she opined that the government's move to ban *Usione Soo* had tremendously shipwrecked young artists' commitment to the battle against the pandemic. Stara lamented that "since those who did it have power, we have nothing to do about it."

In conclusion, in this chapter I have attempted to outline the major challenges that to a greater degree affect the production of music with an emphasis on health and HIV/AIDS. I have shown that the intersection of the state's power, through its agencies, and religious ideology play a significant role in influencing the creative process of musical performance. They can do this either by trying to control its meaning or by prohibiting the presentation of it. However, I argue that despite the seemingly controversial knowledge the two musical pieces mentioned here are said to contain, significant change has taken place regarding people's perception about ways of combating the pandemic. This is evident in the ways in which public discourse of sexuality forms part of various media. These include theater performance, TV and radio serial drama, TV spots, and other public avenues where health education is offered. As

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[186] *Kwa sababu kwenye mabaa ulikuwa unalia, kwenye radio ulikuwa unalia. Kwenye TV nyumbani ulikuwa unalia. Kila mahali ulikuwa unalia. Kwa hiyo unakuta mzee akiwa amekaa mahali anataka kufanya kitu ule wimbo ulikuwa kidogo kama unamsuta. Hicho ndicho walichokizungumzia watu wengi.*

has been stated elsewhere, cultural practices are social actions that create new connections among already existing threads within a cultural web, transforming not only the shape of the web but the direction, meaning, and value of the threads (Shank 1994: xi-xii). In other words, power does not consist in the macro-structure alone. Rather, it is diffused, localized, and dispersed. It operates at a micro, local, and covert level through sets of specific practices (Turner 1997: xi-xii). As Foucault argues, "power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere" (1990: 93).

I have also attempted to illustrate how this process entails the production of multiple, often dissonant and antagonistic interpretations among individuals. Following the lead of other scholars mentioned above, I have argued that multiple interpretations result from various factors, including interpreters' positions, the polyvalent nature of music itself, and context. We have also seen how, because of this multilayeredness, the state, through it agencies, has attempted to control the meaning at all cost (Turino 1990; Buchannan 1995; Rice 2001). Finally, it should be noted that this narrative is not simply about the display of the interface of power relations between cultural practices on the one hand, and the state, religion, and health education on the other. Instead, it is the demystification of the often veiled reality about how power from below, in this context music, can engender change in society, albeit gradually and covertly. Herzfeld asks, "why do people continually reify the state?" He responds, "behind every such invocation lurk the desires and designs of real people" (1997: 5). This has been attested to by those who voiced their concerns in this chapter.

Conclusion

This dissertation has explored the intersection between music, gender, religion, and state agencies in the war against HIV/AIDS in Tanzania. By focusing on musical and dramatic performance groups in Bukoba Urban District and Bukoba Rural District in Kagera Region, and Dar es Salaam Region, I explored how music, gender and sexuality, religion, and state agencies impact one another in the production of knowledge about HIV/AIDS. My study was provoked by five major questions: how are socially-constructed gender ideologies and gender relations reflected, upheld, and negotiated in musical and dramatic performances on HIV/AIDS? In what ways are multiple identities such as gendered and spiritual identities constructed and performed in expressive culture about HIV/AIDS? What relationships are forged between music, state agencies, religion, and non-profit organizations in addressing the pandemic, and why? How do these relationships affect the creative process? Finally, what kinds of meanings are constructed through and about musical and dramatic performances about HIV/AIDS?

The study of music, gender, identity, power, and HIV/AIDS within the Tanzanian context provides a number of lessons for ethnomusicology, women's and gender studies, ethnography, and anthropology. I have argued in this study that musical performances about HIV/AIDS not only serve as space for generating knowledge about the pandemic, but they also serve as avenues to demonstrate how gender and spiritual identities as well as power relations between various social actors are negotiated. I have also demonstrated that performances serve to propose a transformation of social reality.

I have approached the question of gender construction and gendered identities from the viewpoint of performativity. That is, gender identities are shaped through sustained social performances and are fluid rather than fixed cultural signifiers. My study has revealed significant variation with regard to the performance of gendered identities in the performances. I have used the case of Abaragomora and KAKAU to show that, through dance patterns, bodily movements, and gendered roles and dress, some performance groups uphold the established gendered order while others challenge and deconstruct the same within the context of a musical performance. The dance patterns in which women performers of KAKAU execute movements involving high jumps, which traditionally are the privilege of the male dancers, demonstrate the subversion of the expected social norms in which women are supposed to execute restrained dancing patterns. This demonstrates that gender identities are negotiable, and that there is a vast discrepancy between stated gender ideology and gender practices.

