MUZIKI WA INJILI:

THE TEMPORAL AND SPATIAL AESTHETICS OF POPULAR CHURCH MUSIC IN DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA (1980s – 2005)

By

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DECLARATION

I **Iman Sanga** declare that "*Muziki wa Injili*: The Temporal and Spatial Aesthetics of Popular

Church Music in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania (1980s–2005)" is my own original work and that

has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other University.

Name: **Iman Sanga**

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Date: *17 February 2006*

I have approved the submission of this work.

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ABSTRACT

This study is concerned with popular church music in Dar es Salaam and with changes in this music in relation to the concepts of temporality and spatiality. In part one, I argue that temporal change is experienced by human beings in relation to events or "stamps". Using selected stamps in the history of Tanzania from the 1980s to 2005, I discuss, on the one hand, how temporal events shaped various aspects of the music and people's experiences of the music and, on the other hand, how the music influenced people's experiences of various events and temporal rhythms. Various processes in the making of popular church music and various people involved in the creation of this music are considered to serve as stamps that mark the metamorphosis of the music. Likewise, the structural organization of the music and various musical elements imprint musical works and give them their identities thus causing them to be associated with other works that are organized in more or less similar ways.

In part two, I use the theory of spatial trialectics to examine how popular church music is related to religious, national and gendered spaces. First, I discuss how the use of this music in religious spaces and the changes that have taken place in aspects of the music have been controversial, and I argue that the changes in the music led to changes in people's inner experiences of Christian spirituality. Second, I point out that the practice of African nationalism in this music has been aiming at liberating the national mental space through the use of traditional music materials and by addressing various national issues. The dynamics in this space involve the interaction between local and global music aesthetics. Third, I discuss the prominence of women musicians in popular church music in recent years and the way in which this prominence has increased the focus on women's issues in the music. A close reading of selected songs reveals that individuals' experiences of gender problems are shaped by gendered mental space, which is informed by religious and other cultural norms.

DEDICATION

Kwa watoto wote, sauti nzuri za leo na kesho.

iv

TABLE OF CONTENTS

A NOTE ON PHOTOGRAPHS

Some photographs were taken by the author. Others were taken by Dr. Aldin Mutembei and Mr. Godfrey Lebejo Mngereza (on request by the author). When the later is the case, the name of the photographer appears in the caption of a respective photograph.

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1
CONCEPTUAL, THEORETICAL
AND METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

1.1   BACKGROUND

Popular church music is one of the newer musical genres in Tanzania. It has grown

out of the church music traditions that have developed since the late nineteenth

century. In these traditions the choirs sang western church hymns that were translated

into local languages. Later, from the1960s on, some traditional Tanzanian tunes to

which Christian religious words were set were added into the repertoire of some

choirs. During this time, most of the choirs sang without accompaniment. A few used

the harmonium or traditional instruments such as *kayamba* (shakers) and drums

(Weman 1960, Mbunga 1963, Gunderson 1991 and Barz 1997 and 2003). Popular

church music started to become a distinctive genre in the late 1960s and 1970s by

employing body movements, by incorporating improvisation and by featuring the use

of electric guitars and keyboards, all of which were uncommon in the mainstream

church music traditions. In recent years the music sometimes has been referred to as

Muziki wa Injili (lit. Gospel Music). In the last two decades, with recent developments

in recording, including the advent of cheap cassette doubling technology and growing

broadcasting opportunities in TV and radio stations (some of which are owned by

church organizations), popular church music has grown rapidly in popularity and use

(Barz 2003 and Sanga 2001).

This study is concerned with popular church music in Dar es Salaam, with the changes that took place during the last 25 years and with various forces related to the changes in this musical genre. Four main research questions guided my investigation: First, what are the specific changes that took place in popular church music in Dar es Salaam between the 1980s and 2005? Second, what has been the role of various actors in this process of musical change? Third, in what ways and to what extent is the process of musical change linked to economic, political and social-cultural changes in the country? Fourth, what are the dynamics involved in the process?

1.2   CONCEPTUALIZING POPULAR CHURCH MUSIC

Let me begin with the problem of defining popular music. Popular music is usually considered to be the music of the people, not of the elite, appealing to as wide a spectrum of people as possible (Barz 1997: 268, Willoughby 1999: 113 and Manuel 1988: 1). This basic definition has been used to differentiate popular music from art music. However, this definition seems to be inappropriate in many African societies where traditional music performances still play a central role. An African music scholar, Akin Euba clearly describes the nature of this problem.

> The term "popular music" is problematic when applied to Africa where in traditional cultures, all music is "popular" in that it always attracts a sizable audience. This includes such difficult musical genres as *pipe orisa* or "calling the divinities", which consist of poetry in praise of Yoruba gods (Euba 1999: 69).

Secondly it has also been pointed out that another distinguishing feature of popular music is its dependence on recording technology and mass media such as radio and television (Willoughby 1999). As Peter Manuel writes:

> It should be clear that the most important distinguishing feature of popular music is its close relationship with the mass media. Popular music, as we are employing the term, arose hand-in-hand with the media, is disseminated

3

primarily through them, and is embedded in a music industry based on marketing of recordings on a mass commodity basis (Manuel 1988: 4).

Richard Middleton gives two reasons as to why this definition is unsatisfactory. He writes:

> The development of methods of mass diffusion (first printed, then electromechanical and electronic) has affected *all* forms of music, and any of them can be treated as a commodity; if a widely distributed recording of a Tchaikovsky symphony turns the piece into "popular music", then the definition is, to say the least, unhelpful. At the same time, *all* forms of music of what would usually be considered popular music can in principle be disseminated by face-to-face methods (for instance, in concerts) rather than the mass media, and can be available free, or even structured as collective participation, rather sold as a commodity; it is hard to believe that a few friends, jamming on "Born in the USA" at a party, are not producing "popular music" (1990: 4–5, emphasis original).

Taking church choir music in Tanzania, for example, in recent years both types of choirs, that is, choirs that perform art church music and those which perform popular church music, have been engaging themselves in recording and releasing a series of albums. In fact, it is quite possible in some cases to find an art church choir having more albums than some popular church choirs. Likewise, radio and television stations have been broadcasting both genres of music at a more or less equal rate. Of course this could vary from one radio station to another depending on the church denomination that owned the radio station. As I will show in the next chapter, for example, while more art church music featured in Upendo FM and Radio Tumaini (owned by the Lutheran Church and Roman Catholic Church respectively), more popular church music featured in Wapo Radio and Praise Power Radio (both owned by Assemblies of God denominations). Partly this is because there were more art church choirs in Roman Catholic and Lutheran denominations than in Assemblies of God denominations. Therefore what is questionable is the claim that the involvement with mass media qualifies the music of the particular group into popular church music.

Middleton does not deny the fact that in most cases popular music depends on recording technology or dissemination through mass media. He criticises the claim that the recording and mass media dissemination is a criterion for a piece of music to be popular music. To augment Middleton's argument one could say: even if we grant that all popular music is recorded and disseminated through mass media and even if we grant that other types of music are denied these opportunities (which is not the case, of course), the point could be made that these technologies and mass media are involved with music that already qualifies as popular music. That is to say, there are criteria which qualify a piece of music as popular music other than these. This is a reason why a similar engagement with the recording technology and mass media would not turn Mozart's *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik* and Beethoven's ninth symphony, for example, into popular music pieces.

In addition to the above criticism, Middleton also rejects the notion that popular music is characterised by simplicity or being unserious as opposed to the complexity or seriousness of art music. His argument is shared by both Kofi Agawu 2003b and Simon Frith 1992. Similarly, Adam Krims points out that this notion about popular music (which has a long history in music scholarship) has resulted in a "failure of music theorists and historians to engage seriously with 'unserious' music…" (2003: 181). For Middleton, the opposition of simplicity and complexity is an unhelpful as a criterion for defining popular music since there are some popular music pieces which are more complex than some art music pieces and that are not confused with art music. In Middleton's words:

> "Art" music, for example, is generally regarded as by nature complex, difficult, demanding; "popular" music then has to be defined as "simple", "accessible",

5

"facile". But many pieces commonly thought of as "art" (Handel's "Hallelujah Chorus", many Schubert songs, many Verdi arias) have qualities of simplicity; conversely, it is by no means obvious that the Sex Pistols' records were "accessible", Frank Zappa's work "simple" or Billie Holiday's "facile" (1990: 4)

Although Theodor Adorno does not distinguish popular music from what he calls serious music by the simplicity/complexity opposition (which he finds to be an irrelevant criterion), he holds a view that popular music is characterized by standardization. In his article, "On popular music" (1998) which was first published in 1941 Adorno writes:

> Popular music...is usually characterized by its difference from serious music.... *A clear judgement* concerning the relation of serious music to popular music can be arrived at only by strict attention to *the fundamental characteristic of popular music: standardization*. The whole structure of popular music is standardized, even where the attempt is made to circumvent standardization. Standardization extends from the most general features to the most specific ones. Best known is the rule that the chorus consists of thirty-two bars and that the range is limited to one octave and one note. The general types of hits are also standardized: not only the dance types, the rigidity of whose pattern is understood, but also the 'characters' such as mother song, home song...[and] laments for the lost girl. Most important of all, the harmonic cornerstones of each hit — the beginning and the end of each part — must beat out the standard scheme (1998: 197–98, emphasis mine).

It may be the case that most of the pieces of popular music that informed Adorno's observations were characterized by the characteristics he lists and that these characteristics have been changing over time. So some of what he says is not applicable to some forms of popular music today. It also goes without saying that by standardization, Adorno does not say that all musical elements in popular music are the same, which would mean that there is only one piece of popular music or that there are many versions of one song in popular music. However, relying on his characterization of popular music, one could disqualify a number of classical sonatas or symphonies as art music and categorize them as popular music. Put differently, one would qualify these sonatas or symphonies as popular music since a number of them

conform to certain "standards" with regard to structural organization, tonality and number of movements. Yet even Adorno himself does not consider them to be popular music.

Succinctly put, there are other factors that qualify some musical pieces as popular music apart from the level of simplicity or complexity, dissemination through mass media and the reach to a large audience.

Having questioned all these definitions, one wonders if any definition of popular music is relevant here. Yet in this study I am focusing on a particular type of church music which even at the local level, people differentiate from other types of church music in discourse (verbally) and praxis. For this reason, my definition of popular church music draws from this local discourse and practice and takes the Tanzanian musical context into consideration. I believe that any definition of popular church music or popular music in general has to take into account the spatio-temporal context of the music in question.

First, I use the concept popular church music to designate a church musical genre in Tanzania which is characterized by the use of electric guitars and drum machine among other instruments including keyboards (which sometimes are also used to play a role of drum machine). In most cases the choirs or independent musicians use a set of three guitars, that is, a solo (lead), a rhythm and a bass guitar. The primacy of guitars in this music has at times earned the choirs that perform this music names such as *kwaya za magitaa* (lit. guitar choirs) or *kwaya za vyombo* (lit. choirs of instruments). This serves to differentiate this music genre from what I call art church

7

music. Art church music is normally performed either without accompaniment or accompanied by an organ or an electric keyboard. Art church choirs normally perform western songs (translated in local languages, mainly Kiswahili) and traditional songs that are adopted for choir use by arranging them in four parts and by setting religious words to the music as well as newly composed songs by choir teachers. In most cases the songs for these choirs are written either in staff or sol-fa notation. The use of these notation systems has earned these choirs the name *kwaya za noti* or *kwaya za noten* (lit. choirs of notes; meaning the choirs that perform notated songs). I do not suggest that the use of notation (staff or sol-fa) and the use of western songs are the distinguishing features between these musical genres since, as I will illustrate in chapter 3 and 5, there were some popular church choir teachers (though only a few) who wrote their music in either staff or sol-fa notation. Likewise, there were a number of western songs (hymns and oratorios like Handel's Hallelujah Chorus) that were performed by popular church choirs or independent musicians using popular music instruments and musical styles such as rumba, reggae and R&B.

A second important feature of this music is that it is commonly performed in various popular music styles such as rumba, reggae, twist, R&B, soukous, rap, taarab and various styles inspired by the traditional musics of Tanzania. These styles are used in the same way as in secular popular dance music in the country. For this reason, the growing use of this music genre in church has been attacked on grounds that secular popular dance music or jazz (as secular popular dance music has been commonly referred to in Tanzania) is making its way into the sacred space or the church (this issue is explored in some detail in chapter 4). For now, suffice it to say that the use of

these styles differentiates popular church music from art church music which is not organized in accordance with these styles.

Dance has been employed in both of these music genres (although less often in art church music). In art church music it is used particularly when the song performed is an arrangement of a traditional tune or composed following the rhythm of a certain traditional music culture in Tanzania. When used in popular church music, dance styles have been composed so as to relate to the musical styles of the songs in question. For example, songs in reggae style have more or less similar dance movements (apart from the actions that are designed to describe the meaning in the lyrics; see chapter 3).

A practical way to distinguish these musical genres in Tanzania is through musical events. Let me use the Lutheran Church as an example. Nearly every congregation had both art and popular church choirs, and most choirs that performed art music were *kwaya kuu za usharika* or in short, *kwaya kuu* (the main choirs of the congregations). Popular church music was performed mainly by choirs which were referred to as *kwaya za uinjilisti* (evangelical choirs). There were also youth choirs in most congregations. Some of these youth choirs performed art church music like the *kwaya kuu* and in this case they could even share choir teachers with the *kwaya kuu*. Examples of these youth choirs include the Sinza Youth Choir, Ubungo Youth Choir and Mwenge Youth Choir. Other youth choirs performed popular church music like the *kwaya za uinjilisti*. Some of these choirs include the Mabibo Youth Choir and Kimara Youth Choir. There were other youth choirs that performed both musical genres. These can be exemplified by the Kijitonyama Youth Choir. At Kinondoni

9

Lutheran Church, for example, there were four church choirs including one *kwaya kuu* (main choir of the congregation), two *kwaya za uinjilisti* (evangelical choirs), that is, the Sayuni Evangelical Choir and Amkeni Evangelical Choir, as well as one youth choir.

The Lutheran church has different yearly musical events: two for *kwaya kuu* (main choirs) and one for *kwaya za uinjilisti* (evangelical choirs). The first event in case of *kwaya kuu* is commonly referred to as *mashindano* (choir competitions). During this occasion choirs from various congregations come together and each performs three songs (a set song selected from the Lutheran hymn book *Mwimbieni Bwana*, a song of the choir's own choice and a traditional song normally arranged by a choir teacher). There are adjudicators who listen to the performance of each choir and give points to various aspects of the performance and at the end they announce the results. Normally the first three choirs receive awards. Another musical event for *kwaya kuu* is commonly referred to as *cantate*. This is a singing festival in which choirs from various congregations come together and perform one after another. As in *Mashindano* each choir normally performs three songs (a set song selected from the Lutheran hymn book *Mwimbieni Bwana*, a song of the choir's own choice and a traditional song normally arranged by a choir teacher). During this occasion there are some music advisors (not adjudicators). They assess the performance of each choir but they do not grade the choirs. At the end of the event they give general remarks concerning the performance and give some advice in order to improve the future performance of the choirs.

In the case of *kwaya za uinjilisti* (evangelical choirs) there is a yearly event namely *tamasha* (music festival or concert). During the event, as in *cantate,* choirs from different congregations perform one after the other (normally three songs each). While in *cantate* the set song is selected from the hymn book (that is the same song is performed by all choirs), in *tamasha la kwaya za uinjilisti* (evangelical choirs' concert) each choir composes its own song adhering to the content of a Biblical verse selected for the event. This is referred to as a "set song". In addition, there are no adjudicators to assess the performance of these choirs. They normally have a guest of honour who, in most cases, is a church official, that is, not a music expert in contrast to the adjudicators or advisors in *mashindano* and *cantate* respectively. It is not the case that there is no competitive spirit among *kwaya za uinjilisti* (evangelical choirs) as there is among *kwaya kuu* (main choirs). A visit to the *kwaya za uinjilisti* (evangelical choirs) during their rehearsals for the *tamasha* reveals how intensive the rehearsals are, and at this time the number of "choir days" (days that choirs meet for rehearsals) are normally increased to six or seven per week. Each choir tries to prepare itself well so that it performs better than other choirs. However, I posit that the nature of the competition among these choirs gives more room for self-evaluation rather than depending on external critics (advisors and adjudicators) as do the *mashindano* and *cantate.*

There is also a yearly musical event for youth choirs. This is referred to as *mashindano ya kwaya za vijana* (competitions for youth choirs). Normally the competition is organised in the same way as the competition for *kwaya kuu* (main choirs) with an exception that the participants are youth choirs. In this case all the choirs normally perform without guitars or keyboards even those choirs which under normal

11

circumstances would perform with these instruments. The choirs sing a set song selected from a hymn book (*Mwimbieni Bwana*) and they are required to submit the music sheet to the adjudicators for the two other songs (choir's own choice and a traditional song) as it is the case with the *mashindano* of *kwaya kuu* (Barz 2000). In other words, I am saying that during this event the youth choirs (even those youth choirs that back in their congregations normally perform popular church music) perform art church music. It should also be noted here that during the *mashindano ya kwaya za vijana* (youth choir competitions) or *mashindano ya kwaya kuu* (main choir competitions), some *kwaya za uinjilisti* (evangelical choirs) or some members of *kwaya za uinjilisti* may be asked to join and assist the youth or main choir of the same congregation. The practice of choirs of the same congregation helping one another during choir competitions is also common between youth choirs and the main choirs. However, in the case of youth choir competitions, only the young members of the main choirs may join the youth choirs. Recently, I have been informed by one teacher of the Sayuni Evangelical Choir, for example, that during the youth choir competitions of this year in July (i.e. July 2005) the Sayuni Evangelical Choir joined the Kinondoni Youth Choir. They learnt the songs, rehearsed and performed together as the youth choir from Kinondoni congregation. The choir won the first award at both *jimbo* (province) and *dayosisi* (diocese) levels of the competition. It is in such context the even the *kwaya za uinjilisti* (evangelical choirs) perform art church music.

In his article, "Aesthetic Inquiry and the Music of Africa", Agawu mentions three main varieties of music that characterize the contemporary African music scene. He writes: "Contemporary Africa is marked by an astonishing variety of musics. These are perhaps best understood in terms of a three-tiered framework consisting of

traditional, popular and art music" (Agawu 2004: 405). He characterises traditional

music as follows:

> Traditional music is music nurtured by traditional institutions. Examples
> include the ceremonial and ritual musics that are performed in and around the
> Asantehene's palace, at the courts of Benini, or in the kingdom of Buganda.
> Another prominent form is music associated with funerals, including dirges,
> laments, and various forms of sacred drumming. These musics originated in
> precolonial Africa and appear to have remained unchanged [or significantly
> unchanged, I would add] as long as the institutions that sponsor them have
> retained their essential structure (Agawu 2004: 405).

In the case of church music in Tanzania, traditional music is normally fused either in

popular church music or in art church music as discussed above (the kind of fussion

that Agawu highlights in his article). However, the point I want to put forward here is

that in Tanzania, even when the music is recontextualized into this new space or new

institution, the music continues to have its identity as traditional music. The choirs talk

of performing a traditional Hehe, Haya or Nyamwezi song. During the choir

competitions or music festivals mentioned above, one of the songs that each choir

performs is normally identified as a traditional song. This categorization contrasts with

the set song and the choir's own choice, which is either newly composed by choir

teachers or is a western song taken from available song books. In short, traditional

music in the Tanzanian church context exists either as popular or art church choir

music and the degree to which this recontextulization changes the music varies from

one case to another. The use of traditional music in popular church music is explored

in some detail in chapter 5.

Throughout this study, I discuss a number of features of popular church music in more

detail. Some of these features are not necessarily specific to this music genre, but they

are important aspects of the music. However, it should be emphasised here that the

features described above to show how popular church music differs from art church

13

music are not permanent and spatially uniform. I posit that the features change over time and vary from one geographical or social space to another. For this reason, throughout this study I discuss some of the changes in this music — changes which make the definition of the music as impermanent as are the styles of the music itself. I also discuss various dynamics that are involved in this process of musical change and in changes in the use of this music in Tanzanian religious spaces. This leads me to a discussion of two philosophical approaches I employ in this study of musical change, namely, temporality and spatiality.

1.3 THEORIZING TEMPORALITY, SPATIALITY AND MUSICAL CHANGE

In this study, both time and space are conceived as humanly lived phenomena. Following Alexis Kagame and John Mbiti, I posit that time is experienced by human beings in relation to events which are referred to as "stamps" (Kagame 1977 and Mbiti 1969). These stamps are related to musical processes and musical change at least in two ways. First, they serve as marks on otherwise empty or abstract time and make time reckoning possible. Secondly, the stamps influence the musical changes. In the first part of this study (that is in chapter 2), I examine a number of ways in which temporality is related to musical change. I do this by responding to the following questions: In what ways have the events or stamps in the history of Tanzania from 1980 to 2005 influenced changes in popular church music and people's experiences of this music? In what ways has the involvement of music in such events participated in shaping people's experiences of the events? In what ways does the rhythmic organization of time, that is, the recurrences of temporal units such as weeks, seasons or years and yearly events such as Christmas, New Year or Easter influence music

making and people's experiences of music? And how does popular church music, in particular, contribute in shaping people's experiences of this rhythmic temporal ordering?   In chapter 3, I discuss the musical events (stamps) at two levels. First, I focus on the music making processes (from the conception of a musical idea, rehearsals, instrumentation, dance designing to performances) and I discuss how each of these events imprints on the process and leaves its marks on the music. Secondly, I focus on the organization of musical materials in each musical work. Considering these materials as events within a musical work, I discuss how each musical element imprints on a musical work and gives a musical work its individual identity and identity with other works which are organized in more or less similar ways.

Space, as a social construct is conceived to have three layers including physical, mental and lived spaces. Physical space includes physical locations or physical structures within which or through which various social relations are produced, negotiated, contested or deconstructed. Mental space includes various ways of representation and communication through which ideas about social relations or social practices are constructed, negotiated or communicated. Lived space includes real experiences of individuals as they encounter the two above layers of social space, that is, physical and mental spaces. This method of social space analysis is known as a spatial trialectics model (Lefebvre 1991, Soja 1985, Deal 2002, Mudimbe 1988 and Foucault 1993) or a model of three-dimensional construction of space, following Nkiru Nzegwu 1999. The model has been used to analyse a number of social institutions or relations including religion (Deal 2002 and 2003), family (Nzegwu 1999), capitalism (Lefebvre 1991) and colonialism (Mudimbe 1988). In the second

15

part of this thesis, I focus on the relationship between popular church music and three social spaces, namely religious, national and gendered spaces.

On religious space, I attempt to respond to the following questions: What have been the changes in this space in relation to temporal changes and in what ways have these changes been related to the changes in popular church music? What are the dynamics and who are involved in the process of change? In what ways have these changes and dynamics contributed to people's experiences of religious space or Christian spirituality in particular? On national space, I try to respond to the following questions: In what ways does popular church music involve itself in the construction of African and Tanzanian national space? In what ways does this involvement contribute to changing people's experiences of their African or Tanzanian national identities? What are the dynamics involved in this process with regard to local and global forces in this era of globalization? Finally, on gendered space, I respond to the following questions: What have been the changes in popular church music in relation to gendered space from the 1980s to 2005? What factors have resulted in the changes? In what ways do the changes in gendered space have an influence on the lyrics of popular church music and how does the music (particularly its lyrics) participate in constructing or deconstructing the gendered space? By analysing the lyrics of selected songs, I also discuss how the construction of physical and mental gendered space influence individuals' lived experiences.

In addition to the theories of temporality and spatiality, the study uses a number of other theories and concepts which inform the discussions within individual chapters. The explication of these theories and concepts is carried out and integrated within the

discussion of the subject matter of each chapter. For this reason, I just mention them here and suggest that the details of these concepts or theories and their relationship to this study should be read within the context of the chapters in question. In chapter 2, I use the concept of globalization (Wangwe and Musonda 2002, Shivji 2002, Beck 2000, Hall 1992, Appadurai 1990, Mlama 2002, Shao 1992 and McLuhan 1996) and the theory of metaphor (McFague 1975, Hagberg 2001, Lakoff and Johnson 1980 and Mutembei 2001). In chapter 3, I use the concept of collaborative composition (Strumpf et al. 2003 and Agawu 2003a) and theories concerning dance (Bakare and Mans 2003, Addo, Miya and Potgieter 2003, McFee 1992 and Valéry 1983). In chapter 5, I use theories concerning African nationalism and national identities (Shivji 2003, Mudimbe 1988, Appiah 1992, Sogolo 1993, Wiredu 1992, Fanon 1997, Biko 2002, Gyekye 1997, Anderson 1991 and Hobsbawm 1983), the concept of music interculturalism (Kwami, Akrofi and Adams 2003 and Blacking 1995) and theories concerning cultural globalization (Beck 2000, Shivji 2002 Mlama 2002, Mitchel 1996, Manuel 1988, Robertson 1992, Turino 2000, Masolo 2002 and Appiah 1996). Finally, in chapter 6, I use the concept of transgression of gendered space (Nzegwu 1998), the concept of deconstruction (Derrida 1985 and 1995) and the concept of heterotopias of deviation (Foucault 1994).

1.4 METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

1.4.1 Research Techniques

The research for this study was carried out in Dar es Salaam between July 2004 and January 2005 among the Kiswahili speaking black choirs. A combination of the following research techniques was used: participant observation with the Sayuni Evangelical Choir and The Patmos; in-depth interviews with choir members,

independent musicians, a studio engineer and radio and television presenters; collection and analysis of newspaper articles particularly from the church owned newspapers such as *Msema Kweli, Nyakati* and *Habari Njema*; collection and analysis of music recorded by various choirs and independent musicians in Dar es Salaam and the filming of various musical events and some in-depth interviews. The choirs and independent musicians included in this study are from various religious denominations including Lutheran, Anglican, Assemblies of God and the African Inland Church (AIC).

As a participant observer, I joined the Sayuni Evangelical Choir at Kinondoni Lutheran Church and became involved in the choir's various activities including rehearsals, performances during church services at Kinondoni Lutheran Church and performances during concerts in various venues in Dar es Salaam. This provided me with an opportunity for practical and experiential learning of the choir's music and popular church music culture in general. In addition, I was involved with a music group based at the Dar es Salaam CCT University Chapel[1], The Patmos, who a few years ago (2002) asked me to record with them as a keyboardist and guitarist. During my fieldwork I participated in the group's rehearsals and performances in various concerts as a tenor singer. The involvement with this group did not only enable me learn the music of the group but also gave me an opportunity to attend various musical events in Dar es Salaam where I learnt the music of other choirs and groups as well.

The in-depth interviews involved some choir members from the Sayuni Evangelical Choir and the Mabibo Youth Choir; independent musicians including Bahati Bukuku,

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[1] CCT(Christian Council of Tanzania) University chapel is an interdenominational congregation comprising mainly the protestant churches including Lutheran, Anglican, Moravian, African Inland Church (AIC) and Mennonite churches.

Jennifer Mgendi, Dr. Remmy Ongala and Mercy Nyagwaswa; radio and/or television presenters including the Reverend Magafu of Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaaam (RTD) and the Tanzanian national television, that is, *Televisheni ya Taifa* (TVT), Harris Kapiga of Praise Power Radio and Geovin Festo of Wapo Media as well as a studio engineer of FM studio, Bakunde Mbilima. These interviews encouraged self-testimonies and the telling of the musical life histories of these people in relation to the changing nature of popular church music in Dar es Saalam since the 1980s. The interviews helped me to explore their experiences of the music, their understanding and their attitudes toward the use of this music in religious space and various changes in the music over the period in question. Some of these interviews were recorded on audio cassettes and others were filmed.

A number of performances by choirs and independent musicians during concerts were filmed. Likewise, I organized dance lessons in which two members of the Sayuni Evangelical Choir taught me the dances of selected songs of the choir. These lessons were also filmed. The video clips from the concert performances, from the dance lessons and from the in-depth interviews were edited into a video documentary titled Popular Church Music in Dar es Salaam: *Hadithi za Muziki wa Injili Dar es Salaam*, which forms a part of this thesis. The video traces a brief history of this music genre by recounting major events in the history of Tanzania in relation to popular church music experiences. This is done in two ways, i.e. by including the narratives from the musicians discussing how the events were related to popular church music experiences and by including excerpts from selected songs related to the events in question. In addition, the musicians interviewed explained various ways they used to compose their songs. As a research tool the video also provides visual details of some aspects of the

music that could not be captured orally or aurally such as dance movements and the general nature of the performances. The video also makes the retrieval or playback of these events for analytical purposes possible. Moreover, after the initial editing of the video we did a "dialogic editing" (following Feld 1987) with four members of the Sayuni Evangelical Choir. During this viewing some suggestions were raised. It was suggested, for example, that I add a number of musicians that were not mentioned in the first edition of the video (some of whom I did not even know and others I knew of but did not see as occupying such an important place). Some of their songs are now included in this study. A number of issues on popular church music in relation to religious and national spaces were clarified. These issues were discussed by some of the musicians in the in-depth interviews included in the video. Therefore this "editing" informs my analysis of these issues in this ethnography.

1.4.2   Representation, Translation and Transcription

Let me address three critical issues arising in relation to the research approach used to conduct this study including representation, translation and transcription. To begin with representation, it has been observed that the written text does not only represent or stand for reality outside the written text itself but it also participates in constructing the reality (Barthes 2001, Anderson 1996, Foucault 1984, Said 1983 and Derrida 1978). Roland Barthes puts it thus:

> From ancient times to the efforts of our avant-garde, literature has concerned to represent something. What? I will put it crudely: the real. The real is not representable.... That the real is not representable, but only demonstrable, can be said in several ways: either we can define it, with Lacan, as the impossible, that which is unattainable and escapes discourse, or in topological terms we observe that a pluri-dimensional order (the real) cannot be made coincide with a unidimensional order (language; 1996: 369).

Nicholas Cook points out that the written account of a musical work and the metaphors used to describe the work or part of it, for example, make the reader experience that work in a different way. In other words, it constructs a new experience of the musical work to the reader (1988: 77–78). For Hélène Cixous, the failure of a signifier to have a one-to-one correspondence with the signified can be explained partly by the fact that the written text is influenced or shaped by readily available words, phrases, or language in general that the writers use. Most of the words or phrases have been formulated and have been used to express different ideas or realities from those which the writers try to represent (Cixous 2000). For the love of the poetic way she puts it, I quote a passage from her essay, "The Last Painting or the Portrait of God":

> But how do we obtain this lightness, this active passivity, this capacity to let things come through, this submission to the process? We who are so heavy, so obstinately activist, so impatient. How could we become virgin and young and innocent? How could we come all the way from our over-furnished memories and museums of words to the garden of beginnings and rustlings? This is our problem as writers. We who must paint with brushes all sticky with words. We who must swim in language as if it were pure and transparent, though it is troubled by phrases already heard a thousand times. We who must clear a new path with each thought through thickets of clichés. We who are threatened at every metaphor, as I am at this moment, with false steps and false words (Cixous 2000: 588).

In addition to these inadequacies of language (signs) for representation purposes, Michael Jackson and Clifford Geertz point out two important aspects of ethnography which I find relevant here. First, they point out that during research, ethnographers are continually changed themselves and they also change the experiences of others. Secondly, the ethnographers' accounts are products of the dialogue between themselves and the people they study (Jackson 1989: 3 and Geertz 1995: 245).

Acknowledging these semiological, reflexive and interpretive aspects of ethnographic research and writing in general, I posit that this ethnography is a product of my interaction with popular church music culture. It is a product of my attempt to make sense of it, its changing nature and its relation to time and space. Of course this attempt has benefited from the perspectives of the people I talked to and worked with during the fieldwork, from my participation in the music-making processes and from the analysis of various audio and visual documents of the music and discourses about the music. I consider, for example, my close reading of various events, music structural organizations, the lyrics of selected songs and debates from the newspaper articles to be a *supplément* of the reality (to borrow a terminology from Derrida 1978, 1981 and 1992). Derrida uses this terminology to designate both "an addition" and "a substitute" of the signified or the centre, as he calls it. He writes:

> One cannot determine the center and exhaust totalization because the sign which replaces the center, which supplements it, taking the center's place in its absence — this sign is added, occurs as a surplus, as a supplement. The movement of signification adds something, which results in the fact that there is always more, but this addition is a floating one because it comes to perform a vicarious function, to supplement a lack on the part of the signified (Derrida 1978: 289).

Additionally, an attempt is made to reflect my own position and identify it clearly in various narratives throughout this ethnography.

Concerning translation, all interviews were conducted in Kiswahili, the language which my informants and I were fluent. All the song lyrics and all the newspaper articles that have been included in this study were also in Kiswahili. I have done the translation of all the materials into English. "Can any translation be made to signify the same thing as the original text?" Sceptically asks Alan Bass, one of the translators

of Derrida's works (Bass 1978: xv). On one occasion (in a different context) Derrida says:

> The translation of my text, initially written in French; this translation, however excellent it may be, necessarily remains a translation — that is to say an always possible but always imperfect compromise between two idioms (Derrida 2002: 232).

With an understanding of the impossibility of the translation to perfectly stand for the original "text", I regard my translations in this thesis as "provisional", following Bass (1987). The translations of most songs appear side by side with their Kiswahili original versions. Additionally, I try to explain those terms which I encountered some difficulties in translating. This is particularly the case when I think the words are used metaphorically. In other cases I have written a Kiswahili word together with my English translation of the word. This is particularly the case with those words related to music aesthetics, some choir names and some of the music making processes. I hope that these efforts will help the readers who might wish to cross check my translations or to attempt alternative translations.

Finally, with regard to musical transcription, the vocal and instrumental parts of the songs are transcribed using staff notation. The name of the vocal part or an instrument appears at the beginning of each transcription corresponding with the staff on which that particular part is written as shown in figure below (Fig.1.1). The rhythm played on a drum machine is transcribed on different staff and each percussion instrument (percussive tone colour) is written on a single line. Again the name of each percussive tone colour (percussion instrument) is indicated at the beginning of the staff (line) corresponding with the line on which that tone appears as shown in the figure below (Fig.1.1).

Fig. 1.1 An Excerpt from *Kilio Tanzania*, a Song by the Kijitonyama Evangelical Choir (My Transcription)

The use of staff notation to represent African music is sometimes questioned. The objection is normally made on grounds that the notation system is inadequate and hence irrelevant for representing African music particularly when the system was designed to represent the music which, in many respects, differs from African music. Agawu mentions two other ways that some scholars of African music have used to try to solve this dilemma. These ways include using written description in words so as "to convey in vivid and suggestive language, the 'feel' of African music" and to design or invent a new notation system "to minimize the interferences of the 'Western' staff

notation and represent specific techniques of playing" African music (Agawu 1995: 186).

It is an undeniable fact that staff notation (or any other notation system I know) cannot represent all aspects of the music adequately and it is more problematic when the notation system is used to represent the music that under normal circumstances is taught, learnt and transmitted orally as it is normally the case with popular church music. Yet in this thesis I have resorted to staff notation particularly to represent those aspects which I think it can represent and which are relevant to the arguments I am making in various sections of the thesis. To supplement the inadequacy of staff notation, I also employ descriptive analysis of various elements of the musical works in relation to my arguments.

Therefore, staff notation has been adopted partly because most of the musical elements I discuss can be represented through this system and partly because of my conviction that the system is shared by a community of music scholars and musicians in Tanzania and elsewhere. That is, this notation makes my work accessible. The idea of inventing a notation system for this particular music culture is implausible since it will isolate me from other scholars or create a double task for those who want to study this work, that is, to try to understand the newly invented system and then to try to understand the music culture I am writing about. Behind this argument there is another one which is that, taking into account the multiplicity and differences of music cultures in Africa (which makes African music not a single music culture), to get rid of the inadequacies of "Western" staff notation, one would need to invent a new system for every music culture one studies. In other words, I question the idea that there can be a unified

"African" way of representing "African" music since there are multiple different music cultures in Africa. The problem of the incompatibility of using "Western" staff notation in Tanzania would be more or less similar to that of using, for example, a notation system invented in relation to the music of Senegal.

Agawu, who uses staff notation in both of his books on African music (*African Rhythm: A Northern Ewe Perspective* and *Representing African Music: Postcolonial Notes, Queries, Positions*), rigorously defends this position. I find two of his arguments relevant for my purpose here. First, Agawu defends the use of staff notation on grounds that it serves "pragmatic" purposes, i.e. facilitating an "entry into the world of African musical art" (1995: 187). He writes: "Notations are read by communities of readers, so in order to consolidate African practices that can eventually gain some institutional power, it makes sense to use the existing notation, however imperfect" (2003b: 66). He also observes that the insufficiency of this notation system has made the role of interpretation in the history of Western music scholarship and practice, for example, an important aspect of the music culture. And that interpretation has always required a supplementary knowledge of the music spatio-temporal culture. Of course this knowledge plays an ambiguous role as the Derridian *supplément*. In the case of popular church music discussed in this thesis, the role of supplement can be played not only by the descriptive analysis of the music provided but also by listening to the music itself. Some of the songs are included in the video that accompanies the thesis. In addition, I indicate the name of the album (audio or video) in which each song can be found.

Agawu's second argument is an ideological one. The need for an alternative system of signs for representing African music, he argues, is to a large extent motivated by the notion that "African music" is essentially different from "Western music". Added to this essentialist notion, is a wrong assumption that African music is a single music culture and that hence there can be an "African" notation system that would remedy the inadequacy and irrelevance of "Western" notation system for representing "African music". As pointed out above, the limitations of staff notation to adequately represent real musical sounds is also experienced to varying degrees in Western art music tradition. One may consider how the written notation of Chopin's piano music and a number of European "string and vocal repertoires of the eighteenth and nineteenth century" differ from the real sounds of these pieces of music (Agawu 1995: 185–88 and 2003b: 64–68). If it is necessary to have notation systems that accurately represent musical sounds, then even "Western" musical notations would have to be revised greatly and, as pointed above, each music culture (including a number of music cultures in Africa or in Tanzania in particular) would need its own notation system.

Moreover, since the African music culture studied (in this case popular church music in Dar es Salaam) does not have a written notational system of its own, even the newly invented system (designed by a scholar) would be as foreign as the "Western" staff notation. Referring to the Northern Ewe music culture, Agawu writes:

> does the researcher use "Western" staff notation, and in the process risk falsifying some basic characteristics of African rhythm, or does he or she invent a "new" notation for this "unique" repertoire? It would have been nice if the intellectual heritage of the Northern Ewe had included an indigenous system of musical notation; then we might have claimed, without hesitation, that their way of representing their music should be privileged over other, non-Ewe and especially "Western" ways. Unfortunately, no indigenous system of musical notation survives among the Northern Ewe. Their traditional music is

27

composed and learned orally (which, of course means aurally, too) and
although this presents no obvious problems to bearers of the tradition, it
presents formidable problems to researchers wishing not only to describe what
the Northern Ewe do and how they do it, but to prescribe a set of actions for
those who might wish to replicate the Northern Ewe procedures (1995: 186).

1.5   ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

This thesis is organized into two main parts. Part one concerns music, its socio-

cultural context and temporal change. It consists of two chapters: chapter 2 on

stamping and performing time: popular church music and socio-political and

economic experiences and chapter 3 on composition: processes and product. Part two

concerns music and the dynamics of social spaces. It consists of chapter 4 on popular

church music and the dynamics of religious space, chapter 5 on popular church music

and the dynamics of national space and chapter 6 on popular church music and the

dynamics of gendered space. I conclude this study with chapter 7 in which I

summarise the main arguments of the thesis. In addition, this thesis includes a video

concerning popular church music in Dar es Salaam.

PART ONE

MUSIC, SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT AND TEMPORAL CHANGE

CHAPTER 2
STAMPING AND PERFORMING TIME:
POPULAR CHURCH MUSIC AND SOCIO-CULTURAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EXPERIENCES

2.1   INTRODUCTION: A PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACH TO TIME AND MUSICAL CHANGE

The earth rotates on its own axis. It also revolves around the sun. And the moon revolves around the earth. So we have days and nights. We also have seasons. And we count months and years. Without these events, time (though it ontologically exists) is colourless and a neutral entity. For the Rwandese philosopher Alexis Kagame, these movements are factors that underlay our "apperception and seriation of time". In addition to discussing these cosmic events that make us aware of temporal units (days and nights, seasons, months and years), Kagame shares the view of the Kenyan philosopher and religious scholar John Mbiti that in many cultures (traditional Bantu cultures in particular) time is considered to be marked (Kagame uses the term "stamped") by a number of other humanly experienced events such as actions performed by pre-existents, by human beings or animals, a natural phenomenon like earthquake, appearance of a comet or accident caused by lightning or flood. In short, events and other tangible or visible beings draw time out of its anonymity and make it the "time of that event" or the time of that tangible or visible being (Kagame 1977: 99 and Mbiti 1969: 19). It can also be argued that even other mechanical aids of reckoning time such as clock or calendar are forms of stamping time with what

Dismas Masolo (1994: 113) calls, "definite points" on their faces. Through these aids even the time that has not been stamped by big events can be perceived.

Accounts of changes in popular church music in Dar es Salaam are closely connected with the choirs' experiences of temporal change. Choirs do not experience temporal change as neutral, as colourless being or as passing silently. A remark such as *tunakwenda na wakati*[2] (we go or move with time), for example, shows that choirs experience temporal change in relation to changing socio-cultural, political and economic realities, in short, social context. Seeing musical changes as related to changes in a social context is not a novel idea in music scholarship. Musical changes in various societies have been associated with socio-cultural, political and economic realities in those societies (Manuel 1988, Graham 1992, Rice 1994, Barz 1997, Askew 2002 and Ballantine 2002, to name but a few). This view can be exemplified by a quote from John Blacking who writes: "the development of musical styles cannot be treated as events in the realm of sound-invention which are independent of social and economic organization" (1995: 33). However, a point I would like to make in connection with this relationship is the fact that musical change and social context are related in two ways. First, a number of socio-cultural, political and economic experiences (social context) play a role of stamping or marking time. These "stamps" become reference points in the accounts of musical change. Thus in Tanzania it is common for narrators of stories on popular church music to talk of musical processes or changes that took place during, before or after a certain event such as introduction of a church owned radio station, the death of Nyerere, the first multiparty election or the Dodoma train accident, just to name a few. Musical events also serve as "stamps".

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[2] *Tunakwenda na wakati* (we go or move with time) was a common expression used to explain why a choir or musician adopted new musical styles. It was also used to explain why the studios adopted new technologies.

Thus it is common, for example, to talk of some changes in the music with reference to another musical event such as a choir's fifth recording or its performance during its tour to Europe. Secondly, socio-cultural, political and economic events are not only temporal stamps from which accounts of musical change take reference. Following Nicholas Cook (1988) and Martin Stokes (1994), I posit that the stamps and musical change also influence one another. On the one hand, social context is an agent of changes in music. On the other hand, music and musical processes participate in shaping and reshaping social context. More importantly, as Cook (1988) rightly points out, music and musical processes become part of the overall social context. It follows that any change in music implies a change in the social context in so far as music is part of this context.

Much has been written about three dimensions or phases of time, that is present, past and future (Mbiti 1969, Ricoeur 1977, Askin 1977, Smith 1988, Adam 1990, Teichman 1995, Sartre 2003 and others). The fact that time is ordered or comprehended as a sequence of events or existents seems to be taken as self-evident in these studies even when time is conceptualised as an existent in itself (without reference to events or existents outside time itself) as Askin writes:

> Of course the present is the central aspect of time. It is their relationship with the present which characterizes the two aspects of time: the past is what was once the present and the future is what will be the present (1977: 130).

In short, Askin raises two points. First, time is sequentially ordered, that is, the past precedes the present and the present precedes the future. Second, a certain temporal unit (a certain duration of time) changes its status from being the present to being past or from being future to being present. Using Kagame's "stamping time" approach does not mean to deny this existence of time in itself. Instead, it emphasises the

32

human appropriation and comprehension of time as a human lived phenomenon. Kofi Agawu does this when he points out the significance of events in the historical study of a society and says "history is made not by time [in itself] but by events" (2003b: 2).

Another important aspect in the study of music and time is what I call the rhythmic ordering of time. By this I mean the regular or irregular recurrences of temporal units such as hours, days, weeks, seasons and years. In many cultures the time of the day, for example, has been reckoned by either what seems to be the position of the sun or by what people normally do during particular moments (Mbiti 1969: 20, Kagame 1977: 104 and Masolo 1994: 113). In the same way, the year has been reckoned in relation to events that take place during particular moments. As Mbiti puts it, the year "is composed by events". For an agricultural community, he explains:

> It is the seasonal activities that compose an agricultural year... People expect the year to come and go, in an endless rhythm like that of the day and night, and like the waning and waxing of the moon. They expect the events of the rain season, planting, harvesting, dry season, rain season again, planting again, and so on to continue for ever" (Mbiti 1969: 21).

Musical processes and music are normally organized and experienced in relation to this rhythmic ordering of time (Agawu 1995). A yearly church calendar which is composed of mega events such as advent, Christmas, passion, Easter, for example, acts as a guide for choirs' choices of songs from their repertoire, the lyrics for their newly composed songs, and the manner in which they perform the music. In addition, some days in the week or hours in these days are named as choir days and choir hours respectively since choirs meet regularly for rehearsals during these days and hours.

However, it should be noted here that this rhythmic ordering of time with specific reference to choirs' experiences of it is not cyclic (as it may seem to be in the

33

foregoing discussion). Instead, it has been musically structured and experienced in "spiral" form (following Kagame 1977). For example, while there is a recurrence of Christmas days every year and choirs sing same songs or songs with same lyrics every year, new Christmas songs are added into the repertoire of the choirs every year. In some cases even when the old repertoire is wholly adopted, new ways of instrumentation, improvisation, and variations in other aspects of performance such as dance or dressing make the choirs experience and express Christmas in a new way. And in so far as these Christmas days are musically made to be not identical they are different Christmases altogether.

The metaphor of the "spiral ordering of time" can be illustrated by a close reading of a song by Jennifer Mgendi namely *Kila Siku ni Mpya* (Each Day is a New Day) now in her fourth album titled *Yesu Nakupenda*. Below are the lyrics of the song.

Kila Siku ni Mpya (**Each Day is a New Day**)

Original Kiswahili version	English translation
Chorus: Kila siku, kila siku, kila siku ni mpya.	**Chorus:** Each day, each day, each day is a new day.
Stanza 1: Ni huruma zake Bwana kwamba hatuangamii. Uaminifu na fadhili zake kila siku ni mpya.	**Stanza 1:** It is through the Lord's mercies that we don't perish. His faithfulness and mercies are new each day.
Chorus: Kila siku, kila siku, kila siku ni mpya.	**Chorus:** Each day, each day, each day is a new day.
Stanza 2: Kama sio rehema zake nani angelipona Uaminifu na fadhili zake kila siku ni mpya.	**Stanza 2:** Who could survive without His mercies? His faithfulness and mercies are new each day.
Chorus: Kila siku, kila siku, kila siku ni mpya.	**Chorus:** Each day, each day, each day is a new day.