Furthermore, I have shown that spiritual events organized around HIV/AIDS serve as spaces for achieving two purposes: first, to display multiple identities such as gender and spirituality, and second, to achieve multiple socioeconomic needs at individual and institutional level. Focusing on Lutheran Church choir competitions I have demonstrated that contrary to the popular view that choir conducting is a male domain, masculinity is not a given. Rather, it is performative and contestable as men and women make sense and negotiate constructed ideals of manhood. This was the case when one female singer took the role of a choir conductor in the midst of male-dominated conductors. On another level, through competing discourses of "morality" on the one hand, and "rupture" and "anesthesia" on the other, I have shown that various Christian

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denominations differ as to the influence spiritual identities have not only on congregations' attitude to and the perception about HIV/AIDS, but also on the creative process of musical performances about the pandemic.

My dissertation has also demonstrated that although the church's ideological position on the war against HIV/AIDS (on the promotion of condom use, for instance) at times clashes with interventions designed by other institutions, the church's efforts in organizing other HIV/AIDS-related interventions are laudable. This can be seen especially through the use of musical performances and other media in production of knowledge about the pandemic, and other various interventions such as supporting orphans, and people living with HIV/AIDS.

With regard to the question why artistic groups become NGOs, the dissertation has revealed that performance groups, as much as other social groups in society do, aspire to acquire a non-profit status in order to serve the community. But most importantly, it has been revealed that acquiring such a status assures the performance groups of reliable access to internal and external resources to enable them coordinate the process of knowledge production about HIV/AIDS as well as other social concerns. I have demonstrated that during this process the performance groups with an NGO status become involved in knowledge networks in which mutual sharing of resources takes place. I have also illustrated that although the non-profit sector is considered to be efficient, its overdependence on donor support and institutional isomorphic pressure constrain performances in various ways. That is, more often than not, local recipient-NGOs are compelled to receiving and adhering to agenda and mandates from the donor agency. Such a constraining condition, in turn, profoundly impacts the creative process.

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However, the dissertation has shown a certain degree of variation with regard to the question of who determines the agenda in the creative process. Although at times performance groups enjoy certain latitude in determining the agenda and shape of the creative process, it is mainly the development partners and or institutions with which performance groups affiliate, that decide what agenda should be followed and disseminated. We have seen, for example, groups that have an affiliation with or operate under the direct leadership of the church are obligated to observe the ideological position of the pertinent church. This is further reflected even in the type of knowledge embodied in the performances. We have also seen that financial dependence on partner organizations sometimes impedes the process of knowledge production through expressive culture when funding is not disbursed in a timely fashion. This was the case during my field work when the worldwide economic crisis impacted various socioeconomic activities, including HIV/AIDS campaigns through the arts. I have also demonstrated that in addition to linkage with international nonprofit interventionist programs, the performance groups involved in HIV/AIDS interventions are also involved in the multiple trans-local and global connections characterized by fluid webs of relationships that aim at mutual sharing of resources and different forms of knowledge pertinent to health promotion. However, I have shown that such knowledge is at times antithetical to other types of knowledge. The forms of knowledge involved in this web include, but are not limited to, biomedical information, religious, and indigenous or localized conception and comprehension of various issues, including health, myths, stories, sexuality and performance.

Performances, as I have demonstrated through the voices of performers themselves, have also operated as a means of dismantling the asymmetrical sharing of information caused by neoliberalism. As I have shown, neo-liberalism is characterized by a distinctive range of contradictions of inclusion and exclusion. We have seen that inclusion and exclusion imply the tendency of concentrating in the hands of the privileged few the necessary means of participating in global interconnections. In the context of this study this means that the participation of the underprivileged many in the production and sharing of biomedical knowledge about HIV/AIDS is constrained. However, through the use of performance my study has demonstrated that performance groups bridge this gap by aligning private spaces with the public spaces to collectively produce knowledge. By private spaces I meant closed physical areas such as conference rooms, training workshops, and rehearsal halls where a few privileged individuals participate in the production of knowledge. By public spaces, on the other hand I implied streets, market places, play grounds, and any available spaces where, through public performance and discussion, people from diverse background can meet to produce knowledge collectively.

On another level, through the voices of various research associates, the study has demonstrated that the affective power of performance consists in the way it encourages openness in the discussion of the pandemic, and participation in voluntary HIV testing. The study has also shown that performance both enhances memory capacity, and operates as an effective medium of communicating knowledge about HIV/AIDS.

Through this study, I have also highlighted how the intersection of the state and religious ideology affect the creative process of musical performance by either attempting

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to control its meanings or by preventing its production. However, the study has revealed that such attempts are not always successful. In this regard I echoed the assertion stated by many scholars that power does not necessarily reside in the macro-structure alone, but resides and operates from everywhere. Similarly, I have also illustrated that musical meanings are problematic because this process involves the production of multiple interpretations. At times these competing interpretations may result in dissonance and antagonism among the interpreters. As the study has revealed, various factors such as interpreters' positions, the polyvalent nature of music itself, and context, are at the core of multiple interpretations of a musical work.

In this study I attempted to align myself with the view that writing culture is a collaborative enterprise between the researcher and research associates, that is, the people with whom I worked in the field. To accomplish this task I have brought the views of my associates whose culture was under study into dialogue with my own views.

It should be noted that this study on music, gender, identities, power, and HIV/AIDS in Tanzania is not exhaustive. It has only scratched the surface of much broader issues. It is my belief that the examples given here on the issues addressed in this study will both contribute to the general knowledge of the respective areas as well as stimulate further research. One possible area for future research might be the music of young people such as *bongo flava*. An interrogation of how young people make sense of HIV/AIDS in Tanzania through *bongo flava* music would be instructive and timely. During my field work I collected a variety of *bongo flava* music, some of which are mentioned and lightly touched upon in this study that addresses the HIV/AIDS pandemic from various angles.

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Appendix One: Otakugwa Mu'nyanja/Don't Fall Into the Lake

(Song and English Translation by KAKAU BAND)

Munywanyi wang'olamanya otakugwa munyanja x2
Eijwir'enshambi namayengo nigakara.
Dear Friend, avoid falling into this lake
It is full of crocodiles and heavy storms

1. a) Balebe ensi niyegi, endwara zijwire,
   Abantu bangi birebi, SILIMU nibatina,
   (Iwe kiki munywanyi wange kuguma otahulire) x2
   Look around and see how the world is full of diseases
   Many people are now so afraid of this disease, why can't you listen.
   You move around with different partners risking your life.

   b) Norukgoku nogyoku, endwara nohiga,
   Nangu ondijo yarwaire, endwara nagibika,
   (Mutima gubi munywanyi wange lekera tigukujune) x2
   In some cases others are already infected but deliberately infect others.
   That is not proper, please stop it!

2. a) Buli kanya nituzika, byemba ebyo bya bulikiro
   Obunaku n'endwara, bulikanya nitutaka,
   Majune gasha munywanyi wange, kiki iwe kwongeraho) x2
   Burying our loved ones is becoming very common,
   are always bemoaning the severity of poverty and diseases
   Why should you add to the suffering we are going through?

   b) Abarwaire twina bangi, abokukajanjaba munywanyi,
   Abandi nagu omuli abo, mbanurwa abalabajuna,
   (Leka leka munywanyi wange ,amashasi twina gangi) x2
   We have a lot of sick people to look after and many have no proper care.
   Please stop adding to our sorrows.

3. a) Ija balebe entabwa n'entumbwa nizikanya,
   Eshubi yeiyanga, eminyeto nenda,
   (Eki kiki munywanyi wange ansi nka yawaho) x2
   Look around and see the increasing number of orphans and widows.
   The youths who are the future of our country are perishing
   Are you really aware of the situation? The world is at stake

   b) Abagurusi nibabo, entabwa nibazilera,
   Nabakaikuru nibabo, omumaizi nibagenda
   (leka ntabachuza kabili, chonka nigo mazima) x2
   Grandfathers are now taking care of the orphans,
   and grandmothers are going to wells to fetch water,
   This is the situation, but it is too much for the elderly.