Stanza 3: Jumatatu, Jumanne, Jumatano, kila siku ni mpya. Alhamisi, Ijumaa, Jumamosi, Jumapili, ni mpya.	**Stanza 3:** Monday, Tuesday [and] Wednesday, each day is a new day. Thursday, Friday, Saturday [and] Sunday, [each day] is a new day.
Chorus: Kila siku, kila siku, kila siku ni mpya.	**Chorus:** Each day, each day, each day is a new day.
Stanza 4: Ni huruma zake Bwana kwamba hatuangamii. Uaminifu na fadhili zake kila siku ni mpya.	**Stanza 4:** It is through the Lord's mercies that we don't perish. His faithfulness and mercies are new each day.
Chorus: Kila siku, kila siku, kila siku ni mpya.	**Chorus:** Each day, each day, each day is a new day.
A song by Jennifer Mgendi in her album volume 4 titled *Yesu Nakupenda* (my translation).	

Although the seven days of a week and the recurrences of the days in various weeks may make us feel that the days are similar, the song points out that each day is a new day (i.e. a different one). Through varying God's faithfulness and mercies upon us, the song says, we experience each day as a new day. The song says, "His faithfulness and mercies are new each day". The song does not tell us the details of the varying God's mercies. Every individual listener may remember and count one's experiences of each day. One fact though seems to be shared by the listeners of the song, that is, we are still alive. The song puts it thus: "it is through the Lord's mercies that we don't perish" and "who could survive without His mercies?" In so far as we survive and experience each day in a new way, the song concludes, each day is a new day.

The melodic organization of the song seems to be similar to the "spiral ordering of time". Here is my transcription of the song.

Fig. 2.1 My Transcription of Jennifer Mgendi's *Kila Siku ni Mpya*

Let me use the chorus as an example. The chorus consists of two musical sentences. While the second sentence (bars 9–17) seems to be a replica of the first (bars 1–9), a number of modifications particularly in the lower voice make each of these sentences a distinctive one. The same is the case with regard to the organization of each sentence. For instance, the first sentence consists of two phrases, that is the opening phrase (bars 1–5) and the answering phrase (5–9). While the answering phrase replicates most of what happens in the opening phrase, the organization of the lower voice and its last motif differs from that in the first phrase and hence making these two phrases different. Likewise, while the first three motives in each phrase (in a chorus section) in which Jennifer Mgendi sings, *kila siku* (each day) three times are similar with regard to melodic rhythm and the shape of melodic curve, each one of these motives ends on a different pitch (i.e. on F, on E and on D respectively). For this reason each motif becomes a different motif, a new motif as it is the case with each new day expressed in the lyrics of the song.

In this chapter I wish to examine the history of popular church music in relation to the changing "stamped" time that exists in relation to socio- cultural, political and economic events in the country. These events and existents include globalization processes such as trade liberalization and privatization as well as some national-wide events that have played a significant role in shaping the history of this music and for which the music has in turn shaped people's experiences of these events. These events

37

include Nyerere's death (1999), the proliferation of computer and telecommunication technology in the country and the Tanzania Gospel Music Award (2004) concert. I also focus on the ways in which choirs' music and musical processes are organised in relation to the rhythmic ordering of time and the way choirs experience this ordering. Finally, I discuss how popular church music is related to the future.

2.2 EXPERIENCING GLOBALIZATION IN TANZANIA: PRIVATIZATION AND ECONOMIC LIBERALIZATION PROCESSES

Globalization is normally defined in terms of increasedly complex interactions between societies, institutions, economies, technologies, cultures, and individuals worldwide (Wangwe and Musonda 2002: 57). It should be emphasised that these interactions operate "on a global scale", which cuts across national boundaries (Hall 1992: 299). It has often been argued that these interactions lead to the compression of both time and space. Due to improved travel and computer and telecommunication technologies, the mobility of information, goods and people is made easier than ever before such that physical distances are felt to be shorter and the world is seen to be smaller than it used to be (Beck 2000, Shivji 2002 and Kwami et al. 2003). In short, the world is becoming a "global village" (McLuhan 1962). Similarly, time is compressed so that "events in one place impact immediately on people and places a very long distance away" (Hall 1992: 300). However, it should be noted here that this spatio-temporal compression is a metaphorical one that aims to convey that a number of events or "stamps" are taking place within shorter duration than ever before. Let me illustrate this with an example. When a person wants to know how far Arusha is from Dar es Salaam, one may answer in terms of the hours that it takes one to drive from Dar es Salaam to Arusha (nine hours). Consequently, when the time to travel to

Arusha is made shorter by technological advancement, the reply may indicate the number of minutes that it takes to fly to Arusha (45 minutes). In short, neither time in itself nor physical space (i.e. real distances between places measured in kilometres or meters) are compressed. Distance is expressed in terms of time taken to travel between those physical places, and when this time is made shorter the distance between those places is comprehended and expressed as compressed.

A number of globalization scholars agree that globalization is not a new phenomenon. They point out that globalization began with the rise of capitalism in the West. When capital refused to be bound within the national-state frontiers it led to imperialism which meant global interaction in a form of slave trade, colonialism and, later, neo colonialism (Giddens 1990, Hall 1992, Mlama 2002 and Semboja et al. 2003). It has also been observed that people on the eastern cost of Tanzania had business interactions with merchants across the Indian Ocean as far as Persian Gulf, Arabia, India and China before the thirteenth century (Suton 1990: 57–60, Chachage 2002: 255 and Askew 2002: 32). However, as Arjun Appadurai points out, those earlier interactions were very much hindered by limited technology and distances (1990: 1).

The present form of globalization has been experienced in many places of the world since the 1970s. This has not been the case with Tanzania. Until the early 1980s Tanzania had not abandoned its *Ujamaa* (Tanzanian brand of African socialism) policies. As a result most of its economic institutions and sectors such as banks and industrial plants and social services institutions such as hospitals and schools were largely in the hands of the government (with an exception of a few schools and hospitals that were run by church organisations). However, due to the economic crises

of the 1970s and the early 1980s Tanzania adopted the IMF and World Bank

Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) and Economic Recovery Programmes

(ERPs) in 1982 and 1986 respectively. The country needed funding from these global

monetary bodies in order to rescue itself from the economic crises and to be eligible

for this support, as was the case with other countries, it was required to privatise its

state owned sector and liberalise its economy (Shao 1992, Doriye 1995, Msambichaka

and Naho 1995, Mjema and Shitundu 1995 and Semboja 1995).

Succinctly speaking, with privatization and economic liberalization a number of

formerly state-owned enterprises were sold to private investors. Since *Ujamaa* had

discouraged any sign of individual capital accumulation as an inhuman practice, most

Tanzanians were not able to buy these enterprises, and many of them therefore were

sold to foreign investors (individuals or multinational corporations). Others became

joint ventures between the Tanzanian government and foreign investors (Shao 1992

and Moshi 1995). For this reason, Shivji and Chachage conceive of globalization as a

new form of imperialism (Shivji 2002 and Chachage 2002). In addition, new private

industrial plants, hospitals, schools, music recording studios, newspapers, radio

stations and television stations, just to name a few, were established. Likewise, with

liberalization of trade, import duty was greatly reduced and therefore it became easier

to import goods from abroad. As a result markets and local stores were flooded with

goods imported from abroad.

In the next two sections of this chapter (i.e. 2.3 and 2.4), I focus on the impact of trade

liberalization and privatization on the music industry in Tanzania. I wish to examine

various changes in the music recording industry as well as in the mass media and

music broadcasting since the 1980s in relation to privatization and trade liberalization. In section 2.5, I discuss popular church music in relation to selected events or "stamps" in the history of Tanzania. Then, in section 2.6, I focus on the way popular church choirs have been organising music and music-making processes in relation to the rhythmic ordering of time. Finally, in section 2.7, I examine how popular church music was related to the third phase of temporal ordering, the future.

2.3 POPULAR CHURCH MUSIC AND THE RECORDING INDUSTRY

Many scholars consider the recording industry in Tanzania to have been "underdeveloped" until the early 1990s (Manuel 1988, Graham 1992, Graebner 1997, Remes 1999 and Askew 2002). These scholars use the term, "underdeveloped" to compare the situation of the recording industry in Tanzania with that of the neighbouring country Kenya, which according to them, was relatively developed in terms of number of studios and the quality of technological equipment. As a matter of fact, a number of Tanzanian popular musicians in the 1980s went to record their music in Kenya (Seago 1987 and Graham 1992). The same was the case with church choirs. The number of studios plus the quality of cassettes produced by those studios attracted the choirs (personal communication with Laban Mwasimba, a guitarist of the Sayuni Evangelical Choir in Dar es Salaam).

During the 1980s there were at least three recording studios in Tanzania: Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD), Tanzania Film Company (TFC) Studio — both owned by the state and located in Dar es Salaam — and the Radio Habari Maalum (RHM) studio in Arusha which was owned by the Lutheran church. Those choirs that could not afford to travel to Kenya recorded their music in one of these studios. Radio

41

Tanzania Dar es Salaam made a number of recordings free of charge since they were primarily for use in its religious programmes. A few choirs requested copies of the cassettes which they then copied and sold. However, generally speaking, most choir music during this time reached the public mainly through live performances (during church services and evangelical meetings).

A number of other studios were established in Dar es Salaam starting in the 1990s. These studios include Don Bosco, Chinzimba, The Big November, FM, Master J (MJ), Marimba, Amani, Bakia Production, Metro and Sound Crafter studios. Most musicians and choirs in Dar es Salaam have recorded with more than one studio. The reasons vary from one choir to another and one musician and another. Some have been following the sound engineers of their choice. If a sound engineer moves to another studio for such reasons as searching for "greener pastures" or wanting to be at a studio with a "big name", the musicians would record their next album with the later studio. This has been the case, for example, with Jennifer Mgendi (one of the first female church musicians to record her own album). In 1995 she recorded her first album at Don Bosco studio with sound engineer Malon Linje. However, since Malon Linje moved to Master J studio, Jennifer Mgendi recorded her later three albums at Master J studio (Jennifer Mgendi during an interview with the author on September 18, 2004). Another example is that of *Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Sayuni* (Sayuni Evangelical Choir, a choir at Kinondoni Evangelical Lutheran Church in Dar es Salaam). The choir has recorded fourteen albums (and during my fieldwork it was planning to release the fifteenth album which was still in process). The recording of these albums have been done with six different studios: Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD), Chinzimba, The Big November, Marimba, Amani and Master J studios. The reasons

for their shifts range from availability of vacancies (in terms of booking engagements) during the time when the choir wanted to record, price, looking for a sound engineer of the choir's choice and the quality of cassettes from different studios that choir members happened to hear (*Mwalimu*[3] Sebastian Henry, a teacher of the Sayuni Evangelical Choir during an interview with the author on December 4, 2004).

The increase in the number of studios brought about numerous changes in the music industry and in popular church music in Tanzania. First, opportunities for individual musicians and choirs to record and release albums increased, and this has led to ever growing number of albums released each year. Also recording was no longer as expensive as it used to be, in part because recording an album of good quality no longer necessarily involved travelling to Kenya.

Second, as I have indicated, there has been increased competition between the studios in Dar es Salaam, and the artists have a good number of choices. This situation has improved the quality of recordings since the better the quality a studio establishes and maintains the more customers it attracts. Sometimes this has encouraged sound engineers to be more creative in order to give a new album from their studio a unique flavour that would attract more customers not only of the album but also of the studio.

Third, studio owners have been trying to improve the quality of the studio equipment such as computers as well as that of their recording software. Replying to the question whether there has been any change in the recording industry in Tanzania, Jennifer Mgendi remarked:

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[3] In Kiswahili *Mwalimu* means a teacher. It is used as a respectful title for school and choir teachers.

43

There have been a lot of changes. When we started there were just a few studios and they had (relatively) poor equipment. Now (*sasa*)[4] there are many studios so there is a stiff competition between them [studios]. You see! Even the quality (*uzuri* lit. goodness) of cassettes has increased greatly… Nowadays the recording is digital but then it was analog (Jennifer Mgendi during an interview with the author on September 18, 2004, my translation).

Bakunde Mbilima noted that similar changes have taken place at the FM studio where he has been working as a sound engineer since 1999. In addition, he points out improvements in the software they have been using. When he joined the studio they were using a software namely Protus 5.1. They have been changing the version of the software through out the years. By the end of 2004 they were using Protus 6.4. For him this meant an improvement of the studio's products (Bakunde Mbilima during an interview with the author on October 8, 2004).

Fourth, there has been an extension of the role of studios and sound engineers. Sound engineers used to record what musicians played or sang. Of course they did advise them when singers sang out of tune or when instrumentalists played something that was not "agreeable", and thus sometime they would have to do several "takes" or attempts: since the recording was analog there was no simple "cut and paste" to correct such mistakes. However, the situation during the time I conducted this study seemed to be quite different. A number of studios employed sound engineers who were also instrumentalists (keyboard players and/or guitarists) who played the instruments to accompany the musicians (singers) who were not instrumentalists. In cases where the sound engineer had an established reputation but was not an instrumentalist then the studio employed someone else as an instrumentalist of the studio and gave the person some training in sound engineering skills to be able to

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[4] Like all other interviews, this interview was conducted in Kiswahili and the Kiswahili term *sasa* is provided as it may translated differently in various contexts.

assist the sound engineer. The main drive for this was the fact that a number of individual musicians wanted to record their songs, and since they were not instrumentalists themselves the studios had to create instrumentation for their songs. This has been the case also with secular rap, hip hop and other *Bongo flava*[5] styles.

Fifth, the number of street cassette vendors in Dar es Salaam has been growing. Gregory Barz noted this increase in his study (1997) and the pace of this increase has been growing each year. A number of young men and women have worked as employees or entrepreneurs selling cassette tapes in streets of Dar es Salaam. This business took different forms including the establishment of kiosks (small shops) by some. Others constructed movable kiosks with two or four wheels that enabled the vendors to move from one place to another looking for customers. Normally these shops had in-built spaces for a radio cassette player and loud speakers. They kept playing some of the new albums at a volume loud enough to attract possible customers. While some vendors were selling only church music recordings, others sold both church and secular popular music. Below I include some photographs of these shops taken in Dar es Salaam during my fieldwork. After I bought some cassettes from them and explained that I am doing a study of church music they easily allowed me to take these photographs.

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[5] In Tanzania newer forms of secular popular music such as Tanzanian rap, hip pop and zouk are referred to as *Bongo flava* or *muziki wa Kizazi kipya* (music of the new generation).

Fig. 2.2 A Christian Music Cassette Kiosk at Mwenge

Fig. 2.3 A Music Cassette Kiosk at Mwenge Selling Both Secular and Religious Albums
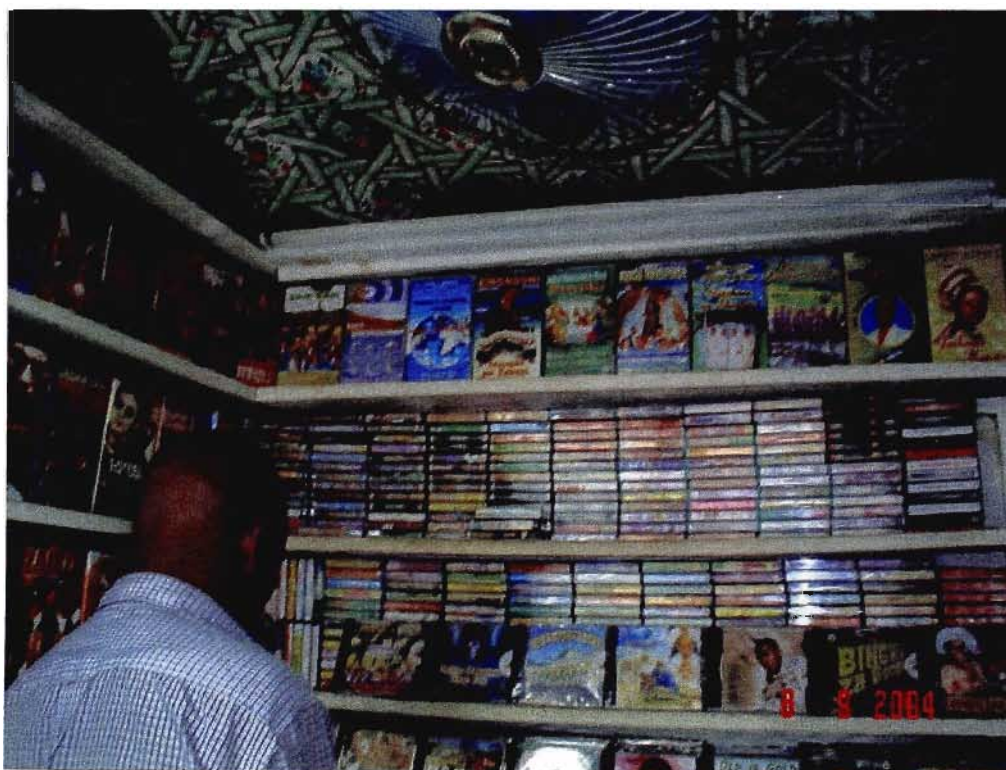
Fig. 2.4 A Mobile Kiosk in the Dar es Salaam City Centre (Parked Infront of Kitega Uchumi Building)

2.4 POPULAR CHURCH MUSIC AND THE MEDIA

Until 1994 Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD) was the only radio station in Dar es Salaam. At that time there was not a single television station in Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar television was the only television in Tanzania.

Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam made efforts to record a variety of music from different parts of the country. The music that was recorded included secular popular band music, traditional ensemble music from different parts of Tanzania (performed in the styles from ethnic groups of those areas) and church choir music. This music was used within different radio programmes. Church choir music was used especially during Christian religious programmes. On rare occasions, one could hear some

church choir songs played as special requests made by the public. For example, during a weekly Sunday programme namely *Salaamu za Wagonjwa* (Greetings from Patients) radio reporters visited patients in hospitals. After a talk with a patient a reporter would ask the patient to send his or her greetings to three relatives or friends and select song to accompany the greetings. In this case some chose church choir songs that the radio had recorded.

With economic liberalization and privatization there has been a growing number of weekly newspapers, radio stations and television stations — most of them being privately owned (Semkiwa 2003). In addition, some of these radio stations and newspapers were owned by church organizations. These include the following weekly newspapers: *Msema kweli, Habari Njema, Nyakati, Tumaini Letu, Njia* and *Pwani na Bara* (the last two of which were not published regularly during my fieldwork in Dar es Salaam). A list of church-owned radio stations includes the following: *Radio Tumaini, Wapo Radio*, Praise Power Radio, and *Upendo FM Radio*. In addition, there was one church-owned television station, namely Agape Television (ATV), which increased the number of television stations in Dar es Salaam to five. Other television stations include TVT *(Television ya Taifa)*, that is, the Tanzanian national television, ITV (Independent Television), DTV (Dar es Salaam Television), CTN (Coast Television Network) and CEN (Cable Entertainment Network). Music has played an important role in nearly every radio and television programme even when the programme has not been primarily musical. I will illustrate this point with specific examples. However, I would like to note here that although popular church music has been broadcast by a number of radio stations, it is mostly through church-owned radio

stations, Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam and TVT (the national television) that this music has reached a wide audience.

Firstly, there are a number of programmes (daily and weekly) that are devoted to church music. An examples of such a programme on Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam is a thirty-minute programme on Sunday, namely *Nyimbo za Dini* (lit. religious songs). There have been many such programmes on church owned stations. An interview with Harris Kapiga of Praise Power Radio gives an overview and the nature of the programmes at Praise Power Radio.

After explaining my research project in general to Harris Kapiga who kindly invited me into his office at Praise Power Radio, I discussed the kind of questions I had for him. No sooner had he begun to reply to the first question than I interrupted him by asking permission to record the interview with my audio cassette recorder. Before allowing me to record he asked me to show him my Identity Card. I picked it from my shirt pocket and showed it to him and the interview resumed.

> H: OK where should we start now?
> I: Let's begin with the music programmes that you have here.
> H: [He takes a pen and writes down as he mentions each programme]
>   We have "Top Twenty of Praise Power Radio". This is a programme
>   of Kiswahili songs. We also have "Top Twenty English Songs" [songs
>   in the English language, mostly American praise and worship songs].
>   Then we have *Gospel Flavour* [6]. This includes songs that are
>   performed in *kizazi kipya*[7] styles [lit. new generation styles]. We also
>   have *Usanii ni huu* (This is art) in which we ask musicians to come to
>   our studio and discuss about their music work, where they learnt
>   music, where they recorded their albums or singles, where they
>   obtained funding for recording and their views about Tanzania

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[6] *Gospel Flavour* is a name of a music programme that broadcasts songs in popular church music styles such as rap and hip-hop. The name seems to be similar is some ways to a programme in Radio One namely, *Bongo Flava,* in which secular popular music is broadcasted.
[7] In Tanzania newer forms of secular popular music such as Tanzanian rap, hip pop and zouk are referred to as music of the *Kizazi kipya.*

musicians and music in general (Harris Kapiga during an interview
with the author on November 16, 2004, my translation).

He also points out that all the music played at Praise Power Radio is church music. He

also mentions that they have a programme namely a choir of the day where songs of

one selected choir are played throughout the session and that each day they have a

different choir.

The term *Nyimbo za Dini* (religious songs) includes both art church music and

popular church music. On Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam, Radio Tumaini (owned by

the Roman Catholic Church) and Upendo FM (owned by the Lutheran church), art

church music and popular church music received more or less equal opportunities to

be broadcast. This was not the case with Praise Power Radio and Wapo Radio which

were owned by two Assemblies of God sects. One could rarely hear art church music

in these radios (I will discuss this issue at length in chapter four where I focus on

music and religious identities).

Secondly, those radio programmes that had elements other than music, such as

newspaper reviews, and sermons and morning or evening prayer programmes were

also made musical by playing some music at the begining, during or at the end of the

session. An interview with Pastor Magafu who was one of the coordinators of

Christian religious programmes at Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD) and TVT

(the national television) illustrates how this worked at RTD:

> In Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD) we have seven Christian
> programmes. The first one is called *Inueni Mioyo* (Lift up your hearts). It is
> aired at 5: 07 am (daily). This is a five-minute programme. Before a sermon
> we have choir music for about one and a half minutes and one and a half
> minutes after the sermon. At night we have another programme called
> *Kumekuchwa* (It's Night Time). This is aired for five minutes from 11: 55 pm.

The sermon takes about three minutes. So we have one minute at the beginning and one minute at the end for a song... (Pastor Magafu during an interview with the author on November 3, 2004, my translation).

Now let me point out briefly the role of church-owned newspapers in relation to popular church music in Dar es Salaam. There were regular columns devoted for *Muziki wa Injili* in both weekly newspapers: *Msema Kweli* and *Habari Njema*. Occasionally, articles on this music did appear in other church owned newspapers such as *Nyakati, Tumaini Letu* and *Njia*. Topics in these articles varied, including the life histories of musicians, information about choirs, new albums, forthcoming concert advertisements, and announcements of evangelical meetings in which the choirs or individual musicians were going to perform as well as critical issues such as debates concerning the relevance or irrelevance of popular church music for religious purposes.

Through these newspapers people in Dar es Salaam were kept informed about the popular church music soundscape. The newspapers were also avenues through which people could air their views about music as well as other issues. In addition, the newspapers served to popularize the music and musicians. Geovin Festo, a reporter of *Msema Kweli* and *Wapo Radio* pointed out during an interview with the author that writing articles about Tanzanian church music was a way of promoting not only Tanzanian music but also the musicians since "when people read the articles they know that a certain musician exists so they are attracted to buy his/her album" (Geovin Festo during an interview with the author on December 26, 2004, my translation).

Another way through which mass media (newspapers radios and televisions) contributed in shaping popular church music was through information about various events in the country and other parts of the world. Contemporary international news such as wars in Angola, Burundi, Sudan, Sarajevo, Kosovo, Iraq, an issue of a gay priest in the Anglican Church, as well as local news such as the Dodoma accident found their way into popular church songs. The songs did not only amplify and prolong the effect of the news but also reshaped them musically with a Christian religious perspective.

2.5 POPULAR CHURCH MUSIC AND EVENTS

2.5.1 Experiencing and Performing the Death of *Mwalimu* Nyerere

For many Tanzanians the end of the twentieth century was marked by a big sorrowful event. On the 14th of October 1999 the first president of Tanzania *Mwalimu* Julius Kambarage Nyerere died.

The significance of *Mwalimu* Nyerere in the history of Tanzania cannot be overemphasised. He was and is respected for spearheading the struggle for Tanganyika's independence. He was and is respected for authoring the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar that gave birth to the present day Tanzania. He was and is respected as the first president of the new nation-state Tanzania. He was and is respected for bringing unity among more than 120 ethnic groups in Tanzania through a number of strategies including the promotion of Kiswahili as a national language. He also made efforts to weaken ethnicity as Askew rightly points out.

> A second strategy was to systematically weaken localized social bonds and simultaneously strengthen national ones by moving and shuffling people

52

throughout the country. Students admitted to state secondary schools are generally sent to schools far from their regions and the same holds true for national service cadets, army recruits and teachers graduating from teacher's training college (Askew 2002: 47).

Moreover, Nyerere was and is respected for building a practical philosophy known as *Ujamaa* (lit. familyhood). *Ujamaa* was primarily a philosophy against the exploitation of one person by another. It also propagated human equality (Mudimbe 1988: 88 and Sogolo 1993: 197). Nyerere condemned not only the capitalist practice of using one's wealth to exploit and dominate others, but more importantly he condemned even the capitalist attitude. He writes: "The man [sic] who uses wealth for the purpose of dominating any of his fellows is a capitalist. So is the man who would if he could" (Nyerere 1968: 162).

His name blew and spread all over Tanzania through poetry about him and his policies which were published in the government newspaper (*Uhuru*) and that of the then ruling party (CCM; *Mzalendo*). His philosophy was made available to many Tanzanians through the publication of his speeches in Kiswahili and through broadcasts of his speeches through Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam. Upon his retirement as a president of Tanzania in 1985 he was proclaimed the father of the nation. Suffice it to say that, for many Tanzanians Nyerere was and is a great man. His death therefore was really a national phenomenon.

In addition, the death of *Mwalimu* Nyerere was made a national phenomenon through the activity of mass media and music. For about two weeks all radio and television stations in Tanzania broadcasted news, songs or information about *Mwalimu* Nyerere's life, his death or burial arrangements. Most of the songs played by these

53

radio and television stations were church choir songs. This is not to deny the fact that the first group to record songs on *Mwalimu*'s death was a secular music and theatre group known as Tanzania One Theatre (TOT) led by the famous Captain John Komba. Later other groups such as Parapanda and popular secular bands recorded and broadcasted some songs on the death. However, the number of church choir songs that were broadcast and the frequency of playing church choir songs in these stations far exceeded that of the secular groups. Some of the first church choirs in Dar es Salaam to record included *Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Kijitonyama* (Kijitonyama Evangelical Choir), *Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Sayuni* (Sayuni Evangelical Choir) and African Inland Church (AIC) choir. More choirs recorded their songs later during the event.

I propose that church choir songs, the manner in which they were performed (with sorrowful faces on the choir members and sometimes wailing sounds and the shedding of tears, particularly on TV) and their repeated broadcasting in radio and television stations played a vital role in shaping people's experience of the death of *Mwalimu* Nyerere. There is a Kiswahili saying that says: *wakati ukuta* which means time is a wall. It is normally used when some behaviours or actions seem to be incompatible with what seems to be appropriate at the time. Borrowing from this saying, I suggest that the subsequent recording and distribution of the songs in albums (audio cassettes and/or CDs) such as *Aturuzukuye* by African Inland Church (AIC) choir and *Kilio Tanzania* by *Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Kijitonyama* (Kijitonyama Evangelical Choir) played a role of prolonging the experience of *Mwalimu* Nyerere's death among Tanzanians beyond its "temporal walls". Listening to the songs today (about six years later) revives and in some cases deepens the feelings one had during the death.

Mwalimu Nyerere's death, on the other hand, was an important "stamp" in the history of popular church music in Tanzania in three ways. First, the event led to an attitudinal change among the owners and workers of radio and television stations about the broadcasting of church music. For the first time in the history of Tanzania, church music was broadcast by these radio and television stations outside the confines of religious programmes which were prepared by representatives of various religious denominations (pastors). Some TV and radio stations which did not have religious programmes broadcast church songs for the first time. In short, before this event popular church music and church music in general was seen to be the music of "other spaces" (following Foucault 1994). After this event, church music featured regularly in these radios and televisions sometimes even beyond the limits of religious programmes as *Mwalimu* Tesha of *Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Sayuni* (Sayuni Evangelical Choir) explains.

> The event that I remember because it was relatively big is that of *Mwalimu* Nyerere's death. We participated in this event because we were asked to participate. These TV people...especially TV people did not feel that choirs were important in their studios.... Those TV stations which were not religious did not see any reason of having religious music in their libraries. Therefore they never asked for our music. So I think it started there. They found that they needed choir songs about the death of *Mwalimu* Nyerere. Where would they get the songs without asking the choirs? That is when they started asking us to compose the songs. I remember it was like, 'today we have come; we want you to record the songs tomorrow'. We even quarrelled sometimes.... Since then they have invited us to record our songs even during normal events... (*Mwalimu* Archbold Tesha during an interview with the author on December 15, 2004, my translation).

Secondly, the broadcasting of popular church music during the mourning for *Mwalimu* Nyerere, publicised individual musicians such as guitarists, choir conductors and lead singers to music lovers in general and music business people in particular. Mercy Nyagwaswa (one of the famous female popular church musician in

55

Dar es Salaam) sang with AIC Dar es Salaam Choir as a lead singer of the now

famous song *Aturuzukuye*. She perceives that the broadcasting of the song made her

famous in Dar es Salaam. Through this fame she was able to obtain a funding for

recording her own album *Mbingu Zahubiri* (Heaven Proclaim). She says:

> In 1999 I came back from Kenya after completing my University studies there. In the year '99 when the father of the nation (*Mwalimu* Julius Kambarage Nyerere) died, I was singing with the AIC Dar es Salaam Choir. So we sang this song called *Aturuzukuye* which was played in radios and televisions. *Huu ndio ulionitoa* (This is what publicised me, lit. this is what brought me out there)…. I saw that many people including Moslems were attracted to my singing. Many people followed me and asked me to sing in various places. That's when I knew that I have a great potential. But I did not hurry. I waited until this year when I have come up with my first album *Mbingu Zahubiri* (Mercy Nyagwaswa during an interview with the author on November 1, 2004, my translation).

Thirdly, the death of *Mwalimu* Nyerere contributed in shaping popular church music

by being a catalyst for choirs to compose new songs. A number of songs were

composed especially for this event. In some cases, new lyrics were composed and set

to "old" tunes. The songs were performed in a new way to fit in this sorrowful event.

In addition, as I have pointed out earlier, some choirs recorded and released albums in

which these songs were included. Some choirs like the AIC Dar es Salaam Choir

included a few songs they had for the events in their general album volume nine.

Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Kijitonyama (Kijitonyama Evangelical choir), on the contrary,

recorded and released a special album with all the songs about the death of *Mwalimu*

Nyerere that it performed during the mourning period.

Below I provide a close reading of one song by *Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Kijitonyama*

(Kijitonyama Evangelical choir) namely *Kilio Tanzania* (now in the choir's special

album with the same title). The reading is intended to illustrate how the song treats the

death of *Mwalimu* Nyerere through the lyrics and the manner of singing.

Kilio Tanzania

Original version (in Kiswahili)	English translation
L1: Kilio kilio kilio Tanzania.	L1: A cry (mourning) in Tanzania.
C: Am am am am	C: Am am am am
L2: Tunalia tunalia tunalia	L2: We cry (we mourn).
C: Am am am am	C: Am am am am
L1: Kilio kilio kilio Tanzania	L1: A cry (mourning) in Tanzania.
C: Am am am am	C: Am am am am
Tunalia Tanzania katutoka Mwalimu Nyerere.	We cry (mourn) *Mwalimu* Nyerere has departed from us.
Twakuomba Ee Mungu Tubariki taifa Tanzania.	We pray, Oo God bless our nation Tanzania.
L1: Kila jambo linatoka kwako Ee.	L1: We know that everything comes from you.
C: Twafahamu, Baba Mungu umefanya yalomapenzi yako.	C: God our father you have accomplished your will.
L1: Twaomba fariji familia	L1. We pray that you comfort the family
C: Yake mama	C: of *mama* Maria (lit. mother, meaning Mrs.
Maria na watoto Ee Mungu wafariji.	Maria Nyerere] and the children.
L1: Waondolee pia majonzi Ee	L1: We ask you to take away all their sorrows.
C: Ee Mungu,	C: Oh God,
Twakuomba wafariji na watanzania wote.	We ask that you comfort all Tanzanians.
L1: Amani pia na utulivu Ee	L1: Let there be peace
C: Itawale	C: Let there be peace in the whole nation.
Mahali pote Tanzania tuishi kwa umoja	Let us live in unity
C: Am am am am	C: Am am am am
Spoken Prayer	Spoken prayer:
Kweli inasikitisha kuondokewa na mtu muhimu kama Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere.	It is really sad that such an important person like *Mwalimu* Julius Kambarage Nyerere has departed from us.
Mtu huyu tulimuhitaji sana.	We needed so much this person.
Lakini Mungu wewe umemtwaa.	But God, you have taken him.
Sasa Baba tunakuomba amani katika taifa hili la Tanzania.	Now Father, we ask for peace in our nation Tanzania.
Tunaomba Mungu hekima kwa viongozi wote wa serikali.	God, we ask for wisdom to all our leaders of our government.
Nikiomba kwa ajili ya raisi Benjamin Mkapa.	I pray for our president Benjamin Mkapa.
Nikiomba kwa ajili ya mawaziri wote.	I pray for all the ministers.
Nakusihi Mungu ukaweze kuwapa	I ask you God that you give them wisdom.

hekima. Wakaingoze hii serikali kwa mkono wako. Asante Mungu kwa kuwa kila jambo unaliweza wewe. Asante.	Help them to lead this nation through your hand. Thank you God for you are able to do anything. Thank you.
L1: Kilio kilio kilio Tanzania. C: Am am am am L2: Tunalia tunalia tunalia C: Am am am am L1: Kilio kilio kilio Tanzania C: Am am am am	L1: A cry (mourning) in Tanzania. C: Am am am am L2: We cry (we mourn). C: Am am am am L1: A cry (mourning) in Tanzania. C: Am am am am
Song by *Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Kijitonyama* (Kijitonyama Evangelical Choir) in the choir's special album *Kilio Tanzania* (my translation).	

Key:

L1: First lead singer

L2: Second lead singer

C: Choir

The song begins by creating a mourning mood through wailing sounds of the choir in a form of humming, the call from the first lead singer: *kilio* (mourning or cry) and the crying-like tone of the second lead singer who sings: *tunalia* (we cry). In addition, as the song comes to an end someone breaks into a cry above the spoken prayer and choir humming. This sentiment is also expressed through an illustration on the cover of the album (Fig. 2.5).

Fig. 2.5 A Photograph of the Cover of the Album *Kilio Tanzania*
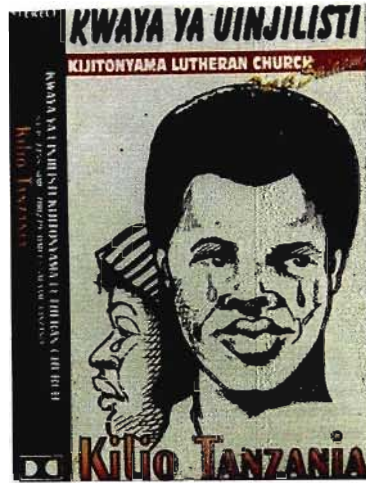
The lyrics of the song explain the reason for this mourning. The reason is the death of Nyerere whom Tanzania still needs. However, since his death is God's will, the song accepts it. But it asks God to provide comfort not only to the family of *Mwalimu* Nyerere but also to all Tanzanians since Nyerere was a national figure. The song also asks God to bring unity and peace in Tanzania. Listening to this song one gets a feeling that Nyerere was still regarded to be a pillar of unity and peace in the country. Therefore his death seems to be a threat to both unity and peace. Part of this song is included in the video that accompanies this thesis as a sound track of the sequence on *Mwalimu* Nyerere's death. Additionally, the musical transcription of the spoken prayer section is given in chapter 3 (Fig. 3.18). It is also given as an example in chapter 1 (Fig. 1.1).

2.5.2 Experiencing and Performing Computer and Telecommunication Technology

Both computers and different types of telephones were used in Tanzania (at least in some places) even before the 1980s. However, after the economic liberalization and privatization policies began to operate in the 1980s, the importation of these

technologies increased rapidly. Firstly, since a number of foreign companies, organisations and institutions were established (mainly by people from technologically advanced countries) and many Tanzanians employed in those companies, organisations and institutions, computer technology and its language became a common place experience (at least for those people). Secondly, since a number of mobile telephone companies operate in the country and the use of mobile telephones has been increasing not only in cities but also in some rural areas, the use of telephone language such as "wrong number", "hold on", or "unreachable" has been increasingly become a common-place practice for many Tanzanians.

These technological experiences have been reflected in a number of popular church songs in various ways. First, most popular church songs themselves have been produced in computerised studios. The computers have been used in programming the beats and the instrumental parts of the songs or manipulating voices or instruments by adding some sound effects. Hence these songs as we hear them in choirs' albums and sometimes even during concerts (as many musicians and groups perform with a play back of pre-recorded music) are to a large extent products of computer technology application. Both the musicians and listeners experience the technology through performing or listening to these songs.

Secondly, people have responded to computer and internet culture in varying ways. On the one hand the technologies have been positively appreciated for their capacity to simplify work through offering new possibilities and making communication easier and faster. On the other hand, the technologies have been condemned on grounds that they enhance immoral behaviour, particularly through pornography, which has been

made easily accessible in public places such as internet cafes. Sometimes this condemnation has been made from the Christian point of view that the technologies enhance unreligious behaviours. At other times the condemnation has been made from the cultural perspective that the technologies are seen to lead to the destruction of Tanzanian culture. A few lines from a song by Rose Muhando titled *Mteule Uwe Macho* (now in the album *Uwe Macho*) illustrate the point. The song alerts the chosen ones (Christians) to be aware of many temptations that face Christians. It portrays what it labels as the evils that we witness today, such as killings, war, suicide bombing, and gay behaviour even among priests, to name but a few, as signs that the last day is approaching. Particularly relevant here is that the lyrics condemn those who engage in prostitution and adultery. They also condemn the publication of these practices through the internet and advise Christians to make themselves clean because Jesus is coming soon.

Thirdly, even when the songs do not address issues related to computers, the internet or telecommunication technologies as the primary subjects, these technologies have been reflected in popular church music in a form of metaphors. Metaphors involve an understanding or expressing one thing in terms of another thing. In this way the functioning of metaphors involve two layers of meaning, one that is literal or on the surface and one that is on an inner level (Lakoff and Johnson 1980 and Hagberg 2001). More importantly, metaphors are indispensable particularly when what is communicated is unfamiliar and thus not accessible in common-place experiences such as when we talk of God in terms of a father. In short, when there is no way to get to the principle subject directly, metaphors take us there through common-place images (McFague 1975 and Mutembei 2001). Computer, internet and communication

61

culture, which are now commonplace for many Tanzanians and among the church choirs studied in particular, are normally used as metaphors to express heavenly, spiritual, invisible, and intangible realities making these realities seem earthly, physical, visible and tangible. In this way comprehension of the complex phenomena is simplified.

There are a number of popular church songs that employ computer and telecommunication culture metaphorically. My close reading of two songs below illustrates this point. The two songs are: a wedding song by *Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Sayuni* (Sayuni Evangelical choir) namely, *Password ya Ndoa* and a song by Kinondoni Revival Choir namely, *Wrong Number Shetani*.

Password ya Ndoa

Original version (in Kiswahili)	English translation
Leo twashauri wale wote wenye ndoa Tunawakumbusha wale wote wenye ndoa Weka ufunguo kwenye ndoa yako Baba Weka kidhibiti kwenye ndoa yako Mama	Today we advise all married persons. Today we remind all married persons. Father, put a key on your marriage. Mother, put a protector on your marriage.
Ufunguo wako ni Yesu mwokozi Akifunga yeye hafungui mtu baba Password yako ni Yesu mwokozi Akilinda yeye shangingi hapati kitu mama	Jesus the Saviour is your key. When He closes no one is able to open. Jesus the saviour is your password. Mother, when he guards no harlot will enter.
Mkabidhi mkeo kwa Yesu Mwokozi Akishika yeye hachukui mtu Baba Mkabidhi Mumeo kwaYesu Mwokozi Akilinda yeye Hafungui shangingi hapati kitu mama	Surrender your wife to Jesus. Father, no one will be able to take her. Surrender your husband to Jesus. Mother, no harlot will be able to take him.
Hebu ujaribu sasa Utaona wema wake. Ndipo utajua Yesu ni mwanzo na mwisho Sisi tunasema hivi Bwana asifiwe. Amen.	So now try and see His goodness. You will know that He is the beginning and end. We proclaim that the Lord be praised. Amen.

Na wewe Bwana arusi kumbuka kufanya hivyo	You bridegroom remember to do that.
Na wewe Bibi arusi kumbuka kufanya hivyo	You bride remember to do that.
A song by *Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Sayuni* (Sayuni Evangelical Choir) in album volume 14 titled *Mungu Yu Mwema* (my translation).	

The password metaphor in this song (*Password ya Ndoa*) works on three basic assumptions. First, a Christian marriage is expected to be a one-to-one marriage (that is, one husband and one wife). Second, a married person having a sexual relationship outside this marriage not only sins against God but also shows unfaithfulness to one's spouse. Third, this Christian model of marriage contradicts other religious and cultural practices such as polygamy that is allowable traditionally among many Tanzanian ethnic groups and within Islam (another religion that has many followers in the coast of Tanzania). It also contradicts with observable realities among many married persons who practice what in Christian teaching is called adultery.

It is against this background that the password metaphor builds its meaning. According to the song, only through Christianity (acceptance of Jesus) can a true one-to-one marriage be possible. More importantly, the song draws its surface layer from the now common-place computer and internet culture. Through a password only an authorised person gets access to a computer, certain computer information, certain websites or one's email address. A password protects one's data against unauthorised persons. Jesus therefore seems to be the only key or password to this kind of marriage. With Jesus neither adultery nor polygamy will threaten one's marriage.

Let me emphasis that when "accepting Jesus into one's life" or "letting Jesus take control of one's marriage" seems to be an abstract and incomprehensible message, the

password metaphor allows a listener to comprehend the same message imaginatively through something that one is familiar with, i.e. a password. The score of this song was given to me by *Mwalimu* Archbold Tesha (the composer of the song). He also played the music on his computer so that I could hear how it sounds. I include below the score of this song (which includes voices without instrumentation). I find it interesting to note the way the message of this song, "password" is illustrated on the score using an image of a padlock and keys (see Fig. 2.6).

Fig. 2.6 A Score of the Song *Password ya Ndoa*

Wrong Number

Original version (in Kiswahili)	English translation
(Sound effects) Telephone call (A Voice of a Man): Hallo…Hallo…	(Sound effect) Telephone call (A Voice of a Man): Hallo…Hallo…
Lead singer (Woman's voice): Sikilizeni wapendwa. Kabla sijaokoka Shetani alinitesa na alinitumikisha Kila akinihitaji, alinipigia simu. Siku moja ya ajabu Yesu aliniokoa	**Lead singer (Woman's voice):** Listen, my friends. Before I was saved. Satan tormented me and made me his slave. Whenever he wanted me, he telephoned me. On one wonderful day Jesus saved me.

Akanisamehe dhambi.	He forgave my sins.
Nikapokea wokovu.	I received salvation.
N'kakata mawasiliano ya simu za ibilisi.	I disconnected Satan's phone lines.
Kila akinipigia huyo Shetani,	Whenever Satan called me through a phone,
Namwambia: Wrong number Shetani,	I reply to him: Wrong number Satan,
Wrong Number.	Wrong Number.
Ndugu uliye dhambini ni mtumwa wa Shetani.	You who are still in sin, you are Satan's slave.
Simu unazopigiwa, zote zatoka kwa Mwovu.	All the calls you receive come from the Devil.
Lakini mimi mwenzio nawasiliana na Mungu	But I communicate with God.
Magumu yakinipata nawasiliana na Mungu	When I face difficulties I communicate with God.
Sasa tunakushauri uachane na shetani	So we advice you now, get rid of Satan.
Kama akikupigia umwambie: Wrong Number	If he calls you, tell him: Wrong Number.
Mimi akinipia huyo shetani,	When Satan calls me,
Humwambia: Wrong Number, Wrong Number,	I tell him: Wrong Number, Wrong Number, Wrong Number.
Wrong Number.	

Spoken words:
Watu wa Mungu shetani akikupigia simu, Mwambie: wrong number.

Spoken words:
People of God, if Satan phones you, tell him: Wrong Number.

Chorus:
Wrong Number Shetani kwangu Ee.
Wrong Number Shetani kwangu Ee.

Chorus:
Wrong Number Satan.
Wrong Number Satan.

Lead singer:
Sikiliza Shetani, nataka ujue.
Mimi nimeokoka.
Kamwe sitabadili msimamo kwa Yesu.
Ni mwokozi wangu.

Lead singer:
Listen Satan, I want you to know.
I am now saved.
Never will I change my stand in Jesus.
He is my Saviour.

Chorus:
Wrong Number Shetani kwangu Ee.
Wrong Number Shetani kwangu Ee.

Chorus:
Wrong Number Satan.
Wrong Number Satan.

Lead singer:
Nakushangaa wee Shetani.

Wee mtu wa Mungu Shetani akikupigia, mwambie yakuwa Wrong Number Shetani.
Yakija magonjwa, ikija huzuni, Wrong Number Shetani.

Lead singer:
I am surprised at you Satan [who continues to call me].
You people of God, if Satan calls you, tell him: Wrong Number Satan.

When you face illnesses, when you face sorrows, [tell him] Wrong Number Satan.

Chorus:	Chorus:
Wrong Number Shetani kwangu Ee.	Wrong number Satan.
Wrong Number Shetani kwangu Ee.	Wrong number Satan.
A song by Kinondoni Revival Choir in the choir's 3rd album titled *Wrong Number Shetani* (my translation).	

The metaphor in this song takes its reference from both modern telecommunication language and from a man-woman relationship. The song depicts the man's voice that we hear just after the phone sound, as coming from Satan while the voice of the narrator in the song is of a woman.

In this metaphor both stories (the *surface layer* story and the *inner layer* story) are told simultaneously within a single storyline. We are told the story of a woman who had a relationship with a man (on the surface) and Satan (in the inner layer). This relationship was not a fair one because the man/Satan tormented the woman. At the surface, a man used a telephone whenever he wanted the woman for his sexual needs. The obvious mention of Satan as the man using a phone brings to our attention the fact that Satan had a means to make his wishes known to the woman for her to fulfil. In the second stanza, the song tells us that a telephone represents all temptations that Christians face in their daily lives. The narration of an end of this relationship with Satan also involves the simultaneous flow of both *surface* and *inner layer* accounts. This relationship ends when the woman meets a good man on the *surface layer* and Jesus in the *inner layer*. The man (Jesus) forgives the woman her sins. This suggests that Jesus is expressed as a legitimate husband of the woman. He forgives her for having relationship with the other man (Satan). Finally the woman turns completely to Jesus.