4. a) Abatwazi beiynaga n'edini nibagamba,
   Bazaire bahanire, buli kanya nobaliza
   (Waba kiyo-bino tolikwenda kwaganika) x
   Political and religious leaders persistently talk about the situation.
   Parents are always talking to you about the situation,

But still you turn a deaf ear, you don't listen.

b)   Ngona ekagenda yonka ….ebiodni nobimanya,
Kandi enjubu eragire ….nagwo mugani nogumanya,
(Leka leka munywanyi wange kundiro omuiro) x2
Many people perish if they don't listen to the elderly,
Dear friends open your eyes and ears, avoid AIDS.

5. a).   Ninkagua abanyansi, norukuri nimtera,
Tweme amoi ichwena amarwara tugabinge,
(Entumbwa nentabwa tutzebwa kaziro) x2
I call upon God from all races,
let us unite and fight against this disease.
Always remember the orphans and widows whoa re suffering.

a)   Tukebuke nabarwaire, tubatore tubagonze,
Omukisha nengonzi, tubajanjabe banywanyi,
Leka tutabanuga baba, kubongera amashasi) x2
Let us also look after the already infected,
With deep love and respect we should take care of them
We should not segregate them otherwise we will increase their suffering.

Appendix Two: Omwana wa Mwiru/ Mtoto wa Mjakazi/ Son of the Servant

(Song and Swahili Translation from Luhaya by KAKAU BAND: English translation by author)

Chorus 1:
Mtoto wa mjakazi kaleta aibu kwenye familia
The son of the servant has brought shame to the [royal] family
Kampa mimba binti Mfalme
He has impregnated the King's daughter
Alaaniwe na Auawe
Curse to him and let him be hanged

Verse 1: Lead Singer:
Ninalia na kuomboleza, Lililonisibu ni UKIMWI
I weep, I mourn, what has befallen me is AIDS
limetokana na uhuni, na kutojipenda
It results from immorality, not taking care of myself
Sasa nimeugua Nateseka
Now I am sick, I am suffering

Ona nilivyokonda na nguvu sina
Look at me, I am thin, no energy
Mate yananitoka na mgongo unaniuma
Saliva dripping, back ache
Kichwa kinaniuma na siwezi kula
I have head ache, I can't even eat
Ugonjwa unaniteketeza
The disease is killing me
Mtoto wa mjakazi ni kukosa usikivu
The son of the servant means stubbornness
Nimevutwa na ya dunia kwa kujifurahisha mwili
I am attracted to the worldly things, to please my body
Nimeziba macho na masikio
I have sealed my eyes and ears
Sasa UKIMWI umenilainisha
AIDS has softened me

[Chorus 1 Repeated]

Verse 2: Lead singer
Nasikitika kuwa naondoka
I regret that I am leaving now [*I am perishing*]
Nalilia familia yangu, mali zangu na mengine
I weep for my family, property and others things

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Nawalilia wazazi, ndugu na marafiki
I weep for my parents, siblings and friends
Jihadharini ugonjwa muudhibiti
Beware of AIDS, take control of the disease
Nawasihi sana ndugu zangu
I strongly beseech my folks
Maumivu ninayoyapata hayaelezeki
The pains I am going through are unexplainable
Sababu, adhabu ya kaburi aijuae maiti
Because it is the dead who knows the punishment/agonies of the grave
Ogopeni, moto umeshawaka
Take care, the fire is on
Muogopeni mtoto wa mjakazi
Watch out the son of the servant
Fuateni maadili ya Mungu
Obey God's teachings
Msipende ya ulimwengu mkamsahau Mungu
Do not love worldly things and forget God
Angalieni ninavyoteseka, UKIMWI umenimaliza
Look at the way I am suffering, AIDS has ruined me

[Chorus 2 Repeated]

Verse 3: Lead singer:
Dawa si nyingine sikilizeni, fuateni maadili ya Mungu
Listen, there is no other remedy, Obey God's teachings

Tiini amri zake kikamilifu
Obey His commandments carefully
Dawa ndio hiyo vinginevyo tutakwisha
That is the only remedy/medicine
Hakika kondomu siyo dawa, mjihadhari na tamaa za kimwili
Certainly condom is not medicine/remedy, watch out, stay away from licentiousness
Muache uhuni tena mjipende, msife kabla ya wakati
Stay away from immorality; take care of yourself, lest you die prematurely
Ninatubu mbele ya Mungu,
I confess before God
Mungu nisamehe na hata wenzangu
God forgive me and my friends
Ili wajirudi tukupende daima
So that they may change, that we may love you for ever
Hali inatisha sana
The situation is terrible now

Chorus 2:
Lead singer: Matokeo ya haya yote ndugu zangu

	The end results my folks [*are*]
Lead singer:	Mashamba yanaharibika
	Farms are perishing
All:	Umaskini unaongezeka
	Poverty is spreading
Lead singer:	Matokeo ya haya yote ndugu zangu
	The end results my folks [*are*]
All:	mashamba yanaharibika
	Farms are perishing
Male Singer:	Maendeleo yanarudi nyuma
	The development is retarded
Female Singer:	Angalia watoto yatima
	Look at orphans
All:	Kila siku wanaongezeka, nani atawatunza?
	Who will take care of them?
Female lead singer:	Tuuogope na tujihadhari na gonjwa hili
	Watch out AIDS, Let's us take care of ourselves

Chorus 3:

All:	Bembeleza mtoto analia bembeleza (yatima na wajane)
	Soothe the baby, he/she is crying (*orphans and widows*)
Male Lead singer:	Wazazi wangu
	My parents
All:	Bembeleza mtoto analia bembeleza (yatima na wajane)
	Soothe the baby, he/she is crying (*orphans and widows*)
Male Lead singer:	Ndugu zangu
	My folks
All:	Bembeleza mtoto analia bembeleza (yatima na wajane)
	Soothe the baby, he/she is crying (*orphans and widows*)
Male Lead singer:	Padre Daudi Kamugisha
	Padre Daudi Kamugisha
All:	Bembeleza mtoto analia bembeleza (yatima na wajane)
	Soothe the baby, he/she is crying (*orphans and widows*)
Male Lead singer:	Wana-KAKAU wote
	All Kakau members
All:	Bembeleza mtoto analia bembeleza (yatima na wajane)
	Soothe the baby, he/she is crying (*orphans and widows*)
Male Lead singer:	Wana-kolping wote
	All members of the Kolping family
All:	Bembeleza mtoto analia bembeleza (yatima na wajane)
	Soothe the baby, he/she is crying (*orphans and widows*)
Male Lead singer:	Uhuru mzima
	Freedom, life
All:	Bembeleza mtoto analia bembeleza (yatima na wajane)
	Soothe the baby, he/she is crying (orphans and widows)
Male Lead singer:	Jamii mzima

	The entire community
All:	Bembeleza mtoto analia bembeleza (yatima na wajane)
	Soothe the baby, he/she is crying (orphans and widows)
Male Lead singer:	Wana ukoo
	All clansmen
All:	Bembeleza mtoto analia bembeleza (yatima na wajane)
	Soothe the baby, he/she is crying (orphans and widows)
Male Lead singer:	Viongozi wote
	All leaders
All:	Bembeleza mtoto analia bembeleza (yatima na wajane)
	Soothe the baby, he/she is crying (orphans and widows)
Male Lead singer:	Watu wote
	All the people
All:	Bembeleza mtoto analia bembeleza (yatima na wajane)
	Soothe the baby, he/she is crying (orphans and widows)

Appendix Three: Ensi Egi Olagimanya/Beware of This World

(Song and English translation by KAKAU Band)

1. Huliliza; huliliza; huliliza munywanyi wange
   Huliliza; huliliza; huliliza ngambe,
   Huliliza; huliliza; huliliza nkutatireo iwe
   Huliliza; huliliza; huliliza nkwibireo iwe.

   Listen, listen listen dear friend
   Listen, listen, listen to what I say,
   Listen listen so that I caution you
   Listen, listen, listen that I tell you something important.

2. Ens'egi olagimanya, yakukuletera orushengo
   Ens'egi olagimanya, yakukuzalira amino
   Ens'egi olagimanya, yakukwitir'eibara lyawe,
   Ens'egi olagimanya, yakukwitir'eikora lyawe,
   Ens'egi olagimanya, yakukwitr'edin yawe
   Ens'egi olagimanya, yakukusoroz'omubyomuzano

   Beware of this world, it can bring you problems
   Beware of this world, it can destroy your reputation
   Beware of this world, it can destroy your name,
   Beware of this world, it can destroy your good work
   Beware of this world, it can destroy your religious beliefs
   Beware of this world, it can destroy you in simple things

3. Orore noleba iwe, otaij'okeita busha
   Orore noleba iwe, otaij'okesibika
   Orore noleba iwe, otaij'okeshonesha
   Orore noleba iwe, otaij'okegaisa,
   Orore noleba iwe, otaij'okelibisa
   Orore noleba iwe, otaij'okenanura.