At this point, we can understand the rationale for her reply, *Wrong Number Shetani* (Wrong Number Satan), when she receives a call from him (man/Satan). At the surface it shows that her reply, wrong number, is intended to inform the man that she has terminated her relationship with him. The call seems to be an unwanted call which a woman receives from a man with whom she has terminated a relationship. The second stanza goes deep inside the metaphor and didactically, tells us that when we face temptations from Satan we should reject them and stand firm in Jesus.

The main point I would like to make in connection with the wrong number metaphor is the fact that this metaphor is informed by a telecommunication culture. It uses telephone language. With today's technological and mass media experiences, words such as "hello", "hi", "hold on", or "unreachable" have become common-place terminologies in Tanzania not only in urban centres but even in rural areas. The terminologies have become commonplace even in places where the speakers do not speak English sometimes nor even Kiswahili (the Tanzania's national language). To concretise the point, let me recall an experience of hearing a radio call in a remote village (Kidugala) in Iringa (one region in Southern Tanzania) in 1996. The person was talking to someone in another remote village through a missionary-operated radio call. She was talking in Kibena (a local language that most villagers there used). She started by calling and greeting, "Kidugala, Kidugala, over. *Kamwene, kamwene,* over. *Tulivhanofu, Tulivhanofu ela,* over". Note that mentioning the name of the village (Kidugala) twice, greeting someone by saying a greeting (*Kamwene* or *Tulivhanofu*) twice and ending one's speaking turn with "over" to let the other person know that one has finished his or her turn, is not typical Kibena, Kiswahili nor even usual

68

English but is a part of radio-call language and culture. In the same way, the *Wrong Number* song uses a telephone language. In this way Christians' rejection of Satan and his temptations (such an abstract phenomenon) is concretized by the commonplace telephone language and the man-woman relationship. Since the song is discussed in chapter 3 in relation to the structural organization of popular church music the musical transcription of the song is included in chapter 3 (Fig. 3.18).

2.5.3 Tanzania Gospel Music Award (TGMA 2004) Concert

For many popular church musicians in Tanzania, (*Tamasha la kutoa tuzo kwa wanamuziki bora wa Muziki wa Injili*) the Tanzania Gospel Music Award 2004 concert that took place on the 30th of January 2005 marked the end of the year 2004. As the MC during the concert remarked: "For the first time in the history of Tanzania, for the first time in the history of music in Tanzania and for the first time in the history of church music in Tanzania" a big event, namely the Tanzania Gospel Music Award 2004 concert took place. The concert took place in the largest hall in Dar es Salaam, Diamond Jubilee. Originally the concert, which was organised by Praise Power Radio with logistical advice from BASATA (*Baraza la Sanaa la Taifa*, that is, the National Arts Council), was to take place in October 2004. Due to what was said to be "unforeseeable and unavoidable" factors it was postponed until the 30th of January 2005. The concert was organised so as to acknowledge and promote musicians of *Muziki wa Injili* (Lit. Gospel music) for their good work of spreading the gospel through music. Specifically, the musicians were to be awarded not for their work throughout their musical life but for the music that they had recorded in the year 2004. The event had been advertised mainly through church-owned radio stations and church-owned newspapers since September 2004. The advertisement included

information such as the reasons for doing it, registration logistics and the deadline for registration.

My participation as an observer, recorder and photographer in this event (after it was postponed) was accidental. I planned to finish my fieldwork in Tanzania by the end of December. By early January I planned to return to South Africa to continue with the analysis, interpretation and writing of my thesis. Frustrating delays in funding my studies made me stay in Tanzania for one more month. Because of these delays I received the opportunity to attend the Tanzania Gospel Music Award 2004 concert.

I arrived at the hall a bit late (around 2:30 pm although the concert was to begin at 2:00 pm) but the concert had not begun yet. I bought a 2000 Tanzanian shilings ticket (approximately 2.20 USD). There were also 5000 Tanzanian shilings tickets for special seats. Long queues at the gates made an entry difficult. After some minutes I found myself in the hall, which was full of people. There was only a little space at the back where there were no chairs. Since many people were standing I could not see what was taking place during that time on the stage. Around 3: 15 the concert began with some performances by a number of groups. Those people who were standing at the sides of the hall, those at the back, and some of those who had seats moved to the space between the performers' stage and the first row of seats to take part in the dance. They danced following the dance styles of the performers. This was also an opportunity for me to get closer to the performers. Thus I was able not only to participate in the dance but also to record and take some photos of performances.

During announcements, slow songs (they call them "songs in blues style") or some quite moments, those of us who had no seats sat on that same space.

Guests of honour, concert organisers and the MCs sat on the first row of the audiences seats. We were sitting just in front of them. I happened to know personally one of the guests of honour, an MP from Singida, Hon. Lazaro. So I asked permission to take a photo of him. During the award presentation I noticed that there were thirteen guests of honour. These were MPs and other government officials. Each award was presented to a musician or a group by one guest of honour. Likewise, each guest of honour was accompanied by an MC who was a radio presenter from a church-owned radio station or from one secular radio station, Clouds FM. These MCs read the details of the respective awards and named the groups or musicians who were in the running for the award before mentioning the winner of the award. The concert ended around 11:30 pm. By that time almost all *daladala* (town minibuses) had "gone to sleep". Given the number of people who came from the concert, it was a "day-dream" to get transport using the very few which were still operating. People walked on foot in small bands. On the way some jumped into taxis, although there were few unoccupied taxis available. After walking about three kilometres, I also found a taxi which I shared with someone else who was with me.

Below is a list of the awards that were presented during the concert and the choirs or musicians who were awarded.

Fig. 2.7 A List of the Awards That Were Presented During the Concert

S/N	Award	Winner
1.	Best music video of the year	*Kwaya ya Kasulu* (Kasulu Choir) from Kigoma (the name of the video *Mke Mwema*)
2.	Best single of the year	Debora Shabaan
3.	Best music producer of the year	Malon Linje (Studio engineer of MJ production studio)
4.	Best album of the year	Rose Muhando (the name of the album: *Mteule Uwe Macho*
5.	Best band of the year	AVC (Amani Vijana Centre) band
6.	Best Choir that sing A capella (the MC adds a description: "you know these choirs that sing professionally notated songs)	Ubungo SDA (Seventh Day Adventist) choir
7.	Best choir that uses piano (The choirs mentioned in this category use electric keyboard so "piano" is used as a generic term for keyboards)	Mwananyamala Roman Catholic Choir
8.	Best choir that uses all instruments (the choir mentioned used electric guitars Keyboard and drum machine)	*Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Kijitonyama* (Kijitonyama Evangelical choir)
9.	Best music group (normally having fewer people than choirs, perhaps two to something around ten, but there are groups which grow bigger than some choirs without changing their names as groups)	Kijitonyama Upendo Group
10.	Best song of the year	*Kwaya ya Kasulu* (Kasulu Choir) from Kigoma (the name of the video *Mke Mwema*)
11.	Best male singer of the year	David Robert
12.	Best composer of the year	Rose Muhando
13.	Best female singer of the year	Rose Muhando

A few observations now can be made with regard to this historic event. First, let me begin with what seemed to me to be "choirs out place". When the MC mentioned the choir that sang a capella he had to provide a description, since there was no applause from the audience (as there was when other categories were mentioned): "You know

72

these choirs *zinazoimba kitaalamu nyimbo za noten* (that sing notated songs professionally)". When he mentioned the Ubungo SDA (Seventh Day Adventist) Choir no one came to take the award: it seemed that there was no representative of the choir in the hall. Similarly, when the best choir that uses "piano", the Mwananyamala RC choir, was mentioned no one came up to collect the award for some minutes. Later, when the guest of honour said she would keep it for the choir, one lady from the audience came up to collect the award while the audience was murmuring about whether she was really a member of that choir. Though I will explore this issue in details in chapter four where I discuss popular church music and religious identities let me just briefly point out that the concert that was announced was of *Muziki wa Injili*. When literally translated this term would include all church music, but in practice the term was used to refer to popular church music. However, the Mwananyamala RC choir performed mainly art music. The SDA choir not only performs art choir music (professional) but has not been able to popularise itself because of its lack of access to media, both radio and TV. Unlike other Christian denominations, the SDA church has no representative in the government radio, RTD, or in the government television, TVT. Also it has no radio station of its own. Because some of the teachings of this Christian denomination radically differ from those of other religious denominations, there has been a long time during which its music has not been welcomed by the programmers of religious programmes from different denominations. The most controversial difference between SDAs and other Christian denominations in Tanzania is that of the day of worship. While other Christian denominations worship on Sunday, the SDAs worship on Saturday. According to Pastor Magafu (one of coordinators of Christian programmes at RTD and TVT), some songs of SDA choirs were seen to be preaching against worshipping on Sunday and

insisting that Saturday is the right day for worship. These songs therefore were seen to be a threat to the faith of Christians of other denominations and hence were eschewed by the radio programmers from those other denominations (Pastor Magafu during an interview with the author on November 3, 2004). In short, during this event both the Mwananyamala RC choir and the Ubungo SDA choir were therefore seen to be choirs that were "out of place" or choirs of "other spaces" (following Foucalt 1994).

Secondly, all awards were based on the recordings done by the musicians or choirs in the year 2004. Those who did not record during this time did not qualify for the awards. In addition, even of those who recorded in the year 2004, only those who decided to register for the award were considered eligible for it.

A third observation focuses on the involvement of the mass media, particularly radio stations in "creating" a "best" musician or a star of the year. I am concerned here with the ways musicians received public attention through the activity of radio broadcasts. Normally, radio presenters select songs to play during their respective programmes. The more a musician or a song is heard the more people engage with the musician or the song. Even the Top Twenty of Praise Power Radio, as Harris Kapiga explained, depended on the frequency with which the song was played not only by Praise Power Radio, but also by other radio stations. It was also noted that many people recognised radio broadcasting as a way of promoting one's music and spreading one's name. In short, my argument is that for one to become the "best" or a star largely depended on the work of the radios and their presenters' preferences.

Fourthly, the categories that were set for awards were "created" by the organisers (who happened to belong to one of the radio stations). There were other categories for which people might have been awarded. One can think of such categories as "best instrumentalist" or, more specifically, "best solo guitarist", "best bass guitarist", "best rhythm guitarist", "best choir teacher" and "best choir lead singer" (since a lead singer in a choir requires different skills from that of a solo singer).

One may be sceptical of the procedures and criteria that were used to nominate winners in each category. The judges, for example, mentioned that the sales record was one of the indicators. Given the fact that most music cassettes in Tanzania are sold informally, any judgement based on data from the formal market would be questionable as an indicator for the best seller. But even if we were to grant that these procedures were unquestionable (although I posit that they were not), two other issues may be raised.

First, it was concluded by the mass media (both newspapers and radios) that Rose Muhando was the best artist, star and queen of *Muziki wa Injili* in Tanzania. This was the message of the headlines of most articles that reported about the event no matter what other details the articles would give. Of course, a few letters from the public were also published. Most of them criticised the event as not being religious, that is, a trick of Satan to kill the musicians of *Muziki wa Injili* spiritually and as a "marriage" between the church and the "world" (Jeremia 2005: 4 and Rashidi 2005: 6). However, the fact that the "best" of *Muziki wa Injili* in Tanzania was identified by winning three out of thirteen awards seems to be illogical. There were impermeable boundaries

between most of these awards. It was impossible, for example, for *Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Kijitonyama* (Kijitonyama Evangelical Choir) to run for best female singer, best male singer, best choir that sings a capella, or best band. Likewise, it was impossible for Rose Muhando to run for best male singer, best choir that sings a capella or best choir that uses "piano". Winning two or more awards therefore was a matter primarily of the availability of those categories for which one would be eligible to run. Since the categories as I have pointed out, were "created" by the organisers (an institution that was part of the mass media itself), the mass media's conclusion that Rose Muhando had become the "queen" of *Muziki wa Injili* in Tanzania by winning more awards than any other musician or choir was based on the wrong assumption that all awards were equally open to all musicians and choirs. Thus the conclusion was at best misleading or at worst another calculated technique of "stardom creation".

Secondly, as I have already pointed out, having made a recording was a criterion for one to be eligible to enter into the award competition. That is to say, the recording was viewed by the organisers to be the primary way of experiencing *Muziki wa Injili*. However, people in Dar es Salaam had been experiencing *Muziki wa Injili* in a number of other avenues such as live performances during evangelistic meetings, the ever-growing number of popular church music concerts and performances during church services throughout the year. I posit that the recording criterion for these awards ignores all the other ways through which people experience the music. In other words, the event and the resulting experiences of popular church music in Tanzania seem to be narrower than the real people's experiences of popular church music in Tanzania.

The foregoing discussion is not meant to disqualify the event, its mission and the musicians or choirs that won the awards in any way (as it may seem to be). Instead it aims to show the role of mass media (radio in particular) in the "creation" of stardom of *Muziki wa Injili* in Tanzania. The details of my observations are meant to show the nature and "technique" through which this "creation" was accomplished at the practical level. The event chosen is just an example (not representative) of many that one could decide to cite.

2.6 POPULAR CHURCH MUSIC AND THE RHYTHM OF TIME

A number of music-making processes in church choirs are intentionally or unintentionally normally organized in such a way that they correspond with the rhythmic ordering of time. In this section of the chapter, I discuss how the rhythm of time shapes choirs' musical experiences. I include the rhythm of the year, the rhythm of the week and the rhythm of the day. I draw most of my examples from the experiences of *Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Sayuni* (Sayuni Evangelical Choir) of Kinondoni Lutheran Church in Dar es Salaam. However, in some cases I make comparison with other choirs in Dar es Salaam —choirs that I was able to observe or in whose music making I was able to participate. These choirs include the *Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Kijitonyama* (Kijitonyama Evangelical Choir) and the Hosana Choir of the University of Dar es Salaam.

2.6.1 Rhythm of the Year

For a church choir the year is composed of mega events such as Advent, Christmas, New Year, Passion Week and Easter as well as many other smaller ones such as the ascendance of Jesus and Pentecost. In services one feels this rhythm not only through

77

Biblical readings set for each occasion, choir songs and congregational hymns but also by the colours of sashes (*stala*) such as red, green purple etc. Church choirs organised their music experiences in relation to these events. During Advent choirs sang songs about the coming of Jesus for the second time and when Christmas approached the choir sang songs about repentance and being ready to receive the new born Jesus Christ. *Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Sayuni* (Sayuni Evangelical Choir), for example, had rearranged and provided instrumentation of a church hymn, *Hosiana Asifiwe Ajaye* (hymn number 2 in the Lutheran hymn book *Mwimbieni Bwana*). Even when the congregation sang the song before the choir, we in the choir also sang another version of the same song during our turn. Of course, the song was experienced differently since the instrumentation; electric guitars and keyboard, the beat from a drum machine, steps or dance movements and an added stanza made the choir's version of the song quite different from the congregational one.

During Christmas the music had to reflect the birth of Jesus and all other events that the Bible describes as taking place during and after the birth of Jesus. I pointed out earlier that this does not mean all Christmases are alike since choirs vary the experience of one Christmas with another musically. Let me illustrate this with the teaching of a Christmas song *Noeli* (Noel) by one of the Sayuni Evangelical Choir teachers *Mwalimu* Aliko Mwankenja.

An Extract from Author's Fieldnotes: At the beginning of today's rehearsal *Mwalimu* Aliko Mwankenja distributes a few pieces of papers to some singers of each part (*sauti*). Then he starts to teach the song by singing a line alone and then the soprano singers sing with him. Finally he lets them sing alone. As they repeated the

line he tries out the alto part. When he has it he starts to teach alto singers. The same procedure is used to all the other parts until the stanza section is mastered. After he has taught soprano to sing the chorus section he lets them sing alone. Someone sings different words. *Mwalimu* Aliko Mwankenja remarks: "*Hayo yalikuwa ya mwaka jana sasa nimeweka mapya*" (those words were of last year; now I have replaced them with the new ones). Another singer (soprano) remarks: "But we didn't have the stanzas last year". *Mwalimu* Aliko Mwankenja smiles and replies: "*last* year it was only a '*pambio*' [a short call and response chorus]. I have amended it (*nimeufanyia ukarabati*) and now it is a song". Then he continues to teach the song (my fieldnotes December 14, 2004).

The following transcription of the song (Fig. 2.9) is intended to show the parts of the song that were taught for a 2003 Christmas (section B: bar 36–45) and those that were added when the song was taught for the 2004 Christmas (section A: bar 1–35).

Fig 2.8 My Transcription of the Melodic Line of *Noeli*

79

After Christmas the church celebrates a New Year on the first of January. Church choir songs during this occasion vary from those that celebrate the birth of Jesus to those that give thanks and those that are sung as prayers asking God's blessings and protection during the New Year. Let me note the peculiarity of this event from the rest

of events in the rhythm of the year. All the other events were in some ways concerned with Jesus' life (from his birth, death, resurrection and ascendance to his second coming). The New Year event is peculiar since it is based on the cosmic movement of earth and moon in relation to the sun. It is not exclusively Christian as are the other events. In Tanzania it is celebrated by many people regardless of their religious affiliation. However, the event was made religious or Christian in particular through Christian rituals, Biblical readings and church songs performed during the event as well as the physical place (in the church) where these rituals took place. Following the model of spatial trialectics (Lefebvre 1991 and Deal 2002 and 2003), the experience of a New Year can be seen as a real lived space made possible by the interaction between the mental space that included rituals and songs as well as the physical space (the church buildings).

Other important events I would like to discuss here in relation with choirs' experiences include Good Friday and Easter which celebrate or give an account of the death and resurrection of Jesus respectively. I did not get an opportunity to observe any of these events during my fieldwork (July 2004–January 2005). I will therefore limit my discussion to the songs that deal with these two events which have been recorded by the choirs and which I was able to obtain on albums.

Most of the choir songs for this event describe what happened to Jesus, how he was persecuted, crucified to death and his triumphant resurrection. Most of them go further. They didactically tell what these events mean to us today. Crucifixion and death are portrayed as a sign of God's love, of redemption and of the forgiveness of sins. Examples of the songs in this category include: *Mateso Yake Bwana* (The

81

Passion of the Lord) by *Kwaya ya Umoja wa Vijana Mabibo* (Mabibo Youth Choir) in its first album *Sauti Ikatoka*; *Getsemani* (Gethsemane) by *Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Sayuni* (the Sayuni Evangelical Choir) in the album Vol. 8 *Safari ya kwenda huko*; *Kifo Chake Bwana Yesu* (The Death of Jesus) by AIC Choir in its album Vol. 9 *Aturuzukuye*; *Aliteseka* (He suffered) by Flora Mbasha in her album *Jipe Moyo Utashinda* and *Wakapiga Kelele* (They Shouted, [Crucify Him]) by *Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Kijitonyama* (Kijitonyama Evangelical Choir) in its album *Dhambi na Dhambi*. Jesus' resurrection is seen as a sign of hope for eternal life, as He has overcome death through His resurrection. Examples of the songs in this category include: *Bwana Kafufuka* (The Lord is Risen) by the Kinondoni Revival Choir in its third album titled *Wrong Number Shetani*) and *Ingekuwaje* (What Would be Like if He could Not Rise) by *Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Kijitonyama* (Kijitonyama Evangelical Choir) in its album *Twakaribia Kanaani,* just to name a few.

Something seems to be of special interest in this last song with regard to its use of imagery. Below are the lyrics of the song.

Ingekuwaje? (**What Would be Like if He could Not Rise?**)

Original version in Kiswahili	English translation
Stanza 1: Ingekuwa Bwana asingefufuka? Waja wake tungeingia aibu. Na kama neno lisingetimizwa, nyuso zetu tungeziweka wapi?	**Stanza 1:** What would be like if the Lord could not be raised? What a shame that could be to us his people. And if the word (prophesy) could not be fulfilled, Where could we hide our faces?
Chorus: Galilaya wanasema Yesu yu hai. Yerusalemu wasema ni mshindi.	**Chorus:** Those in Galilee proclaim that Jesus is alive. Those in Jerusalem proclaim that He is triumphant.

Kaburini wasema amefufuka. Wanafunzi wazigusa alama. Furahini mwokozi kafufuka. Furahini mwokozi kafufuka. **Stanza 2:** Tunatembea kifua mbele twaringa. Kwa sababu Bwana ameshinda mauti. Dunia yote leo inashangilia, kwa sababu Bwana ameshinda mauti. **Chorus:** Galilaya wanasema Yesu yu hai. Yerusalemu wasema ni mshindi. Kaburini wasema amefufuka. Wanafunzi wazigusa alama. Furahini mwokozi kafufuka. Furahini mwokozi kafufuka.	Those at the Tomb proclaim that He is risen. The disciples touch His scars. Rejoice, the saviour is risen. Rejoice, the saviour is risen. **Stanza 2:** We walk with chest lifted-up. Because the Lord has won over death. The whole world rejoices today, because the Lord has won over death **Chorus:** Those in Galilee proclaim that Jesus is alive. Those in Jerusalem proclaim that He is triumphant. Those at the Tomb proclaim that He is risen. The disciples touch His scars. Rejoice, the saviour is risen. Rejoice, the saviour is risen.

Song by *Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Kijitonyama* (Kijitonyama Evangelical Choir) in its album *Twakaribia Kanaani* (my translation).

The song begins by provoking us to imagine a shame that we (the followers of Jesus) would experience if Jesus could not be resurrected and his words and those of the prophets could not be fulfilled. "Where could we hide our faces?" the song asks. The impossibility of finding somewhere to "hide one's face" is normally used to express a shame that no human being is able to bear. However, in the section that follows the song brings witnesses from people in Galilee, Jerusalem, at the Tomb and from Jesus' disciples that Jesus is risen. The song ends by inviting us to rejoice in Jesus' resurrection. The joy is also expressed with an interesting metaphor: "walking with chest lifted-up or raised-up" *(kifua mbele)*. In Kiswahili this is an expression of being proud of something good or an expression of victory over one's enemy. In short, the song employs this culturally rooted expression of an unbearable shame that sets suspense and a high need for Jesus' resurrection. Thus Jesus' resurrection becomes a

big and an important phenomenon. It is a triumph not only against death but also against such unbearable shame.

Let me conclude this discussion of the rhythm of the year by pointing out that choir members and choirs in general experienced not only this church related rhythm of the year but also a number of other rhythms. Those involved with agricultural activities organised their time in relation to agricultural activities and seasons while those involved with school (teacher or students) organised their activities according to the rhythm of the school. In the same way some were involved with family rhythms. These other rhythms were not irrelevant to the choirs. The choirs organised its activities by taking into consideration the rhythms of individual members. The Sayuni Evangelical Choir, for example, declined some invitations to perform since some of its instrumentalists had just become fathers and hence were overwhelmed with family matters. Likewise, when Laban Mwasimba (a principle guitarist and teacher of those who were new instrumentalists) went on fieldwork for his school somewhere outside Dar es Salaam the choir could not perform some songs and replaced them with those which the remaining instrumentalists could perform.

2.6.2 Rhythm of the Week

It has been pointed out that a year and its seasons or months are related to cosmic events (movements of the earth or moon in relation to the sun). This is also true with the day which depends on the rotation of earth on it own axis. However, this is not the case with the week. The numbers of days that make up a week are not determined by any cosmic movement or event. Instead it is culturally determined. Kagame reports that in Rwanda, for example, the week used to be a group of five days. "The people

worked on the land" he writes, "for the first four days, the fifth being a day of rest".

This day was called "*icyumweru*" the term that later was used for Sunday. Other

cultures that had a five day week and are mentioned by Kagame include the Bashi

(Eastern Congo), Baluba (Central Congo) and the Bakongo of Congo (1977: 105).

Which day of the week is first (even after adopting the Christian seven day week) is

still related to culture. For most Christian sects that emphasise Jesus' resurrection

story, Sunday is considered the first day, as it is for the Seventh Day Adventists who

see Saturday as the seventh day (following the Biblical creation story), the day that

God rested. At the linguistic level, in Kiswahili Saturday is reckoned as the first day

of the week. *Jumamosi* (Saturday) etymologically, comes from two roots: *Juma*

which means "week" and *mosi* which means "first" (TUKI 2001). By the same token

Jumapili (Sunday) comes from *Juma* (week) and *pili* (second). Hence Saturday is

reckoned as the first day of the week and Sunday as the second. In Kiwanji (a

language dialect of Wawanji of Iringa Southern Tanzania, the ethnic group with

which I identify), Monday is reckoned as the first day of the week. *Pakyakulembela*

(Monday), the day of the index finger (the finger one uses to write or draw, that is,

one), *Pakivhili* (Tuesday) is the second day and *Pakitatu* (Wednesday) is the third

day. Etymologically these terms can be explained as *pakya/paki* (on a day of),

kulembela (to write or to draw-index finger which means one), *vhili* (second) and *tatu*

(third). I am giving these details to illustrate that the concept of a week and the days in

the week are culturally determined and hence relative. And this relativism comes

primarily because there is no universal cosmic event that is used as a reference point

as it is with the year, month or the day.

A mention has already been made to show how the conflicting ways of reckoning days of the week led to excluding SDA choirs from access to broadcasting their songs on various radio stations since the songs of these choirs were seen to be preaching against worshipping on Sunday.

All the choirs and musicians that I worked with however belonged to churches that worship on Sunday: the Lutheran Church, Anglican Church, Tanzania Assemblies of God, African Inland Church (AIC) and in a few instances a revival group of a Roman Catholic Church. However, in some instances these choirs had teachers from the SDA church and in a number of concerts prepared by these churches SDA choirs were invited to participate. Therefore in someway the choirs had to adjust their rhythm of the week to conform to the rhythms of other choirs despite of their religious differences and the resulting difference in reckoning rhythm of the week.

Different choirs arranged their days for rehearsals on different days of the week[8]. The days were called choir days. A special event could lead to changes adding extra choir days in some weeks. The chart below (Fig. 2.9) indicates a rhythmic conceptualisation of rhythms of the week of four choirs.

Fig. 2.9 A Rhythmic Conceptualisation of "Choir Days" of Four Selected Choirs

Choir	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
S		■		■	■	■	☼
K	□		■		■	■	☼
H	□		■			■	☼
M		■		■		■	☼

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[8] Barz (1997 and 2003) mentions various activities (including prayers and rehearsals) that choirs performed during different days of the week with particular reference to *Kwaya ya Upendo* (Upendo Choir) at Azania Front, Dar es Salaam.

Key:
S   Sayuni Evangelical Choir
K   Kijitonyama Evangelical Choir
H   Hosana Choir
M   Magomeni AIC Choir
■   Choir's singing rehearsal days
☐   Choir's prayer days
☼   Attending and performing in Sunday services

To be able to look at some details I focus on one choir, the Sayuni Evangelical Choir. Normally, if there was a new song to be taught then it was taught in the first three choir days (Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays) leaving Saturday for rehearsals exclusively for the Sunday service. In this case familiar songs that did not require much rehearsal were chosen for that Sunday. In case there were no new songs taught throughout the week then songs selected for Sunday would be rehearsed well during the week days. Most of the time singers and instrumentalists would practice separately on Tuesdays and Thursdays. On Fridays and Saturdays both instrumentalists and singers would rehearse together. In a few occasions this was done only on Saturday particularly when a new song had been taught or the instrumentalist had not yet mastered their parts.

Some Saturdays were very special for the choir. This was the case when the choir was invited to perform in wedding services (normally wedding services are conducted on Saturday late afternoons or early evenings). This would change the choir's rhythm for that particular week. Songs for both Sunday and Saturday were rehearsed before Saturday. Sometimes this would mean that more choir days had to be added during that particular week.

2.6.3 Rhythms of the Day

It has been observed in a number of studies that in many African cultures different times of the day have been experienced and reckoned in relation to what people in those societies normally do during those moments (Mbiti 1969, Kagame 1977 Agawu 1995 and Mutembei 2001). Agawu's treatment of these experiences of time among the Ewe of Northern Ghana is especially interesting in that he links the cultural experiences of temporal units of the day (in the form of activities that take place during those moments) with musical sounds (1995: 8–27). One can identify, in Agawu's account, three ways in which the cultural experiences of temporal units of the day were related to musical sounds. First, music-making processes and musical sounds themselves were activities that marked temporal units. Second, some musical sounds were required and were made specifically to accompany other (unmusical) events that marked temporal units of the day. Finally, some musical sounds were accidentally heard simultaneously with other unmusical events or activities.

Another commonly used way of reckoning the time of the day is related to what seems to be the position of the sun. I discuss this aspect with Kiswahili expressions as used in Tanzania. With this system there are a number of levels of temporal units of the day. The first level divides the day into two (almost equal) halves i.e. day (*mchana*) and night (*usiku*). The day is identified with the presence of sunlight and the night with the absence of sunlight (although the moon and/or stars may provide light). A second level of temporal units of the day divides particularly the day time (*mchana*) into three units: morning (*asubuhi*), noon and early afternoon (*mchana*) and late afternoon and evening (*jioni*). The third level divides a day (*siku*) into 24 hours. In

88

Kiswahili these 24 hours are broken down into 12 day-time hours and 12 night-time hours. Thus 7:00 am is reckoned as the first hour of the day time and 7:00 pm is reckoned as the first hour of night-time.

Amongst, popular church choirs, experiences of the rhythm of the day varied from one choir to another and from one individual member of the choir to another. At the level of the choir as a community there were some hours during those choir days that were considered choir hours in so far as choir had set those hours for choir rehearsals. With Sayuni Evangelical Choir this was from the eleventh hour of the day time (5:00 pm) on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays while it was from the tenth hour of the day time (4:00 pm) on Saturdays. The rehearsal had to end at the first hour of the night-time (7:00 pm). Some individual members also had other rhythms of the day, since some were involved with farming and others with school activities (as teachers or students). The choir's rhythm of the day depended heavily on the rhythms of the individual members of the choir.

On Sundays the choir followed the church's ordering of time. At Kinondoni Lutheran Church where the Sayuni Evangelical Choir belonged there were four choirs: *Kwaya kuu* (the main choir of the congregation), *Kwaya yaUinjilisti Amkeni* (Amkeni Evangelical Choir), *Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Sayuni* (Sayuni Evangelical Choir) and the Youth Choir. Normally, the Amkeni Evangelical Choir and Youth Choir attended the first service which began at 7:00 am while the *Kwaya Kuu* and Sayuni Evangelical Choir attended the second service which began at 9:30 am. Once in a month (the first Sunday of a month), the Amkeni Evangelical Choir and the Sayuni Evangelical Choirs exchange times. The Sayuni Evangelical Choir attended the first service while

89

Amkeni Evangelical Choir attended the second. During this week the Sayuni

Evangelical Choir would perform without some of its singers or instrumentalists,

especially those who stayed far from the church and depended on public transport and

sometimes this led to changes in some songs.

2.7 POPULAR CHURCH MUSIC AND THE FUTURE

I began this chapter by pointing out that time is comprehended and experienced as a

humanly lived phenomenon through events and other existents, in short, stamps. This

is the case especially when one has in mind two dimensions of time (the past and the

present). For an ethnographer, for example, the present (the ethnographic present) is

experienced through observing and taking part in present events or by observing

present existents. The past is experienced or learnt through memory and what I call

the instruments of memory which include written, audio or video documents, oral

narratives about past events and existents as well as objects (existents) from the past.

Memory and its instruments can be perceived as "traces" of past events or of the

stamps on the past. Using a metaphor of "rings" in a tree trunk Askin writes:

> The time that a given phenomenon lasted does not disappear without trace, it
> can be said to leave its mark in it. We are all familiar with the 'rings' in a tree
> trunk which show its age. Everything in the world — from molecules and
> stones to living beings and social structures — has similar 'rings' of its own
> (1977: 130–31).

Through the "rings" of the past events or phenomena we are granted access to the

experiences of or knowledge about the past or at least part of it.

Conversely, the future is not here for one to observe or participate in, i.e., to

experience. It is not yet stamped by any event or existent; therefore, there are no

"rings" to grant us access to the experiences of the future. However, this fact has not prevented people from engaging with the future. I posit that if people normally experience the past (which is also not here) through memory and the instruments of memory, they experience the future through imagination and what I call the instruments of imagination. The instruments of imagination through which people create or fashion their experiences of the future include plans, projections or visions. Sometimes these are documented. At other times they are reserved or preserved in people's minds and communicated to other people orally. For example, by imagining the potentiality of the future, people send their children to school, invest in long-term projects or make individual or collective short-term and long-term plans. For Askin, through imaginative undertakings such as these, people engage themselves in fashioning and realizing the future. Askin puts it thus: "To move into the future is to create the future. Movement into the future is the process of its creation or realization" (1977: 131). In other words, the movement towards the future involves processes of fashioning it, and these processes take place in the present.

The practice of popular church music in Dar es Salaam seems to conform to this philosophy of the future at least in two ways. First, informed by a Christian belief about the "last day" or (as Gadamer 1977: 35 puts it) "a final state of everlasting bliss and eternal peace", a number of popular church songs are concerned with this Christian conception of the future of humanity. Secondly, popular church music has been involved in fashioning its own future through various training processes and the involvement of children in the music. In what follows, I begin by analysing selected songs to show how the songs are involved in fashioning the future of humanity through imagination. Then I discuss how popular church music has been involved in

91

its own future. I do this by narrating some incidents I observed or took part during my fieldwork in Dar es Salaam.

2.7 .1 The Discourse of Future in Popular Church Music: The Future of Humanity

A number of popular church songs including *Ukifa Utakwenda Wapi* (Where Will You Go When You Die?) by Kinondoni Revival Choir (in the choir's album Volume 6 *Maombi ya Yabesi*) and *Tuonane Paradiso* (We Shall Meet in Paradise) by Kijitonyama Upendo Group (in the group's album *Haleluya Tunaimba*) point out that there is an everlasting life after death and that there are two possible sorts of life, that is, a good life in Paradise and a bad one in Hell. While it seems that these futures are already there awaiting people, the songs point out that individuals fashion their own futures depending on how they live in the world today. The first song *Ukifa Utakwenda Wapi* advises people that in order to have a good future life in Paradise one has to decide to be saved now. The second song *Tuonane Paradiso* gives details on how a person can shape one's future. It says that one has to keep vigil, pray, live a holy life and live in peace with other people. In short, both songs point out that the fashioning of one's future depends on how one lives at present. Another way of saying this is that one's future is a projection of his or her present.

Secondly, in a number of songs, the future is expressed through imaginative projection of the present or the past. A song *Twakaribia Kaanani* (We are about to enter into Canaan) by Kijitonyama Evangelical Choir (in the choir's album *Twakaribia Kaanani*) takes a Biblical historical journey of the Israelites from Egypt (where they lived as slaves) into the promised land of Canaan (where they later lived

92

as free people) as a metaphor for Christians' journey from worldly life into heavenly life. This song points out that people should abandon sinful ways and that this abandonment is a prerequisite for them being permitted to enter into the heavenly Canaan. In other words, abandoning sinful ways, which is an undertaking of the present, is a way of fashioning one's future. Similarly, Jennifer Mgendi's song *Gari Lile Likiwasili* (When That Vehicle Arrives) in her fourth album *Yesu Nakupenda* describes the end of one's life in the world as a journey from a foreign land back home. Using an interesting metaphor of a vehicle she describes a traveller in a strange land and preparing for a journey back home. This traveller waits for a vehicle. The traveller imagines the moment (which is unknown to the traveller) when the vehicle will arrive and he or she will say "bye bye" to friends and relatives. Mgendi leaves the listener to imagine the happiness or sadness of that moment. Through these images the intangible and invisible phenomenon of going to live somewhere else after death is made tangible and visible.

Ezra Chitando observes that imagery has been commonly used in Zimbabwean gospel music for expressing the expected future life after death. He writes:

> Tracks such as "*Masouzi*" (Tears) by Noel Zembe, "*Ikoko*" (There) by Charles Charamba, *Jerusalem* by Brian Bibalo, "*Nzvimbo Yakanaka*" (A Beautiful Place) by Elias Musakwa and many others paint attractive pictures of "real home to come". Through the use of biblical verses and appealing indigenous imagery, gospel musicians contend that all the suffering encountered in this world is in no way comparable to the peace that shall accompany the faithful in heaven (2002: 59–60).

Various images used in popular church music in Dar es Salaam participate in making people not only shape their future but also shape the present since the present is conceived to be the basis for the future. To illustrate this, I would like to provide a

close reading of a song titled *Rehema* (Mercy) by The Patmos (in their album

Amekamilika).

Rehema (Mercy)

Original Version in Kiswahili	English Translation
PART ONE	**PART ONE**
Stanza (Slow rumba)	**Stanza (Slow rumba)**
L: Sikiliza enyi kanisa la Bwana.	L: The church of the Lord, listen.
C: Bwana ameahidi atawarehemu.	C: The Lord has promised to grant you mercy.
Mtaona rehema siku ya mwisho.	You will see His mercy on the last day.
L: Achilieni nanyi mtaachiliwa.	L: Forgive other people and you will be forgiven.
C: Msishindane kamwe na mtu muovu.	C: Don't compete with an evil person.
Msilipe kamwe ubaya kwa ubaya.	Don't retaliate with evil.
C: Mtaona rehema siku ya mwisho.	C: You will see His mercy on the last day.
L: Wapeni watu vitu nanyi mtapewa.	L: Give things to people.
C: Kipimo cha kujaa nakushindiliwa	C: [Give them] a full measure, pressed and
nakusukwasukwa hata kumwagika.	overflowing.
Mtaona rehema siku ya mwisho.	You will see His mercy on the last day.
L: Wapeni watu vitu nanyi mtapewa.	L: Give things to people.
C: Kipimo cha kujaa nakushindiliwa	C: [Give them] a full measure, pressed and
nakusukwasukwa hata kumwagika.	overflowing.
Mtaona rehema siku ya mwisho.	You will see His mercy on the last day.
PART TWO	**PART TWO**
Change of rhythm (soukous)	**Change of rhythm (soukous)**
Chorus 1	**Chorus 1**
Tutacheza mchezo wa ndama tukiruka kwa shangwe	We will dance the dance of calves and we will jump joyfully
jiji la dhahabu milango ya lulu.	in that golden city with pearl doors.
Tutacheza na malaika tukipunga mikono.	We will dance with the angels and wave our hands.
Furaha ya milele iwe juu yetu.	And the everlasting joy shall be with us.
Wale wote walioshindwa watawekwa upande kushoto.	Those who fail will be put on the left side.
Watalia jehanamu na huzuni zao.	They will cry sorrowfully.
Watakaposikia kicheko kutoka upande wa pili,	When they will hear laughter from the other side,
watagundua iko raha kuliko kwao.	they will realise that there is good life on the other side.
Watasimama juu ya moto wakijaribu kuchungulia.	They will stand upon fire and try to peep to the other side.
Watazingilwa na vilima wasione nga'ambo.	The hills around will obstruct them from seeing the other side.

Kama milima inavyozunguka Yerusalemu.	As the mountains surround Jerusalem,
Ndivyo Bwana anavyozingila watu wake.	the Lord surrounds His people.
Tangu sasa na hata milele wakijaribu kuchungulia watazingilwa na vilima wasione ng'ambo	Now and forever when they try to peep the other side they will be obstructed by the hills.
Solo 1	**Solo 1**
Tutaimba wimbo wa sifa tukiruka kwa shangwe	We will sing a song of praise and jump joyfully
kwenye jiji la dhahabu milango ya lulu.	in that golden city with pearl doors.
Tutacheza na malaika tukipunga mikono.	We will dance with the angels and wave our hands.
Furaha ya milele ikuwe juu yetu.	And the everlasting joy shall be with us.
Chorus 2	**Chorus 2**
Wale wote walioshindwa watawekwa upande kushoto.	Those who fail will be put on the left side.
Watalia jehanamu na huzuni zao	They will cry sorrowfully.
Watakaposikia kicheko kutoka upande wa pili,	When they will hear laughter from the other side,
watagundua iko raha kuliko kwao.	they will realise that there is good life on the other side.
Watasimama juu ya moto wakijaribu kuchungulia	They will stand upon fire and try to peep to the other side.
Watazingilwa na vilima wasione nga'ambo	The hills around will obstruct them to see the other side.
Kama milima inavyozunguka Yerusalemu,	As the mountains surround Jerusalem,
ndivyo Bwana anavyozingila watu wake.	the Lord surrounds His people.
Tangu sasa na hata milele wakijaribu kuchungulia watazingilwa na vilima wasione ng'ambo.	Now and forever when they try to peep the other side they will be obstructed by the hills.
Solo 2	**Solo 2**
Tutacheza mchezo wa ndama tukiruka kwa shangwe	We will dance the dance of calves and we will jump joyfully
jiji la dhahabu milango ya lulu.	in that golden city with pearl doors.
Tutacheza na malaika tukipunga mikono.	We will dance with the angels and wave our hands.
Furaha ya milele iwe juu yetu.	And the everlasting joy will be with us.
Chorus 2	**Chorus 2**
Wale wote walioshindwa watawekwa upande kushoto.	Those who fail will be put on the left side.
Watalia jehanamu na huzuni zao	They will cry sorrowfully.
Watakaposikia kicheko kutoka upande wa pili,	When they will hear laughter from the other side,

95

watagundua iko raha kuliko kwao.	they will realise that there is good life on the other side.
Watasimama juu ya moto wakijaribu kuchungulia	They will stand upon fire and try to peep to the other side.
Watazingilwa na vilima wasione nga'ambo.	The hills around will obstruct them to see the other side.
Kama milima inavyozunguka Yerusalemu	As the mountains surround Jerusalem,
ndivyo Bwana anavyozingila watu wake	the Lord surrounds His people.
Tangu sasa na hata milele wakijaribu kuchungulia watazingilwa na vilima wasione ng'ambo.	Now and forever when they try to peep the other side they will be obstructed by the hills.

A song by The Patmos in their album *Amekamilika* (my translation).

The song begins by announcing God's promise of mercy to His people and saying that this mercy will be experienced or attained in the last everlasting day. However, in order to attain this promise, the song declares, one has to give things to others and forgive those who do wrong things against a person. Put differently, the fashioning of one's future (which is expressed in attaining God's mercy) involves performing forgiveness, hospitality and generosity to other people here on earth. In the second part, imaginatively the song freezes both time and space and takes us into that coming Paradise. Musically this travel is expressed through a change of rhythm from a rumba rhythm and slow tempo in the first part to a soukous rhythm and fast tempo in the second part. The mercy announced in the first part is here described in some detail as involving dancing joyfully (like the jumping calves), dancing with the angels and singing joyfully a song of praise. The song also describes the experiences of those who fail to attain God's promise. It says that they will be put in Hell where there will be a sorrowful cry. Another interesting imagery is involved here. The song says that upon hearing laughter from the other side, these people will know that the people in Paradise are enjoying a good life. They will stand upon fire and try in vain to peep at

96

the other side. The songs says their attempts will fail because God, like the mountains and hills that surround the city of Jerusalem, will be surrounding His people.

In short, the song points out that there is a future after death and that the fashioning of that future takes places here on earth as we live our present life by performing hospitality and forgiveness. This imagining of the potential future makes one reshape not only one's present life but also other people's experiences of the present (as they receive hospitality and forgiveness). In other words, through imagination the present is projected into the future and the future is reflected back on the present.

2.7.2 Training Processes and Children: The Future of the Music

One way through which the practice of popular church music was involved in its own future was through training processes (generating singers, instrumentalists and choir teachers). Most popular church musicians received training through choirs' daily or weekly rehearsals and performances as well as receiving directives from experienced singers, instrumentalists and choir teachers. For instrumentalists, for example, choir members who were interested in becoming instrumentalists asked the experienced musicians to teach them. After being introduced to the basic techniques of playing an instrument (guitar or keyboard) and a few songs, they began to attend weekly instrumentalists' rehearsals in which they continued to learn and rehearse more techniques and songs. In most cases these rehearsals were directed toward forthcoming performances during Sunday services or concerts. In this case if the learning instrumentalists managed to play at least one of the songs they were allowed to perform it with the choir. For this reason, performances and the imagined performances (future performances) became part of the training process. When I

joined the Sayuni Evangelical Choir I attended a number of such learning sessions together with other learning instrumentalists of the choir. I recount one incident here to illustrate the nature of this process. The song learnt during this incident was performed by us two weeks later in a Sunday service.

An Extract from the Author's Fieldnotes: After the service and choir's announcement session on December 5, 2004, three instrumentalists (including myself) remain in the church for a rehearsal while the other choir members go home. After playing a few *mapambio* (short call and response popular choruses) a solo guitarist Laban Mwasimba decides to teach us (a bass guitarist and myself playing rhythm guitar) to play a song *Nitamtukuza* (I Will Praise Him; available in the choir's 14th album, namely *Mungu yu Mwema*). He says that the instrumentalists who used to play this song are not attending choir rehearsals. He begins by playing a few phrases to show how the bass guitarist must play. Then the bass guitarist plays those phrases with him. He also plays those phrases that the rhythm guitarist has to play and I play with him a few times. Then he sets a drum machine and we play those phrases with the rhythm from the drum machine while Laban Mwasimba plays a solo guitar. At times when he notices that one of us plays a wrong note or chord he stops playing the solo guitar and he plays either with the bass guitarist or with me. The process is repeated until we master all the phrases in the song. Then we start to play the whole song through. At some points when Laban Mwasimba thinks that someone may have forgotten a note or a chord he mentions the note or the chord just before we play it (my fieldnotes December 5, 2004).

Another way through which popular church music was involved in fashioning its own future was through the involvement of children in the music. Three ways can be identified in which children were involved. First, during various choir rehearsals there were children playing around. Some of them were children of the pastors or evangelists who lived within the compound of the church. Others were from the houses located nearby the church. There were also the children or young brothers and sisters of some choir members who came with their parents, brothers or sisters to the choir. At times a group of children would come close to the choir and arrange themselves in lines as the choir did and sing and dance to the same song that the choir rehearsed. On one occasion when I attended a rehearsal with the Sayuni Evangelical Choir, the choir was rehearsing a song that was not familiar to me. So I stood aside, listening and watching the choir. There was a group of about seven children on the side imitating the singing and dancing of the choir. I became an audience for these two groups (the Sayuni Evangelical Choir and the group of children). When the children sang out of tune the chairperson (of the Sayuni Evangelical Choir) turned and told them to stop since they misled the choir. They resumed their rehearsal when the chairperson became involved in his choir. I saw one of the children moving out of the group. He stood aside and looked at the other children. He folded his arms on his chest and then moved them on his waist. At other times he touched his chin. I was surprised to realise that he was imitating my own position and actions. The children laughed when they saw that I had noticed their play and the boy joined the other children in rehearsing the song (maybe because I began to control and limit my actions). As I am rewriting these observations I am amazed not only by their way of learning the music through imitation but also by the fact that they noticed my distinct

99

place in the choir on that day and for them this was part of the music culture they were learning by imitation.

The practice of learning by imitation was not limited to rehearsals. During concerts (particularly those sessions involving all people in the hall) some children formed small groups and imitated the singing and dance movements of the musicians on stage (see Fig. 2.10). James Flolu has noted a similar practice among the children in Ghana. What is interesting in his observation is that the practice did not end with the end of the occasion which the children were imitating. Flolu writes:

> It is usual to find group of children hours or days after the celebration of festival, church anniversary and open day, trying to re-create the music which accompanied those celebrations. It is amazing to see how these children cooperatively coordinate their individual memories to 'compose' their personal experiences as an integrated form. Individual members of the group may serve as teachers, conductors, master drummers, singers and soloists according to what they had previously seen (1999: 39–40).