   Live a life with purpose, don't kill yourself
   Live a life with purpose, don't hang yourself
   Live a life with purpose, don't get despised
   Live a life with purpose, don't bring shame on yourself,
   Live a life with purpose, don't underrate yourself
   Live a life with purpose, don't give up in life

4. Tibulikantu kukekwata, Okebw'ekyowatondeirwe,
   Tibulikantu kukejunisa, Okebw'ekyowatondeirwe,
   Tibulikantu kushambagiza, Okebw'ekyowatondeirwe,
   Tibulikantu kukaitanila, Okebw'ekyowatondeirwe,
   Tibulikantu kukairukila, Okebw'ekyowatondeirwe,
   Kukairukila kalikugasha, Okebw'ekyowatondeirwe,
   Tibulikantu kukegomba, Okebw'ekyowatondeirwe,
   Tibulikantu kalikunura, Okebw'ekyowatondeirwe,
   Tibulikantu kukeshagula, Okebw'ekyowatondeirwe,
   Tibulikantu kushamalira, Okebw'ekyowatondeirwe.

   Don't be attached to everything, and then forget God's intention to create you,
   Don't praise everything you see, and then forget God's intention to create you,
   Don't fight for everything you see, and then forget God's intention to crate you,
   Don't regard highly everything you see, and then forget God's intention to create you
   Don't run for everything you see, and then forget God's intention to create you
   Not everything you see is important, and then forget God's intention to create you
   Not everything sweet is important, and then forget God's intention to create you
   Don't put everything to you, and then forget God's intention to create you
   Don't look out for everything, and then forget God's intention to create you
   And then forget God's intention to create you.

5. Oyelinde munywanyi wange, Oyelinde amairu,
   Oyelinde kujanguka iwe, Oyelinde kugoka,
   Oyelinde kusindikana iwe, oyelinde ebyakajaga,
   Oyelinde bitaina mugasho, oyelinde ebyabubili
   Oyelinde kufakara iwe, oelinde obusiani,
   Oyelinde Kusororaiwe, Oyelinde ebyabubili,
   Oyelinde ebyomuzano, oyelinde amino,
   Oyelinde kuchankalana iwe, Oyelinde kujamarara

   Beware friends, beware of greediness,
   Beware of being ashamed, beware of that shame
   Beware of fighting for everything, avoid lousy things
   Avoid unimportant things, avoid careless sexual relationship,
   Avoid sinning, avoid adultery
   Avoid destroying yourself, avoid sexual drives,
   Avoid being careless, avoid being despised.

6. Otambuk'ebindi yekenge, Otambuke nkembararuju,
   Otambak'ebindi yebalire, Otambuke nkembararuju
   Otambk'ebindi notina, Otmabuke nkembararuju,
   Otambuk'ebindi nobinga, Ottambuke nkembararuju.

Please *walk, but walk carefully – walk just like a chameleon,*
Please walk but walk with limitations – walk just like a chameleon,
Please walk but walk with caution - walk just like a chameleon,
Please walk but walk with self denial - walk just like a chameleon,

Appendix Four: Naita/I Call

(Song by KAKAU Band: English translation from Swahili by author)

Verse 1
Wananchi nauliza eee mimi sipati majibu
All the people, I am asking, but I don't get answers
Watu wote nauliza eee mimi sipati majibu
My folks, I am asking, but In don't get answers
Naita nani nani eeee sipati wa kunijibu x2
I call, but there is no one to give me answers

Nimekuwa kama yatima ee asokuwa na mlezi
I *am like an orphan, with no guardian*
Kama usiku wa giza wee usiokuwa na mwangaza
Like a dark night with no light
Nakosa pa kupapasa miye giza miye lanisonga miye
I *can't even find my way, I am surrounded with darkness*
Mawimbi yamenizidia Jamani nisaidieni
Waves are overwhelming me, folks help me

Chorus:
Lead Singer: Ndugu zangu tufanye nini?
               My folks what can we do?
All: Tufungue mioyo yetu
               Let's open our hearts
               Masikio yawe wazi macho yetu yatazame
               Let our ears open, and our eyes see
               Twaelekea kuzama
               We are going to sink
               Tufungue mioyo yetu wee masikio yawe wazi
               Let's open our hearts
               Macho yetu yatazame, tuvuke kwa usalama

Verse 2:
Tahadharini wazazi ee maadili yameisha
Parents take heed there is moral decay [in society]
Tumesahau jukumu letu, hii hali ya hatari
We have forgotten our responsibility, this is dangerous
Twaelekea kukwepa njia, twaanza kuingia vichakani
We are heading into evading the [right] way and pass through the bushes
Akili zetu zimefungwa ee, jamani masikitiko
Our mind is blind, it is a pity
Twajidhania twaona vyema kumbe sote tu vipofu ee
We think we can see well while all of us are blind
Twajifanya kusikia vyema kumbe wote ni viziwi

We pretend we can hear without difficulty, while all of us are deaf
Wazazi tengenezeni njia kwa watoto mnaojadiliwa,
Parents make the way for your children whom you are blessed with
Muwapeni maadili mema na mila zilizo njema
Give them good morals and traditions

[Chorus repeated]

Verse 3
Watu wote muliopo hapa hakika munapendeza,
All the people present here you are truly beautiful
Miili yenu inameremeta, nasi tunawapongeza x2
Your bodies are shining, and we congratulate you
Mjue safari ya maisha ina pilipili na asali
You have to know that life has got both pepper and honey
Msipokuwa makini mtayakabili vipi
How can you face it if you are not careful
Mtalamba pilipili msipokuwa na maadili
You will end up licking pepper if you don't abide by the [social] morals/teachings
Mema mkayakinga migongo
You turn your back to good morals
Ukimwi jama hauna dogo, utawala kama moto
Folks, AIDS is not a joke, like fire it will wipe you out
Tunzeni heshima yenu ndani na mbele za watu
Respect yourselves in privacy and even in the presence of other people
Kila mtu akiwaona aburudike moyoni x2
So that when people see you may admire you

[Chorus 1 Repeated]

Verse 4
Zinaa imeshamiri ee katika jamii yetu
Immorality is rampant in our society
Imeota na mizizi hadi sasa inatisha x2
It has so taken root that it is disgusting
Watu wengi wanakufa kwa upofu ulotawala
Many people are dying because of [moral] blindness
Vijana wengi wametutoka siyo siri ni majonzi x2
Many youth have died, it is not a secret, it is full of grief
Ulevi wa kupita kiasi na madawa ya kulevya,
Because of drunkenness and drug substance
watu wengi wanaharibika na kupata matatizo
Many people are perishing and having problems
Na ninyi viongozi mbalimbali wa kidini na serikali
And you religious and government leaders
Hima elimisheni jamii kwa ukweli na uwazi

Wake up! Educate the society with truth and openness

[Chorus 1 Repeated]

Chorus 2
Inatupasa kujali sana,
We are obliged to take care of our self,
kilio sote
It is our mourning
Twapaswa kujali sana
We are supposed to watch out
Kilio sote
It is our mourning
Twapaswa kujali sana
We are supposed to watch out

Na tuzipime afya zetu
Let's go and check our health
kilio sote
It is our mourning kilio sote
It is our mourning
Twapaswa kujali sana
We are supposed to watch out
Kilio sote
It is our mourning
Twapaswa kujali sana
We are supposed to watch out

Waathirika tuwajali
Let's take care of people living with AIDS
kilio sote
It is our mourning
Twapaswa kujali sana
We are supposed to watch out
Kilio sote
It is our mourning
Twapaswa kujali sana
We are supposed to watch out

Nao yatima tuwatunze
Let's take care of orphans
kilio sote
It is our mourning
Twapaswa kujali sana
We are supposed to watch out
Kilio sote

It is our mourning
Twapaswa kujali sana
We are supposed to watch out

Chorus 3
Wito, wito, wito tunatoa kwa watu wote
We give out a cry to all the people
Tutunzeni maadili tuokoe maisha yetu
Let's pay heed to the good morals
Tuweke msimamo katika familia zetu
Let's have a firm decision in our families

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