Fig. 2.10 Children Dancing by Imitating the Musicians on Stage During the Concert at Msimbazi Centre

Secondly, sometimes popular church choirs and independent musicians allowed some children who showed great enthusiasm and came to the rehearsals regularly to be involved not only in rehearsals but also in performances with the choirs. For example, in a number of concerts some children performed with choirs like the Kijitonyama Evangelical Choir, Calvary Assemblies of God Choir, Hosanna Choir and independent musician Ency Mwalukasa. The children were normally placed in the front line of the choir. When they missed some step movements during the performances they turned and looked at other choir members and resumed the steps correctly. To illustrate the practice, I include below four photographs (Figs. 2.11, 2.12, 2.13 and 2.14). It should be pointed out here that through this practice a number of present day musicians learnt their art. During an interview with a reporter of *Habari Njema*, one of the famous independent musicians Flora Mbasha pointed out that she started to be involved in the music when she was seven years of age. She said that the choir in which her aunt was singing in Mwanza usually placed her in the front line during public performances (Luhombo 2004: 8).

Fig. 2.12 Vicky Hiza (Daughter of Pastor Hiza of Kijitonyama Lutheran Church) Performing with the Kijitonyama Evangelical Church During a Concert at Msasani Lutheran Church

Fig. 2.13 Vicky Hiza Performing with the Kijitonyama Evangelical Church During a Concert at Msasani Lutheran Church
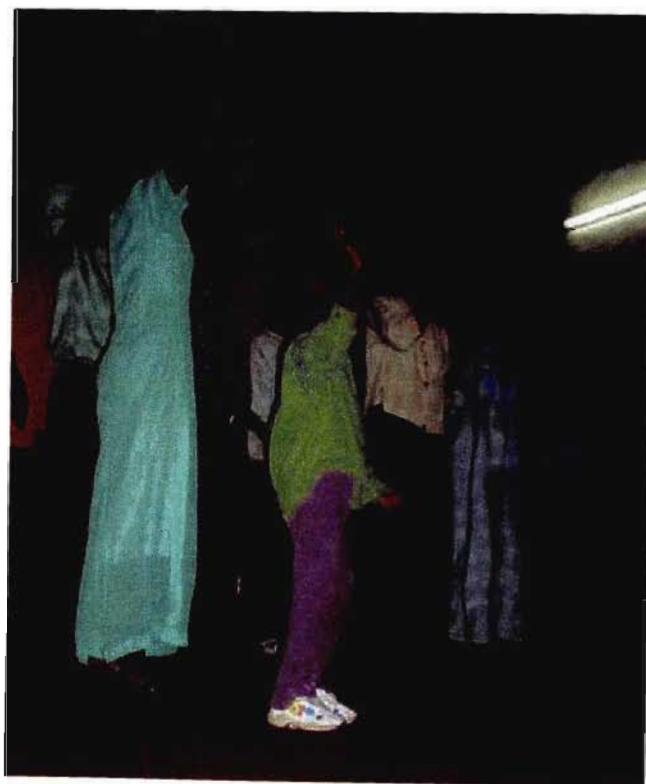
Fig. 2.14 Ency Mwalukasa Performing Her Song *Tanzania Njoo* with a Group of Four Children During the Tanzania Gospel Music Award Concert 2004

Fig. 2.15 Three Children (Front Line From Left to Right) Vanesa, Neema Goda and Sesi Goda Performing with the Hosanna Choir of the University of Dar es Salaam Chapel During a Concert at the University Chapel (Photograph by Aldin Mutembei)

Thirdly, a number of children learnt to sing, to dance and sometimes even to play instruments through their participation in children choirs. Most teachers of children choirs were members of popular church choirs. In addition, some children choirs were invited to perform in popular church music concerts. I posit that these exposures made it possible for the children not only to learn some elements of popular church music but also to become part of the music culture. That is, while these opportunities and undertakings played a role in shaping the future of music in the country, they were also shaping the present musical experiences of the children and other church and concert goers. Children's participation in children choirs had an influence on their future musicianship. For example, Jennifer Mgendi pointed out that she began to be involved in music while she was a little girl by singing in both church and school children choirs. Below I include two photographs of children choirs in Dar es Salaam (Figs. 2.16 and 2.17).

Fig. 2.16 A Choir of Children from Msasani Lutheran Church Performing During a Concert at Msasani Lutheran Church
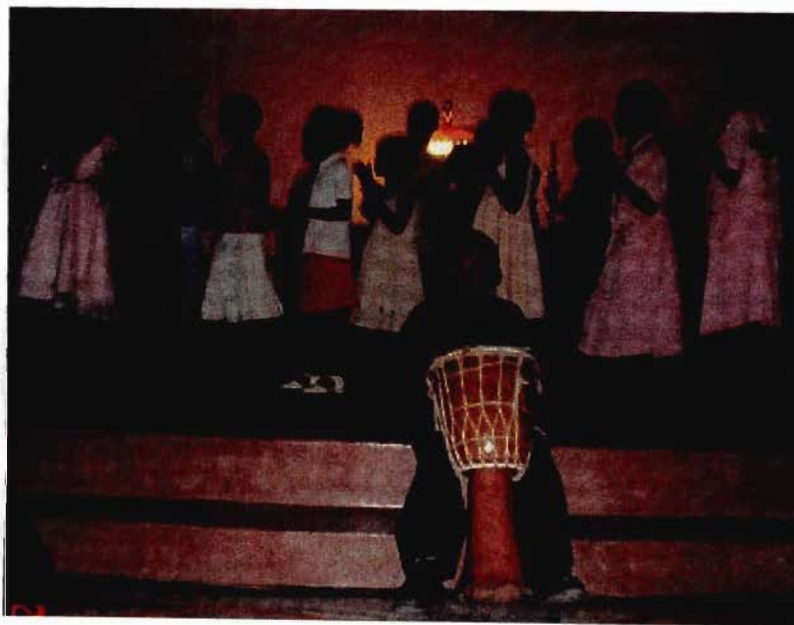
Fig. 2.17 A Choir of Children in the University Chapel, Dar es Salaam Performing During a Sunday Service on the Children Day; Seated in the Background is Pastor Thomas Goda of the University of Dar es Salaam Chapel (Photograph by Aldin Mutembei)

Let me note here that in addition to imitation, children's creativity and innovativeness played an important role in their learning. Flolu points out that:

> It is generally assumed that children merely copy adult musical models but more objective listening and observation reveals that this is not always the case. Children re-compose — recreate — the adults' musical model, create new songs to suit their peculiar interests and purposes (1999: 40).

I would like to comment on this reading by recounting an incident I learnt from the children choir at the University of Dar es Salaam.

An Extract from Author's Fieldnotes: After teaching a new song to the choir, I introduce to them a dance for the song. It seems to me that the dance is difficult to some of them so I ask them to speak rhythmically the directions of their movements as they dance: *kushoto, kushoto, kulia, kulia* (left, left, right right). After a little while I hear a few of them speaking a different word somewhere. Then they all pick it up. They replace *kushoto* with *kucheka* (to laugh). They speak the new pair a few times then they also replace *kulia* with *kununa* (to be sullen). It is interesting to note that they have invented a game during this learning of the dance. As I see it, the game involves finding an antonym of one word in a pair. It is also interesting to notice their point of departure. The word *kulia* has two meanings, right side and to cry and the opposite of *kucheka* (to laugh) is not necessarily *kulia* (to cry). It may also be *kununa* (to be sullen). By using this wordplay the children have been able to make the learning not static but dynamic one by creating new pairs of antonyms as illustrated in figure 2.18 (my fieldnotes September 25, 2004).

Fig. 2.18 The Original Pair of Antonyms and the Variations That the Children Created

	Moving left	Moving right
Original pair of antonyms	*Kushoto* (left)	*Kulia* (right)
First variation of antonyms	*Kucheka* (to laugh)	*Kulia* (to cry)
Second variation of antonyms	*Kucheka* (to laugh)	*Kununa* (to be sullen)

Their creativity helped them enjoy the learning by making it funny. More importantly, through their game, the children were able to move to the right directions at the right points without a need of naming the directions (the names which they eliminated and creatively replaced with other words).

Succinctly speaking, popular church music was involved in two kinds of future. Through the creative use of imagery and Biblical verses, popular church music participated in constructing or fashioning the future of humanity, that is, life after death. It also participated in shaping its own future through various training processes and the involvement of children in the music. I have argued that through these undertakings of fashioning the future, the music participated in shaping and reshaping the present.

2.8 CONCLUSION

I began this research on changes in popular church music in relation to socio-cultural, economic and political changes with the aim of identifying changes which have been taking place in this music in various temporal phases from 1980 to 2005. Specifically I was interested in those changes that were closely linked to globalisation processes. I thought I would present the changes in terms of a range of years such as what happened between 1980–1990, 1990–2000 and 2000–2005. While I still see that this might be possible, my experiences during the research fieldwork have led to a change in my approach. Most of the accounts of music processes and changes in the music were told with reference to other occasions in the country. Even when my questions demanded time specifications in terms of years, informants would mention a year and

move to events. It was therefore seen to me that events had the most significant place in the history of this music.

Let me cite some incidents to illustrate my point. When I wanted to know when the Sayuni Evangelical Choir started to use Masai clothes as the choir's uniform, I was told: "When we went to Sweden. In the year 1997 we went to Sweden with the Bishop. That's when we decided to find a uniform which could identify us as Tanzanians" (I will comment on national identities in chapter 5). Similarly, when I was talking to the choir teachers of the Mabibo Youth Choir, I wanted to know when the Mabibo Youth Choir recorded their third album. They told me: "When we wanted to buy a keyboard but we had no money. So we went to *Mhindi* (an Indian promoter). He paid all the studio recording expenses. When we had recorded the album we gave him the master and he gave us money to buy a keyboard". I still wanted to know the year. They were a bit uncertain whether it was 1994 or 1995. But one remembered that it was just before Christmas. So they both agreed that it was December 1994. Even those who were very precise with dates would hardly mention a year without referring to other events. Jennifer Mgendi, for example, replied: "In 1995 when I joined the University I decided to record my own album. So I told the instrumentalists who were also students at the University..." In short, these replies inspired me to approach the history of this music differently, that is, paying more attention to events. The approach was further strengthened with Kagame's "stamping" time approach (1977).

There were a number of events in Tanzania and Dar es Salaam in particular that were related to popular church music experiences in some ways. I have selected a few to be

108

able to explore in some detail the relationship between popular church musical experiences and these events. The selection of these events was personal, in part, because of my being able to participate in some of these events (such as the Tanzania Music Award Concert 2004) as an observer as well as to participate in rehearsing and performing some songs with the Sayuni Evangelical Choir (e.g. songs dealing with technology such as Password metaphor). These incidents made me more curious so that I began to listen more attentively to songs by other choirs which were available in the albums of those choirs.

Succinctly speaking, this chapter has argued that there has been a dual relationship between socio-cultural, economic and political events and popular church music in Tanzania. On the one hand, events such as privatization and liberalization of trade, the death of *Mwalimu* Nyerere, the Tanzania Gospel Music Award (TGMA 2004) concert and technological changes played a role in shaping popular church music and people's experiences of this music. On the other hand, these events and people's experiences of them were influenced by popular church songs. The same has been argued with regard to rhythmic ordering of time. On the one hand, church yearly seasons necessitated that the choirs compose or sing particular songs. On the other hand, church yearly seasons, rhythms of the week and rhythms of the day were experienced by musicians as well as the public in general in relation to the music that was performed during various moments of the year, week or day. I have argued that through their lyrics, which sometimes employed interesting metaphors, popular church songs gave these events new shapes and depth. Therefore the songs reshaped people's experiences of these events.

CHAPTER 3
COMPOSITION:
PROCESSES AND PRODUCT

3.1 INTRODUCTION: A THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL
APPROACH TO COMPOSITION IN POPULAR CHURCH MUSIC

This chapter is concerned with composition in popular church music in Dar es

Salaam. Composition has been taken to mean two things. First, it includes a series of

activities done by an individual or individuals to bring a musical work into being.

Secondly, it is conceived to be a product of the above creative activity. In other

words, with this second conception composition means a musical work or a song

(Strumpf et al. 2003: 121). In the context of popular church music, the first

conception, involves a number of processes such as conceiving a basic musical idea,

teaching a song, rehearsing it, designing[9] dance movements, instrumentation and

performance. As a product composition includes all the various elements that are part

of the work such as vocal lines, instrumental parts, and dance movements. We may

also talk in terms of harmony, rhythm, texture and melody and the way these elements

are organised within a musical work.

In discussing the first conception, that is, composition as a process, I find that it is

important to include another aspect of music composition, that is, the people who

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[9] I use the concept of "designing" dance movements rather than choreographing them because "designing" is derived from the Kiswahili word *kubuni* (to design or to create), the word that was commonly used in Dar es Salaam to designate this creative process.

constitute the music making-group (creators) during various stages of music-making processes. I consider, for example, the way a choir is composed in terms of instrumentalists, singers or choir teachers and their varying musical roles within the groups and during various music creation processes. I also consider how the composition of a music group shapes the involvement of the studio engineers or studio instrumentalists differently. To what extent does the difference in composition of a choir (in terms of instrumentalists, singers or choir teachers) influence the composition of music as a product? In order to respond to this question my discussion of various processes and stages in the creation of popular church music will also include a mention of the teachers, instrumentalists, singers or step designers and their varying roles in each process of music creation.

There are two commonly used approaches to composition in popular church music: improvisation and collaborative composition. These approaches have also been common in other popular music genres (Agawu 2003b, Waksman 1999, Brown 1997 and Kamien 2000) and in the folk music or traditional music of many cultures (Merriam 1964, Agawu 2003a and Strumpf et al. 2003), and they are increasingly used in contemporary art music be it western or non-western (Dallin, 1974, Kamien 2000 and Machlis 1979).

In some contexts a work is regarded as the work of a group or community. In describing collaborative composition in most African music cultures, Strumpf et al. point out that "members of performing groups often compose with a 'give-and-take' approach governing the whole process and therefore a single individual is not credited as the sole creator of the work (2003: 121)". However, in other contexts an originator

(the person who conceives the basic idea of a song) or a performer of a song may be credited in spite of the fact that other people also play important roles in the creation of a song. Agawu observes how this has been working in the context of popular music.

> In the world of popular music, for example, intense behind-the-scenes choreographing of sonic production before it is outdoored may draw on different kinds of expertise, including studio engineers, sound engineers and musicians. So, although the originator of the sounds may eventually emerge as a named, individual composer or performer, the actual product represents the composite work of several hands (2003a: 6).

In Dar es Salaam a number of popular church music albums, particularly those by church choirs were named after choirs. Individual songs in most of the albums were not marked to indicate the individual composers of the songs. However, in a very few cases one could find the names of individual composers against the name of the songs on the album covers. The practice was different for those independent musicians who recorded their own albums out of the church choir context. Their albums featured their names even when other people played important roles. Of course the roles of others appeared in the list of acknowledgements on the albums' covers. In short, regardless of what acknowledgements were made, composition tended to be a multistage, collaborative process.

Kutunga (to compose) was just one of many terms used to designate the processes of creating a new musical work in various stages. Other terms that were commonly used include *kutengeneza* (to make, to construct or to create) and *kuweka* (to put something). These terms were often used when a person contributed either the lyrics or the tune of a song. Another term that was used interchangeably with these concepts is *kubuni* (to invent or to design usually imaginatively). This was normally used particularly in relation to improvisation. In addition, there were other terms such as

112

kukarabati or *kuboresha* which mean to rehabilitate, to repair or to make something better (TUKI 2001). In this music, usually these terms were used when someone was working on an existing song or *mapambio* (short call and response popular choruses) by changing some parts, adding new voices, changing instrumental sections or changing some or all the lyrics. In addition, *utunzi, utenzi* and *tungo* were normally used to designate a musical work, a composition. The same words are also used to designate a poem (TUKI 2001).

In the next sections, I discuss various processes including composing the basic ideas of a song, teaching and rehearsing, instrumentation, dance designing and performance. Extending the conception of stamping time developed in the second chapter of this work, I consider these various processes to be "stamps" within the ordered time in the music-making processes; each stamp added something to the song composed. Finally, I focus on composition as a product and discuss by way analysing selected songs some prominent elements that constitute popular church music and the way these elements are organized in these songs. These elements include vocal arrangements, instrumentation and dance movements.

3.2   PROCESSES IN THE MAKING OF POPULAR CHURCH MUSIC

3.2.1 Composing Basic Ideas

Most of the basic ideas of the songs were composed by choir teachers. In a very few occasions other people, such as instrumentalists or some choir singers, composed these ideas for the church choirs. In case someone else came with a new song to the choir, he or she was called a choir teacher at least during the teaching of the song. Most of the choirs had more than one choir teacher. For example, the Sayuni

Evangelical Choir had three teachers, the Mabibo Youth Choir had three and the Kijitonyama Evangelical Choir had six. Most often the choirs nominated one of these teachers to be a principal choir teacher responsible for coordinating other teachers and planning the song teaching, rehearsals and performances. I should also point out here that some of these choir teachers were also instrumentalists for the choirs. For example two of the three teachers of the Sayuni Evangelical Choir were instrumentalists. One played a keyboard and the other one played both a rhythm and a solo guitar. One of the three teachers of Mabibo Youth Choir was a keyboardist. He also programmed most of the instrumental parts of the choir songs on the keyboard. The instrumental music was saved in diskettes and played back as accompaniment even when he didn't attend some choir rehearsals or performances. Likewise, three of the six teachers of the Kijitonyama Evangelical Choir were also instrumentalists playing both a keyboard and guitars.

Choir members could become choir teachers if they were able to compose and teach new songs to the choir. Gregory Barz lists a number of responsibilities of choir teachers in Tanzanian church music culture (with particular reference to art church choirs) which included to:

- compose songs for the choir
- teach the songs to the choir
- conduct the choir during Sunday service and other events
- preserve the repertoire of the choir in his or her memory (Barz 2004: 67)

The same was the case with choir teachers in popular church choirs excerpt that in most cases popular church choirs were performing without conductors. In the Sayuni Evangelical Choir, for example, the teachers conducted the choir only when the electricity went off and therefore the choir had to perform without instruments.

During the rehearsals a teacher would conduct only when the song was not yet mastered by singers; otherwise people had to follow the rhythm provided by a drum machine and cues played by a guitar or a keyboard.

Independent musicians such as Jennifer Mgendi, Bahati Bukuku, Rose Muhando and Dr. Remmy Ongala, to name but a few, took responsibility for the process of composing all the songs that they recorded. How did these independent musicians and choir teachers compose tunes or lyrics and how did they work on the musical elements that constitute their songs? There were a number of approaches. Below I quote at length the replies to this question by four musicians.

Jennifer Mgendi, one of the first female musicians to record her own album of popular church music, says:

> My songs…I compose my songs using at least two approaches. With the first approach, I sit down and decide that now I want to compose a song about something. Let's say I want to compose a song about *Mji wa Yerusalemu*[10] (The City of Jerusalem). So I have to take a Bible and read various verses about the city of Jerusalem. When I have found it and I have read and understood the verses well, I start to write those *mistari* (lines or verses) that I want to appear in my song. After writing those lines I try to sing them. When I sing I check if the lines are longer than the *sauti* (tune, lit. voice) which I have composed. So I shorten the lines as I wish them to be.
>
> The second approach, I would say, the song just comes. I may be sitting somewhere and I hear a song being sung *moyoni mwangu* (lit. in my heart). For example, a song that I composed using this approach is that song called *Heri kumtumaini Bwana* [11](It is good to trust in the Lord). I remember I was sitting somewhere… I was cleaning somewhere when I just heard a piece being sung in my heart.

She sings a section of this song:

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[10] *Mji wa Yerusalemu* is a name of her song in her third album titled *Nikiona Fahari.*
[11] *Heri kumtumaini Bwana* is the name of her song in her second album titled *Nikiona Fahari.*

Fig. 3.1 My Transcription of the Song as She Sang It During the Interview

She then continues.

> That piece came repeatedly in my heart, so I had to go and find some Biblical verses about trusting the Lord. I found the verses and I started to add some other verses. So I can say that those are the two ways I use to compose my songs (Jennifer Mgendi during an interview with the author on September 18, 2004, my translation).

This was the second time I interviewed her with almost similar questions. The first interview was conducted in her office at Muhimbili University Library where she worked as a Librarian. The interview was repeated because I wanted to record it in video (in a studio of the Department of Fine and Performing Arts at the University of Dar es Salaam where I was teaching). During the first interview she mentioned a third approach (and it was the first in the list). She said:

> Sometimes I find myself playing a certain chord progression on a guitar such as A E A. I play those chords in a certain way and I begin to find a melody or a tune. From that tune…If it is a happy one I *weka* (lit. put) happy words or if it is a sad one I put sad words (Jennifer Mgendi during an interview with the author on September 14, 2004, my translation).

Remmy Ongala (commonly referred to as Dr. Remmy Ongala), who was born in Congo and came to Tanzania in 1978, has been very popular in Tanzania as a secular popular dance musician with both Makassy and Matimila bands since the late 1970s

116

when he came. In 2004 he became "saved" (i.e. converted to Christianity) and began

to play popular church music. By the time of my fieldwork he had recorded and

released an album with another Congolese musician Modest Mogan who had been

singing with the Kijitonyama Evangelical Choir. The title of their album is *Kwa Yesu*

Kuna Furaha (There is Joy in Jesus). I discuss his life and his songs in chapter four in

relation to popular church music and religious spaces. However, I would like to focus

here on the ways he composed his songs. The interview took place in my office at the

University of Dar es Salaam and it was recorded in video.

> I do not compose my songs like my fellows. Up to this day I have never sat
> down with a piece of paper... to compose songs like (he looks at me and
> smiles) *wasomi* (the educated ones)[12]. I do not think ... like, let me compose
> this way or that way. No. When I walk on the way and see things happening...
> I am like a journalist. If I see somewhere people shout, 'thief, thief..." I have
> to go and ask; what has this person stolen such that you beat him or her this
> way? I listen to them. They tell me what has happened. When I go home I
> pick up my guitar and start to play singing a message about the incident (Dr.
> Remmy Ongala during an interview with the author on October 25, 2004, my
> translation).

A third quote is a response made by *Mwalimu* Archbold Tesha, who was a choir

teacher of the Sayuni Evangelical Choir. He also played both rhythm and solo guitar.

He told me that he had learnt a bit of music theory. A few days before this interview

he had invited me to his home where he showed me, *inter alia*, more than two

hundred songs written using a computer programme (music write) printed and bound

in a book form. He also played them for me on the computer so that I could hear how

the songs sounded like. He said that some of these compositions had been taught to

the choir and had been recorded by the choir. He also played some of the songs such

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[12] I became aware that I was holding a piece of paper with a list of topics I wanted to ask him. I referred
to it occasionally during the interview.

as *Password ya Ndoa* and *Empume* from the choir's CD. On his part, composing

strategies differed from one context to another:

> Sometimes I may be having words already. I need to compose a song. So I may start thinking what kind of melody to put. I mean what kind of *mdundo* (beat or rhythm) I want it to have. So when I have already made it, following my feelings, I start to use it as soprano or melody and I work on harmonization. That is setting the remaining three parts so that I have four parts.

> At other times I work on the tune that just come in my heard and I like it. I make it a soprano and sometimes I even harmonize it without having words. Later, I begin to think; as I see this song, what kind of words I would like it to have. So I start arranging those words and set them to that tune following the rules of singing (Archbold Tesha during an interview with the author on December 22, 2004, my translation).

The final account is from Mercy Nyagwaswa, one of the female musicians who

performed regularly in popular church music concerts in Dar es Salaam. In the year

2004 she released her first album titled, *Mbingu Zahubiri*. She says:

> I compose myself the songs that I sing. I use a Bible. For example, that song, *Daudi* (David) in my CD, I looked how David danced for his God. That last stanza, I sing, 'we have to dance for the Lord like David since God has done many things for us. So my main guide is the Bible. Some other words I draw from the biblical context as I perceive them. There are about two songs (in the album) that I have taken from a hymn book, *Tenzi za Rohoni*. But I have sung them in my own rhythm though the melody is the same.

I interrupted her by asking how she composes a tune.

> A tune? I normally sit down during a quite moment and find a tune. When I find it I record it with my small recorder since the head forgets easily. You know...there are so many things. So I compose them myself. They just come. Sometimes I start by finding a beat[13] and when I find a beat it is easy to compose a tune. But at other times I begin with a tune and then find a suitable beat for it (Mercy Nyagwaswa during an interview with the author on November 1, 2004, my translation).

The details of each of these approaches, I suggest, are best read within the context of

each musician's account. However, I would like to make a few general observations

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[13] She uses an English word "beat" herself. Normally it is used interchangeably with the *mdundo* which may be translated as rhythm. But some times (especially in contemporary popular music) it is used to designate the whole instrumental section made by studio engineers for those who want to record rap or hip-hop songs.

with regard to composition in popular church music in Dar es Salaam as expressed in the above accounts.

First, lyrics seem to play an important role at this stage of composition. The importance of lyrics in composing church music has also been observed by Catherine Gray among the Roman Catholic composers in Uganda (1995: 136). In most of the accounts above, composing words was taken to be part of the composition process as it was the case with composing a tune. Words also determined the nature of the melody. In cases when words were composed first, the tune composed for those words had to reflect the mood of the words. In addition, Biblical stories and messages were a source of most compositions by most of these musicians. Sometimes the Biblical verses were taken wholly as they are in the Bible. At other times they were slightly changed to fit with the melody composed. Yet at other times the Biblical stories or messages were interpreted in the songs without actual borrowing Biblical words. These musicians played the role of "hermeneuts" (following Ricoeur 1996), that is, interpreters of Biblical messages and stories in relation to the relevance of these stories and message to our contemporary life as Mercy Nyagwaswa pointed out.

Secondly, I would like to comment on the two ways in which the tunes of the songs were composed. There were those tunes that were intentionally composed by the musicians. Alan Merriam calls this method of composition "conscious composition" He defines it as, "the deliberate and planned process of creating new music material, carried out by individuals who are aware of their specific and directed actions to the desired end" (1964: 166). Most of the musicians interviewed said that they decided to work with certain Biblical stories or verses. The stories or words guided the musicians

to compose tunes. On the other hand, there were those tunes that, as most musicians said, just came into their "minds", "hearts" or "heads". With this approach the tunes seem to come automatically without their efforts. However, I would like to note the fact that it is the musicians themselves who found the tunes to be important and worthy enough to be worked out and developed into complete songs. Without their deliberate actions the tunes would come and go or would remain in their heads, minds or hearts. In short, I am arguing that their deliberate actions were important in the making of popular church songs as it was with the coming of the tunes themselves.

Another point I would like to make in connection with this second way of composing tunes is that there were those musicians like Bahati Bukuku and Cosmas Chidumule who believed that the tunes or songs in general were coming from the Holy Spirit. Bahati Bukuku, one of the female musicians who rose to fame in the year 2003 with her album *Yashinde Mapito*, said that composition "is a work of the Holy Sprit". She gave an example of her song *Ni Nyakati za Mwisho* in her album. She said she never wrote down the words for the song. Most of the words just came to her when she started to sing it in the studio (Bahati Bukuku during an interview with the author on September 27, 2004).

The interview with Bahati Bukuku reminded me of my encounter with Cosmas Chidumule during a concert on November 5, 2004 at Diamond Jubilee Hall. Cosmas Chidumule was a very popular dance musician in the 1980s. Later he became "saved" and began to sing popular church music. In the late 1990s he released his first album of popular church music *Yesu ni Bwana* (Jesus is Lord). I was lucky to sit beside him during the concert. He was called to perform on stage and when he was coming back

to take his seat, I stood up and congratulated him for a nice performance. He looked at me, smiled and looked above. He lifted up his hands and said; "Let all glory go back to God". He later told me about his recent album, which I did not know that he had released, *Kimbilia Kwa Yesu* (Run to Jesus). I went near the hall entrance and bought it from a vender who was selling church music CDs, audio and video cassettes.

Looking on the credits on the covers of both albums later was interesting. At the bottom, there are credits for sound engineer, instrumentalists and backing vocals. He also credits himself as a music arranger, writer and lead vocal. I was surprised to realise that the first position, that of composer, was credited to the Holy Spirit. He does not regard himself as a composer of those songs. He is just a *kiatu cha Yesu* (shoe of Jesus), the words that are written beneath his name on the front side of the covers of his album. He is just a shoe that enables Jesus, the word, to reach people. It became clear to me why he insisted "Let all glory go back to God", when I congratulated him for performing well during the concert.

Thirdly, the reworking of old existing materials was also taken to be part of composition. The reworking, as a creative process, included composing new words for existing tunes, changing some aspects of the song such as rhythm or adding some other verses. In a previous chapter I gave an example of a teacher who re-taught a Christmas song with new stanzas that did not exist before. To use his own words, he had *karabati* (repaired or renovated) the song that he had composed and taught to the choir a year ago. Other sources of the materials included church hymns and traditional songs from various music cultures in Tanzania.

121

Finally, I would like to note the different ways which were used by musicians to aid their memory. In some cases they used tape recorders. They recorded the ideas composed so that they would be able to retrieve them. In other cases the musicians would play or sing a song several times until it was not easy for them to forget it as it was the case with Dr. Remmy Ongala. Others wrote their music using staff or sol-fa notation as it was the case with Archbold Tesha who pointed out that he wrote the songs because he wanted to keep the songs memorable for future use. He also wished to publish his songs.

3.2.2 Teaching and Rehearsing Songs

The process of teaching and rehearsing a song took different forms in different contexts. There were those individual singers like Jennifer Mgendi and Mercy Nyagwaswa who normally sang all the parts (two or three) themselves without involving any other backing vocalists. They did not have to teach anybody to sing the song since they recorded all the voices of the songs themselves (of course they also rehearsed with the instrumentalists in case they were not instrumentalists themeselves as discussed in the next subsection 3.2.3). There were also other individual musicians who sang their songs and recorded with other people singing backing vocal parts. Examples here include The Patmos and Wema A. Chamshama.

Although The Patmos operated as a group, the songs for their album *Amekamilika* had been composed by the leader of the group Chedieli Nyirenda and were taught to the rest of the group by him. I was invited to participate in the recording as a keyboardist

and a rhythm and a bass guitarist in some songs[14]. The songs were sung mainly in three parts and each part had at least two singers. In most cases he taught only the main part (melody) and the singers of each of the other parts created their own parts in relation to the melody. Then all the parts sang together. When he found that some parts, to borrow from a Kiswahili saying, "did not get cooked in the same pot"[15], he either asked them to change and create something else or he corrected the "un-agreeable" parts himself. In other occasions, other members of the group noticed the "un-agreeable" parts and asked the singers of those voices to correct their own parts.

I also participated as a keyboardist in the recording of Wema Chamshama's album titled *Tumaini Langu* during my fieldwork in 2004. She had composed all the songs for the album except one church hymn. She taught the songs to a group of six high school students. Most of the songs were performed in three parts. A few of the songs were sung as solos by her. She provided almost all the parts herself. Most of these other parts were created during the rehearsals. For example, when she had finished teaching one part she could try to sing another part along with those who already had their part. When she was satisfied with the new part, she taught it to the singers of that respective part. In a few cases when she thought what she had created did not sound well she asked the two instrumentalists to think of an alternative part.

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[14] In the album (recorded and released in 2003), I am acknowledged together with another guitarist and keyboardist (Ben Ntime), a studio engineer (Bakunde Mbilima) and a solo singer and backing vocalist (Neema Lomax). By now I am considered by the group and I consider myself a member of the group. During rehearsals in which instruments were not used I joined the tenor section. Likewise, during my 2004 fieldwork I performed with the group in a number of concerts as a tenor singer, since we performed with a CD playback and hence instruments were not required.
[15] There is a Kiswahili saying that goes *"hawaivi chungu kimoja"* (lit. they do not get cooked in the same pot) normally used to refer to people who are not in harmony with each other.

In choral contexts the teaching took different forms depending on whether the parts were written down or not. When the parts of songs were not written down (which was the case with most popular church choirs in Dar es Salaam), a teacher would start to teach a song to singers of the first part (sopranos). When the sopranos had mastered their part, the teacher would start trying out the second part (alto). The process could be repeated for the rest of the parts (tenor and bass). After a rehearsal in which *Mwalimu* Aliko Mwankenja taught a Christmas song on December 14, 2004, I asked him how he was able to remember all the parts when he was teaching the song which, as he said, he had first taught a year ago. He told me that he did not have to remember the other parts (other than the soprano). "*Nilikuwa natunga palepale ninapofundisha*" (I was composing the other voices as I was teaching it there). When the parts sang together, the teacher could detect some parts being not in agreement with the rest of the parts. The parts were changed either by the teacher who was teaching the song or by another teacher present during the teaching of the song. At other times other choir members could detect the wrong parts and help in finding alternative parts. In this case the teacher could recommend those parts if he or she found them appealing. When the teacher taught the song that had been written down in notation (as it was the case with two teachers of the Sayuni Evangelical Choir) the teacher would teach the parts of the song by reading the score of the song beginning with any part. It was also common for the teachers to notice that some parts did not sound well. In this case the teacher would promise to come with a revised version the next choir day. Sometimes *Mwalimu* Archbold Tesha would stop for a while and amend the section before proceeding with the teaching.

Rehearsals included mastering newly taught songs and rehearsing the old songs. Singing the tune correctly, pronouncing the words properly, being able to sing in time with the beat and blending one's voice with the rest of the singers and with those of the instruments were important aspects of the rehearsals. The rehearsals also included voice exercises and warm-ups. The activity of leading these rehearsals was sometimes referred to as *kukochi kwaya* (choir coaching). Sometimes even the teacher who led these rehearsals was referred to as *kocha* (a coach), the same term that is used for a football coach. In the year 2000 during fieldwork for my previous study (Sanga 2001), one choir teacher of the Kijitonyama Evangelical Choir was famously called Zagalo (after a famous coach of a Brazilian team during the 1998 world cup Mario Zagalo). Another term that was used in similar context was that of *kunoa sauti* (to sharpen the voices).

I posit that the teaching and rehearsing were part of composition process in so far as most of the parts were created and some amendments were done during this process. In addition, lead singers and instrumentalists were expected and encouraged to improvise and that the parts created through improvisation became part of the songs. Let me illustrate this with an account of my own experience that I encountered when working with the Sayuni Evangelical Choir.

An Extract from the Author's Fieldnotes: It is the beginning of Christmas week (December 21, 2004). The Sayuni Evangelical Choir rehearses its Christmas songs. We, the instrumentalists, have come earlier to rehearse before the singers join us. I watch the other instrumentalists as they play the first song. When they begin the second song, a choir teacher who plays a keyboard, *Mwalimu* Sebastian Henry calls

125

me and tells me that I should play a keyboard in this song that is played in reggae style. He shows me the chord progression that I have to play in most parts of the song and the one that I have to play during an instrumental interlude. "It is not difficult", he encourages me. We start to play the song which begins with a bass guitar playing repeated figures (grooves) alone. As other instruments join in, the solo guitar plays an improvisatory section above the repeated chord progression, //C/G/D7/em/am/ bm/D7/G//. We play a similar segment at the section between the first and second stanza. But a solo Guitarist, Laban Mwasimba stops and says I should play something after his section. I am surprised since the teacher (the keyboardist) did not tell me anything I should play here. I ask him: "what do you usually play here?" They reply in unison that I should *buni* (invent or make up) something of my own. After some painstaking attempts I come up with a tune and its variation. It is basically an improvisation of the tune at the end of the chorus and the rhythm that is played by a drum machine. Below are my transcriptions of tune sang by the choir, a rhythmic configuration played by the drum machine and my keyboard improvisatory section (Figs. 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4. respectively). In figure 3.4 I include the guitar chords which are slightly different from those sung by the choir. For example the choir sings chord A minor (am) and the guitars play chord C Major (C) which makes the overall result A minor 7 (am7).

Fig 3.2 My Transcription of the Last Tune of the Chorus Sung By the Choir

126

Fig. 3.3 My Transcription of the Rhythmic Configuration Played By the Drum Machine

Fig. 3.4 My Transcription of the Improvisatory Section That I Played On a Keyboard

But something seems to sound not well. The solo guitarist suggests that we all change the first chord in the progression during my section. The chord progression becomes: //am/G/D7/em/ am/bm/D7/G//. I have been playing the note C and harmonizing it with a note a third below, that is, the note A, thus copying the singers (bar 1, the sopranos singing the note C and the altos singing the note A). Hence they feel that chord A minor (am) should replace the chord C Major (C) during my section. Later we rehearse the song with the choir. When we play this part the teacher comes and increases the volume of my keyboard saying: "here you are leading the song so you should be heard clearer".

The song is arranged to be performed during two Christmas church services (December 25 and 26, 2004). I attend the service of the night before Christmas (December 24, 2004) at the chapel of the University of Dar es Salaam since I stay very far from the Kinondoni Lutheran church where the Sayuni Evangelical Choir belong and there are transport problems at night. When I come to the church on Christmas morning, I am greeted by most of choir members with an interesting greeting: "We missed you last night and we sang your song!" Later the teacher tells me that they performed that song but they played the older version (without my section). He says the singers turned to the instrumentalists when they didn't hear that section. We perform the song during the Christmas service and I play my part. The song has to be performed again on the second Christmas service (December 26, 2004). But another teacher who normally plays rhythm guitar in this song has not come. As it seems to me that we have to play the song without rhythm guitar, I suggest that I play the rhythm guitar and the teacher (the keyboardist) plays a keyboard since I also learnt to play a rhythm guitar in this song. The instrumentalists

128

seem happy with my suggestion. So we perform the song in its original version without my keyboard section. I can see some choir members turning to us (the instrumentalists) as the interlude ends with a solo guitarist playing a cue for them to start the next stanza (my fieldnotes on December 21, 25 and 26, 2004).

Three general observations can be made with regard to this incident in relation to improvisation. First, improvisation was expected to be a creative process by an individual. Thus my question: "what do you usually play here?" was answered with a chorus, "create something of your own". As a result the improvised parts were in some ways part of the member's identity and place or role within the choir. "We sang your song" or "we missed you", meant that they sang the song in which I had to play some important role and that they performed it without that section which I had to play. This may explain why some songs were not performed when some instrumentalists or lead singers who played some important roles in those songs did not come to the choir.

Secondly, improvisation was expected to be related in some ways with the other existing musical elements. For example, I was expected to play my part above the same chord progression on which the solo guitarist played his improvisatory section. I was late to realise that I was playing something different with the first chord of the progression. In bar six (6) I realised it and moved from note G that harmonized note B a third below to F# so that my part could sound in tune with the B minor (bm) chord that other instrumentalists played.

129

Finally, the improvised part did not only change the chord progression of the song (which I could have avoided, had I realised earlier), but also it led to the change in the overall form of the song. The interlude before the second stanza used to have only one improvisatory segment. Now it had three since the solo guitarist played his segment again after my segment to insure that the cue for the choir remained the same. Below are illustrations to show the changes in the form of the interlude.

The form of original interlude can be represented as follows:

A

The form of the new interlude can be represented as follows:

A1	A2	A

Where:

A: A guitar improvisatory section with a cue and with the first chord of the progression being C Major.

A1: A guitar improvisatory section without a cue and with the first chord in the progression being C Major.

A2: A keyboard improvisatory section without a cue and with the first chord in the progression being A Minor.

3.2.3 Instrumentation Process

The experience of the instrumentation process by popular church choirs differed from that by independent popular church musicians. In a choir context, the instrumentation of songs was done by instrumentalists of the choirs who were members of the choirs

and who also sang with the choirs when they did not play any instrument. They became instrumentalists not by being nominated by choir members but by their ability and zeal to learn to play one or more instruments used by the choirs. As I have pointed out earlier some choir teachers were also instrumentalists of their respective choirs. The most used instruments in popular church choirs included the following electric instruments: solo guitar, rhythm guitar, bass guitar, keyboard and a drum machine. Some choirs did not have a drum machine. In this case, the keyboards were used also to play rhythm (selected from the keyboards' rhythm bank). Some groups like the AVC (Amana Vijana Centre) band and Maranatha band had more instruments including drum kits and saxophones in addition to the above mentioned instruments. Instrumentalists were expected to compose instrumental sections of choir songs (particularly the new ones).

Fig. 3.5 Instrumentalists of the AIC Dar es Salaam Choir (Magomeni) During a Concert at the University of Dar es Salaam

Fig. 3.6 Instrumentalists of *Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Sayuni* **(Sayuni Evangelical Choir) During a Concert at Msasani Lutheran Church (from left Devotha Nyalusi, Archbold Tesha and Laban Mwasimba on Bass, Rhythm and Solo Guitars Respectively)**

Fig. 3.7 The Author (Centre) Rehearsing With Laban Mwasimba (right) and an Instrumentalist from Amkeni Choir (left; Photograph by a member of Amkeni Choir)

Independent popular church musicians such as Jennifer Mgendi, Bahati Bukuku and

Wema Chamshama asked friends who were instrumentalists to play for them when

they wanted to record their albums. Most of these instrumentalists were the

instrumentalists of some popular church choirs in Dar es Salaam. Jennifer Mgendi

who was a member of the University Student Christian Fellowship (USCF) choir at

the University of Dar es Salaam, for example, recorded her first album with

instrumentalists who were also members of USCF choir at the University of Dar es

Salaam. She continued to record her later albums with the same instrumentalists even

when they had graduated from the University and were no longer members of that

choir. Bahati Bukuku who attended services at Kinondoni Assemblies of God church

recorded her album with the instrumentalists of Kinondoni Revival Choir (the choir of

the same church). In other cases it was the studio musicians who composed the

instrumental parts of the songs by some independent musicians as it was the case with

Mercy Nyagwaswa. In all the cases, it was evident that the process of composition

was a collaborative activity. Below I provide three quotes from the interviews with

Archbold Tesha (teacher of the Sayuni Evangelical Choir and instrumentalist of the

choir), Jennifer Mgendi (independent musician) and Mercy Nyagwaswa (independent

musician who sings with the AIC (African Inland Church) Magomeni Choir as

soprano and a lead singer in some songs). The quotes illustrate the practice of

instrumentation in various contexts.

> About instrumentation...when I have composed a song and have some ideas
> that a certain instrument should be played this way or that way I write down
> those parts. But most often when I have taught a song to that choir (Sayuni
> Evangelical Choir), I invite suggestions from the instrumentalists and choir
> teachers. I ask them: in what way do you think the songs should be played?
> So we make the instrumental sections that suits well with the song. But if I had
> a certain idea when I was composing the song then I explain it first to them
> that: Maybe a solo guitar or a keyboard should begin this way and let's see

how it sounds. They may agree with me. Sometimes they add other ideas or change some things (Archbold Tesha during an interview with the author on December 22, 2004, my translation).

Jennifer Mgendi says:

> When I have composed my song, have done satisfactory rehearsals myself and find that the song is ready for recording, I go to see the instrumentalists. I find those instrumentalists such as Msegu[16] and others. I go to the studio... I have recorded all my albums with a sound engineer called Malon Linje. So I sing those songs to them. They listen. Then we talk, but normally they are the ones who come up with suggestions that the song should be played in a particular way. They suggest whether the song should be played fast or slow. They also suggest the *ngoma* (rhythm or beat) for the song. Although I have the final word most of the suggestions come from them.

I interrupt her by asking whether she rehearsed with the instrumentalists before going to the studio or just in the studio.

> In most cases...for example, with that first album, we did some rehearsals before. Even when we recorded the second album, we had a short rehearsal before. Just to let the instrumentalists hear how the songs sound. But frankly speaking, we do most of the rehearsals in studio. The reason is, you may arrange your ideas this way, but maybe the studio engineer says, no. That will not sound nice. So most of the time we do the rehearsals there. Though it is for a short time (Jennifer Mgendi during an interview with the author on September 18, 2004, my translation).

Mercy Nyagwaswa says:

> I really thank God that I was lucky to have a sponsor, the manager of Clouds FM (one of the private radio stations in Dar es Salaam where Mercy works as a news reader), Mr. Mutahaba who heard me singing at Diamond Jubilee Hall during the visits of Rebecca Malope (a South African Gospel musician) and The Makoma (a Congolese Gospel music group that resided in Belgium). So he sponsored me to record in four different studios. My songs have been played by very good producers in Dar es Salaam. One of them is Kameta of Metro studio. He played two songs for me *Cheza* and *Ndio dhamana*. Then I went to Hingi of Bakia Production who played three songs for me, *Mbingu za hubiri, Daudi and Shadrack* and *Meshack.* I also went to Mikka Mwamba (who worked at FM studio) who, three years ago, played *Mama* for me. In fact, I started with this song at FM studio. Finally, I went to Bizman and Enrico of Sound Crafters who played *Lango* and *Mshukuruni* for me. So four producers have played my songs and I sang all the vocal back-ups myself (Mercy Nyagwaswa during an interview with the author on Novermber 1, 2004, my translation).

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[16] Jennifer Mgendi has reordered all of her albums with Msegu as an instrumentalist.

3.2.4   Dance: Designing Steps and Actions

Dance was an important aspect in popular church music. Dance movements were designed in relation to other elements of the music. First, a general dance style of a particular song was composed in relation to the rhythmic style of the song. Thus songs that were played in a style of reggae, for example, had more or less similar step styles. This was also the case with those songs in other styles (rumba, hip hop, twist, soukous, some Tanzanian traditional dance styles, salsa or charanga, to name just a few). Secondly, the change from one dance style to another style within a song or dancers turning from one side to another were done in relation to musical phrases or sentences. In this way the general rhythm of musical phrases and sentences was reflected in the dance. The dance styles were referred to as *stepu* (steps) and were normally identified by the rhythm of the foot steps and direction of the body movement (left, right, backward or forward). Thirdly, there was another kind of body movement. These were referred to as *matendo* (actions). Actions were signs performed by hands, facial expressions and other imitations of human activities or movements such as running. These were performed in relation to the message conveyed by the lyrics of the songs. For example, when the singers sang words about going to heaven they would look up and point their hands or fingers to heaven above. In this way the actions were bodily signs that interpreted and elaborated the message in the lyrics of the songs. In other words, dance was "a bodily language" (following Bakare and Mans 2003: 217). When two parts (e.g. soprano and tenor or lead singer and the rest of the choir) had different entry points in a song or had different words, this contrapuntal organization was reflect in the dance actions. Those parts performed different actions at the same time. *Kucheza* is a Kiswahili word that was used to refer

135

to the performance of both steps and actions. The same terminology was used when referring to dancing in other musical genres in Tanzania.

In their study of integrating the arts in musical arts education in Africa, Akousou Addo, Florence Miya and Hetta Potgieter identify six "basic underlying principles" for choreographing a dance which I find relevant for studying dance in popular church music in Tanzania:

- the rhythmic structure of the music
- improvisations on the instruments
- recognition of the basic regular beat of the music
- the coordination of the movements of various parts of the body
- musical phrases
- sectional structures

(Addo, Miya and Potgieter 2003: 240).

Taking into account the practice of dance in popular church music in Dar es Salaam it is important to add to this list the importance of lyrics which, as pointed above, normally were interpreted and expressed through dance movements and actions. I will illustrate these points with reference to specific examples from a selected choir song in the next section of this chapter (3.3). For now let me focus on the process and the people who were involved in the making of these movements.

In some choirs the task of designing steps and actions were done by choir teachers. In other choirs, a few individuals were appointed by choir members or choir teachers to perform the task. Yet in other choirs this was a task of all members during rehearsal sessions of the newly taught songs. It should be noted though that even in the first two cases other choir members would suggest some changes or additions when rehearsing the steps or actions designed by teachers or a few appointed members of the choirs.

In the Sayuni Evangelical Choir designing steps and actions was done by a few people appointed by the choir members. I became acquainted with three young women who normally taught us (the choir members) the dances. I interviewed two of them (Julieth Masanja and Martha Mkindwa) and filmed the dances of some choir songs with them. They explained that when a song was taught to the choir they began to think of the steps and actions. Sometimes they tried the dance during the rehearsal when others were just singing. When the song was ready the dance designers had discussions amongst themselves and decided on the steps and actions for each phrase or important words in the song. The steps and actions were then taught to the choir during rehearsals.

The choir had developed a sign system from which these designers referred when composing dance for a particular song. Some signs were common even in normal conversations in Tanzania such as an act of worshiping or praying illustrated in a photo below (Fig. 3.8). However, in most incidents, the designers invented new signs for particular messages or words. Sometimes this was done by assigning new meanings to the existing signs that had been used differently in other songs. Thus the same sign could mean different things in different songs. Likewise, the same words could have two different signs in two different songs. It is important therefore, following McFee, to read these signs within the context of the songs (1992: 52).

Another point I would like to make in connection with dance in popular church music is that dance was one way through which audience experienced music not only by listening to it or by viewing it but also by taking part in performance. During performances, especially in concerts and evangelical meetings, some audience

137

members would stand and dance following the dance styles of the performers (see

Fig. 3.9). This was not often the case during church services.

Fig. 3.8 Martha Nkindwa (Left) and Julieth Masanja (Right) of the Sayuni Evangelical Choir Demonstrating Dance Movements and Actions of Selected Choir Songs

Fig. 3.9 Audience Dancing in a Circle During a Concert Concert at Msimbazi Centre. The Musicians are on Stage

Fig. 3.10 AIC Dar es Salaam Choir (Magomeni) Performing During a Concert at the University of Dar es Salaam

3.2.5 Performance

As I have pointed out earlier, performances of popular church music took place in a number of places or spaces and contexts. The music was performed during weekly Sunday services in churches, during popular church music concerts that took place either in concert halls or in churches, during evangelical meetings that took place either outdoors or indoor (in conference halls or churches) and during studio recording sessions. On a few occasions the music was performed for family celebrations such as weddings, baptisms or confirmations. This was the case when a person closely involved in these events was a member of the choir or was a close relative of the choir member. In this case that choir member would ask the choir to attend and perform during the celebration. Likewise, when a choir member was bereaved with a close relative, the choir would go to the house of the person either during the mourning days or after and sing to comfort the mourners or family members.

In what ways were these performances part of the music creation process? First, as argued before, improvisation was a common feature of the music. Lead singers and instrumentalists were expected to improvise to varying degrees during performances. It was a common practice among lead singers to change the lyrics of songs or add some words of *mapambio*[17] in relation to the event, such as mentioning the names of the bride and the groom or of the bereaved person. Secondly, some other aspects of the songs such as the length of some musical segments or a number of repetitions of a chorus could be changed during live performances. For example, when the audience seemed to respond positively by many of them joining the dance or by singing the chorus with the performers, the performers would repeat that part more times than they normally did or more than they did when recorded the song. Thirdly, a performance during a studio recording involved changing or adding some aspects in response to the advice given by a studio engineer. Sometimes it was the studio engineers or studio instrumentalists who composed and played the instrumental parts of the songs recorded. In this way performance during a recordings session was an important stamp in the making of popular church music.

In short, on the one hand, the music was one of the stamps that shaped peoples experiences of various occasions (e.g. baptism, confirmation, weddings or death) which were themselves stamps or (as Gadamer puts it) "milestones in the individual's path through life" (1977: 42), that is , the time ordering of one's life. On the other hand, these occasions were important stamps on the time of music creation process

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[17] Short call and response popular choruses

during which the music underwent metamorphosis in terms of its structural organization and/or lyrics.

3.3 PRODUCT: CHARACTERISTICS OF COMPOSITIONS

Popular church music is made up of a number of elements. The organization of these elements differs from one song to another. However, the organization of the elements in some songs seems to be similar in some ways. These similarities make it possible for the choirs to categorise most of the songs in various styles. For this reason, in this section I analyse selected songs so as to identify and elaborate on the organization of various significant elements in the music. I also show how these elements are organised in the songs that are played in some popular music styles.

To do this, I borrow a model suggested by Allan Moore for analyzing popular music. The model is designed to analyse music by focusing on roles of various instruments (including voice) in specific pieces. His model includes the following layers:

- Voice
- Guitar (lead and rhythm guitar)
- Bass
- Kit drum, cymbal and other percussions

(Moore 2001: 35–36)

However, given the fact that popular church music differs in some significant ways from "British beat groups" and "rhythm and blues [R&B] based bands" for which the model was designed, I have revised it in relation to popular church music culture. The revised model that I am going to use in this section enables me to discuss the structural organization of three main aspects of the music. The first aspect is the organization of vocal parts. This involves a discussion of how the parts are organized harmonically or rhythmically. It also includes a discussion of texture in terms of both

141

the blending of various parts and thickness (number of voices). The second aspect in this model includes the organization of instrumental parts and music styles. The discussion here focuses on the roles played by individual instruments used in the music. These include solo, rhythm and bass guitars, keyboards and drum machines. The third and final aspect includes dance movements. Here the discussion focuses on steps and actions that are performed in particular songs in relation to other aspects of the songs such as lyrics, musical form and styles.

Extending the "stamping time" concept, I consider a musical work and the various aspects of it that are realised in time to be a way of ordering time with "sonic or visual stamps". Therefore I provide a microscopic view of this temporal ordering of "sonic and visual or bodily stamps" and the relationships between them within selected songs.

3.3.1   Vocal Organization in Popular Church Music

The voices in popular church music were organized in a number of ways. For analytical purposes I identify some of the prominent ones including solo or two-part organization, homophonic organization, call and response organization and polyphonic organization. In what follows, I discuss these ways with examples from the selected popular church songs.

There are a number of popular church songs that are sung in only one vocal part. The typical examples here include songs recorded by individual musicians such as Bahati Bukuku and a few songs in the albums of Cosmas Chidumule.

Other songs by independent musicians are sung in two or three voices. The musicians either sing all the parts themselves, as it is the case with Jennifer Mgendi, Cosmas Chidumule (in some songs) and Mercy Nyagwaswa, or they sing with other people as is the case with Flora Mbasha and Cosmas Chidumule (in other songs).

One of the most observed characteristics (maybe the guiding principle) in these compositions is that of harmonic parallelism. The use of parallelism has been observed in many African music cultures (Arom 1991 and Dargie 1991) and in a number of Tanzanian music cultures in particular (Nketia 1974). The most used parallels in popular church music in Dar es Salaam are parallel thirds and sixths. When three parts are involved, parallel fifths and fourths may also be used. It is also common to find parallel octaves in a number of songs. Another common feature observed in these songs is that of the voice movements adhering to chord progressions. This was the case particularly with those songs composed by beginning with the chord progression, as discussed by Jennifer Mgendi. One can also observe parallelism even in songs of this nature. It should be pointed out that in most songs the size and quality of the intervals between the parallel parts were fluid. One thing remains obvious though, that is, the direction of the parts. These observations also applied in most of choir songs that were organized in four or sometimes three parts as the following examples indicate.

Fig. 3.11 My Transcription of *Kwa Yesu Kuna Furaha* by Dr. Remmy Ongala and Modest Mogan

Fig. 3.12 My Transcription of an Excerpt from Jennifer Mgendi's Song *Ee Mama*

Fig. 3.13 My Transcription of a Section from the Kijitonyama Evangelical Choir's Song *Twaokolewa Kwa Neema*

Fig. 3.14 My Transcription of the Sayuni Evangelical Choir's Song *Mji wa Sayuni* (With Chords Played on Guitar)

Another prominent feature in the structural organization of vocal parts in popular church music is a call and response pattern. This feature has also been observed in many African music cultures (Arom 1991, Nketia 1974 and Barz 1997). In most

145

popular church songs in Dar es Salaam this has been practiced in the following ways. One singer or two would sing a tune (a complete phrase or musical line) and then the rest of choir singers repeat the whole tune either in unison or in parts. At other times the lead singer or lead singers would sing the first part of the tune and leave the rest to be completed by other voices. There were songs in which the lead singer sang the whole of the verse and the chorus was sung by the choir. As it may be observed here, this kind of organization involved a combination of solo and homophonic vocal organization. Below are some examples to illustrate these observations (Figs. 3.15 and 3.16). Since in figure 3.15 the lead singer keeps varying his line while the backing vocalists repeat their section, I also include the variations by the lead singer.

Fig. 3.15 My Transcription of a Section from Cosmas Chidumule's Song *Yesu ni Bwana*

Lead singer's original version

Si-ku zo-te tu-na-i- mba si- e

Lead singer's first variation

Ha-ta le- o tu-na-i- mba te- na

Lead singer's second variation

U- si- ku na m-cha- na tu- na- i- mba

Lead singer's third variation

Ma- la- i- ka wa- na- i- mba hu- ko mbi- ngu- ni

Fig. 3.16 My Transcription of a Section from Sedikia Fanuel and the ETM (Evangelism Through Music)'s Song *Lipo Jina*

Guitar Chords: D A E⁷ A D

Lead Singer

Backing Vocals

Li- po ji- na ni-na-lo- pe-nda sa-na li- po ji- na

A E⁷ A E⁷ A D

1st 2nd

Ji na le-nye u- we- zo

ni ji- na la Ye-su Li- po la Ye-su

148

Vocal polyphony was also used in a number of songs. Sometimes this was a result of call and response ordering in which some parts entered before the other parts came to an end. At other times it happened when the improvisatory sections of lead singers (which were different from the choir's melody and in which the lead singer had different entry points) were added above the choir's section. In addition, there were cases in which one or more parts sang differently from the rest of the parts. The difference could be on the melodic, rhythmic elements or on entry points. The following example (Fig. 3.17) illustrates the above observations. Since the song also employs other features discussed in this chapter such as call and response I include

the soloist's part here. The song was also discussed in chapter 2 in relation to

telephone language in popular church music.

Fig. 3.17 My transcription of a section from the Kinondoni Revival Choir's song
Wrong Number

A Phone Call
Spoken words: Hallo Hallo
Instrumental introduction begins as a phone call fades out

Lead singer (Stanza 1)

Si-ki- li-ze-ni wa-pe- ndwa   ka- bla si-ja-o- ko- ka   She-ta-

ni a- li- ni- te- sa   na a- li- ni- tu- mi- ki- sha   ki -la

a- ki- ni- hi- ta- ji   a- li- ni- pi- gi- a si- mu   Si- ku

mo-ja ya a- ja- bu   Ye-su a- li- ni- to- ke-_ a   A- ka-

ni- sa- me- he dha- mbi   ni- ka- po- ke- a wo-ko- vu   n'ka- ka- ta

ma- wa- si- li- a- no   ya si- mu za i- bi- li si   Ki- la

a- ki- ni- pi- gi-   a hu- yo she- ta- ni   na- mwa-

mbi- a Wrong Num- ber   Wrong Num- ber   Wrong Num- ber

150

A final feature I would like to mention in relation to vocal organization in popular church music is the employment of speech or spoken words. We may identify three ways in which speech was used in popular church music. First, there were those songs in which words were spoken naturally, that is, in the way one could speak in a normal conversation outside the musical context. Secondly, there were those words that were spoken in strict rhythm (e.g. in a rap-like style). The rhythm differed from that which one could speak in normal conversation. It should be noted here that both took place with the instrumental background. Even in the first case those sentences or phrases of the spoken words followed in a loose way the general rhythm of the musical phrases played by the instruments. Thirdly, a number of songs included shouts (e.g. hallelujah-amen, or different kinds of applause). This could appear between two musical sections of the song or within a musical phrase. Sometimes this was done when the instruments had stopped (especially when changing a beat or rhythm of the song).

One example of the employment of speech in popular church music include that of *KilioTanzania* (Fig. 3.18) where one singer says a prayer while the choir hums and the instrumentalists play a repeated musical segment. Other examples include the first part of Cosmas Chidumule's song *Yesu ni Bwana* (see Fig. 3.11) and Dr. Remmy

Ongala's song *Kwa Yesu Kuna Furaha* in which he narrates his story of becoming a
Christian. Cosmas Chidumule's song *Lamgambo Limelia* in his album *"Yesu ni
Bwana"* may serve as an example of the use of words that are spoken in strict rhythm
above the instrumental background (Fig. 3.19).

**Fig. 3.18 My Transcription of a Section from Kijitonyama Evangelical Choir's
Song *Kilio Tanzania***

Fig. 3.19 My Transcription of a Section from Cosmas Chidumule's Song
Lamgambo Limelia

Examples of the use of shouts in this music can be heard in the Kijitonyama Evangelical Choir's album "*Twaokolewa kwa Neema*"in the following songs: *Twokolewa kwa Neema, Amenitendea* and *Ndani ya Safina*. The shouts are also employed in a song by the Sayuni Evangelical Choir *Yawe Yawe* in an album volume 10 titled *Bwana wa Mabwana: Yawe Yawe* and in a song by Kinondoni Revival Choir namely *Maombi ya Yabesi* in a choir's sixth album with the same title.

3.3.2   Instrumental Arrangements and Music Styles

I pointed out earlier that a number of instruments including solo, rhythm and bass guitar, keyboard and drum machine were used in this music. Each of these instruments played specific roles within a context of a song and within a context of a musical style as it has been observed in other popular music styles in East Africa (Bender 1991).

Generally speaking, solo guitar was normally used to play melodic segments or their improvised versions, especially as introductions or interludes (between verses). In most songs the solo guitar played short figures (fills) in the gaps between the sung melodic phrases. In most cases these figures were different and they had different entry points from the vocal segments. In this case the overall effect was of a kind of counterpoint as the following example illustrates (Fig. 3.20).

Fig. 3.20 Transcription of a Section from Sedekia Fanuel's Song *Mfinyanzi*

Stanza 1

A rhythm guitar normally played harmonic, melodic and rhythmic functions. It was

used to play chords in various styles (picking the strings and playing the arpeggios or

in a strumming style). Sometimes it was used to double a melodic segment sung or

157

played by a solo guitar or keyboard as in *Ndani ya Safina* (Fig. 3.24, bars 1–2). Other times it plays in parallel with other instruments as in *Yesu ni Bwana* (Fig. 3.15, bars 1–8). The style of playing the rhythm guitar differed from one musical style to another. For example, when playing a song in rumba style the picking style was preferred while when playing a song in reggae a strumming style was preferred particularly on the up beats.

The bass guitar usually played a harmonic function by playing the roots of the chords, though sometimes the inversions were also used. It was also used as a rhythmic instrument by playing its figures (grooves) in relation to the rhythm played by a drum machine. In some songs that were adopted from traditional tunes the bass guitar played to imitate some drumming patterns of the music of that particular music culture. At other times it was used to play a melody by playing in unison with the bass singers or by playing in octave with the solo or rhythm guitars as in the first section of a song by Cosmas Chidumule *Yesu ni Bwana* (Fig. 3.15).

A keyboard was normally used to play chords in varying styles. It was also used to play melodies that were sung by the choir. Sometimes it was used to play melodic segments as introductions, interludes or "fills" as it was the case with the solo guitar.

A drum machine was employed to play the rhythm of a song which was normally referred to as "beat". The "beats" were programmed by members of the choir (instrumentalists) using this instrument and replayed when a song requiring a particular beat was performed.

In the following examples, I intend to show some of the typical playing styles of these instruments. I have selected one song in each of the five styles. It should be noted though that there are many more styles in which popular church music is played. Some are not even mentioned by names. I have selected these few to serve as examples.

Fig. 3.21 An Excerpt From Bahati Bukuku's Song *Ikulu* in Salsa (*Charanga*) Style (My Transcription).

Fig. 3.22 An Excerpt from Kinondoni Revival Choir's Song *Maombi ya Yabesi* in R&B Style (My Transcription)

Fig. 3.23 An Excerpt from Rose Muhando's Song *Mwambieni Mungu* in Reggae Style (My Transcription)

163

Fig. 3.24 An Excerpt from Kijitonyama Evangelical Choir's Song *Ndani ya Safina* in Soukous Style (My Transcription)

kuˉ   le ndaˉ   ni ya saˉ   fiˉ   na

3.3.3   Dance: Reading Steps and Actions in *Mji wa Sayuni*

The place and significance of dance in this music have already been discussed above (in subsection 3.2.4). My task here is to provide a reading of one of the songs by Sayuni Evangelical Choir as an example. The song is titled *Mji wa Sayuni* (City of Zion) which is now in the choir's album volume 8 titled *Safari ya Kwenda Huko*. The song has been transcribed (Fig. 3.13) highlighting aspects of vocal organisation. Other transcriptions appear in this section highlighting various aspects of dance. Although the song does not include all aspects of dance practice in the music, it employs many ways in which dance is used in the music. I learnt and performed this song as a singer and therefore I was involved in dancing during both rehearsals and church performances (while in some other songs I was involved only as an instrumentalist). In addition, I recorded the song in video during the dance lessons in which two dance designers (Julieth Masanja and Martha Mkindwa) illustrated the dances of some songs of the Sayuni Evangelical Choir.

165

Let me begin by describing the method I use in presenting the dance in relation to this song. The actions of the feet are presented in a chart with three rows. The first row is used to show the steps of the right foot. The second row is used to show the steps of the left foot. The third row is used to show the direction to which the foot and the body move. The following signs are used: (←) moving left, (→) moving right, (↑) moving forward, (↓) moving backward and nothing is indicated when there is no such movement (particularly during the turning points). Since the foot steps are performed within a given time each column represents a pulse. In this case it is a crotchet beat. Actions that are performed by hands or head are described against the word or group of words they interpret. Some photographs are included in my discussion of the movement. The photographs were taken during the dance lessons and interview with the dance designers. Finally, a foot stepping on ground is indicated with a black mark (●) and when the foot is lifted up without stepping it on the ground I use a white mark (○).

The song begins with a brief rhythmic introduction of one bar (the first bar) and the beat changes in the second bar as other instruments join in. The second configuration is repeated over and over throughout the song. These rhythmic configurations are shown below.

Fig. 3.25 Rhythmic Configurations of the Song *Mji wa Sayuni*

The dance begins at the second bar with the entry of other instruments and the second rhythmic configuration. The following is an illustration of the dance movement.

Fig. 3.26 The Dance Movement (Each Column Represents a Crotchet Beat)

Right Foot	(●)		(●)			(●)		(○)
Left Foot		(●)		(○)	(●)		(●)	
Direction	(→)	(→)	(→)			(←)	(←)	(←)	

This dance movement (step) is repeated over and over during the instrumental introduction, and interludes and throughout the first section of each stanza. The dance is performed in relation to both the rhythm provided by the drum machine and the melodic segments sung by the choir and played by the instruments. Let me illustrate how it was related to the melody and melodic segments of this song. The following transcription of the melody is marked and numbered to show the main melodic segments that were related to dance as described below.

Fig. 3.27 My Transcription of the Melody of *Mji wa Sayuni*

167

In bar 1, 2, 3 and 4 the left and right side movements start and end with the melodic segments (a, c, e and g) which end on the third beat of the measure. The fourth beat in a bar is used as a turning point where the dancers' feet do not step on the ground. Although the melodic segments on this beat (melodic segment b, d, f and h) are part of the melodic segments that come on the next bar, the dance here obeys the strong beat of the rhythm that begins on the first beat of the bar. In addition, the divisions between stanzas and choruses within the song were also reflected in the organization of the dance between steps and actions.

When the choir starts to sing the chorus (the second section of each stanza), the dancing of this step stops and actions begin. Below I present a chart that shows the actions performed in relation to the words in the chorus.

Fig. 3.28 Description of Actions in Relation to Words of a Song

S/N	Lyrics	English translation	Actions description
1.	Yakabidhi maisha yako	Surrender your life	Touch the chest with both hands
2.	Kwa Yesu	To Jesus	Lift the right hand above
3.*	Kwani yeye ni kimbilio	Because he is a place where we should run to	Imitate running movement forward and backward
4.	la uzima	(a place where there is) eternal life	Lift the right hand above
5.	Usidanganywe	Do not be deceived	Touch the head with an index finger of the right hand
6.	na dunia	By the world	Move the hand from the head and draw a circle on air using an index finger
7.	Inapita	It passes by	Move the right hand from the chest position and stretch it to the right

168

8.	Wokovu huo ni wa bure	That is free salvation	Lift the right hand above
9.	Upokee	Receive it	Stretch both hands and lift them up as if receiving something from above

* The foot steps of the running movement of the feet for "*Kwani yeye ni kimbilio*" is as follows (Fig. 3.29).

Fig. 3.29 Foot Steps of the Running Movement

Right Foot	(●)		(●)		(●)			
Left Foot		(●)		(●)				
Direction	(↑)	(↑)	(↑)	(↓)	(↓)			

The chorus is sung twice and the same actions are performed when repeating the chorus. The actions stop during the instrumental interlude and the earlier steps resume and continue when the choir sings the second stanza.

Some dance movements or actions were imitations of real human actions or shapes of things. For example, the running movement (3) is an imitation of a real running action although here it is performed within the rhythm of the song and it involves running forwards and backwards. Another example is that of the shape of the world. The action performed when singing the term, world (6) is that of drawing a circle on air using an index finger of the right hand (although the circle is not complete). In short, on the one hand dance imitates real human actions or shapes. On the other hand, it

transposes them into the world of dance and makes them different from the real human actions or shapes, as Paul Valéry puts it:

> For the dance is an art derived from life itself, since it is nothing more nor less than the action of the whole human body; but an action transposed into a world, into a kind of *space-time*, which is no longer quite the same as that of everyday life (1983: 55, emphasis original)

The above actions are used to refer to some actions or shapes outside the music itself. Let me point out that in other songs there were actions that were performed to imitate actions within the music performance itself. An example here include the performance of a song by the Sayuni Evangelical Choir *Nitamtukuza* (now in an audio cassette of the choir's album Volume 14 namely, *Mungu yu Mwema*). During the instrumental interlude where the bass and the solo guitars play their improvisatory segments, the singers dance by swaying from one side to another and by imitating the guitar playing position and actions. I posit that the actions played the role of calling the audience's attention to the sounds of the guitars during this section. The first photograph below was taken during the filming of a dance class. The second was taken after the filming of this song since the camera person (Godfrey Lebejo Mngereza) requested that we replay the song so that he could also join the dance.

Fig. 3.30 Martha Mkindwa (Left) and Julieth Masanja (Right) Demonstrating the Dance Movements of *Nitamtukuza*

Note that in the above photo Martha Mkindwa, the lead singer (left) who was still singing performs different actions from the rest of the choir (now represented by Juliet Masanja right in the photo).

Fig. 3.31 A Video Photographer Godfrey Lebejo Mngereza (Centre) Joins Martha Mnkindwa (Left) and Julieth Masanja (Right) in Performing the Dance of *Nitamtukuza*

Finally, some signs were drawn from those that were normally used in day-to-day conversation. For example, being cheated was expressed in the song by pointing an index finger to the head (brain). This is an expression that is used to refer to somebody who does something foolishly. A remark "use your brain" or "you don't use your brain" would go together with this sign. It is easier to be deceived when one does not use one's brain. Hence this song draws this sign from this commonly used signs in society and advises people to 'use brains' so that they are not deceived by the "world" (see Fig. 3. 32). Other signs were created by taking into account religious beliefs. For example, the belief that God dwells in heaven (above) and that life and salvation come from him is used in creating some signs in this song (2, 6 and 8), where singers danced by looking up and raising their hands up (see Fig. 33). In addition, while the action which is performed to interpret receiving something (9) seems to imitate an ordinary human action of receiving something with one's two hands (an expression of politeness and respect), the position of the hands in this action needs a comment. The hands are lifted as if someone receives something from above (Fig. 3.34). If I play a hermeneut, there are two possible explanations: First, this is a position that a little child would have his or her hands when receiving something from a parent (conceivably taller than the child). Hence the position of the hands in the song (in relation to the lyrics) reflects and expresses the belief that God is a giving Father. Second, like other signs numbered 2, 6 and 8, it also reflects and expresses the belief that God (from whom one receives salvation) dwells in heaven.

Fig. 3.32 Julieth Masanja Demonstrates the Action for Words *Usidanganywe na Shetani* (Don't be Deceived by Satan) in the Song *Mji wa Sayuni*

Fig. 3.33 The Author (Centre) Joins Martha Mkindwa (Left) and Julieth Masanja (Right) in Performing the Dance of the Song *Mji wa Sayuni*. (Photograph by Godfrey Lebejo Mngereza)

Fig. 3.34 Julieth Masanja Demonstrates the Action for a Words *Upokee* (Receive) in the Song *Mji wa Sayuni*

3.4   CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have explored a number of processes in the making of popular church music and various elements that constitute this music. In the discussion I have put forward two arguments. First, I have argued and illustrated through a number of examples that the composition process in this music was a multistage process. That is, it took place in a number of stages including conceiving basic ideas, teaching and rehearsals, dance designing, instrumentation and performance and that a musical work accumulated elements that were added to it in each of these stages. I have shown that these stamps were added to the work leading to its transformation. Though a general "beat" (*mdundo* or rhythm) or chord progression could be repeated over and over throughout the song, I have argued and illustrated that through improvisation some layers on the "beat" or chord progression changed during each repetition. I have argued that those improvisatory segments were stamps that sometimes gave the songs new identities.

Secondly, I have shown that this process was a collaborative process. It involved a number of "creative brains". It involved choir teachers, or independent musicians, dance designers, instrumentalists, and singers. It also involved studio engineers and studio instrumentalists. These people were involved in various processes of the song creation as I have sketched in this chapter.

I have also discussed the interrelatedness of various elements such as lyrics, vocal phrases, and instrumentation in this music with specific reference to selected songs and I have shown how dance movements were related to song lyrics, form and rhythmic styles.

Finally, I would like to restate here that this chapter has broken down the elements of this music and discussed each separately only to serve analytical purposes. In actual practice all the elements were experienced together (of course one can decide to focus at one element at a time). Bearing this in mind this work includes a video (documentary) in which some performances are presented with minimum commentary as subtitles. It also includes excerpts from the interviews with musicians and a studio engineer about composition processes. In addition, it includes a sequence on dance in which two dance designers danced to a selected song of the Sayuni Evangelical Choir.

PART TWO

MUSIC AND THE DYNAMICS OF

SOCIAL SPACES

CHAPTER 4
POPULAR CHURCH MUSIC
AND THE DYNAMICS OF RELIGIOUS SPACE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

4.1.1 Accounts of Being "Saved"

A weekly Christian newspaper *Habari Njema* of August 29–September 5, 2004

published an article by Gabriel Mduma titled, *Remmy akimbiwa na marafiki baada ya*

kuokoka (Remmy has been abandoned by his friends after being saved). The subtitle

of the article insists that he does not regret his decision. "After being busy with

worldly matters that do not please God", the article begins, "at last the former famous

musician of secular songs, Ramadhani Mtoro Ongala, famously known as Dr.

Remmy, has decided to surrender himself to Lord Jesus" (Mduma 2004: 8 in *Habari*

Njema, my translation). The author also points out that Dr. Remmy has released an

album of *Muziki wa Injili* titled *Kwa Yesu Kuna Furaha* (There is Joy in Jesus).

A week before the publication of this article, another Christian newspaper *Msema*

Kweli published an article titled, *"Mwanamuziki wa Dansi Dar Ampa Yesu Maisha na*

Kuokoka" (A Dance Musician in Dar[18] has Given Her Life to Jesus and has Been

Saved). The article begins as follows:

> A musician Mery Machuwa who once sang with a famous musician Dr.
> Remmy Ongala recently has been saved at the on-going evangelical meeting at
> Manzese Dar es Salaam. In addition to being saved Mery has declared to

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[18] A short form of Dar es Salaam

177

abandon singing and show-dancing in *muziki wa dansi* (popular dance music) as a step to abandon worldly matters" (Mayagila 2004: 8, my translation)

"A famous bar in Dar has been changed into a church". This is a title of an article in *Habari Njema* of November 14–20, 2004. The name of the bar is Desert Pub located at Sinza behind Mapambano primary school, the article explains. In addition, the author writes that the pastor of the Gospel Assemblies Chapel International (GACI), Pastor Pilikisi (the pastor of the church that has done the work of changing the bar into a church), reported to the writer that:

> [H]is church has a long experience of changing bars to be places for worshiping God… Before that [incident], his church conducted its services at what used to be a night club Silent Inn in Mwenge which was also changed and became a church. This was done after the owner of the building, Mr. Rwegasira became saved (*Habari Njema* November 14–20, 2004, my translation).

A similar incident was reported in *Msema Kweli* of August 15–21, 2004 that a bar located in Chanika, Dar es Salaam was changed and became a church (Kilaki 2004: 8).

In Werner Graebner's article about Dr. Remmy Ongala the author reproduces an advertisement from a daily newspaper *Uhuru* of March 23, 1983. Briefly speaking, the advertisement advertises performances that Dr. Remmy Ongala and his band, the Orchestra Matimila Band, planned to do. One of these performances was planned to take place on March 26, 1983 at a famous night club, Silent Inn in Mwenge, Dar es Salaam. In the article, Graebner also analyses a number of Dr. Remmy Ongala's songs including *Muziki Asili Yake Wapi?* (Where are the roots or origins of musics?). In the song Dr. Remmy attacks those who criticise musicians as "vagabonds, bandits or outcasts" by arguing that music is used even in church to praise God (Graebner 1997). One of Dr. Remmy's famous songs in Tanzania and perhaps one of the most

178

criticised by the public and religious community in particular is *"Mambo kwa Soksi"* (lit. "Things by Socks"), in which Dr. Remmy advises people to use condoms so as to prevent themselves from AIDS. Annemette Kirkegaard observes thus:

> The song could be heard all over Dar es Salaam from private houses or small shops, but never on Radio Tanzania, even though there is a good reason for its message is [sic]. It seems that the directness of the song is too offensive, which is not strange in a country where the Catholic Church has a strong position (2004: 62).

It should be noted though that the resistance to the propagation of the use of condoms against AIDS has been coming from more or less all religious denominations including Islamic religious groups. I am therefore questioning the primacy of Catholism in the opposition against the propagation of condoms in the country. Kirkegaard, for example, observes one case from a non-Catholic, born-again musician Cosmas Chidumule (who became a born-again Christian long before Dr. Remmy Ongala). She writes:

> as Cosmas [Chidumule] has become a born-again Christian, he has not only left the group, but also strongly disagrees on the issue of condoms, thus highlighting the ongoing conflicts about the way to handle the desease in Tanzania (Kirkegaard 2004: 62).

Throughout this chapter I will be referring to these incidents in my discussion of popular church music and the construction of religious space. For now, let me point out briefly the relationship between the incidents. In 1983 a government (secular) daily newspaper advertised the performance of secular popular dance music by Dr. Remmy Ongala and the Orchestra Matimila Band that was to take place at a night club Silent Inn in Mwenge. In the year 2004 the church owned newspaper reported that Dr. Remmy Ongala had been saved and that he has recorded and released an album of popular church music. More interesting is the news that even the building in which he used to perform secular music had also been "saved" (changed into a church). In short, I am interested in the relationship between people's change in

179

beliefs, which resulted in changes of not only their words, songs or other form of representation and communication but also the uses of physical spaces and spatial structures. For this reason, in what follows I turn to a "spatial trialectics" model which I use to examine this relationship and the musical construction of religious space in Dar es Salaam.

4.1.2   A Philosophical Approach to Religious Space and Popular Church Music

There has been a growing interest amongst philosophers, geographers and sociologists (among others) to theorize space as a social construct (Lefebvre 1991, Foucault 1993 and 1994, Soja 1985, Gregory and Urry 1985, Merrifield 2000 and Pile 2000). We learn from these studies that there is a mutual influence between physical spaces (at least those made by human beings) and social practices and that the existence of each of them presupposes the existence of the others. On the one hand, the construction of places like markets or churches seems to respond to specific social uses of the spaces such as business or worship. On the other hand, spatial structures and places are not merely arenas in which social life unfolds, but they are media through which social relations are produced and reproduced (Gregory and Urry 1985: 3 and Foucault 1994: 178).

Lefebvre (1991) provides us with a comprehensive framework for the study of social space. According to this framework, which is a "spatial trialectics" model (following Deal 2003), a social space has three layers. First, there is a perceived space or spatial practice. It includes physical structures or particular locations (e.g. a room, a market, a church building). Sometimes this is referred to as physical space. Secondly, there is a conceived space sometimes referred to as a representation of space or a mental space.

This includes concepts, ideas, signs or codes about space. Thirdly there is a lived

space which is sometimes referred to as a representational space. It refers to space as

experienced physically, emotionally, intellectually or ideologically, such as the real

act of worshiping or praising God (Lefebvre 1991: 33, Merrifield 2000: 170–71 and

Deal 2003). Sometimes Soja uses different names for the above three layers of space,

that is, first, second and third space respectively (Deal 2003 and Soja 1985 and 1996).

Soja clarifies the distinction between these spaces:

> The generative source for the materialist interpretation of spatiality is the
> recognition that spatiality is socially produced and, like society itself, exists in
> both substantial form (concrete spatialities) and as a set of relations between
> individuals and groups. Spatiality, as socially produced space, must thus be
> distinguished from the physical space of material nature and the mental space
> of cognition and representation, each of which is used and incorporated into
> the social construction of spatiality but cannot be conceptualised as its
> equivalent (1985: 92–93).

Additionally, Lefebvre argues that these three layers of social space (perceived,

conceived and lived) "should be interconnected, so that the 'subject', the individual

member of a given social group, may move from one to another without confusion"

(1991: 40). Foucault shares this view. In his discussion of the role of architectural

projects in human liberation, he argues that an architectural project becomes effective

as a liberating tool only "when the liberating intentions of the architect concede with

the real practice of people in the exercise of their freedom" (Foucault 1993: 163). To

be sure, the liberating intention operates in a mental space, the real practice of

people's liberation is a lived spatial practice and an architectural design is a physical

space.

181

This model of "spatial trialectics" has been used to analyse a number of social experiences. Lefebvre, for example, uses it to analyse and criticise social relations in a capitalist society (Lefebvre 1991 and Merrifield 2000). The religious scholar Deal makes use of this framework to analyse religious experiences in the Amida's Pure Land, a Japanese Buddhist Paradise (2002). Likewise, Gregory Barz shares this multidimensional analysis of religious space and the interrelatedness of its layers. Writing of "sacred space", he explains:

> Sacred space is not limited to physical space, walls, the pews, or the altars of the church; architecture is not defining characteristic of the sacred. I posit that sacred space emerges within the interaction of physical space and ritual space that occurs specifically during performance (Barz 1997: 333).

However, for Lefebvre even the temple, which is here a physical space, may also be perceived as a conceived or mental space.

> When asked whether a temple and its surrounding are imaginary or real, the realist will naturally see only stones, where as the metaphysician will see a place consecrated in the name of a divinity (Lefebvre 1991: 251).

Succinctly speaking, the study of popular church music in relation to this model can be explained in three ways. First, the performance of the songs and other related religious processes during a church service, evangelical meeting or TV show is a lived reality of praising God, worshiping or evangelising motivated by people's belief in God. Secondly, the lyrics of songs with metaphors about God and mentions of holiness and other aspects of Christian spirituality operate in a mental space (conceived space or representation of space). Thirdly, the performances of these social activities take place in a physical space such as a church, a concert hall or a TV studio. It is through the sacredness of both mental and lived space that this physical space is made sacred at least temporarily. It should be noted though that in the case of a church, the physical space is the result of an intention (mental space) to construct a

place for worship (lived space) where as a concert hall or a TV studio acquires sacredness only when it works in relation to the sacred mental and lived spaces.

To concretize the model we may recall the "accounts of being saved" I narrated at the very beginning of this chapter. A place such as Silent Inn which used to be a famous night club and is now a church is a physical space that is located in a certain area in Dar es Salaam City (Mwenge). It occupies some space, and its walls form a physical space that can be measured and expressed in cubic metres. I posit that its change to being a church has little to do with the change in its physical appearances although there has been some reorganization of some of its physical properties. Instead it has much to do with the change in belief of the owner of the building (in this case Mr. Rwegasira) and with actual religious performances and other expressions of Christian spirituality such as songs and sermons. In other words, the change of Silent Inn from being a night club to being a church was a result of the interaction between lived, mental and physical space or third, second and first spaces respectively (following Soja 1985).

The incident also shows how the change of the lived space (e.g. people's belief) led to the change of mental space (e.g. Dr. Remmy's songs). For example, during an interview Dr. Remmy Ongala pointed out that:

> In secular dance music you can use insult language; wriggle your waist, move down, move up. What is this if not an insult? In religious music you can say there is joy in Jesus ..., do not take alcohol (Dr. Remmy Ongala during an interview with the author on October 25, 2004, my translation).

In this chapter I intend to examine popular church music in Dar es Salaam in relation to the construction of sacred or religious space. I begin by reviewing debates about the appropriateness of popular church music and various styles used in this music for religious purposes. This is done by focussing on various issues that were raised in Christian weekly newspapers in Dar es Salaam including *Habari Njema* and *Msema Kweli*. I also analyse the views of various people I interviewed including radio and television presenters of religious programmes and musicians. Then I focus on the life and music of Dr. Remmy Ongala and discuss how religious space is constructed through his life and music. Finally, I examine how religious identities are constructed musically within Christianity by discussing the music of various Christian religious denominations in Dar es Salaam.

4.2 ISSUES AND CONTROVERSIES ON POPULAR CHURCH MUSIC IN RELATION TO THE RELIGIOUS SPACE

An article by Victor Venance titled "*Uzinduzi wa albam si wa kibiblia*" (Album inauguration is not Biblical) first appeared in *Habari Njema* of November 14–21, 2004. It was republished in the same newspaper on November 21–28, 2004. Although the title criticises the inauguration of albums, within the article Victor Venance criticises even the dancing styles and the use of some musical instruments in church music. He concludes his article by arguing that since in the Bible there are no prophets or saints who inaugurated albums, album inauguration concerts are not Biblical. Below this article the editor wrote: "we invite those who support or have different opinions to this new challenge" (*Habari Njema* November 14–21 and November 21–28, 2004, my translation). Additionally, the article was republished in a

number of issues later along with the replies from other people who supported or criticised Venance.

This article by Victor Venance was not the first to focus on this subject nor was it the first in this newspaper to show a negative attitude toward popular church music. For instance, in *Habari Njema* of October 10–16, 2004 Tusaje Kasambala reported that a pastor of the Tanzania Assemblies of God (TAG) church, Pastor Moses Maghembe, advised the singer of *nyimbo za injili* (lit. gospel songs) not to adopt "worldly (secular) music styles". The pastor criticised a number of elements in the music, including dancing styles that looked like the dance styles of secular music and some new singing styles, as not being spiritual. Likewise, the same newspaper (same dates) published a letter addressed to the editor by James Msengi titled, "*Waimbaji Tuiangalie Upya Midundo ya Nyimbo Zetu*" (Choir Members, Let's Re-examine the "Beats" of Our Songs). Msengi criticises, among other things, the adoption of styles such as reggae, blues, taarab and hip-hop in church music. He argues that the use of these styles distort the image of the church.

However, it is Venance's article that attracted many people to engage in a long debate that lasted over three months. I suggest that the repeated publication of the article and the editor's invitation for debate, magnified the significance of the article and its place in the on-going construction of religious space in relation to popular church music in Tanzania and Dar es Salaam in particular. In other words, I am highlighting the role or the influence of mass media (in this case print media) in this process.

185

In what follows I analyse some of the main arguments that were raised in various articles concerning popular church music, music styles and performance practice in relation to religious space. I begin with the criticisms levelled against the music and then move to consider the arguments of those who defend the use of this music and its various styles in church. In the later I also include the views of radio and television presenters of religious programmes and the musicians.

4.2.1 Criticisms

The first criticism levelled against popular church music is primarily concerned with concerts aiming at album inauguration. The critics argue that album inaugural concerts aim at monetary gains instead of preaching the gospel. First, the concerts are organised in such as way that people pay entrance fees to attend the concerts. Secondly, the concerts are meant to introduce the albums to people so that they, in turn, buy the albums. For the critics, church music has to aim at preaching the gospel and in so far as the primary aims of these album inaugural concerts are monetary gains the concerts are not appropriate for church music. Below I quote from a few articles to illustrate their argument.

Joseph Masolwa's article in *Habari Njema* of January 9–15, 2005 is titled, *"Kutoza viingilio katika uzinduzi ni kuliaibisha kanisa"* (Charging entrance fees during [album] inaugural concerts is to embarrass the church). An excerpt from the article reads:

> The main problem is that most of singers have completely failed to trust in God so they are greedy for money. What should they do in order to generate money? They find that the best way is to sell their cassettes and organise (album) inaugural concerts where they charge entrance fees and claim that they compensate some costs incurred (Masolwa 2005: 6, my translation).

186

In the same newspaper for September 12–18, 2004, Jestina Jeremia reported that a band leader of Emmanuel Gospel Music at Kijitonyama Dar es Salaam, Mery Shilla, criticised most singers of church music for "singing in order to entertain people and do business with their songs instead of singing in spirit and truth aiming at praising God" (Jeremia 2004: 8).

Another contributor to this discussion is Mary Denis. Her article appeared in *Habari Njema* of December 5–11, 2004. She writes: "…most of us who are saved have been involved in generating disgraceful money. It is written that we should not collect money from non-believers, pagans. Their money is called 'disgraceful money'". She argues that the non-believers consider people who are saved to be poor because the same people collect money from the non-believers. She continues to say, "it is because of their money we shame ourselves. But our God is not poor" (Denis 2004: 12, my translation).

An article by Ben Samson appeared in another Christian newspaper *Nyakati* of February 13–19, 2005 with a title in a form of a question, "*Mbwembwe za kuzindua album ni sahihi*? (Are the album inaugural affectations right?). He writes:

> Who does not know that the album inauguration is expensive and that the expenses are compensated by the entrance charges and sales from the albums? There are many expenses to be incurred such as renting a hall, advertising in radios, TVs or newspapers, luxurious transport…The question we have to ask ourselves is whether there is any necessity for incurring all these expenses. (Samson 2005: 4, my translation).

This kind of criticism has also been observed by Ezra Chitando in his study of gospel music in Zimbabwe. In fact, he argues that this has been a feature of this music in most parts of sub-Saharan Africa as he writes:

One of the recurrent criticisms levelled against gospel music in most parts of sub-Saharan Africa has been that artists get into gospel music due to the lure of the financial rewards. In trying economic times, individuals will exploit whatever avenue there is to get an extra dollar, according to this argument. Since gospel music proved to be popular in the 1990s, many artists moved into this type of music in the hope of reaping attractive financial rewards.

…

Gospel musicians have thus generally been associated with financial astuteness, just being in gospel music [following Mahando-Makore 2000: 6] "for the business side, that is making money" (Chitando 2002: 86).

A second criticism which is closely related to the first focuses on the use of hymns and *mapambio* (short call and response popular choruses) in popular church music. The critics argue that using hymns that are taken from the church hymn books of various denominations and *mapambio* is a sign of lack of creativity. According to this argument people who are not creative enough to compose their own songs but would like to get into the music business decide to use these readily available songs (hymns and *mapambio*). In short, they argue that popular church musicians have to be creative. Composition and not performance is an indicator of this creativity as it is expressed in the following article by Ben Sekelo in *Habari Njema* of January 2–8, 2005 (a version of this article appeared in *Nyakati* of February 13–19, 2005 quoted earlier with the name of the writer being Ben Samson):

> Now *nyimbo za Injili* (gospel songs) have been turned into a business object. Everyone who has a little knowledge of singing goes to studio to record. All singers are running to studios. It has become a fashion. When they are in the studio and realise that they have nothing to sing they take a book *Tenzi za Rohoni* and change some tunes of various songs so that the songs look as if they are new. When they finish the songs from *Tenzi za Rohoni* they move to *mapambio*. Some of them have released volumes one and two with all the songs in the albums being *tenzi* or *mapambio*. You find there is no single song that a musician has composed. Then he or she inaugurates the album so as to sell and get money. They are selling to us songs that we know are from books and *mapambio* (Sekelo 2005: 6, my translation)

Though I am not drawing any conclusion here, I would like to note that Ezra Chitando has also observed a similar criticism in Zimbabwean gospel music context. He

presents it together with the counter argument which when carefully examined does not refute the central argument of the criticism. He writes:

> Although some musicians regarded the electronic recording of hymns and choruses as reflecting a lack of talent in the area of composition, others supported the move on the basis that it ensured the longevity and greater circulation of Christian music…. It emerged that the question of recording church music by individual artists remained open to further debate (Chitando 2002: 87)

A third criticism is levelled against the music styles that are being used in popular church music. The styles include reggae, taarab, hip-hop, rap, blues and soukous (a Congolese popular dance music styles) just to be brief. The critics argue that these styles have been adopted from secular popular music and therefore they are unreligious. According to them, since these styles are not religious, they are not fit for religious purposes; hence they should not be used in church music. For example, in his study of Tanzanian church choir music Barz (1997) observed some people being reluctant to accept these styles in church as the following quotes indicate.

> "They are singing jazz in the church," one *mwalimu* (a choir teacher) told me with a disapproving tone in his voice. The sounds once associated with secular space are brought into a seemingly strange environment and ultimately they redefine sacred context.
> …there is still a problem with the acceptance of "jazz" as truly "Christian" musical expression.
> …even now when they introduce guitars in the churches and they sing songs like jazz, jazz music in churches is taking place so much and many will still think that this is not Christian song (Barz 1997: 274–75).

Note that the term "jazz" in Tanzania had been used to refer to popular dance music and many secular dance music groups were commonly known as jazz bands.

Bellow I quote from two newspaper articles to illustrate the point. The first is by James Msengi in *Habari Njema* of October 10–16, 2004.

> [We] have been witnessing Christian songs that are aired on our radios and TVs sung in styles like reggae, hip hop, blues etc. This raises the question whether the songs are really appropriate for church use. …I would like to

kindly ask composers of gospel songs to be careful in their compositions. They should use "beats" of the "gospel" songs that we are used to instead of adopting these worldly styles like reggae, blues, taarab and hip hop (Msengi 2004: 4, my translation)

Victor Venance published another article in the same newspaper *Habari Njema* of December 5–11, 2004 in which he writes:

I would like to take this opportunity to talk about *nyimbo za kidunia* secular (worldly) songs that are being sung in churches nowadays such as rap, taarab, reggae etc…To allow rap in church is a direct way of allowing songs from Hell…(Venance 2004b: 4, my translation).

In short, the argument of the critics seems to be beyond a simple normative argument that church music ought to be different from secular music. They argue that those styles were first created in secular music: hence they are secular. Msengi's solution is that the choirs should either create new church music styles which will be different from the secular styles or use the older church music styles. The later solution is shared by Ben Samson who in his article in *Nyakati* of February 13–19, 2005 which I quoted earlier, longs for those choirs that were famous in the 1980s and 1990s and argues that as opposed to the present day choirs those choirs were spiritual:

Where is *Kwaya ya Ulyankuru Barabara ya 13?*[19] They used to compose and sing good songs that were anointed [with the Holy Spirit]. Those songs that were popular in the late 1980s and early 1990s accurately adhered to the word of God (Samson 2004: 4, my translation)

A fourth criticism is levelled against what may be generally called visual aspects in this music. These aspects include dancing, dressing and hair styles of the musicians during live performances, in videos or in television shows. There are three areas in which this criticism focuses and the first two are related to the ones mentioned above. First, the dance, dress and/or hair styles are seen to be identical with those that are used in secular popular dance music. As pointed out in the discussion of music styles

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[19] One of the popular choirs in Tabora town that recorded and released a number of albums in 1980s and 1990s including *Fahari ya Vijana* and *Mwenye Mamlaka*. During this time other famous choirs included the Nkinga (Christian) Choir of Tabora and the Tumaini Choir of Arusha.

190

these dance styles are seen to have been originated from secular music. Because religious music has to be different from secular music, the critics argue, these styles should not be used in church music. Second, the critics question the motive behind the adoption of them. They argue that popular church musicians adopt these styles for business purposes. Since the styles are attractive, the music videos and live performances attract more customers and audience. Finally, the use of these styles in the music is criticised on the ground that they seem to be drawing people's attention to themselves, that is, away from the message which, for the critics, ought to be the focal point of the music. In other words, church music ought to be drawing listeners' attention to the message and not to other elements of the music. The following excerpts from newspaper articles illustrate the point. The first one is by Tusaje Kasambala who writes in *Habari Njema* about a pastor who warned choir members not to adopt "worldly" styles.

> Pastor Maghembe said that it is astonishing to see how they dance like secular musicians while they know that they are singing for the Lord. This makes the Holy Spirit leave the place (Kasambala 2004: 8, my translation)

Jestina Jeremia reports another criticism by a band leader of Emmanuel Gospel Music, Mery Shilla. She writes:

> Talking about the band singing in churches, she [Mery Shilla] said that nowadays the singing has been 'ambushed' by people who do not care about God's commandments. The result is that they break the ethics by putting undesirable dresses, having bad hair cut styles and dancing in a way that is similar to that of the secular bands (Jeremia 2004: 8, my translation).

Another criticism on dress styles is by Ben Samson who writes in *Nyakati* of February 13–19, 2005:

> Is there any necessity for singers to use five different types of dress [for one song in a video]? Do they aim at showing the dress styles or sending the word [of God]...Some women, instead of listening to the word or message of the songs, keep looking at the hair styles and dress styles which the singers keep

changing five times in a song…They draw people's attention away from the word of God to these material things (Samson 2005: 4, my translation).

The criticism against various musical elements drawing attention to themselves instead of God's message seems to have a long history in church music. For the sake of clarity let me give examples from three historical eras.

First, in the middle ages Church Fathers acknowledged the usefulness of music in church only when it was seen to enhance people's understanding of the religious words or to create the experience of devotion. When the music seemed to attract people to itself it was considered inappropriate for church use. A testimony by a medieval philosopher and a leading church Father of Western Christendon exemplifies the point.

> I am inclined to approve of the custom of singing in church, in order that by indulging the ears of weaker spirits may be inspired with feeling of devotion. Yet when I find the singing itself more moving than the truth which it conveys, I confess that this is a grievous sin, and at those times I would prefer not hear the singer (St. Augustine, *Confessions*, 238–39 as quoted in Weiss and Taruskin 1984: 32).

The use of musical instruments in church was discouraged on grounds that playing instruments was not only useless but also could lead to licentious behaviour. Even the psalms that call people to worship God with musical instruments (such as Psalms 33 and 150) had to be explained away by giving the instruments or parts of the instruments symbolic interpretations. Two quotes below may exemplify the fact.

> Of useless arts there is harp playing, dancing, of which, when the operation ceases, the result disappears with it. And indeed, according to the word of the apostle, the result to these is destruction (St. Basil as quoted in Weiss and Taruskin 1984: 27)

192

As for the Psalm 33: 2 that reads, "Give thanks to the Lord on the harp; with ten-stringed psaltery chant his praise", Father Origen of Alexndria, for example, gave the following symbolic interpretation:

> The harp is the active soul; the psaltery is pure mind. The ten strings can be taken as ten nerves, for a nerve is a string. Therefore, the psaltery is taken to be a body having five senses and five faculties (Origen of Alexandria as quoted in Weiss and Taruskin 1984: 28)

Another medieval philosopher and religious scholar Thomas Aquinas discouraged the use of musical instruments in church music on grounds that the sounds of musical instruments moved listeners away from the devotion to the beauty of the sounds themselves. In his monograph on Aquinas (*The Aesthetics of Thomas Aquinas*), Umberto Eco paraphrases Aquinas as follows:

> Instruments…should not be used for sacred music just because they produce an aesthetic pleasure so strong that the soul is diverted from its original intent, which is religious rather than aesthetic (Eco 1988: 135).

For Aquinas, church music should not only carry a message to listeners but more importantly, should create in a person a devotional experience. The use of musical instruments, on the contrary, seemed to him to move the soul to musical pleasure rather that creating this devotional experience (Eco 1988: 135). In addition, according to Aquinas, words play a secondary role as a tool for creating devotional experience. To use his own words; "for even if they [listeners] do not understand what is sung, they understand why it is sung, namely, for God's honor, and this is enough to arouse their devotion" (Aquinas as quoted in Eco 1988: 136).

It seems that there is a contradiction in this line of argument. If understanding the reason why the song is sung (i.e. for God's honour) is enough to arouse listeners' devotion, why it is not the case that the understanding that the instruments are played in God's honour be enough to arouse listeners' devotion? However, it seems to me

193

that for Aquinas the aesthetic pleasure that instruments cause in listeners is so strong

such that it overwhelms even the understanding of the aim of playing the instruments.

Consequently, listeners become moved to the pleasure itself.

Another critical argument with regard to music's role in church was raised in the

sixteenth century during the Council of Trent in Italy between 1554 and 1563 (see

Kivy 2002: 161 and Wienandt 1965: 32). The main issue raised during this time was

that the music had become so polyphonically complex such that it was impossible for

the congregation to hear or understand the religious words. Kivy puts it thus:

> From the late Middle Ages to the middle of the sixteenth century, which is to say, to the late Renaissance, liturgical music had become more and more polyphonically complex…. Because the intertwining strands of melody, usually five at once, were all singing different word of the text and often prolonging a single syllable over many notes of music, the text being sung could simply not be understood by the listener. *The religious message was being obliterated in the interest of musical pleasure.* This, the council of Trent told the composers, must be "reformed". (Kivy 2002: 161–63, emphasis mine).

Kivy writes about the solution.

> The composers were directed to simplify their polyphony, and be more faithful to the rhythm and pace of ordinary speech. In that way, the text would be understandable, while there would still remain an interesting enough musical structure to please the musical taste (2002: 163).

Thirdly, today the use of instruments such as guitars, piano and drums and popular

music styles in church in general seems to be a controversy yet to be resolved. The

argument by Rev. Richard Schuler, a pastor of St. Agnes Church in St. Paul,

Minnesota and formally a member of the Board of Directors of the Church Music

Association of America, may serve as an example of the current criticisms. He writes

in *Sacred Music* (an online Journal on Catholic liturgy):

> We have become used to secular tunes, secular instruments (piano, guitar, drums) [and] secular performance practices as musical combos and

194

performing soloists and dancers; all found their way into the liturgy, not enhancing its holiness but directly destroying the sacred quality that only truly sacred art can contribute to liturgical action (Schuler 1991).

Schuler attributes what he calls the destruction of the sacred quality of church music to poor training or lack of training at all. He writes:

> But just as basic is the other major question, "What makes music art?" Involved in that is the vast area of musical training and education. ... But many of the reformers have stumbled into this area without the proper knowledge or experience. A whole generation of poorly trained (or not trained at all) composers has appeared, producing words and notes that many publishers continue to hawk as sacred church music, even when most of it fails by both criteria: it is not sacred and it is not art. But it makes money! Some of it even parades as hymns on Sundays in our parishes and more often in the seminaries (Schuler 1991).

4.2.2 Defence

The responses to the criticisms that have been levelled against popular church music in Dar es Salaam and Tanzania in general that I present in this section are from different sources. First, there are those arguments that were gathered by analysing newspaper articles particularly those which were published in *Habari Njema* and *Msema Kweli*. Second, there are those arguments raised by musicians and radio and television presenters during interviews. Most of them were raised as I presented some criticisms which I had read in newspapers and asked for the opinions of musicians or radio and television presenters. Finally, some of the points were clarified during the "dialogic editing of the film" (following Feld 1987) in which four members of the Sayuni Evangelical Choir viewed the film (documentary) that I made. The film is about a brief story of popular church music in Dar es Salaam since 1980. It also includes interviews in which some musicians discuss these critical issues.

The first type of response rejects the idea that music styles such as reggae, twist, rumba and zouk are essentially unreligious. For some, musical styles and other musical elements may be religious or not depending on the intentions of composers and users of the music, the contexts in which they are used and the words that one sets to the music, as is expressed in the following quotes.

Mercy Nyagwaswa (an independent popular church musician) says:

> *Muziki ni muziki* (lit. "music is music"). It is the same music but the difference is *viwanja* (playing ground, field or territory)[20]. Those who sing religious music sing for God while those who sing normal music sing to warn people about social issues and entertain…something like that. Although sometimes even church music entertains. You may sing a song and ask people to dance and they dance. They dance while singing for God. Therefore, music is the same but the context is different, that is, those things that are in the music. There are things that we can't sing but those who sing secular music are free to sing.

When I ask, "Are you saying the main difference is in the words?" she replies:

> Yes! even words because in religious music we sing about God. But even in secular music sometimes they also sing about God. So I think the main difference here is context.

About music styles, she says:

> In my opinion religious music has been setting itself apart. There are melodies that when they are played you know that this is church music whether they are slow or fast. But as for now, for example, these Congolese styles, even religious music uses them…. There [in secular music] there is reggae, they have twist and church music has twist…. In my case I have played music that is just music. It can go even out [of the church].

I ask, "Have you heard any one saying that this is not good?" and she replies:

> No. Since I did this [recording] my aims have been fulfilled. I have seen people even those of different faith such as Moslems appreciating the work…They listen to the music and say that really God is being praised! So this gives an opportunity for anybody to listen to. The aim is that all people can listen to it and get the message (Mercy Nyagwaswa during an interview with the author on November 1, 2004, my translation).

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[20] When the term "*viwanja*" is used beyond its literal sense of "playing ground", it normally shows the differences between peoples' fields of expertise (or hobbies). For example, a medical doctor has a different "territory" of expertise from that of a physics professor.

196

The choir teacher of Mabibo Youth Choir, Mr. Ombeni, apart from arguing that the

music styles are "not markedly religious or unreligious", also thinks that the

difference in musical styles reflects geographico-cultural differences.

> Normally we have been trying to play music that is up-to-date provided that
> the melody merges well with the music we play. Because if you make a
> critical musical investigation there is no rule that says this is church music and
> this is music from "outside". The church did not establish its own music. As I
> understand it, the church sings a particular kind of music because of the
> environment where the church is. I mean only words can decide that this is
> church music or not…. *Mgogo* (a person belong to the Gogo ethnic group of
> central Tanzania) cannot sing the feelings of *Mzungu* (a European or white
> person) if a European had never affected him/her. So we can say that there is
> no church music because the church has only the word of God and everyone
> sings according to his or her ethnic group way of singing.
>
> If you go to the Roman Catholic Church they sing in a way that we say is a
> Roman Catholic way of singing but those are Italian melodies. Because RC
> began in Italy those Italians sang in an Italian way. That is the only way they
> knew. Now people think that is the way church music should be…. Even if
> you talk about reggae. I can't say that reggae is secular or of the church. There
> is no church music…
>
> According to my understanding, if you go to Zaire (Congo)…. I have learnt,
> you will find them singing God's songs but they sing in a very similar way to
> their Zairian songs like those Zairian secular songs. You come to discover that
> it is their way of singing and not that they sing secular music (Mr. Ombeni
> during an interview with the author on November 8, 2004, my translation).

Harris Kapiga, a radio presenter at Praise Power Radio argues that the main difference

between religious and secular music is not in the music but in the intention of the

musicians and the message in the songs.

> I think it depends how we judge the music. But in my opinion because the
> keys or pitches used in church music are the same as those used in non-
> religious music, the same guitars, keyboards are used in both musics, even the
> notes that are sung are similar. So I don't see if there is any difference. Maybe
> the difference is the message. This one sings for…. I don't know if for Satan
> or about normal life! But others sing to address God. Personally the question
> of styles is not a problem. It depends with the *nia* (intention) of the composer
> and the song itself. Because I think even that other music which they call *wa*

> *kimataifa* (of gentiles) I think a person receives that ability to create it from God....What I can say therefore the difference is the message (Harris Kapiga during an interview with the author on November 16, 2004, my translation).

For him therefore, the argument that religious music comes from the Holy Spirit while secular music comes from Satan is a wrong one. He argues that everyone acquires creative ability from God whether a person uses it to create a song with a religious or a secular message. He also avoids the distinction between sacred and secular music in terms of Godly and Satanic, as it is usually made.

Archbold Tesha, a teacher of Sayuni Evangelical Choir also thinks that styles are not the distinguishing features between popular church music and popular secular dance music.

> In dance music there are song styles such as rumba, reggae...and even twist.... People think that these styles are for dance music alone...even taarab. Now when you bring them into religious music they find that there is something which is not going well. They think that you have copied from an inappropriate place. But in my opinion styles are as they are; there is no particular style for a particular person or special group. Say, this style is for dance music. What is done is putting words and a message in the songs about religion or words from the Bible. I don't think that if a person uses reggae, twist or taarab style it is wrong because a style is not special for a particular group. A style is there for music. Music is independent and it depends where you use it (Archbold Tesha during an interview with the author on December 22, 2004, my translation).

Geovin Festo, a senior reporter of Wapo Media (Wapo radio and *Msema Kweli* newspaper) and a chairperson of an organization of journalists working with Christian media institutions, thinks that the use of styles such as reggae, hip-hop and rap in church is a result of global temporal change and is therefore unavoidable. He also argues that the use of these styles enables the message of God in the songs to reach many people.

It is true that there are those who do not accept it [the use of rap in church]. It depends on their ideologies and the religious teachings they received. Nowadays there are many rapid changes. We must accept the fact that we Christian live in a fast changing (running) world. The singers find that in order to attract many to Jesus they have to move with the same *mapigo* (beats or rhythm) which people are used to. For example, a person [musician] asks himself or herself, 'why do people like to go to listen to the music of that band. Because of the way they play a guitar. So let us play the guitar in the same way but with a message of God'. We are told that when a person hears a hundred words at least one will stick into his or her mind…. Nowadays there is rap. Musicians do rap but if you listen they talk about the word of God…. They have *nia nzuri* (a good intention), that is, to make sure that they attract people to God.

There is also this question of dance. People argue that now they [church musicians] play as if they are of the world (secular). They fail to understand that there were people even during Jesus' time who criticised Him when He sat and ate with prostitutes. But He wanted to save the prostitutes (Jovin Festo during an interview with the author on December 26, 2004, my translation).

The second type of response is directed to the accusation that popular church musicians (individuals and choirs) are involved in this music only for financial gains. Let me begin by pointing out that issues about choirs or independent musicians obtaining money during live concerts and by selling their albums are increasingly made available to the public through mass media. The following titles of newspaper articles exemplify this:

	Title in Kiswahili	English translation (translation mine)	Name of Choir or Musician	Newspaper and Page	Date(s)
1.	*Tamasha la muziki laiingizia kwaya shilingi milioni 3.6*	A music concert has earned a choir Tsh. 3.6 million (about $3,600)	Kaanani Evangelical Choir Dar es Salaam	*Habari Njema Page 5*	December 5–11,2004
2.	*Waimbaji wachangiwa mamilioni kununua vyombo vya muziki*	Singers have raised (from people's contributions) millions for buying musical instruments	Kaanani Evangelical Choir Dar es Salaam	*Msema Kweli Page 8*	December 5–11,2004
3.	*Kwaya ya Ebenezer*	Ebenezer Choir of ELCT	Ebenezer Choir	*Msema Kweli*	September 26–

	KKKT wafanya tamasha kuchangisha fedha za vyombo	(Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania) organises a concert to raise fund for [buying musical] instruments		*Page 8*	October 2004
4.	*Kwaya yaweka malengo ya kukusanya mamilioni*	A choir plans to collect millions	Poophotu Reselaction (sic) singers Dodoma	*Msema Kweli Page 8*	November 7–13, 2004
5.	*Tamasha la Flora Mbasha laingiza milioni 3.6*	Flora Mbasha's concert has raised 3.6 million	Flora Mbasha	*Habari Njema Page 8*	October 3–9, 2004

There were a number of other articles that reported the monetary gains of church choirs but did not reflect this in their titles.

Most defenders of choirs do not deny the fact that choirs or musicians obtain money from the concerts or album sales. However, they argue that it is the right of the choirs and musicians to raise money for the following reasons. First, the musicians or choirs incur expenses to organise the concerts (paying hall rent, transport etc.). Second, they use instruments which are expensive to buy and to repair. Third, recording an album is expensive; hence the musicians need to raise money to enable them meet recording expenses. As to the question whether these expenses are necessary, their reply is a qualified "yes", the qualification being that people should be listening to church music instead of secular music. Likewise, people should be going to religious concerts and be entertained in a religious context instead of worldly or secular ones. Below I quote some newspaper articles to illustrate the point.

Katie[21] of Iringa writes in *Habari Njema* of January 30–February 5, 2005:

> Instead of complaining about [concert] entrance fees etc. we should ask
> ourselves; what we have contributed to the development of *Muziki wa Injili*?
> There are many expenses in recording an album that reaches us the listeners
> and viewers. Therefore we should support them in any way possible (Katie
> 2005: 6).

In the same article Katie refutes the accusation that the album inaugural concerts are

not Biblical on the ground that prophets and saints did not inaugurate albums. Katie

argues that there are a number of Biblical accounts about inaugural ceremonies such

as the inauguration of the Jerusalem Temple by King Solomon. But we should not

expect them to have inaugurated albums since there were no studios in those days. In

other words, Katie shows that there has been a similar sort of this practice but the

nature of the practice changes with temporal change that is manifested in

technological changes. To use Katie's words, "during that time there were no studios,

cassettes…. Donkey carts and horse carts were their transport…. Do you want us to

use donkeys instead of cars?" (Katie 2005: 6). A similar point is made by S.A.M.

Mlokole whose article appeared in *Habari Njema* of January 13–19, 2005. Mlokole

argues that if it is not a religious practice for musicians to record and release albums

on grounds that the practice is not recorded in the Bible why is the same accusation

not directed to a number of local and international evangelists who preach using

electronic loud speakers and through radios and televistions, since these media are

also not mentioned in the Bible.

Another contributor to this discussion is Christina Gervas. In her article published in

Habari Njema of January 23–29, 2005, she writes:

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[21] The writer uses only one name Katie.

The Gospel of the Lord is expensive.... If people can pay up to 80, 000 (Tanzania) shillings for the inauguration of secular artists, don't you have to pay more for our God? Try to think; the concert hall is expensive, advertisements are expensive. You have to pay so that the singer can meet those expenses.... Now people are free. During weekends they shouldn't think where to go, which bar they should go to. But they should think which inauguration concert of gospel music they should attend.... They should not go to a bar, instead they should go to *Muziki wa Injili* (Gervas 2005: 6).

As pointed out earlier the Zimbabwean scholar Ezra Chitando has observed that critics accuse musicians of engaging in gospel music only for financial purposes. He also argues that gospel musicians dismissed this argument. To use his words:

Gospel musicians themselves tended to dismiss the argument that they were pursuing material and financial rewards as the work of the anti-Christ who were bitter that the message of salvation through Christ was spreading rapidly in gospel music (Chitando 2002: 87).

A similar point was raised by those who defended *Muziki wa Injili* in Tanzania. But what seems interesting to me is that while those who raise an accusation question the spirituality of musicians and their supporters, those who defend the musicians also question the spirituality of the critics calling them *"Mafarisayo"* (Pharisees). Below I quote the two arguments and present them side by side. Both articles appeared in *Habari Njema*.

Criticism published in *Habari Njema* of November 14–21, 2004.	**Defence** published in *Habari Njema* of January 23–29, 2005.
I would like to air my views about a certain habit. Many people who call themselves "saved" and surprisingly some of them are pastors or Bishops of the "spiritual" churches. This habit is album inauguration (Venance 2004a: 11, my translation).	*"Albam zindueni sana wala msiogope Mafarisayo"* (Continue to inaugurate more albums; do not fear these Pharisees). In the first place I doubt if you (who criticise the album inaugural concerts) are really saved (Gervas 2005: 6, my translation).

In addition, Chitando points out that gospel musicians engage in charitable activities to counteract the criticism "of using gospel music as an avenue for financial rewards"

202

(Chitando 2004: 88). It seems to me that this has not been the case with Tanzanian popular church musicians. It is not the case that musicians did not engage in charitable activities. A number of concerts that were organised by independent musicians or choirs aimed at raising money for orphans. Also the choirs and musicians performed in concerts that were prepared by other organisations such as World Vision which aimed to raise money for orphans and victims of AIDS. However, I posit that this has been a practice of these choirs for a long time regardless of the criticism. Put it differently, I am arguing that it is not criticism that makes the choirs and musicians engage in these charitable activities in Tanzania.

Finally, there are those who find that these tensions that are raised about changes in the music are caused by the gap between young people and elders and that this gap is unavoidable. They point out, that while the youth tend to prefer to newer musical styles, elders prefer older styles of church music which they were used to. Pastor Magafu, coordinator of Christian programmes at Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam and Tanzanian national television (TVT) goes further to argue that one solution out of this problem is to have separate services for young and older people. Archbold Tesha (a teacher of the Sayuni Evangelical Choir) suggests that the history tells us that even those who do not accept changes now are going to change their minds later when they find that more people accept the changes.

Stuart Hall and Paddy Whannel have explored the problem of the gap between young people and elders in popular culture including popular music. According to them the gap between generations has always been there but it is especially a problem now because the gap seems to become, "dangerously wide" (Hall and Whannel 1988: 61–

203

65). More importantly, they attribute the rapid widening of this gap to the role of mass media as they write:

> Parents are always one generation behind their children: today they seem to be two generations behind.... One of the special features of this is the role of media in spreading up the fashion-cycle among the young.... This helps to isolate teenagers as a distinct grouping from the rest of society (Hall and Whannel 1988: 62).

4.2.3 General Observations

A few observations can be made with regard to the on-going debate about popular church music and its changing nature in Tanzania. Let me hasten to emphasis that these are only "general observations" since I believe that the details of each argument presented are best read within the context of the argument. Likewise, I do not attempt to judge the arguments and come up with a single solution. I posit that religious space is a social construct and that debates, negotiations and contestations such as these participate in this dynamic process of constructing religious space.

First, there seems to be an agreement among many people involved in the debate that church music should be different from secular music. While some insist that music that is not religious or Godly is satanic, others do not believe in this essentialist binary distinction. In other words, they see a possibility that the music which is not religious may not be satanic. There also seem to be disagreements as to what really makes the music religious. Some people point out that religious music should be different from secular music in terms of musical styles, musical instruments and the way the instruments are used and dancing styles. Others find that these elements should not be and are not factors that make music religious or unreligious. On their part, various musical styles, instruments and manner of dancing can be used anywhere. The main

differentiating feature, for them, should be the words or message in the songs. Sometimes they argue like Thomas Aquinas that the religious intention of the musicians is what makes religious music different from secular music.

Secondly, I would like to comment on what I call a musical construction of religious space. To do this, I recall the "spatial trialectics model" I outlined in the first part of this chapter. Within this model space is considered to be a social space with three layers. The first is referred to as a perceived space or a physical space. It includes physical structures or particular locations. The second is referred to as a conceived space or a mental space. It includes concepts, ideas, signs or codes about space. The third layer is referred to as a lived space. This refers to space as experienced physically, emotionally, intellectually or ideologically such as worshiping or praising God.

It seems to me that the inner religious experience which according to the model is referred to as a lived space or "third space" (following Soja) is experienced as visible or audible through mental spaces such as church songs or through physical spaces such as church buildings. In other words, a real religious devotion finds its expression in sermons, songs, paintings and other visible or audible signs or codes that people use to perform and express Christian spirituality, that is, in a mental space. In so far as the mental and physical spaces (second and third spaces) have been changing over time the experience of an inner religious space, a lived space has also been changing in relation to passage of time. To concretise the point let me use an example.

In Tanzania and in most other African countries the music that was used in the church during the late nineteenth century was exclusively European (translated into local languages). Traditional tunes of the indigenous people; their musical instruments such as drums or musical bows and their dances were dismissed or avoided as having to do with traditional religious practices and hence being satanic (Weman 1960). The point was that if those tunes, instruments or dances were used in church, people would associate the music with their former pagan experiences because, as Louw puts it, "all music of the past had its own associations and meaning and could not just be transferred into a new experience" (Louw 1958). By the 1970s, the use of traditional tunes and instruments became common in some churches. It is even more common in the present time in most churches in Africa (Euba 1989, Mbunga 1968, Barz 1997, Dargie 1991, Wiredu 1992 and Martin 2000). In the same way, electric guitars and keyboards and various musical and dance styles are associated with secular experiences (at least by some people). However, their use is increasingly growing. By this statement I do not mean to ignore the role of criticisms levelled against the changes in church music and religious space in general. Instead, as I pointed out earlier, the nature of change and its results are shaped by criticisms as much as they are shaped by musicians' actions of making music or defending their actions. My argument is that these changes in the music (in terms of tunes, instruments or dance) lead to changes in inner lived religious experiences since these are elements through which people normally experience and express inner religious or Christian spirituality. In short, in so far as these musical elements have been changing, people's inner religious experiences have also been changing.

Thirdly, I would like to comment on the factors that make popular church music similar to other popular music styles in Tanzania and elsewhere (religious or secular). The main factor seems to be a number of interactions between popular church music and the other popular music cultures. The interactions include audio or video cassette or CD culture, the role of radio and television stations, recording both types of music in the same studios with the same studio engineers (sometimes even with the same studio instrumentalists) and the movement of the musicians from performing one musical genre to another.

Music albums of various music genres and from different parts of the world are now easily accessible to many people in Tanzania and Dar es Salaam in particular. As Peter Remes writes:

> Imported musics like rap and reggae could be bought, in cassette form, in music shops and streets stalls...the majority of the cassettes were bootleg recordings from Dubai or Pakistan...Finally, youth with relatives abroad would occasionally receive music tapes which would then circulate and be copied at home by networks of friends (1999: 3).

John Fenn and Alex Perullo point out that the availability of cassettes of music from abroad (particularly rap) has been a result of trade liberalisation in the country.

> In the late 1980s, as the Tanzanian government opened up its economy to outside markets, hip hop began to filter into the country, first on cassettes, then on television and radio (Fenn and Perullo 2000: 76).

I will explore this argument in some detail in the next chapter when I discuss the adoption of foreign musical elements in popular church music in Dar es Salaam.

The interaction between popular church music and secular popular dance music in Dar es Salaam may be also attributed to the movement of musicians between these music genres. The movement has been a two-way traffic. On the one hand there have

been those musicians who move from being church musicians to being secular popular musicians as it has been the case with a famous Lady Jay Dee (Judith Wambura). On the other hand, there are those musicians who have moved from being secular popular dance musicians to being popular church musicians. Examples of these musicians include the famous Mzee Makassy, Cosmas Chidumule and Dr. Remmy Ongala. In the next section of this chapter I will focus on music history of Dr. Remmy Ongala and his music to illustrate this point vividly. For now, let me point out another reason for the similarity between popular church music and secular popular music.

Some musicians such as Mercy Nyagwaswa wanted to make their music appeal to many people including even those who were not Christians. Unlike the argument raised by the critics that this was done for financial purposes, these musicians believed that when many people listen to the songs, the message of God in the songs reaches many people.

The Nigerian music scholar Akin Euba has also noted an increase of secular music in gospel music among the Yoruba of Nigeria. He writes:

> Gospel music has become increasingly popular among the Yoruba and is today almost as popular as modern pop idioms such as *jùjú* and *highlife*. It is inevitable that gospel music and pop should have mutual influences over each other…Some professional pop musicians are active Christians; therefore it is only logical that they would become involved in the musical activity of their churches. Since professional pop musicians are also knowledgeable about the recording industry, they are often consulted whenever a church music group plans to make an LP record, regardless if they are members of the choir (1989: 59–60).

Towards the end of his article he summarises the factors for influence in three ways:

a. the influence of religious compositions by *jùjú* superstars such as Ebenezer Obey and Sunny
b. the membership of professional pop artists in various churches and
c. a desire by church musicians to give their music a wider audience appeal. (1989: 60).

With regard to the second factor, in Tanzania it worked in a different way, that is, mainly through moving from being secular musicians to being church musicians. The reason is that being a secular musician was associated with many unreligious practices such as drug-taking, adultery and drunkenness (Mduma 2004: 8 in *Habari Njema* of August 29–September 5: 2004). Being both a secular and a church musician at the same was not common and it was heavily discouraged by those in the church. This leads me to a final observation, namely the binary construction of religious space.

First, it has been commonly thought that religious and secular spaces are incompatible. Then the distinction goes further to associate, on the one hand, sacred space with sanctity and therefore being religious as being holy or Godly. On the other hand, secular space is associated with evil. Consequently, being in secular spaces as well as religious ones was highly discouraged among Christians.

In what follows I discuss this kind of construction of religious space through popular church music using two songs. The first is a song by Kijitonyama Evangelical Choir namely *Wanadamu Msiwe Kama Popo* (People Do Not Be Like a Bat) and the second is a song by The Patmos namely *Umekua* (You are a Grown Up Now).

Wanadamu Msiwe Kama Popo (People Don't be Like a Bat)

Original version	English translation
Stanza 1	**Stanza 1**
Enyi wanadamu msiwe kama popo	You people, don't be like a bat,
Popo si mnyama wala sio ndege	A bat is neither an animal nor a bird,

Kote kaendako wanakafuza Enyi wanadamu msiwe kama popo Msiwe kama popo **Chorus** Leo kwake Mungu Kesho kwake shetani Kwa wanadamu tunamchanganya Mungu Kinywa cha Bwana hakitavumilia Mwisho wa yote kilio kusaga meno. **Stanza 2** Bwana auliza Enyi wanadamu; "Mnayumbayumba mnakwenda wapi? Leo mwaja kwangu kesho mwakimbia Mnatangatanga katika njia mbili" **Chorus** Leo kwake Mungu Kesho kwake shetani Kwa wanadamu tunamchanganya Mungu Kinywa cha Bwana hakitavumilia Mwisho wa yote kilio kusaga meno.	It is chased away from any group it goes to. You people don't be like a bat. Don't be like a bat. **Chorus** Today you are on God's side and tomorrow on Satan's side. We mix God with human beings. The mouth of the Lord will not tolerate this. At the end of everything there will be a teeth-grinding cry. **Stanza 2** The Lord asks you people; "You sway from one side to another, where are you going? Today you come to me, tomorrow you run away. You are lingering at the cross road (between two ways)". **Chorus** Today you are on God's side and tomorrow on Satan's side. We mix God with human beings. The mouth of the Lord will not tolerate this. At the end of everything there will be a teeth-grinding cry.
A song of Kijitonyama Evangelical Choir available in the Album *Twakaribia kuingia Kanaani* (my translation).	

The message in this song is packed in a metaphor that draws its reference from a popular Kiswahili saying; *amekuwa popo* (lit. he/she has become a bat). The song starts by explaining the surface layer of its metaphor. According to the song, a bat is neither an animal nor a bird. Seemingly, like animals, a bat has a furry body, teeth, four legs and a tail. Conversely, unlike them, a bat has wings that enable it to fly. It is by this virtue, the song tells us that animals reject the bat as a member of their group. Maybe they think that a bat is a bird. Unfortunately, all the birds have beaks and

feathers which a bat lacks. They also have neither fur nor teeth. Consequently, the song tells us, a bat is also rejected in a group of birds.

On this culturally rooted understanding, the song builds its inner meaning. The song explicitly explains what it means to be a bat. One is compared with a bat if he/she lives a dual life, that is, doing what is considered Godly while at the same time doing what is considered to be evil (of Satan). The song declares that God is going to punish any person who is in flux (like a bat). It thus advises us (human beings) not to be like a bat. In short, a true Christian spiritual space that is expressed and constructed through this song is that which is incompatible with secular space and a person has to choose to be in only one of these spaces.

The song is played in a salsa style. Salsa has been very common in secular popular music not only in Tanzania. Critics may argue that the song contradicts itself since the words are sacred and the music style is secular, i.e. the song contradicts its own message and thus itself seems to behave like a "bat". Most musicians and their supporters do not see any contradiction, since they believe that a style is independent of these Godly and satanic associations that people paint on sacred and secular music respectively.

Umekua (You are a Grown Up)

Original Kiswahi version	English translation
Wewe umeacha ya kale nyuma.	You have abandoned old ways.
Wewe huchezei matope tena.	You don't play with mud anymore.
Wewe umeacha ya kitoto.	You have abandoned childish things.
Wewe sasa umekua.	You are now a grown up.

Mawazo yako ya zamani huyawazi tena.	You don't think those old thoughts of yours anymore.
Hujitambui tena kama mtoto tena.	You don't think of yourself as a child anymore.
Matendo yako ya zamani huyatendi tena.	You don't do your old acts anymore.
Hufugi panzi tena wala midoli tena.	You don't keep grasshoppers anymore.
Nguo zako huzikalii kwenye vumbi tena.	You don't sit on dust with your clothes anymore.
Unajipenda sana. Umekua.	You are smart. You are grown up.
Unaepuka mabaya.	You avoid bad things.
Unachagua mazuri.	You choose good things.
Umeyaacha matope.	You have abandoned mud.
Sasa uache na dhambi.	So abandon even sins.
Umeacha kufuga panzi.	You have stopped to keep grasshoppers.
Usifuge dhambi.	Don't keep sins.
Usifuge hasira wala kiburi tena.	Don't keep anger and arrogance anymore.
Na moyo wako utakuwa wa thamani sana.	Your heart will be very valuable.
Yesu ataingia utafurahi sana.	Jesus will come in and you will be very happy.
Utatembea kana kwamba huna shida tena.	You will walk as if you don't have problems any more.
Umetakaswa sana. Umekuwa.	You are cleaned (purified). You are grown up.
Alimwaga nafsi yake hata kufa.	He poured His soul to death.
Kahesabiwa pamoja na wakosaji.	He was considered to be like a sinner.
Alizichukua dhambi za watu wengi.	He took the sins of many people.
Yesu aliwaombea wakosaji.	Jesus prayed for the sinners.
Alimwaga nafsi yake hata kufa.	He poured His soul to death.
Kahesabiwa pamoja na wakosaji.	He was considered to be like a sinner.
Alizichukua dhambi za watu wengi.	He took the sins of many people.
Yesu aliwaombea wakosaji.	Jesus prayed for the sinners.
Aliumia tusimwumize tena.	He suffered. We shouldn't make Him suffer anymore.
Katukomboa kwa damu ya thamani.	He redeemed us by His precious blood.
Mizigo yako sasa mwachie Yesu.	Surrender your burdens to Jesus.
Taabu zako yesu anazitambua.	Jesus knows your distresses.
Alimwaga nafsi yake hata kufa.	He poured His soul to death.
Kahesabiwa pamoja na wakosaji.	He was considered to be like a sinner.
Alizichukua dhambi za watu wengi.	He took the sins of many people.
Yesu aliwaombea wakosaji.	Jesus prayed for the sinners.

Alimwaga nafsi yake hata kufa.	He poured His soul to death.
Kahesabiwa pamoja na wakosaji.	He was considered to be like a sinner.
Alizichukua dhambi za watu wengi.	He took the sins of many people.
Yesu aliwaombea wakosaji.	Jesus prayed for the sinners.
Aliumia tusimwumize tena.	He suffered. We shouldn't make Him suffer anymore.
Katukomboa kwa damu ya thamani.	He redeemed us by His precious blood.
Mizigo yako sasa mwachie Yesu.	Surrender your burdens to Jesus.
Taabu zako yesu anazitambua.	Jesus knows your distresses.
A song by The Patmos now in the group's CD titled *Amekamilika* (my translation).	

The song expresses a Christian religious spirituality through a metaphor of becoming a grown up (an adult). At the surface, childhood is characterised by playing with mud (being dirty), catching and keeping grasshoppers and being conscious of oneself as a child. Someone who has been raised in a Tanzanian rural village will remember the days when he or she used to catch grasshoppers and keep them (in a play context) as adults keep cattle or any other domestic animals. Then the song says the abandonment of these childish acts is like abandoning bad things for good ones and that abandoning bad things for good is a character of grown ups.

By the same token, the song says, one has to abandon a sinful life (bad things) and be purified. The song draws an analogy between abandoning playing with mud and no longer keeping grasshoppers with abandoning sins. The analogy sounds interesting partly because the sound of a Kiswahili word for grasshopper(s) *panzi* is closely related to that of the word for sin(s) *dhambi* in terms of both vowels and number of syllables (two). The song also makes an analogy in terms of the results. The result of becoming a grown up which makes one abandoning playing with mud is being physically clean or smart while abandoning a sinful life (anger or arrogance) makes one spiritually clean or pure in heart.

In addition, the song explains the reason or force behind this change of heart to be the love of Jesus and His precious blood. More importantly, the song says, since He suffered because of our sins we should not make Him suffer any more, that is, we should not go back to our former sinful life.

Succinctly, the religious space is conceived and express in binary oppositions. At the surface level: childhood is opposed to being a grown up and playing with mud and grasshoppers is opposed to being clean. In the inner layer of the metaphor: bad things are opposed to good things, and sinful life is opposed to being pure in heart. Secondly, these spaces are expressed as incompatible. Therefore, as it is not desirable for a grown up to do childish things; the song discourages turning back to a sinful life after abandoning it.

As it is the case with the first song, critics may find the song to contradict itself. This song is also played in a rumba style which, for a critic, is associated with evil while the words are religious. Yet the song advises the "saved" not to return to their old sinful ways. The critic may ask: doesn't the song itself make people "keep grasshoppers" again? Don't the singers themselves "play with mud" or "keep grasshoppers" again? However, as argued earlier, for musicians, music styles such as rumba, reggae or blues are free of unreligious associations; hence this contradiction is not there. The song is religious in so far as the words, intention of the musicians and the context in which it is performed are religious.

4.3 *KWA YESU KUNA FURAHA* (THERE IS JOY IN JESUS): DR. REMMY ONGALA, HIS MUSIC AND RELIGIOUS SPACE

Dr. Remmy Ongala was one of the famous secular popular dance musicians in the Tanzanian soundscape throughout the 1980s and the 1990s. He was born in 1947 in the Eastern Congo. According to Werner Graebner, Remmy's family moved to Kisangani soon after Remmy's birth. Graebner explains:

> When he [Remmy] was only six years old his father died[22]; His mother struggled to keep the family going. When she also died Remmy had to look after and feed his younger brothers and sisters (1997: 112).

Dr. Remmy Ongala says that he started his musical activities in 1964. Graebener points out that Remmy first entered music so as so raise money to feed his young brothers and sisters. He was involved with a number of bands such Succes Muachana and Grand Mickey Jazz as a guitarist, drum player and a singer (1997: 112). Dr. Remmy Ongala came to Tanzania in 1978. Mduma points out that this happened when Mzee Makassy who had been in Tanzania since 1976, went back to the Congo to attend his mother's funeral in Kisangani. When he saw Dr. Remmy performing as a singer and drum player, he persuaded Remmy to join him in Tanzania (Mduma 2004: 8 in *Habari Njema*). Since then Dr. Remmy has been actively involved in Tanzanian music culture, as he narrates:

> I came here in Tanzania in the year 1978. The Makassy band called me to come here. In Tanzania I have performed with two bands. The first is Orchestra Makassy and the second is Orchestra Super Matimila [since 1981]. This band [Orchestra Super Matimila] belonged to a certain business person called Ambrose Mvula. ...Unfortunately he died. So I became a leader of the band up to this time (Dr. Remmy Ongala during an interview with the author on October 25, 2004, my translation).

He has toured and performed in many places in Tanzania and outside Tanzania including the UK and the USA.

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[22] According to Mduma (2004) Remmy's father died in 1952 and his mother died in 1964.

I have toured abroad with [a sponsorship of] one organisation namely WOMAD or in full World of Music Arts and Dance. It has taken me all the way to Europe, America. In UK, Liverpool, Reading. I have also toured Las Vergas, California, San Francisco…. (Dr. Remmy Ongala during an interview with the author on October 25, 2004, my translation).

Most secular popular dance music performances took place during weekends in various night clubs such as the Silent Inn mentioned in the first part of this chapter.

Now Dr. Remmy has a different story for his fans:

I would like to tell my fans that I am now saved. I am no longer involved with *Kazi ya Muziki*[23] (lit. music business). I now sing songs of God; I no longer wriggle the waists. I have turned back to my God (Dr. Remmy Ongala during an interview with the author on October 25, 2004, my translation).

Dr. Remmy Ongala narrates the story of becoming saved in most of his church songs that he has recorded. In what follows I read this story in one of his songs, *Kwa Yesu Kuna Furaha* (There is Joy in Jesus), now in his album with Modest Mogan. The title of the album takes a title from this song and the song is the first in the album. In the song Dr. Remmy sings a lead part and he also narrates the story through a spoken speech in the middle section of the song.

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[23] Dr. Remmy Ongala often uses the term *Muziki* to mean secular popular dance music as the word music first came to Tanzania with the secular music forms of western popular dance.

Fig. 4.1 The Cover of the Album *Kwa Yesu Kuna Furaha* by Dr. Remmy Ongala and Modest Mogan
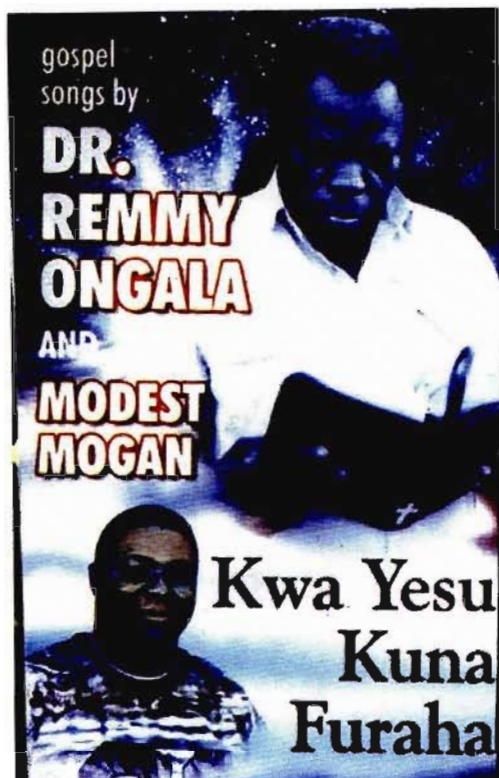
Kwa Yesu Kuna Furaha (There is Joy in Jesus)

Original version in Kiswahili	English Translation
L: Kwa Yesu,	L: In Jesus,
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Kwa Yesu,	L: In Jesus,
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Kwa yesu kuna furaha.	L: There is Joy in Jesus.
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Kwa Yesu tunafurahi.	L: We rejoice in Jesus.
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Kwa Yesu,	L: In Jesus,
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Kuna furaha,	L: There is joy,
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Furaha ya milele,	L: Everlasting joy,
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Vijana wenzangu,	L: My fellow young people,
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Twende kwa Yesu.	L: Let's go to Jesus.
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Sisi wana kondoo wake.	L: We are His sheep.

C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Bwana ni mwema.	L: Jesus is good.
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Wakati wowote,	L: All the time,
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Furaha kwa Yesu,	L: Joy in Jesus,
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Kwa Yesu,	L: In Jesus,
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Kwa Yesu,	L: In Jesus,
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Kwa Yesu,	L: In Jesus,
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Kwa Yesu hakuna mizegwe.	L: There is no corruption in Jesus.
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Kwa Yesu hakuna bili ya maji.	L: There is no water bill in Jesus.
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Kwa Yesu hakuna TANESCO.	L: There is no TANESCO[24] in Jesus.
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Kwa Yesu,	L: In Jesus,
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Kwa Yesu hakuna LUKU.	L: There is no LUKU[25] in Jesus.
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Kwa Yesu hakuna kodi ya maendeleo.	L: There is no development tax in Jesus.
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Jamani kwa Yesu,	L: My dear, in Jesus,
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Furaha kwa Yesu wee,	L: Joy in Jesus,
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Furaha kwa Yesu,	L: Joy in Jesus,
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Tunaimba na kucheza.	L: We sing and dance.
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Kwa Yesu,	L: In Jesus,
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
Spoken words	**Spoken words**
Ndugu wapendwa,	Beloved brothers and sisters,
Mimi naitwa Dr. Remmy Ongala.	I am Dr. Remmy Ongala.
Nimeimba muziki na Mzee Makassy.	I have sung music with Mzee Makassy.
Nimeimba muziki na Chidumule, Cosmas Chidumule.	I have sung music with Chidumule, Cosmas Chidumule.
Nimeimba muziki na Kabaha.	I have sung music with Kabaha.
Nimeimba muziki na Modest.	I have sung music with Modest.

[24] Tanzania Electric Supply Company Limited which has been the only supplier of electricity in Tanzania
[25] An electric meter

Sasa leo namwimbia Yesu Kristo. Nimeokoka.	Now, today I sing for Jesus Christ. I am saved.
Zamani nalikuwa na gari langu imeandikwa "Baba yako anayo".	In the past I had my car [which was] written "your father does not have a car even an old one like this".[26]
Hiyo gari ilikuwa Moris.	That car was Moris.
Hiyo gari ndiyo ilikuwa "guest" yangu na ilikuwa miguu yangu ya kutembelea sehemu.	That car was my guest house and it was my "legs" used to go in various places.
Nafanya uzinzi wangu sehemu yoyote.	I was commiting adultery anywhere.
Mwaka 2000 nimepata ugonjwa wa kisukari.	In the year 2000 I suffered from diabetes.
Nikapata stroke nilipopata hiyo stroke.	I had a stroke.
Nikashauriwa na bwana mmoja.	I was advised by a certain man.
Anaitwa jina lake Muruguru.	He is called Muruguru.
Anauza maembe na matango.	He sells mangoes and cucumber fruits
Akaniambia;	He told me;
"Bwana Remmy kuna mtu anaweza kukutibu bure".	"Mr. Remmy there is a person who can cure you free of charge.
Nikasema; "mutu gani huyo?"	I asked, "who is that?"
Akaniambia: "ni Yesu".	He said; "He is Jesus".
Ndio mimi nikakwenda kuokoka.	So I went to be saved.
Na mwenyewe alinibatiza mara ya kwanza ni bwana Mchungaji Kiwira pale Shikilango,	I was first baptised by Pastor Kiwira at Shikilango,
na Mchungaji Kilioma na Mchungaji Frank.	then by Pastor Kilioma and by Pastor Frank.
Nilikuwa nisiimbe lakini leo naimba.	I would not be singing but today I sing.
Kwa sababu ya nguvu ya Yesu.	Because of Jesus' power.
Nitaendelea kumwomba, kumwomba Bwana anipe nguvu.	I will continue to pray, to pray that God gives me strength.
Nirudi kama zamani.	So that I recover.
Bwana Asifiwe!	Praise the Lord!
C (Shout): Amen.	C (Shout): Amen.
L: Kwa Yesu,	L: In Jesus,
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Kuna furaha,	L: There is joy,
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Tunaimba na kucheza.	L: We sing and dance.
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.

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[26] An expression used to refer to old cars

L: Kwa Bwana Yesu kuna furaha.	L: There is joy in Lord Jesus.
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Vijana wenzangu.	L: My dear young people.
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Nalikuwa na rasta kama wewe.	L: I had dread locks like you.
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Suruali mu mbavu.	L: Wearing trousers up to the chest.
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Mkuki mbavuni.	L: With a spear on my side.
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Lakini nimekwenda kwa Yesu.	L: But I have gone to Jesus.
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Nilikuwa bingwa wa kuvuta bangi.	L: I used to take marijuana.
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Bangi sivuti tena.	L: I no longer take marijuana.
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Pombe sinywi tena mie.	L: I no longer drink alcohol.
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Na kwenda kwa Yesu.	L: I am going to Jesus.
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Kwa Yesu,	L: In Jesus,
C: Kwa Yesu kuna furaha.	C: There is joy in Jesus.
L: Asiyemwamini Yesu,	L: A person who does not believe in Jesus,
C: amekwisha potea.	C: is already lost.
L: Asiye mwamini Yesu,	L: A person who does not believe in Jesus,
C: amekwisha potea.	C: is already lost.

Song by Dr. Remmy and Modest Mogan in their album *Kwa Yesu Kuna Furaha* (my translation).

A few observations can be made about this story and the construction of religious space. First, the motivation of becoming saved is that Dr. Remmy was sick and he was told that Jesus could heal him. Gabriel Mduma writes in *Habari Njema* that Dr. Remmy had been treated by a number of doctors in and outside Tanzania. Dr. Remmy says that he decided to give his life to Jesus and it is Jesus who healed him. The story is built on a Christian belief in which the power of Jesus is over all kinds of problems. In other words, sacred space is expressed as a powerful space in contrast to a secular space; consequently the sacred space is experienced as a place of joy.

Secondly, he distinguishes the sacred space with various difficulties or bad experiences in Tanzania. He says in Jesus there are no *mizengwe* (slang for corruption). Then he goes on to mention some of these experiences. He says in Jesus there is no water bill. This may mean that water is becoming too expensive for ordinary people in Dar es Salaam. He also says that in Jesus there is no TANESCO (Tanzania Electric Supply Company Limited). The experiences of Tanzanians with this only supplier of electricity in the country for a long time has not been a happy one because of its ineffective operation and because, as with many other institutions, there have been allegations of corruption. In recent years the management of the company has been privatised to South Africans investors (Net Group) with the aim of making the services better. New electric meters, LUKU are now used. For Dr. Remmy and many Tanzanians this has not made things better either in terms of poor services or corruption. In Jesus all these problems are not there, Dr. Remmy sings (no TANESCO, no LUKU). He also points out that in Jesus there in no "development tax". One may think that this is an anti-development statement. However, as I have pointed out above, there are claims of corruption among most institutions in the country including those dealing with revenue. "Development tax" in this context is viewed to be a way through which a few people swindle money from others, including the poor who have been forced to pay taxes or else be arrested. Dr. Remmy declares a message of hope and freedom in the new Christian religious space (in Jesus); there is no "development tax" in Jesus.

Thirdly, he also makes a binary distinction between being a church musician and being a secular popular dance musician. He does this by narrating different acts he did

before he became saved in contrast to what he does after becoming saved. He says he was a drug taker and an adulterer. Since he became saved, he says, he no longer takes drugs, drinks alcohol nor is involved in adultery. He also explains his change in physical appearance, including removing his dread locks. In another song, *Dunia Kwaheri* (Farewell to the World) he says that this has led to people respecting him and greeting him in a respectful way (*Shikamoo*).

Fourthly, he makes a distinction between sacred space and secular space and his involvement in these spaces by mentioning the friends. In other words, the change of friends makes him experience these spaces differently. He mentions people with whom he performed *Muziki* (secular popular dance as Dr. Remmy uses it here) during the days when he was a secular musician. Mduma reports that Dr. Remmy is thankful to those friends who have invited him into the community of saved people. The names he mentions include Mzee Makassy and Cosmas Chidumule. Both of these friends were secular musicians he performed with who later changed to became church musicians. While his old friends find him to be a traitor, he says, he has found new ones in Jesus (2004: 8).

Finally, I would like to comment on the use of his car. He says that before being saved he used his car in two ways. First, he used it as a guest house in which to indulge in adultery. Second, it was his "legs" in that it enabled him to go to various places and it enabled him commit adultery anywhere. A car is viewed to be not only a profane physical space used for evil acts but also a means to take him in various other physical spaces (places) to do sinful acts.

In short, salvation is expressed as involving all three layers of spaces. Remmy has changed a belief (third space), his songs have changed (second space) and various uses of physical spaces have also changed (first space). Again the change of the second and first spaces makes one experience third space in a new way.

4.4   RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONAL IDENTITIES AND POPULAR CHURCH MUSIC IN DAR ES SALAAM

Different religious denominations in Tanzania have been developing different brands of church of music. Upon hearing or seeing a video of a choir, members of these denominations and choirs in these denominations can tell that the music is by a Roman Catholic (RC), African Inland Church (AIC), Lutheran, Seventh Day Adventist (SDA), Anglican, Assemblies of God or Moravian choir, to name a few. The differences include, *inter alia*, tunes, rhythms, musical instruments and various ways of using them, manner of singing, tone colour and dance movements. These differences can be explained in a number of ways including the following: First, different denominations in Tanzania have had different missionary experiences. In other words, the churches have had missionaries from different countries and these missionaries had different music cultures. For example, while the Lutheran church in Tanzania was established by German missionaries, the Anglican Church was established by the English. Consequently, most of the hymns in the Lutheran hymn book *Mwimbieni Bwana* are German hymns while most of those in the Anglican hymn book *Nyimbo za Dini* are English hymns. In both cases the songs have been translated into Kiswahili and in some case some amendments of melodies have been made to suit the Kiswahili speech accents, particularly in hymns of the Anglican Church. Additionally, in both cases there are new songs composed by Tanzanians and

arrangements of traditional tunes or *mapambio* (short call and response popular choruses) which have been added in recent years. The influence of these hymns on popular church music includes the direct use of the hymns and borrowing some of their elements, such as four-part harmonization.

Secondly, the teachings of various denominations are different. As a result the contents of choir songs of these denominations differ. For example, one will hardly find a song which is directed to Virgin Mary and which asks her to pray for people among such Protestant churches as the Lutheran, Pentecost, and Assemblies of God or Anglican churches but will rather hear such a text in many Roman Catholic songs. Likewise, as I mentioned in chapter two of this work, some SDA (Seventh Day Adventist) choir songs differ from songs of the choirs that belong to other Christian denominations particularly with regard to the day of worship.

Thirdly, the denominations differ in terms of the degree of accepting new elements in their liturgy including new music, musical instruments and dance styles. For example, while the use of electric guitars and popular music styles have been criticised in most Christian denominations (at least at the initial moments of their use), in some churches they are more used than in others, and they are rarely used among Roman Catholic choirs. Sabinus Komba (a Lecturer at the University of Dar es Salaam) was quoted as saying, "It will take time before the guitar features in Roman Catholic services. Keyboards have started showing up, but the organ with at least one octave of pedals is preferred" (Barz 1997: 275). In 2004 during my fieldwork I observed some revival groups within Roman Catholic churches which (though not using guitars) played songs and *mapambio* in various popular music styles using electric keyboards.

Fourthly, the differences can be attributed to the fact that Roman Catholic Church had a number schools and seminaries in which music has been taught. This has not been the case with many other Christian denominations in the country with the exception of a few seminaries or colleges run by the Lutheran church. The influence of this factor on the difference of music in these denominations has been further augmented by the fact that music is hardly ever taught in most schools in Tanzania. Consequently, the tradition of music writing and organ playing using staff notation has been more common among Roman Catholic musicians than among musicians of other denominations. In addition, most musicians who have had some training in staff notation prefer art music rather than popular church music.

On the other hand, there has been a shrinking of the distinctions between the music of various denominations in Tanzania. This shrinking is more evident in popular church music among these denominations. The main reason for this bridging of this music-aesthetic gap between these denominations is the interaction between musicians through a number of ways including the following: the sharing of some choir teachers and instrumentalists particularly during recording programmes, attending the same music concerts, listening and watching the same radio and television stations in which church music of various denominations is played, and sometimes performing together. Because of these avenues the music of various denominations is not confined to the spaces of these denominations. Instead the music trespasses the spatial walls of the religious denominations of their origin.

4.5   CONCLUSION

Let me conclude this chapter by summarising the main arguments. First, religious space and religious experiences are socially constructed. Using Lefebvre's model of "spatial trialectics" I have shown that the real Christian spirituality or inner beliefs in God which are considered to be a lived space are experienced through both mental and physical spaces. A religious mental space includes songs, videos and other visual or audio signs that are normally used to communicate ideas about God and holiness, and a religious physical space includes actual buildings such as church buildings, a radio or television studios or places such as open fields in which religious activities may take place. I have argued that through these layers of space (mental and physical) we experience the religious lived space.

Secondly, I have shown the nature of the process of constructing religious space. I have argued and illustrated through a number of quotes that the constructions of Christian spirituality including music, involves contests and negotiations between people with different perspectives about various aspects of religious space. It also involves particular practices (such as music-making by the musicians) and the airing of criticisms and counter criticisms by church members, church music fans, radio and television presenters, religious leaders and musicians through various channels. I have suggested that all of these voices contribute to varying degrees in shaping religious music. I have also pointed out that through these debates and musicians' practices, religious music in Tanzania and elsewhere has been changing over time. I have posited that a change in the music leads to a change in people's experiences of Christian spirituality in so far as the inner Christian spirituality is experience through religious music.

Finally, I have shown that the construction of Christian religious space through music and other religious discourses has taken a form of creating binary distinctions. God is opposed to Satan. With these constructions, things which are not Godly are viewed to be satanic. Other words used in constructing these binaries include heavenly as opposed to worldly, holy as opposed to profane or evil. In the same way, music is classified using the same binaries, that is, the music which is not sacred is viewed to be unGodly or satanic music. I have also shown that there are people who are sceptical of these distinctions and who thus make the binary construction of religious space a dynamic process. This is particularly the case with popular church music.

CHAPTER 5:
POPULAR CHURCH MUSIC
AND THE DYNAMICS OF NATIONAL SPACE

5.1 INTRODUCTION: A PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACH TO AFRICAN NATIONALISM IN POPULAR CHURCH MUSIC

"Imagined communities" and "invented traditions" have become commonplace concepts in theorising nationalism and national identities. The present usage of these concepts came as a critique of a growing belief that a nation was a community or group of people who shared a common culture, language, history and territory, and more importantly, a common ancestral background. For Kwame Gyekye (1997) these features would qualify the nations so formed as "ethnocommunities". However, as Benedict Anderson (1991) and Eric Hobsbawm (1983) point out, this belief was not true with regard to the formation of many nations. Most people identified themselves as belonging to one nation even though that nation included people beyond the boundaries of a true ethnocommunity and even though it included people they would never know personally; hence these nations were "imagined communities" (Anderson 1991 and Askew 2002). The creation of such communities in Europe during the nineteenth century was enhanced by the spread of literacy and print capitalism. With these developments people could "imagine their action being simultaneous with those of others located elsewhere" (Wade 2000: 3). In the present time one would add the role of mass media such as radio and television as well as computer and information technology.

A similar criticism is levelled against those traditions which are taken to be essential for national identities being represented as "primordial" or being "there from birth, unified and continuous, changeless...or eternal" (Hall 1992: 204). As Hall explains:

> In fact, national identities are not things we are born with, but are formed and transformed within and in relation to representation.... National cultures construct identities by producing meanings about the nation which we can identify; these are contained in stories which are told about it, memories which connect its present with its past, and images which are constructed of it (1992: 204).

In so far as these beliefs on which national identities are constructed are not factual they are regarded as "invented traditions". According to Hobsbawm, an "invented tradition" means:

> a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuities with a suitable historic past (1983: 1).

One would not hesitate to support these criticisms when having African nation-states in mind. Those people who identify themselves as Tanzanians by nationality, for example, are neither of a single ancestral origin nor even of the same ethnic group: Tanzania has more than 120 ethnic groups. History tells us that while some groups migrated to Tanzania from the south (as it is the case with the Ngoni) others migrated to Tanzania from the north (as it is the case with the Masai). Secondly, the boundaries that the independent Tanzania (and many other African countries) adopted from colonial rule did not preserve ethnic groupings and boundaries. Hence some Masai, for example, found themselves Kenyans while their fellow kinsmen (belonging to the same clan) became Tanzanians. The same was the case with the Yao of southern Tanzania and those of northern Mozambique. Thirdly, there is a question of Kiswahili as a national language. No one can rightly deny the very important role that

Kiswahili has played in the national unity that Tanzanians experience today (Askew 2002, Mulokozi 1995, Sogolo 1993, Mudimbe 1988 and Robert 1967). However, Kiswahili is a new language, its use by many people in Tanzania is a recent phenomenon and the propagation of it to its present status has been a painstaking undertaking. Sometimes it has involved the use of negative motivations such as devaluing other traditional languages as things of the past. In a rural school, for example, where almost all pupils were of one ethnic group a poster written "speak Kiswahili" would be hang on the neck of someone who was found speaking the local language instead of Kiswahili. For this reason, making a claim that we are or should be one nation since we all speak Kiswahili which was spoken by many Tanzanians even before colonialism (as it is often said) is really an "invention of tradition". Finally, there is a question of Tanzania as a union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar forming one nation but two states (Askew 2002). The two states have different parliaments and national anthems, and very recently a second flag (the Zanzibar flag) has been raised apart from the Tanzanian flag. Sometimes the union has been defended with claims that the people of these countries had good business relationships or intermarriages long before colonialism. But a critic would question if this was not just as true with other neighbouring countries.

It is important to note, however, that what is at play with African nationalism and many African nationalistic projects (such as Nyerere's *Ujamaa,* Senghor's *African socialism*, Nkrumah's *Consciencism*, Biko's *Black consciousness* and others) is broader than the nationalism based on nation-state, which is defined by Turino as "a group of people who recognize or come to accept bonds of some type as the basis of a social unit labelled 'nation' and deemed legitimately entitled to its own state" (2000:

13). At the centre of African nationalism lays an African identity which is regarded as shared by Africans and as transcending the nation-state frontiers. Hence it "should not be confused with traditional discourse on the expression and development of nations in the womb of capitalism in the nineteenth century Europe" (Shivji 2003: 3). A number of African philosophers vigorously argue that the gluing factor of African nationalism and African national identities is a shared colonial history or experience and the need for liberation (Appiah 1992, Shivji 2003, Wiredu 1992 and Sogolo1993). Out of my admiration and respect for the way each of these scholars puts the same argument, I include below four quotes from them:

For Appiah:

> To speak of an African identity in the nineteenth century...would have been 'to give to aery nothing a local habitation and a name'.... There is no doubt that now, a hundred years later, an African identity is coming into being...it is the product of a history.... (1992: 174).

For Shivji:

> The quintessence of nationalism was, and is, anti-imperialism. It was a demand and struggle *against*, rather than *for*, something. It was an expression of a struggle against denial of humanity, denial of respect and dignity, denial of the Africanness of the African (2003: 3, my emphasis).

For Sogolo, African nationalism means "the liberation of the mind of the colonized" (1993: 202).

And, finally, for Wiredu:
> African political nationalism aimed at regaining independence and then building viable modern states, while cultural nationalism aimed *to restore to Africans their confidence in their own culture. This latter was particularly urgent* as colonial racism had succeeded in alienating many Africans from their own culture (1992: 59–60, my emphasis).

Since this common colonial experience among Africans is real, and since this struggle for "re-Africanisation of mind" or "rebecoming Africans" is real, no matter how "invented" the methods (traditions) of building it may seem to be, this form of

African nationalism is real (Appiah 1992: 175 and Shivji 2003: 3). In fact, for Frantz Fanon, making the colonized or oppressed "recognize the unreality of his [sic] nation" is one of the strategies of the colonizer, the oppressor (Fanon 1967: 190).

Nostalgic memories of my primary and secondary school days bring into life *nyimbo za mchakamchaka* (jive songs) we used to sing early in the morning as we were jogging in groups of twenty or thirty to warm up our bodies and minds ready for classes. One of my favourite of these songs was called *Aluta continua*. *"Aluta continua"* (the struggle continues) a slogan brought to Tanzania by Mozambican FRELIMO freedom fighters (who were taking refuge and military training in Tanzania) is echoed in the writings of Shivji (2001 and 2003) who suggests that African nationalism and African national identity (in its broad sense) is still relevant today in so far as imperialism still exists. It is relevant today in so far as globalization and many globalization projects seem to operate against people's rights, culture, dignity and humanity. It is relevant today in so far as Africans need to regain these human values.

Extending the theory of space developed in the previous chapter (chapter 4), national space or nationalism is viewed as a socially constructed spatiality with three layers including physical, mental and lived space or first, second and third space respectively (Lefebvre 1991, Soja 1985, Foucault 1993 and Deal 2002). The first layer of national space includes the physical location or a certain area on the face of the globe or earth. One can travel physically to various places we identify as Tanzania or Africa and can cross the borders of these spaces. The second layer includes songs, dances, drumming, sculpture, masks, paintings, literary works (poems, drama or novels), names and other

forms of representation through which ideas about places like Africa or Tanzania are constructed, represented and/or communicated. The third layer of national space includes the experiences of individuals who are identified as or who identify themselves as Tanzanians or Africans. Emotionally, it involves the feelings that this identity arouses in a person carrying the identity.

As argued before, all these layers of African or Tanzanian national space are recent constructs. First, the physical spaces that we identify as Africa or as Tanzania resulted from colonial conquests and from partitioning of spaces amongst the colonizers. Secondly, this process went hand in hand with the naming of these places. In the case of Tanzania the name has undergone a number of transformations. During the Germans' colonial occupation at the end of the nineteenth century it was referred to as Deutsch Ostafrika (German East Africa). Later, during the British occupation (after the First World War) it was referred to as Tanganyika. This name continued to be used even after independence in 1961. But in 1964, with the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar, the name was changed to Tanzania. In other words, the unification of these physical spaces as one nation-state went hand in hand with the lexical unification of the names to form Tanzania. Thirdly, the experiences of people who dwell in this place which we identify as Tanzania or Africa have been shaped by colonialism, the struggle and the actual experience of political independence, among other events. Does one feel humiliated and ashamed or proud and dignified by being identified as Tanzanian or African? I posit that feelings aroused in an individual who is identified or identifies himself or herself as Tanzanian or African is shaped by meanings that are constructed through the second space of nationality.

The present-day construction of African nationalism and African national identity is an effort to transform various meanings or images painted on the continent and its peoples mostly by western imperialists. The transformation aims at, as Shivji points out, regaining humanity, dignity, respect and rights which have been and are denied to Africans who have experienced slavery and colonialism and are still suffering from neo-colonialism and the present form of globalization (Shivji 2003).

In his book *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge*, Valentin Mudimbe shows that colonization of Africa took place in all three layers of space. For him, the complementary relationship between these spaces, which he calls the colonizing structure, made it possible for colonization to take place. In his words:

> I would like to suggest that in looking at this process, it is possible to use three main keys to account for the modulations and methods representative of colonial organization: the procedures of acquiring, distributing, and exploiting lands in colonies; the policies of domesticating natives; and the manner of managing ancient organizations and implementing new modes of production. Thus, three complementary hypotheses and actions emerge: the domination of physical space, the reformation of natives' minds, and the integration of local economic histories into the western perspective (Mudimbe 1988: 2).

In other words, the real colonial experience (exploitation through an integration of Africa into the colonial economic system) involved the reformation of Africans minds, that is, (following Fanon 1967: 190) making "the colonized person to admit the inferiority of his [sic] culture" as well as the occupation of physical spaces of Africa. It follows that the real liberation of African people from colonialism has to take place in all layers of space. Another way of saying this is that the liberation of African countries from the occupation of their physical spaces and the setting up of governments is not enough for a real experience of liberation. Hence there is a need to "restore to Africans their confidence in their own culture" (Wiredu 1992: 60) since, as Nyerere puts it, "[a] country which lacks *its own culture* is no more than a collection

234

of people without the spirit which makes them a nation" (Nyerere's speech to Parliament on December 10, 1962 as quoted in Askew 2002: 268, my emphasis).

The manifestation of African nationalism has been evident in various walks of life and academic disciplines such as Literature (p'Bitek 1972, Cook and Okenimkpe 1983, Kezilahabi 1988, wa Thiong'o 2002, Said 1993 and Mulokozi 1995), Religion (Werbourn and Ogot 1966 and Biko 2002), Politics and Philosophy (Wiredu 1980 and 2004, Appiah 1992 and 2004, Masolo 1995, Oruka 2002 and Shivji 2003) and Music (Herbst et al 2003, Flolu 1998, Omojola 1995 and Agordoh 1994) to name but a few. There are two main features shared by recent expressions of African nationalism. First, people aim to regain and cherish their Africanness and their African culture, both of which have been enormously affected by western colonialism, Christianity and globalization. Secondly, they share the strategies of exploring African indigenous knowledge systems, African traditional materials and African approaches so as to regain self-esteem and a sense of belonging among Africans. In short, they share an effort to liberate the second layer of the national space.

As it has been pointed out previously, nationalism and nationalistic projects normally influence the content, form and performance practice of music. Similarly, music as a "system of cultural representation" (following Hall 1992), participates in the construction of nationalism and national identities and the construction of "traditions" through which national identities are sustained. Listening to popular church music in Dar es Salaam, one encounters a number of songs that are concerned with nationalism in various ways. In what follows, I focus on three issues related to African nationalism and popular church music. I begin by discussing the use of traditional

music materials in popular church music. Then I focus on selected songs whose lyrics are concerned with nationalism and, by way of analysis, I examine how nationalism or national identities are represented or constructed in these songs. Finally, I discuss what seems to be a reverse of the above nationalistic approaches to music making, that is, the use of foreign musical elements in popular church music. To do this, I draw from the theory of music interculturalism (Kwami 2003 and Blacking 1995), the theory of cultural globalization (Shivji 2002, Mlama 2002, Beck 2000, Robertson 1992, Hall 1992, and Appadurai 1990) and the concept of cosmopolitanism (Masolo 2002, Turino 2000 and Appiah 1996).

5.2 CONSTRUCTION AND EXPRESSION OF TANZANIAN AND AFRICAN NATIONALISM IN POPULAR CHURCH MUSIC

5.2.1 Use of Traditional Music Elements in Popular Church Music

In this section I discuss the use of traditional music materials in popular church music through a reading of two songs by the Sayuni Evangelical Choir. These songs include *Nayaweza Mambo Yote* and *Masalaba EYesu*. I begin by describing each of these songs and their performances and then I make some general observations to show how African nationalism is constructed through the songs and the practice in general.

Nayaweza Mambo Yote

This song *Nayaweza Mambo Yote* was performed by the Sayuni Evangelical Choir during the concert at the Chapel of the University of Dar es Salaam on January 2, 2005. The concert was organized by The Patmos (a music group based at the

236

University of Dar es Salaam) and myself[27]. The song was one of the three songs that the choir performed during the concert. During the performance, the choir appeared in Masai uniforms (traditional dresses of the Masai). In addition, the choir members also had tee shirts under the Masai tradition dresses (see Figs. 5.1—5.4). The song was composed by one of the teachers of the choir, *Mwalimu* Sebastian Henry. It combines tunes, rhythms and dances from two ethnic groups in Tanzania (the Haya of Kagera northern Tanzania and the Hehe of Iringa southern Tanzania). The first part of the song which used a Haya tune was sung by two soloists (soprano and tenor; Fig. 5.5). I sat in the audience during the performance of this song with Dr. Aldin Mutembei who is a Haya. He turned to me and he told me with great excitement that he knew the Haya song from which the choir took the tune. This was followed by a transition in which the instruments stopped playing. Choir members turned to each other and spoke loudly each one in his or her own local language. A few people spoke in Kiswahili which I was able to understand: *Nayaweza mambo yote katika yeye anitiaye nguvu* (I can do all things in Him who gives me strength). Then they turned to the audience and shouted: *haleluya* (hallelujah). The instrumentalists began to play a second tune and the choir joined by singing a song which I noticed was derived from a Hehe traditional song (Fig. 5.6). In fact, I once arranged the same tune for a church choir in Njombe, Iringa a few years ago. The choir also changed the dancing style from a Haya dance to a Hehe dance. Additionally, they performed some actions in relation to the words of the song. For example, they swayed from one side to another when they sang words about standing firm in Jesus and not shaking. They also pointed above their right hands when they sang about trusting in the Lord (see the accompanying video for the performance of this song).

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[27] I wanted to film performance of some choirs and musicians including Mercy Nyagwaswa, the Sayuni Evangelical Choir and the Mabibo Youth Choir.

Fig. 5.1 A Photograph of the Sayuni Evanglical Choir in the Masai Uniform During the Concert (Photograph by Aldin Mutembei)

Fig. 5.2 A Photograph of the Sayuni Evangelical Choir in the Masai Uniform During the Concert from Another Angle (Photograph by Aldin Mutembei)

Fig. 5.3 A Photograph of the Instrumentalists of the Sayuni Evalngelical Choir During the Concert (Photograph by Aldin Mutembei)
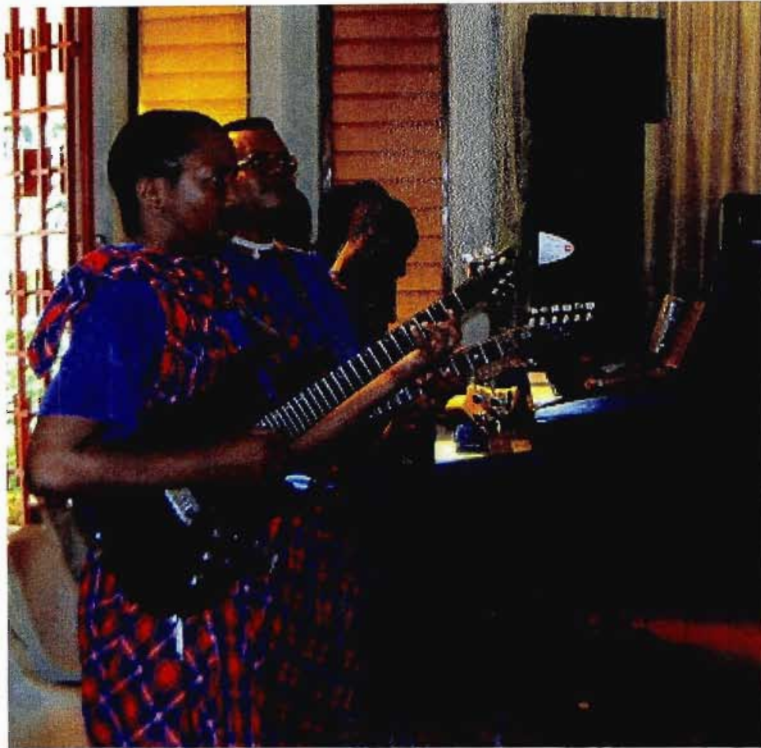
Fig. 5.4 A Photograph of the Lead Singers of the of *Nayaweza Mambo Yote* During the Concert (Photograph by Aldin Mutembei)

Fig. 5.5 Transcription of the Haya Tune and the Rhythm Played on a Drum Machine in This Song

Fig. 5.6 Transcription of the Hehe Tune and the Rhythm Played on a Drum Machine in This Song

Masalaba EYesu

Masalaba EYesu was composed by another teacher of the Sayuni Evangelical Choir, *Mwalimu* Archbold Tesha, in July 2003. The song was composed using a Masai tune and in some parts with Masai language. When *Mwalimu* Archbold Tesha invited me to his home to discuss his compositions, among other things, he gave me a copy of the score of this song. In addition, he played the song from the computer[28] so that I could hear how the song sounded (see Fig. 5.7).

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[28] He had written most of his compositions using a computer programme, 'Music Write' which made it possible to replay them.

The song was one of the songs that the choir performed during a yearly *tamasha* (concert) of evangelical choirs of the Lutheran church in Kinondoni province. The concert took place on August 15, 2004 at Msasani Lutheran church. During the performance of this song the choir appeared in Masai uniforms. In addition to the Masai melody and uniform, the choir also danced a Masai traditional dance by moving their necks and heads forward and backward in relation to the rhythm of the song. Also some choir members danced a Masai jumping style when the choir sang *inaruka kwa furaha* (we/I jump in joy).

The song was never performed during my stay with the choir (September 2004-January 2005). The reason was that two of the guitarists who played rhythm and bass guitars in this song were not able to come to the choir due to family matters. Towards the end of my fieldwork one of the solo guitarists of the choir Laban Mwasimba asked me to program an instrumental accompaniment for this song (and a few others), particularly the rhythm and bass guitar parts and save it on a diskette so that the choir could be able to perform the song even in the absence of those instrumentalists[29]. We spent a number of days with Laban Mwasimba doing the programming. We recorded the rhythm that he had programmed and that the choir had been using from the drum machine and tried to reproduce it. Then Laban Mwasimba played the guitar parts (rhythm and bass) as best he could remember of the way those other guitarists played. We also reproduced them using a computer. We did not include solo guitar and

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[29] He raised this request after the concert of December 19, 2004 which took place at the University of Dar es Salaam. I had asked the organisers of the concert, the University Student Christian Fellowship (USCF), that I be allowed to film the concert since some choirs and musicians I was working with, including the Sayuni Evangelical Choir and Mercy Nyagwaswa, were invited. The organisers allowed me to film but they also asked me to perform during the concert. Since it was rather late to ask The Patmos to sing with me the songs I had recorded with them, I decided to compose a song which I sang as a solo with an instrumental accompaniment that I programmed using "Cakewalk" (see the last song in the video).

keyboard parts since the players of these parts including Laban Mwasimba himself, attended the choir rehearsals and performances, and he suggested that they would be playing along with the programmed accompaniment. In addition, when we had finished working *Mwalimu* Archbold Tesha came to listen. He gave suggestions that led to some amendments. In short, I learnt the song mainly through this process, the score given to me by Tesha and by listening to the choir's performance of the song during that concert at Msasani.

There are a number of interesting issues concerning the use of Masai music materials in this song particularly with regard to the structural organization of various musical elements. For this reason, I describe below some of these aspects including melodic materials, multiple rhythmic layers and the use of the Kiswahili and Kimasai languages.

Fig. 5.7 The Score of the *Masalaba EYesu* (Singers Parts Only). Note an Illustration on the Score Depicting Two Masai (Warriors) One With a Spear and a Shield and Another One With a Spear. Note also the Cross Between the Two Men.

I - ko na fu - ra - ha sa - sa   I - na - ru - ka kwa fu - ra - ha

I - ni - ni-ng'o o-rche-re ai - kilikwann o-rro-rei   a-ma-a ma-sa-la-ba E - ye

su tia-twa iye ke-ne - nyo?   su tia-twa iye ke-ne - nyo -

Oh   - ta-ra-nya te-nji-pa - i   i - ra - ta - ta

or - du-nga - ni   nye - ju taa - ta   e - nji-pa - i

we - we sa - sa - hu - ru,   a - me - fu - ta - yo

te,   sa - sa u - ko - hu - ru

Generally speaking, the song is organised in eight sections of varying lengths distinguished through their varying melodic materials. The first section is sung in unison (bars 1–5) and it is repeated with a few cadential modifications in bars 4b and 5b. The second section is arranged homophonically (bar 6 through bar 13; sung twice). The third section is arranged in a call and response pattern (bars 14–17) and it is repeated (bars 18–21). In this section sopranos and altos sing the call section and all the voices (including soprano and altos) sing the response section. In the fourth section, a motif sung by the sopranos (bar 22) is repeated by the sopranos and the altos (bar 23). Then the melody is sung by the tenors with slight alterations and the sopranos and the altos sing in parallel motion with the tenors (bars 24–25). The basses join in with a pedal on the tonic (bars 25). The section is concluded by a new motif in which the four voices sing a tonic chord (bars 26). The fifth section is a wordless section (bars 27–31). The sixth section is sung twice (bars 32–33). In this section the sopranos and the altos sing the call phrase (bar 32) while the tenors and the basses sing a response phrase which is basically a modification of the call phrase (bar 33).

The seventh section (bars 34–38) is a repetition of the first section in all aspects except for the language, on which I will comment later. Finally, the eighth section continues from bar 39 through bar 46 and is then extended through bar 50 by repeating the last two bars twice (with a modification at the end).

The rhythm of this song is organised in multiple layers which makes it possible to divide the song in a number of ways according to the layers of rhythmic organisation. First, the song can be divided into two main parts with regard to rhythm. In the first part (bars 1–38) each bar has five crotchet beats while in the second part (bars 39–50) each bar has four crotchet beats. The composer of this song Archbold Tesha said that in the first part he used the rhythm of the Masai traditional song he had adopted while in the second part he decided to change the rhythm so as to make this part sound "normal" like many other songs of the choir. During the performance of the song I noticed the change of rhythm from a five beat rhythm to a four beat rhythm which the choir played in zouk style. The two rhythms made it necessary that we programme two different rhythmic configurations, one for each of these parts (see Figs. 5.8 and 5.9).

Fig. 5.8 Transcription of the Rhythmic Configuration for the First Part

Fig. 5.9 Transcription of the Rhythmic Configuration for the Second Part
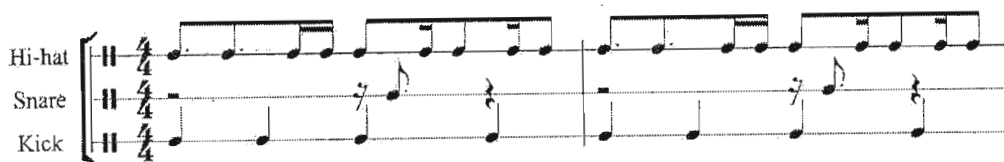
Secondly, the length of phrases alternates between ones of five bars and ones of four

bars. The first section comprises two five-bar phrases (bars 1–5 and 1–5b). The same

is the case with the second section (bars 6–13). But the third section consists of two

four-bar phrases (bars 14–17 and bars 18–21). Then each of the fourth and fifth

sections is a five-bar phrase (that is bar 22–26 and 27–31 respectively). The sixth

section which is sung twice is a two-bar phrase (bars 32–33). The seventh section is

like the first (bars 34–38b). It consists of two five-bar phrases. The last section is an

eight-bar phrase with an extension of four bars making it twelve bars long (bars 39–

50).

Thirdly, at the level of each bar, the melodic rhythm of most five-beat bars seems to

be organised in three and two beats consecutively, that is, 3+2 as may be exemplified

by the melodic rhythm in bars 1, 2 and 4 in the first section. This rhythm is sung and

played simultaneously with the rhythm played on the drum machine. The rhythmic

configuration of the drum machine comprises multiple layers. While the kick, snare

and tom tom rhythms seem to underscore the 3+2 division of the bar, the triangle

which sounds like a principle beat plays a regular beat on each beat. This blurs the

3+2 division (see Fig. 5.10). Additionally, the 3+2 division is also blurred by the

rhythm of the melody in bars 21–31in which the bars are divided into two equal

halves each with two and half crotchet beats. In the last section, the bars are mostly

divided into two equal halves with two beats each (i.e. 2+2). In most of these bars the first half is sung in quavers or dotted quavers (bars 40, 41, 42 and 44) while the second half is silent.

Fig. 5.10 The Singers' Melody and the Rhythmic Configuration of the Drum Machine in the First Five Bars

Two languages are used in this song. In most parts of the song the choir sings in Kiswahili. In a few sections they sing in Kimasai (the language of the Masai). During the interview Tesha said that he normally used not only traditional tunes but also traditional languages to make the songs sound like the traditional songs of the ethnic group from which he had taken the tune. The choir sings an interesting kind of

Kiswahili in that it seems to imitate that of a Masai who is not yet fluent in Kiswahili, that is, a Kiswahili which sounds like Kimasai. This is not a unique incident. A number of popular musicians in Tanzania who use traditional tunes in their songs, either sing in the traditional language of the people from whom they have taken the tune or use Kiswahili with the accent of those people. A famous Swahili rap musician Mr. Ebo (famously known by his song *Mi Mmasai* which means I am a Masai) is a good example here. He is a Masai and he sings his rap songs using Kiswahili with a Kimasai accent that normally arouses laughter to the listeners. Mr. Ebo prides himself on being a Masai and to show that he is a Masai he uses a Masai accent. Following Ali Mazrui, this practice can be considered to be a "linguistic nationalism". Mazrui puts it thus:

> Nationalism is sometimes a combination of culture as *identity* and culture as *communication*. When the nationalism and the language are either completely or substantially fused, what we get is linguistic nationalism. The focus of the nationalism is substantially pride in one's language (Mazrui 2004: 473, emphasis original).

In *Masalaba EYesu*, the Kiswahili used has been altered mainly in two ways. First, there are Kiswahili words that are pronounced with a Masai accent. For example, the word *msalaba* (cross) is pronounced *musalaba* or *masalaba*, the word *dhambi* (sin or sins) is pronounced *sambi* and the word *hawezi* (he/she cannot) is pronounced *haiwesi*. Second, there are syntactical alterations. A sentence: *Iko na furaha* in this song (bar 32), in standard Kiswahili would have been, *ninafuraha sasa* or *sasa ninafuraha* (I am now full of joy). Likewise, a sentence in bars 10–13: *Kwa mukono muguu toboa* in standard Kiswahili would have been, *walimtoboa katika mikono na miguu yake* (They pierced Him on His hands and legs). In short, the sentences used lack subject and object or use them incorrectly.

Four general comments can be made with regard to the use of traditional music materials in popular church music as exemplified by the two songs described above. First, the Tanzanian nationalism that the choirs construct and experience through this process is a meta-ethnic one, that is, it transcends ethnic boundaries. In the first song the Haya tune and dance are followed by the Hehe tune and dance. In the speech section every member of the choir speaks in his or her ethnic language (a few using Kiswahili which is itself a meta-ethnic language). In addition, the choir performs this song while dressed in Masai uniforms (the traditional dress of another ethnic group in Tanzania). In the second song which is based on a Masai tune the choir sang mostly in Kiswahili which is shared among most Tanzanians.

Secondly, the practice of using traditional music materials in the context of popular church music is a way through which local music aesthetics interact with foreign music aesthetics. The songs are performed using foreign instruments such as electric guitars, keyboards and drum machines. Additionally, some parts of the songs were sung in four-part harmony. Likewise, in the second song *Masalaba EYesu* the composer decided to organize the second part of the song in a more commonly used rhythm. So this part is played in zouk style which is a foreign style.

Thirdly, the practice transfers the music from its original cultural context into a new cultural context. I posit that this transfer transforms not only the music but even the context and people's experiences of the context. On the one hand, the music changes in terms of its structural organisation, language, instrumentation, costume and performance organisation. On the other hand, as I argued in the previous chapter (chapter 4), the musical change leads to a change in people's experiences of Christian

252

religious spirituality, since it is through these "externals of religion" (following Wiredu 1992: 64) that people experience inner spirituality. This leads me to the fourth and final comment namely the nationalistic nature of the practice.

In many African countries, Christianity has been associated with other forms of western cultural domination particularly with its prohibition of a number of cultural practices including its labelling of traditional music as "heathen" or "satanic". In this way the Christian religion has been taken to be a way of cultivating a "colonial mentality" among Africans. "Colonial mentality" is defined by Wiredu as "the mentality which makes a formerly colonized person over-value foreign things (including modes of thoughts and behaviour) coming from his erstwhile colonial master" (1992: 62). Political independence or liberation of the physical spaces of Africa from foreign occupation seems to be incomplete if Africans who are Christians still believe in the inferiority and impurity of their cultural practices in favour of those by the foreigners. For Wiredu the answer to this dilemma lies in "Africanizing Christianity" (1992: 64). With this process, following Aylward Shorter, the church is seen to be a "plurality in unity" and Christian spirituality is experienced and practiced in multiple traditions as there are multiple cultures (Shorter 1978: 22). The practice of Africanizing Christianity is normally theorized by using a concept of "incarnation" which refers to the experience of Christ in one's own way (Shorter 1978 and Mudimbe 1988). According to Shorter:

> We are back again to the concept of incarnation, for Christianity must become incarnate in African cultures. Christ is present in every human situation, in every community and every human tradition, and this fact must be rendered explicit. Africans must experience Christ in their own communities and within their cultural traditions; they are not asked to react to someone else's experience of Christ (1978: 22).

Writing about a similar practice in literature, Ngugi wa Thiong'o celebrates the

practice because "it did point out the possibility of moving the centre from its location

in Europe towards a pluralism of centres, themselves being equally legitimate

locations of human imagination" (2002: 55).

About the effects of this process in transforming people's inner experiences, Wiredu

writes:

> One should not underestimate the gains that have been made in Africanization
> of these aspects of the Christian religion. It is not so very long ago that an
> African preacher in the Presbyterian Church was disciplined for mounting the
> pulpit in his native attire. Now, in the eighties, even the Catholic Church
> permits songs in African rhythms and idioms, actually punctuated with
> drumming, right in the process of worship, a phenomenon which, a few years
> ago, would have seemed more inconceivable than that a donkey should
> transport itself through the hole of a needle. No one who observed the subdued
> demeanor of Africans during worship in the more rigidly colonized modes can
> help noticing the contrasting spontaneity and joy with which many of our
> people participate in Christian worship electrified with African music (1992:
> 64).

In short, the process of Africanizing the church with the use of traditional music

elements in popular church music in Dar es Salaam, such as in the two examples I

have described, seems to be a way of liberating mental space. When this liberation is

accompanied by the liberation of physical spaces it leads to the liberation of the third

space not only politically and spiritually but also emotionally.

5.2.2 Reading Tanzanian and African Nationalism in the Lyrics of Popular Church Songs

Another way in which popular church choirs and independent musicians express and

construct Tanzanian or African nationalism is through addressing various nationalistic

issues in their songs. These issues include national unity, peace, prosperity, pride in

national reserves and the landscapes and resisting pervasive discourses that associate

Africa or individuals in Africa with poverty or inferiority. In what follows, I provide a reading of lyrics in three selected songs and discuss the way each one of the songs addresses these issues. The songs selected include *Tumshukuru Mungu* (Let's Thank God) by Cosmas Chidumule (in his second album titled *Kimbilia Kwa Yesu*), *Bara la Afrika* (The Continent of Africa) by Kijitonyama Evangelical Choir (in their album titled *Dhambi ni Dhambi*) and *Maombi ya Yabesi* (The Prayers of Yabesi) by Kinondoni Revival Choir (in their album volume 6 titled *Maombi ya Yabesi*).

Tumshukuru Mungu

Original Version	English translation
Stanza 1	**Stanza 1**
L: Mshukuruni Mungu kwa kuwa mwingi wa rehema kwetu.	L: Thank God because He is so merciful to us.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should turn] to Jesus.
L: Mshukuruni Bwana Tanzania kuna amani tele.	L: Thank God we have peace in Tanzania.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should turn] to Jesus.
L: Yeye ni Mungu hata kwa wanasiasa.	L: He is God even to the politicians.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should turn] to Jesus.
L: Yeye ni Mungu kwa watu wote Tanzania Oh.	L: He is God to all Tanzanians Oh.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should turn] to Jesus.
L: Mshukuruni Bwana Injili inahubiriwa kwetu.	L: Thank the Lord that the gospel is being preached to us.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should turn] to Jesus.
L: Tukipiga magoti Baba anajibu maombi yetu.	L: When we kneel, Father, you answer our prayers.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should turn] to Jesus.
L: Mshukuruni Mungu kwa kuwa twapata mvua jama.	L: Thank God that we receive rains.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should turn] to Jesus.
L: Mshukuruni Mungu mboga na matunda barabarani tele.	L: Thank God that there are plenty of vegetables.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should turn] to Jesus.

L: Yeye ni Mungu. Ametupa wanyama pori.	L: He is God. He has given us wild animals.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should turn] to Jesus.
L: Kilimanjaro kweli inapendeza machoni baba.	L: [Mount] Kilimanjaro looks attractive.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should turn] to Jesus.
Stanza 2	**Stanza 2**
L: Mshukuruni Mungu Tanzania mshikamano jama.	L: Thank God for unity in Tanzania.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should turn] to Jesus.
L: Unguja na Pemba Tanzania bara amani.	L: Zanzibar, Pemba and mainland Tanzania there is peace.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should turn] to Jesus.
L: Tumbe Mungu viongozi wapewe hekima tele.	L: Let us pray that our leaders are given wisdom.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should turn] to Jesus.
L: Tanzania yetu kweli ndio kimbilio.	L: Our Tanzania is a refuge.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should turn] to Jesus.
L: Maziwa makuu wote wanajua hayo jama.	L: All the people in the great lakes area know this.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should turn] to Jesus.
L: Afrika nayo kweli inajua ukweli huo	L: Even Africa knows this fact.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should turn] to Jesus.
L: Mtukuzeni Bwana vijana Mungu anawapenda wote.	L: Praise the God that He loves all the youth.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should turn] to Jesus.
L: Mtukuzeni Mungu Wamasai ng'ombe wanazaliana.	L: Praise God for the cows of the Masai are reproducing.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should turn] to Jesus.
L: Mshukuruni Bwana wanyakyusa ha-ha mbasa.	L: Praise the Lord for the Nyakyusa, ha-ha, yams.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should turn] to Jesus.
L: Yeye ni Mungu usiku na mchana naimba.	L: He is God day and night, I sing.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should turn] to Jesus.
L: Yeye ni Mungu kiangazi na masika.	L: He is God during the dry and the rainy season.

C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should turn] to Jesus.
L: Yeye ni Mungu Baba ameumba vyote sikia.	L: He is God for He created everything.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should turn] to Jesus.
L: Yeye ni Mungu wetu kamleta Yesu tuokoke.	L: He is our God for He brought Jesus for us to be saved.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should turn] to Jesus.
L: Mtukuzeni Bwana furaha mioyoni tele tele.	L: Praise the Lord for our hearts rejoices.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should turn] to Jesus.
L: Yeye ni Mungu ametukusudia mema.	L: He is God. He has good plans for us.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should turn] to Jesus.

Chorus
Chorus

C: Tumwimbie leo.	C: Let us sing for Him today.
L: Shangwe ee	L: Let us sing
C: Tumwimbie Bwana.	C: Let us sing for the Lord.
L: Tuimbe	L: Let us sing
C: Tumwimbie leo.	C: Let us sing for Him today.
L: Watu wote	L: All people
C: Tumwimbie Bwana.	C: Let us sing for the Lord.
L: Kayoko	L: Kayoko*
C: Tumwimbie leo.	C: Let us sing for Him today.
L: Asikilovoko	L: Asikilovoko*
C: Tumwimbie Bwana.	C: Let us sing for the Lord.
L: Asigauka	L: Asigauka*
C: Tumwimbie leo.	C: Let us sing for Him today.
L: Mzee Masye	L: Mzee Masye*
C: Tumwimbie Bwana.	C: Let us sing for the Lord.
L: Mzee Mbeko	L: Mzee Mbeko*
C: Tumwimbie leo.	C: Let us sing for Him today.
L: Yoaye	L: Yoaye*
C: Tumwimbie Bwana.	C: Let us sing for the Lord.
L: Mfaranyaki yote	L: The entire Mfaranyaki#
C: Tumwimbie leo.	C: Let us sing for Him today.
L: Tuimbe leo	L: Let us sing today
C: Tumwimbie Bwana.	C: Let us sing for the Lord.
L: Hata Bombambili	L: Even Bombambili#
C: Tumwimbie leo.	C: Let us sing for Him today.
L: Tuimbe leo	L: Let us sing today.
C: Tumwimbie Bwana.	C: Let us sing for the Lord.
L: Lizaboni kule	L: There in Lizaboni#
C: Tumwimbie leo.	C: Let us sing for Him today.
L: Kucheza ngoma jama	L: To dance
C: Tumwimbie Bwana.	C: Let us sing for the Lord.

L: Msamala
C: Tumwimbie leo.
L: Dunia yote
C: Tumwimbie Bwana.
L: Matogolo
C: Tumwimbie leo.
L: Tuimbe
C: Tumwimbie Bwana.
L: Matambilako
C: Tumwimbie leo.
L: Mauki
C: Tumwimbie Bwana.
L: Tuimbe

Spoken words
Hakika Mungu wetu analipenda taifa
letu la Tanzania.
Ukienda kule Muheza machungwa ni ya
kumwaga mafungu mafungu.
Kila aina ya matunda.
Sasa jaribu uende Karagwe.
Ndizi ni kama mkonge.
Ah jamani hebu tumwabudu Mungu
wetu.
Tumshukuru usiku na mchana.
Nenda Kigoma dagaa kama mchanga.
Inashangaza ni upendo wa namna gani!
Nenda Matombo raha baridi.
Sasa ufike Dodoma mnadani.

Stanza 3
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.

L: Yeye ni Mungu wetu jamani sikieni.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.

L: Achani fitina na kidomodomo
mioyoni mwenu.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.

L: Tulitunze taifa letu tulipende jamani.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.

L: Kila mmoja na shughuli zake lakini
Mungu wetu mbele.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.

L: Enyi wasomi, sikia.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.

L: Msamala#
C: Let us sing for Him today.
L: The whole world
C: Let us sing for the Lord.
L: Matogolo#
C: Let us sing for Him today.
L: Let us sing
C: Let us sing for the Lord.
L: Matambilako#
C: Let us sing for Him today.
L: Mauki*
C: Let us sing for the Lord.
L: Let us sing

Spoken words
Surely our God loves our nation
Tanzania.

If you go to Muheza [there are] plenty of
oranges in bunches.
Every kind of fruit.
Now try to go to Karagwe.
Bananas like sisal.
Ah! let us worship our God.
Let us thank God day and night.
Go to Kigoma fish like sand.
What a wonderful love!
Go to Matombo comfort, cool.
Now Go to Dodoma auctioning markets.

Stanza 3
C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should
turn] to Jesus.
L: He is God, listen.
C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should
turn] to Jesus.
L: Stop your mischief in your heart.

C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should
turn] to Jesus.
L: Let us keep our nation. Let us love it.
C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should
turn] to Jesus.
L: Everyone with his/her business but our
God first.
C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should
turn] to Jesus.
L: You the educated, listen.
C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should
turn] to Jesus.

L: na wazee acheni mambo ha-ha. C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	L: and you elders stop your things. C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should turn] to Jesus.
L: Enyi waganga waongo tupa vibuyu vyako tupa kabisa. C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	L: You cheating healers throw away your gourds throw them. C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should turn] to Jesus.
L: Yeye ni Mungu hapendi uchafu nasema. C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	L: He is God. He doesn't like dirtiness. C: Uu Uu the entire Tanzania [should turn] to Jesus.
Song by Cosmas Chidumule now in his second album titled *Kimbilia Kwa Yesu* (my translation).	

Key:

L: Lead singer

C: Backing vocalists

* The name of a person

The name of a village in Songea

Generally speaking, in this song Cosmas Chidumule calls upon Tanzanians to thank God for His love and grace to our nation Tanzania. He says that God's love has manifested itself through a number of things that give Tanzanians a sense of pride for being Tanzanians. These things include peace amongst Tanzanians themselves and peace with the neighbouring countries. He points out that because of this peace Tanzania has become a refuge for many people a fact that is well known not only to the countries in the great lakes area but also to the whole of Africa. Secondly, Tanzanians are proud of the national unity. He gives an example of the union between Zanzibar, Pemba and the mainland Tanzania. Thirdly, he calls Tanzanians to be proud and thankful to God because of the material prosperity including the plentiful availability of food like fruits, cows, fish and goats (as implied by mentioning the Dodoma auctioning market or *mnada*). In addition, Mount Kilimanjaro and a number

259

of wild animals in national reserves are expressed to be sources of people's pride with their nation Tanzania.

The song employs Ngoni and Ndendeule traditional rhythms. Both ethnic groups live in Songea in the Ruvuma region of Southern Tanzania, which is the home place of Cosmas Chidumule. The basic rhythmic configuration of the rhythm played in the drum machine is transcribed below (Fig. 5.11). In a traditional context the kick rhythm is normally played by a big drum and the snare rhythm is played by striking on a hoe with a small iron rod.

Fig. 5.11 Transcription of Rhythmic Configuration in *Mshukuruni Mungu*

However, in the chorus section both the lead singer and the backing vocals sing a traditional Ngoni tune. Personally, this section of the song invokes nostalgic memories of my time in Songea. In 1995–1996 I was teaching a youth choir of the Lutheran Church in Songea. I attended and recorded some traditional music performances in various villages in Songea. I also met Chidumule there for the first time when he was invited by the church to sing in evangelical meetings that the church had organised in various villages in Ruvuma region. Chidumule sings this section by mentioning the names of various villages in Songea including Bombambili, Mfaranyaki, Msamala, Lizaboni and Matogolo (all these villages being ones I have visited). In addition, in the section he mentions the names of people, most of whom have Ngoni names. I find it interesting to hear the name of Mauki, a famous Chagga business person in Songea. During Chidumule's visit to Songea in 1996 this man was

involved in organizing the travels to all these places. Then Chidumule sings to call

upon all people and all these villages to thank God for all the good things He has done

for our nation Tanzania.

Bara la Afrika

Original Version	English translation
Stanza 1 Afrika bara la Afrika. Afrika bara la Afrika. Mungu wetu uinusuru Afrika. Sisi waafrika ninani aliyetuloga? Utupe ufahamu wa kuweza kutambua. Ee Mungu wetu tusaidie. Baba tuhuriumie. Ee Mungu wetu tusaidie. Baba tuhuriumie.	**Stanza 1** Africa the continent of Africa. Africa the continent of Africa. Our God, rescue Africa. We Africans. Who has bewitched us? Give us an understanding. Our God help us. Father, have mercy upon us. Our God help us. Father, have mercy upon us.
Chorus Tukikumbuka mambo mengi yaliyotupata sisi Waafrika ni huzuni. Angalia nchi ya Kongo jinsi watu wako. Mungu walivyoangamia kwa vita. Njaa magonjwa mengi tukimbilie wapi Mungu wetu. Ni kwako tu pekee ndiko msaada wapatikana. Ngao yetu ni wewe Mungu wetu.	**Chorus** When we remember many things that have happened to us, the Africans, it is a pity. Look, how your people in Congo were destroyed by war. Famine and many diseases. Where shall run to [or take refuge], our God. Only in you there is a help. Our God is the only shield for us.
Stanza 2 Swali kubwa ni juu yako mimi na wewe. Swali kubwa ni juu yako mimi na wewe. Twawezaje kumpenda Mungu tusiyemwona ikiwa majirani hatupatani nao? Twauana kikatili bila ya kuwa na hofu. Roho ya mfarakano imetawala. Tumekuwa na hasira kupatana hatutaki. Roho ya mfarakano imetawala. Tumekuwa na hasira kupatana hatutaki. Kama vile nchi ya Burundi na nchi ya	**Stanza 2** The main question upon you and me. The main question upon you and me. How can we love God whom we do not see while we are not in harmony with our neighbours? We kill one another without any fear. The spirit of separateness prevails. We are so angry. We don't want to reconcile. The spirit of separateness prevails. We are so angry. We don't want to reconcile. As it was in Burundi and Rwanda

261

Rwanda watu wengi walikufa kwa vita. Tukikumbuka na huko nchi ya Somalia watu walivyouawa kwa vita.	so many people died of war. We remember in Somalia how people were killed because of war.
Chorus Tukikumbuka mambo mengi yaliyotupata sisi Waafrika ni huzuni. Angalia nchi ya Kongo jinsi watu wako. Mungu walivyoangamia kwa vita. Njaa magonjwa mengi tukimbilie wapi Mungu wetu. Ni kwako tu pekee ndiko msaada wapatikana. Ngao yetu ni wewe Mungu wetu.	**Chorus** When we remember many things that have happened to us, the Africans, it is a pity. Look, how your people in Congo were destroyed by war. Famine and many diseases. Where shall run to [or take refuge], our God. Only in you there is a help. Our God is the only shield for us.
A song by Kijitonyama Evangelical Choir in their album titled *Dhambi ni Dhambi* (my translation).	

The expression of nationalism in this song differs from that in the previous song in several respects. First, the song is concerned with the experiences of Africa as a whole; that is, it is not limited to Tanzania in scope. Secondly, it addresses problems or difficult experiences that African people have been experiencing as opposed to the good experiences and the prosperity expressed in the first song. The experiences that are addressed here include wars in Burundi, Rwanda, Somalia and the Congo; famine and diseases. In other words, the song is not for celebration but for sorrowful reflections on these experiences in order to remedy the situation. Thirdly, the song makes a prayer to God so that He gives knowledge and understanding to African people. This knowledge, the song says, will enable Africa to find solutions to these problems since (as the song points out) only God is a "shield". Fourthly, in solving these problems there is a role and responsibility that African people have to perform. The song advises that loving one another is a role which Africans have to play. Let me note an interesting way the songs puts this point. It says that it is inconceivable for

262

a person to claim that he/she loves God who is intangible and invisible while one does not love a neighbour who is physically visible and tangible. Put it differently, an inner experience of God and our inner expression of love to Him should be achieved through physical experiences, that is to say love as a lived space has to be experienced or expressed through physical space. Finally, unlike the first song, this song is played in a slow style commonly referred to as blues style. Most songs in blues style are love or sorrowful songs. The choir adopts this common usage of the style to express anguish and sorrowful reflections on Africa's bad experiences. In other words, the musical style is used as a tool for communication and expression (as a sign or a language).

Maombi ya Yabesi (The Prayer of Jabez)

Original Version	English translation
(In blues style)	**(In blues style)**
Solo section 1 Jina lako la huzuni ulilopewa na watu si kipimo cha maisha yako ndugu.	**Solo section 1** That name of sorrow which people have given you is not a measure of your life brother/sister.
Mahali pale pa aibu watu walipokuweka si kipimo cha baraka zako.	That shameful place where they have placed you is not a measure of your blessings.
Mimi nilizaliwa kwenye shida na mateso. Mama yangu kaniita Yabesi. Maana yake ni huzuni, mateso na masumbufu, kumbe Mungu aniwazia mema.	I was born in distress and sufferings. My mother called me Jabez. Yabesi means distress, sufferings and disturbances. But God had good intention for me.
Nikaanza kutafuta ahadi zangu kwa Mungu. Nikamwona yeye hana upendeleo. Nikalia sana. Neno likaniambia kumbe mimi ni mtu wa thamani.	I started to look for my promises from God. I found that He had no favouritism. I cried deeply. The word told me that I was a precious person.

Chorus 1

C: Sikuzaliwa mimi niwe maskini.
L: Sikuzaliwa,
C: Sikuzaliwa mimi niwe maskini.
L: Sikuzaliwa,
C: Sikuzaliwa mimi niwe wa mateso.
L: Nayaweza
C: Ninayaweza yote katika Bwana

L: Sikuzaliwa,
C: Sikuzaliwa mimi niwe maskini.
L: Sikuzaliwa,
C: Sikuzaliwa mimi niwe maskini.
L: Sikuzaliwa,
C: Sikuzaliwa mimi niwe wa mateso.
L: Nayaweza,
C: Ninayaweza yote katika Bwana.

Solo section 2

Maombi yake Yabesi yakumwuliza
Mungu.
Ni fundisho kwako wewe ndugu yangu.
Sio kutu ni maskini.
Sio kitu hukusoma.
Huyo Mungu akuwazia mema.

Tokea leo ugeuke.
Acha kukiri unyonge.
Tumaini kwa Mungu Yehova Yire.
Yeye atakuinua.
Yeye atakubariki.
Kwani wewe ni uzao wake.

Chorus 1

C: Sikuzaliwa mimi niwe maskini.
L: Sikuzaliwa,
C: Sikuzaliwa mimi niwe maskini.
L: Sikuzaliwa,
C: Sikuzaliwa mimi niwe wa mateso.
L: Nayaweza,
C: Ninayaweza yote katika Bwana.

L: Sikuzaliwa,
C: Sikuzaliwa mimi niwe maskini.
L: Sikuzaliwa,
C: Sikuzaliwa mimi niwe maskini.
L: Sikuzaliwa,
C: Sikuzaliwa mimi niwe wa mateso.
L: Nayaweza,
C: Ninayaweza yote katika Bwana.

Chorus 1

C: I was not born to be a poor person.
L: I was not born,
C: I was not born to be a poor person.
L: I was not born,
C: I was not born to live in distress.
L: I can,
C: I can do all things in the Lord.

L: I was not born,
C: I was not born to be a poor person.
L: I was not born,
C: I was not born to be a poor person.
L: I was not born,
C: I was not born to live in distress.
L: I can,
C: I can do all things in the Lord.

Solo section 2

The prayer of Yabesi to God.

is a lesson to you my brother and sister.
It doesn't matter if you are poor.
It doesn't matter if you didn't go to school.
This God has a good intention for you.

From today on turn around.
Stop admitting weakness.
Trust in God Jehovah.
He will lift you up.
He will bless you.
Because you are His offspring.

Chorus 1

C: I was not born to be a poor person.
L: I was not born,
C: I was not born to be a poor person.
L: I was not born,
C: I was not born to live in distress.
L: I can,
C: I can do all things in the Lord.

L: I was not born,
C: I was not born to be a poor person.
L: I was not born,
C: I was not born to be a poor person.
L: I was not born,
C: I was not born to live in distress.
L: I can,
C: I can do all things in the Lord.

Spoken words (no instruments)
Yabesi alipogundua yakuwa jina lake
limekuwa kikwazo cha baraka zake
ndipo aliamua kumwomba Mungu
ambariki.
Tena akamwomba Mungu apanue
mipaka yake na amlinde na maadui
zake.

Na hata wewe ndugu yangu mwaka
huu, haijalishi umezaliwa wapi.
Haijalishi una elimu gani na
haijalishi unatoka ukoo gani.

Tunalo neno la unabii kwako wewe
Yabesi wa leo.
Ukimwomba Mungu atakubariki.
Tena ataipanua mipaka yako.
Atakwenda kupigana na maadui zako.

L (shout): Je uko tayari?
C (shout): Amen.
L (shout): Uko tayari?
C (shout): Amen.
L (shout): Haleluya
C (shout): Amen.

Reggae Style

Chorus 2
C: Bwana ukanibariki na baraka zako.
C: Bwana ukanibariki na baraka zako.
L: Bwana ukanibariki na baraka zako.
C: Bwana ukanibariki na baraka zako.
L: Bwana ukaipanue na mipaka yangu.
C: Bwana ukaipanue na mipaka yangu.
L: Bwana pigana kinyume na adui
zangu.
C: Bwana pigana kinyume na adui
zangu.

Solo section
Hiki ndio kilio changu kwa Mungu
Yehova.
Si kitu nina shida gani.

Si kitu nimetoka wapi.
Hata kama sina elimu.
Hata nikiwa maskini.

Spoken words (no instruments)
When Jabez realised that his name
was a barrier to his blessings,
he decided to ask for God's blessings.

He also asked God to expand his territory and
protect him against his enemies.

Even you my brother/sister this year,
it doesn't matter where you were born.
It doesn't matter how much education you
have and it doesn't matter which clan you
come from.
We have a prophetic message for you the
Jabez of today.
If you ask God He will bless you.
He will also expand your territory.
He is going to fight against your enemies.

L (shout): Are you ready?
C (shout): Amen.
L (shout): Are you ready?
C (shout): Amen.
L (shout): Halelujah
C (shout): Amen.

Reggae Style

Chorus 2
C: Lord, bless me with your blessings.
C: Lord, bless me with your blessings.
L: Lord, bless me with your blessings.
C: Lord, bless me with your blessings.
L: Lord, expand my territory.
C: Lord, expand my territory.
L: Lord, fight against my enemies.

C: Lord, fight against my enemies.

Solo section
This is my cry to God Jehovah.

It doesn't matter which kind of problems I
have.
It doesn't matter where I come from.
Even if I do not have education.
Even if I am a poor person.

Neno moja nalijua ananijali.	One thing I know. He cares for me.
Chorus 2	**Chorus 2**
C: Bwana ukanibariki na baraka zako.	C: Lord, bless me with your blessings.
C: Bwana ukanibariki na baraka zako.	C: Lord, bless me with your blessings.
L: Bwana ukanibariki na baraka zako.	L: Lord, bless me with your blessings.
C: Bwana ukanibariki na baraka zako.	C: Lord, bless me with your blessings.
L: Bwana ukaipanue na mipaka yangu.	L: Lord, expand my territory.
C: Bwana ukaipanue na mipaka yangu.	C: Lord, expand my territory.
L: Bwana pigana kinyume na adui zangu.	L: Lord, fight against my enemies.
C: Bwana pigana kinyume na adui zangu.	C: Lord, fight against my enemies.
Solo section	**Solo section**
Hiki kiwe kilio chako kwa Mungu Yehova.	Let this be your cry to God Jehovah.
Si kitu una shida gani.	It doesn't matter which kind of problems you have.
Si kitu umetoka wapi.	It doesn't matter where you come from.
Hata kama huna elimu.	Even if you do not have education.
Hata ukiwa maskini.	Even if you are a poor person.
Neno moja ulitambue. Anakujali.	One thing you should know. He cares for you.
Chorus 3	**Chorus 3**
C: Bwana akakubariki na baraka zake.	C: May the Lord bless you with His blessings.
C: Bwana akakubariki na baraka zake.	C: May the Lord bless you with His blessings.
L: Bwana akakubariki na baraka zake.	L: May the Lord bless you with His blessings.
C: Bwana akakubariki na baraka zake.	C: May the Lord bless you with His blessings.
L: Bwana akaipanue na mipaka yako.	L: May the Lord expand your territory.
C: Bwana akaipanue na mipaka yako.	C: May the Lord expand your territory.
L: Bwana pigana kinyume na adui zako.	L: May the Lord fight against your enemies.
C: Bwana pigana kinyume na adui zako.	C: May the Lord fight against your enemies.
Song by Kinondoni Revival Choir in their album volume 6 titled *Maombi ya Yabesi* (my translation).	

The song is based on a Biblical story of a man called *Yabesi* (Jabez) from 1 Chronicles 4: 9—10. Four general observations can be made with regard to the construction of African nationalism in this song. First, let me begin by observing the relationship between the naming and the experience. According to the song, names given to people seem to influence the real life experiences of the people. Thus according to the song, *Yabesi* (Jabez) experienced sufferings and sorrows in his life

because of the bad name he was given, since "*Yabesi*" (Jabez) means "distress, sufferings and disturbances". When he realised the fact that his bad name was a wall that blocked his blessings from God, he prayed and asked God to bless him, expand his territory and protect him against his enemies. The song does not explain in detail how a name influences experience. However, its message is clear that bad names should be resisted. Put it another way, in so far as the name given (mental space) influences inner experiences (lived space) and in so far as bad experiences are not desired, bad names given to a person should resisted.

Secondly, from this basic understanding the choir plays a hermeneut. It advices people who are referred to as the *Yabesi* (Jabez) of today that they should resist bad names given to them by other people. Particularly, the song advises people to resist being called poor or non-educated. The names, according to the song, block God's blessings to them. Instead, it tells us that we should know that God cares for us and that through this knowledge we will be able to pray for God's blessings and protection. God is going to bless us and fight against our enemies. We are reminded of Steve Biko's message in his essay, "Black Consciousness and the Quest for a True Humanity" that Jesus is a fighting God. He fights for the oppressed. To use his words:

> Here then we have the case for a Black Theology. While not wishing to discuss Black Theology at length, let it suffice to say that it seeks to relate God and Christ once more to the black man [sic] and his daily problems. It wants to describe Christ as a fighting God, not a passive God who allows a lie to rest unchallenged...It seeks to bring back God to the black man and to the truth and reality of his situation (Biko 2002: 83).

Only through the realization and rejection of these names one will be able to claim and experience God's blessings and protection against one's enemies.

Thirdly, like the previous example, this song adopts a common usage of musical styles for communication purposes. The laments, sorrowful reflections of *Yabesi* (Jabez) and his longing for God's promises, which characterise most of the first section, are expressed using slow or blues style (see Fig. 3.22 in chapter 3). The second part of the song is about being ready to resist bad names and more importantly claiming God's promises. This section is played in reggae style. We may see the association between reggae music (e.g. the music of Bob Marley or Lucky Dube) and the struggle for liberation and human rights. This song appropriates this usage to proclaim its massage that mental liberation leads to experience real liberation.

Finally, let me add another layer of hermeneutic interpretation by playing an African nationalist hermeneut, that is, extending the interpretation given in the song about the Biblical story of *Yabesi* (Jabez) and his name beyond an individual level to the continent of Africa as a whole. If the message of this song was to be sent to the people of Africa in general, the advice would be: resist bad names given to you. The bad names here would include "poor countries", "underdeveloped countries", "developing countries", and "third-world countries", among other names. The reason for the rejection of such names, according to the song, is that accepting these names makes the countries so named experience whatever is in the name: poverty, underdevelopment or being in the margins of the world (third world). Another parallel we may draw from the name of *Yabesi* (Jabez) and these names is that the names are given to the countries by other people. They are not the names that one gives himself or herself. That is, they reflect other people's representation of Africa and not Africa's self-representation. According to the song, by giving a person such a name, one places

that person at a certain social position. So these constructs place Africa at that low position on the social scale.

The resistance to such bad names is not a novel idea among politicians and scholars of African nationalism. Let me cite a few examples to illustrate the point. A Ugandan writer Okot p'Bitek writes about his first experience in a social anthropology class at Oxford University. He says, "[d]uring the very first lecture…the teacher kept referring to Africans or non-western peoples as barbarians, savages, primitive tribes, etc. *I protested*" (p'Bitek 1971 as quoted in p'Bitek 1972: 4, my emphasis). A Kenyan writer Ngugi wa Thiong'o celebrates the mushrooming of non-western literature and its use in academic institutions because, he argues, it is through their own writing that the people of these countries can "represent" themselves, and this is a way of resisting mis-representation of non-western people by western writers. In his words:

> The modern world is a product of both European imperialism and resistance waged against it by African, Asian, and South American peoples. Were we to see the world through the European responses to imperialism of the likes of Rudyard Kipling, Joseph Conrad, or Joyce Cary, whose work assumed the reality and experience of imperialism? Of course they responded to imperialism from a variety of ideological assumptions and attitudes. But they could never have shifted the centre of vision because they were themselves bound by the European centre of their upbringing and experience (wa Thiong'o 2002: 53).

That Africans have a vision of their world which is different from the vision of the western writers about Africa is a message that resonates in most parts of Agawu's book, *Representing African Music: Postcolonial Notes, Queries, Positions*. Although Agawu alerts his readers that the representation of African music by African scholars would not necessarily guarantee accuracy, what seems important to him is the possibility for self-representation. To use his words:

> And the guarantee that they get it right? None, of course. But they will at least have the privilege of doing something that the West has always taken for granted, namely, to indulge their own representational fantasies...partly as an expression of power and partly for sheer pleasure (Agawu 2003b: 30).

A famous rejection of such bad names as "third-world countries" was made by Kwame Nkrumah. According to Pauline Hountondji, "Nkrumah rejects the common expression "Third World" for implying that colonized and neo-colonized countries constitute a world apart" (1983: 137).

These constructs have become pervasive in daily language and academic discourses even when the talk is not concerned with the situation in the countries referred to by the expressions. This reminds me of my recent reading of an article by a prominent music theorist Richard Cohn titled, "Metric and Hypermetric Dissonance in the *Minuetto* of Mozart's Symphony in G Minor, K. 550". In the very beginning of the article (after he has dedicated his article to the memory of Howard Mayer Brown) he writes:

> Hypothesized parallel between pitch and time have provided a vessel, in recent years, for the transfer of conceptual recourses from the wealthy dominion of pitch theory to the developing world of rhythmic theory (1992: 1).

Since this is the first article in the issue of the journal, one could add that the journal issue begins with this expression. As it may be clearly observed, the paper is concerned with a purely theoretical subject and it is concerned with a theoretical subject in western classical music. To be sure, Cohn refers to the way recent theorization of rhythm has transferred a number of concepts and terms from the theory of pitch (tonal theory). These concepts include metric *dissonance, consonance* and *resolutions* of rhythmic syncopation and hemiolas. However, his metaphors, "the wealthy dominion", "the developing world" and "transfer of conceptual resources"

are informed by the discourse of difference in the modernization theories of development. With these theories the level of development of a country is determined by looking at economic indicators such as GNP and GDP. The so called "developing countries" or "underdeveloped countries" can only be developed through a big push from the so called "developed or rich countries", that is, through foreign investments and loans or by adopting economic and social modes of life from the rich western countries (Todaro 1992 and Reyes 2001). I do not attempt a critique of these theories here. Suffice it to say that I am sceptical of their relevance to the development of Africa. However, my concern here is that the concepts used in these theories, "undeveloped", "developing", and "stages of development", are bad names. Following the song *Maombi ya Yabesi*, these bad names should be resisted, no matter how pervasive they are because they cause the countries so named to experience poverty, underdevelopment and marginality.

Let me discuss briefly how this naming influences experiences. Concluding his chapter on contesting difference, Agawu writes, "It is time to shun our precious Africanity in order to participate more centrally in the global conversation" (2003b: 171). With the message of the song in mind, I posit that unless we resist bad names such as "third world countries" or "underdeveloped countries", African people will not be able "to participate centrally in global conversation" which is imbalanced between the so called G7 (Group of Seven), countries with veto power in the UN or "the North", on the one hand and the "third world countries", "developing world" or "the South", on the other hand. There is a need either to move from the margins (third world) to the centre or, as Ngugi wa Thiong'o has it, to move the centre "toward a pluralism of centres" (2002: 55) in order to participate centrally in the global

conversation. How can one participate centrally in global conversation while he/she belongs or lives in "the South" and the centre is in "the North"? The scare quotes are meant to stand for the meanings given to these spatial names; the meanings which are characterised by difference and an imbalance of power. The message of this song is that, we should resist bad names and claim our promises and blessings from God. At the emotional level, the bad names make one experience bad emotions such as shame or humiliation. Let me use a hypothetical example to illustrate this point. I imagine I am about to present a paper at an international conference (on any subject) and the chairperson of the session (from any country) introduces me as, so and so from one of the poor or underdeveloped countries in Africa. No matter how colourful the prefixes he/she uses before my name, I wonder if I will be able to find a place "to hide my face" for such a shame or humiliation.

In short, the song tells us that the transformation of mental space (names, meanings given to the names and other forms of representation) is a prerequisite for a successful transformation of real experience (lived space), in so far as these names, meanings given to them and other forms of representation shape our inner experiences.

5.3 USE OF FOREIGN MUSIC ELEMENTS IN POPULAR CHURCH MUSIC

5.3.1 Two Cases of Music Cultural Trespass

During the concert at Msasani Lutheran Church on August 15, 2004, which I referred to in the previous section of this chapter, when the Sayuni Evangelical Choir had finished its second song, *Masalaba EYesu*, the MC stood up and took the microphone and introduced the third song of the choir as if addressing the guest of honour. It was an uncommon practice for the MC to interrupt the performance by speaking before

the choir had completed its songs. It was also strange for the MC to introduce specific

songs of the choir.

> "It is widely known that we, the evangelical choirs, do not sing scientifically.
> We don't sing *nyimbo za noti* (lit. songs of notes). But we want to show that
> we are able to do so. Here the Sayuni Choir comes with the well known song
> *Haleluya Kuu*[30] (lit. The Great Hallelujah, my translation)".

Then the choir sang the song with an accompaniment of electric guitars, keyboards

and drum machine played in zouk style. The introduction section was a new

composition of the choir. In addition, the choir inserted an instrumental interlude

between the two halves of the song. During the performance of this section the

conductor[31] danced to the rhythm of the music (my fieldnotes).

I attended four concerts in which Mercy Nyagwaswa was one of the performers. In all

these concerts she performed, among other songs, the first song in her album. The

song is called *Lango* (the song is a Kiswahili translation of a hymn "The Gate Ajar for

Me") which is in *Tenzi za Rohoni,* a commonly used hymnbook among protestant

churches in Tanzania. Upon hearing the words and the melody of Mercy

Nyagwaswa's song one may be able to recognise that the song is derived from this

hymn, although there are a number of modifications in terms of rhythmic

organisation, melodic shapes and texture. In the figure below I illustrate some of the

melodic modifications.

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[30] In Tanzania Handel's "Hallelujah" Chorus is commonly referred to as *Haleluya Kuu* (lit. The Great
Hallelujah).
[31] The choir performed the other two songs without a conductor. When it came to performing this song
Mwalimu Archbold Tesha conducted the choir.

Fig. 5.12 Transcription of Some Melodic Segments to Illustrate Melodic Modifications in Mercy Nyagwaswa's song *Lango*

Original Melody

Li-po la- ngo mo- ja wa- zi ni la- ngo la mbi- ngu- ni

Modification 1(For Instrumental Introduction)

Modification 2

Ye- su ndi- ye la- ngo li- le

Ha- ta sa- sa li wa- zi

Modification 3

Kwa wa- ku- bwa na wa- do- go

ta- ji- ri na mas- ki- ni

In addition, the song is not sung in four parts as it is in the original hymn arrangement. It is sung mostly in three parts[32] (especially the chorus section) and the stanzas are sung as solos. She also employs body movements and actions. She normally performs with two other dancers. One of the interesting actions is performed

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[32] During concert performances Mercy Nyagwaswa sang the lead part along with the playback of the song from her CD. During the recording of the song she sang all the parts herself which were recorded in different tracks.

274

at the very beginning of the song. Two dancers stand facing each other at a distance about a metre, raise their hands up and each of them hold the hands of the other. As she begins to sing the first sentence of a song, "*Liko lango moja wazi* (there is a gate open)" she walks through the space between the two dancers as if passing through an open door. Then the two dancers separate and start to dance (see Figs. 5.13 and 5.14 as well as the accompanying video).

Fig. 5.13 Photograph of Mercy Nyagwaswa and the Two Dancers Performing *Liko Lango* During the Concert on January 2, 2005 at the University of Dar es Salaam (Photograph by Aldin Mutembei)

Fig. 5.14 Photograph of Mercy Nyagwaswa and the Two Dancers Performing
Liko Lango **During a Concert on October 23, 2004 at the University of Dar es Salaam Chapel**
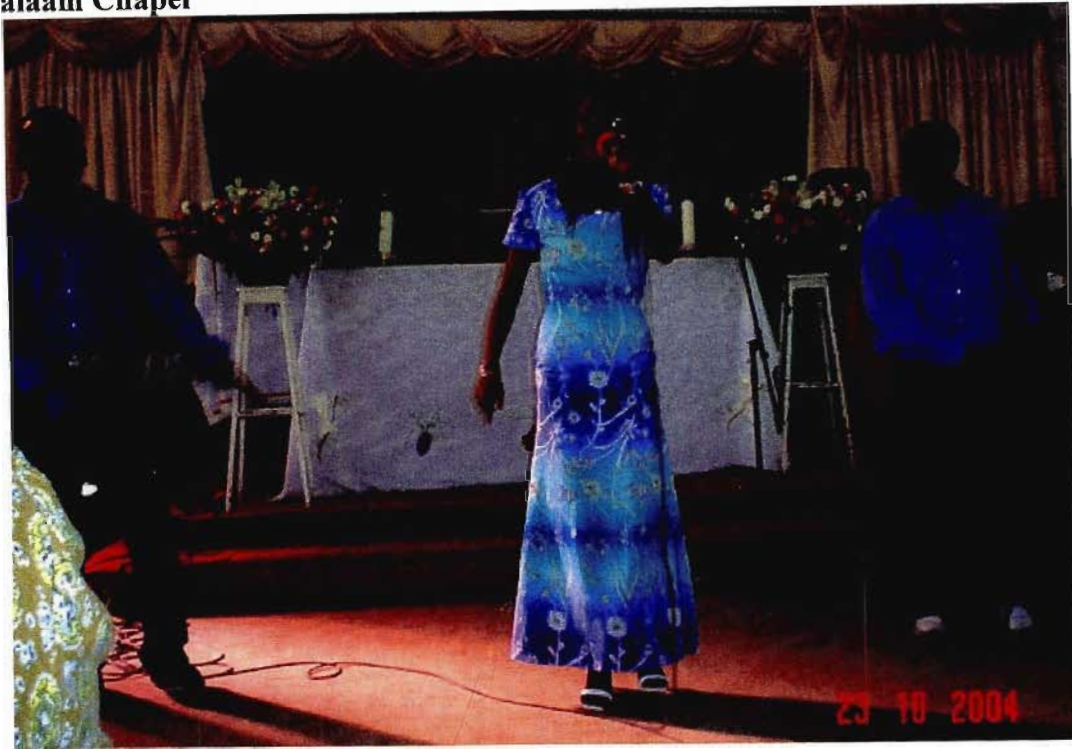
Three general observations can be made with regard to the above cases of music intercultural trespass. First, in both cases Tanzanian musicians performed western songs. While in the first case the song was performed by a choir, in the second case another song was performed by an independent musician with an assistance of two dancers. Second, in both cases the musicians adopted art songs and performed them using popular music styles. Third, in both cases the musicians perform songs that were composed more than a century ago. While in the first case the Sayuni Evangelical Choir adopted Handel's "Hallelujah" Chorus, which was composed in the eighteenth century, in the second case Mercy Nyagwaswa adopted "The Gate Ajar For Me" which was composed in the nineteenth century. For this reason, throughout the next section of this chapter, I will be referring to these two cases in theorizing music interculturalism and cultural globalization in relation to popular church music in Tanzania.

5.3.2 Theorizing Music Interculturalism and Cultural Globalization in Popular Church Music

The use of art or classical music materials in popular music genres such as rap, gospel, zouk, reggae and R&B has become a commonplace practice in recent years. With this practice, popular musicians employ art music idioms such as strings and other orchestral instruments, symphonic overtures, interludes and excerpts from art music compositions. Perhaps the best song to exemplify the fact is Quincy Jones' "Hallelujah" from his *Soulful Messiah* which is based on Handel's *Messiah*, particularly, the "Hallelujah" Chorus. Another example is a song by a Congolese popular musician Kofi Olomide namely *R.A.S (Rien A Signaler)* which is in his album *Efrakata*. The song begins with a tune from the opening phrase of Mozart's *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik* ("A Little Night Music", see Fig. 5.15 below). The tune is played simultaneously with a Congolese Soukous rhythm. The answering phrase of this tune fades out as ostinatos played on guitar take a lead. In addition, Olomide's *R.A.S* is played in C Major; thus he transposes Mozart's tune from G Major to C Major.

Fig. 5.15 My Transcription of Opening Tune in Olomide's *R.A.S*

In what follows, I draw from the theory of music interculturalism and argue that the practice of using materials from western art music in popular church music as exemplified by the performance of Mercy Nyagwaswa's *Lango* and Sayuni Evangelical Choir's *Haleluya Kuu* is an act of triple cultural trespass.

The study of music interculturalism has been done mainly by taking into account two perspectives i.e. diachronic and synchronic perspectives. Robert Kwami, Erik Akrofi and Sean Adams point out that a diachronic perspective focuses on cultural integration that operates "within individual cultures in merging of the old with the new in a gradual process of change and renewal" (2003: 262). On the other hand, a synchronic perspective focuses on musical elements from other cultures that are absorbed within an emerging style. Using these perspectives, one can see that music from a specific African culture, for example, did adopt music elements from older generations of the same locality. Secondly, even before Africa's contact with the western or eastern music cultures there were cases of musical exchange between African music cultures of different localities that had some contacts (though limited). The contacts with the western and eastern music cultures through imperialism, trade and religion fuelled the process and expanded the horizons of this process. Thus John Blacking suggests that musical intercultural practices and the resulting musical change in Africa "should be considered from both synchronic and diachronic perspective and always in their social context" (1995: 168).

With a diachronic perspective, we focus on musicians of one temporal music culture who absorb musical materials from an older temporal music culture. For example, a nineteenth-century western art musician Franz Liszt (1811–1886) adopted some materials and inspirations from Mozart's *Don Giovanni* (It. *Don Juan*), which was first performed in 1788, in his own piano work *Reminiscences de Don Juan* written in 1841 (Randel 1996: 191 and Rosen 1995: 528–541). With a synchronic perspective, on the other hand, we focus on musicians of one spatially defined music culture who absorb or adopt the music of another. The adoption of the South African anthem

Nkosi Sikel' iAfrika by Enoch Sontonga as a Tanzanian national anthem *Mungu*

Ibariki Afrika (God Bless Africa) is good example. The song has become so

Tanzanian among Tanzanians that when Tanzanian school children hear the song

sung by South Africans or Zimbabweans (on the radio or television), they are

surprised thinking that *they* (South Africans or Zimbabweans) are singing *our* song. In

addition, the song adopts a western four-part harmony.

Taking into account the cases of music cultural trespass described at the beginning of

this section, it seems to me that we need a perspective that is broader than the two

above, that is, the diachronic and synchronic perspectives. I am concerned primarily

with the musicians of one music culture genre who use music materials from another

music culture genre. We may cite an example of an American art musician Aaron

Copland who composed his jazz-inspired Piano Concerto by using elements from jazz

music (Kerman 1992: 407). While it is not necessary that every music intercultural

practice involves all three types of cultural crossing, there are a number of music

intercultural practices that involve more than one music cultural crossing. To use the

first case, the adoption of Handel's "Hallelujah" Chorus by the Sayuni Evangelical

Choir makes the music trespass three cultural boarders. First the music adopted

trespasses a temporal frontier by being taken from the nineteenth century music

culture into twenty-first century music culture. Secondly, the music trespasses a

spatial cultural frontier by being taken from English music culture (European) and

entering Tanzanian music culture (African). Thirdly, the music trespasses what I call

music culture genre by moving from the culture of art music into popular music

culture. As a result of this triple cultural trespass, the music exists with very different

musical characteristics. These include the rhythm style (zouk), the use of other

melodic materials that were played as an instrumental introduction or interlude, the addition of dance movements and changes in the musical instrumentation.

For Frederic Jameson the erosion of the distinction between what he calls high culture and mass or popular culture is one feature of postmodernism (2000: 282). Generally speaking, this bridging of the gap between high or art and popular music culture is a two-way traffic. On the one hand, there has been an increased use of elements from popular music in contemporary art music. The works of American musicians Aaron Copland, Leonard Bernstein and George Gershwin exemplify this. These composers have been employing materials from jazz in their art music compositions. On the other hand, several popular musicians employ materials from art music as it is the case with Quincy Jones in *Hallelujah*, Kofi Olomide in *R.A.S*, Mercy Nyagwaswa in *Lango* and the Sayuni Evangelical Choir in *Haleluya Kuu*.

People's opinions about an intercultural practice such as this in popular church music differ. Some celebrate it as a way of experiencing global musical aesthetics in the present age in which the world seems to be a global village. Since cultural contacts in this "village" seem to be inevitable, its aesthetics also knows and respects no boundary be it a spatial, a temporal or a genre boundary. On the other hand, the practice is criticised on grounds that it hinders creativity. In addition, others are critical of the practice as it seems to them to be a manifestation of western cultural hegemony over African culture. For this reason, I turn to three perspectives developed in the theory of cultural globalization and examine various arguments for each stand people hold concerning the practice.

The first perspective is normally referred to as the "convergence of global culture" perspective. Sometimes it is also referred to as *"McDonaldization"* of the world perspective (Ritzer 1998). According to this perspective, global cultural industry is seen to be increasingly signifying the convergence of cultural symbols and life styles. It sees globalization as entailing the move toward global cultural unification (Beck 2000: 42).While this perspective rightly explains the inevitability of cultural contacts and the resulting influences between different cultures of the world in this era of globalization, it leaves a number of questions unanswered. Specifically, it does not explain the nature of cultural contacts and the position of various cultures in these contacts. For example, it does not explain why information and a massive amount of media images seem to be flowing from economically powerful and rich countries to the so called "poor countries" of the world. As a result the question of dominance of some cultures over other cultures seems to be a non-issue with this perspective.

The second perspective is normally referred to as a critical perspective (Shivji 2002). It addresses the basic questions that the first perspective seems to ignore. According to this perspective, cultural globalization is characterized by the dominance of giant nations and corporations and their cultures. This cultural domination is made possible by their control over means of communication and the resultant imbalances or inequalities of the flow of media products such as music and commercials (Mitchel 1996: 49). Mlama's lament exemplifies this argument:

> [T]he danger for the African cultural context is that globalisation is eroding African's ability to formulate and institute a vision of what it is and what it should be. Africa is losing power to define, influence or control its own way of life... [T]he opening up of borders to the global influences ushers in all sorts of cultural systems, to fill the vacuum. For example, the behavioural patterns of the urban youth are becoming homogenous worldwide through the influence of the television, video, the CD, jeans, Nike and Coca-Cola (Mlama 2002: 124-125).

With this perspective, the use of foreign music elements in African music seems to be

a manifestation of western music cultural hegemony over African music culture. As

Manuel puts it:

> A nationalist may well regard the imitation or borrowing of western musical
> features as an illustration of western hegemony, in the form of an obsequious (and
> often inept) aping of one's former colonial master (Manuel 1988: 22).

In his article, "*Juhudi Ziongezwe Kupata Muziki Wenye Asili ya Tanzania*" (More

Efforts are Needed to Create Music of Tanzanian Origin) in *Tumaini Letu* of

November 5–11, 2004, Alex Kachelewa expresses similar sentiments. As he writes:

> Even the artists of *muziki wa kizazi kipya* (lit. music of the new generation,
> referring to newer forms of popular music in Tanzania such as rap and hip-
> hop), what they call *muziki wa kizazi kipya* has its origins in the USA. So it is
> not something to be proud of that one is musically talented. The reason is that
> you just advance the work of the colonialists. We need to work hard to
> advance our own things (Kachelewa 2004: 14, my translation).

The assumption behind this argument is that African musicians and audiences who

like the practice seem to be unsatisfied with their own music so they prefer music that

includes something from western music. For these musicians and audience, things

adopted from western music seem to give African music a higher status or flavour

than when it stands alone. The echoes of this assumption can be read in the MC's

statement during the concert at Msasani in which the Sayuni Evangelical Choir

performed the *Haleluya Kuu*. He said: "It is widely known that we, the evangelical

choirs, do not sing scientifically. We don't sing *nyimbo za noti* (lit. songs of notes,

meaning "music written in staff notation"). But we want to show that we can". In

other words, singing this western art song seems to be a way of showing off the

choir's ability in singing the music of higher status. It should be noted though that the

MC was not a member of this choir and therefore his statement does not necessarily

represent the motive behind the choir's selection of the song. However, it informs us of the fact that this is one altitude towards such a practice. Given the role he played during the concert and the number of people who attended the concert, I posit that his statement participates not only in the expression of this attitude but also in constructing it.

Other criticisms that were levelled against the use of foreign music materials in popular church music included the notion that the practice did not cultivate creativity among Tanzanians. In addition, the practice was equated to music piracy particularly when the music from which the musicians adopted materials was within the same music temporal culture, that is, from a contemporary or current musician. In other words, it was not a big problem when musicians adopted music from the music of the past centuries. The critics proposed that Tanzanian musicians should use music materials from their own cultures. This would not only give the music a national identity but also it would make it possible to find foreign markets since it will be a new thing in these markets. Below I quote from two musicians to illustrate these remarks.

A famous independent musician Bahati Bukuku says:

> I have been observing, many singers in Tanzania do not like *kubuni* (to create or to invent) their own things. If a person hears the music of Brenda Fasi he or she wants to sing like Brenda Fasi. Now how can a person in *Sauz* [South Africa] listen to your music? Again if I like to sing like an American, how can an American listen to me while I want an American 'beat'. But I ought to use my own music which is African; the music which sounds like the music of a place where I come from. Even those people in South Africa or elsewhere can know that the person who sings is a Tanzanian. They should know that this is a Tanzanian "key" [33].

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[33] The term "key" is used in broader sense to include tunes and other musical elements.

But nowadays you will find all singers want to sing *sauz*[34]. When they hear the voice of Rebecca Malope they want to sing the same voice...I think this is bad because you do not show your skills or expertise. I think it is good if you create your own things so that other people can also learn from you (Bahati Bukuku during an interview with the author on September 27, 2004, my translation).

Daniford Mbilinyi is a member and one of conductors of *Kwaya Kuu* (the Main Choir) at the CCT (Christian Council of Tanzania) chapel of the University of Dar es Salaam and a personal friend of mine. In recent years he has been involved with popular church choirs in Dar es Salaam as a promoter mainly through organising concerts. After a concert on December 26, 2004 at Nkrumah Hall (at the University of Dar es Salaam) which was organised by a Roman Catholic revival group, I had an appointment with Geovin Festo of Wapo media for an interview in my office. Mbilinyi informed me that he wanted to talk with me after this interview with Geovin Festo (not about my study). So he happened to be present during my conversation with Geovin Festo in which we discussed, among other issues, the use of foreign music in popular church music. This made Mbilinyi join the conversation. It turned into a debate between him and Geovin Festo. Thus I became an audience and a recorder of the conversation. He shares most of the arguments with Bahati Bukuku quoted above but he adds the issue of music piracy. He says:

It is true that musicians are doing their best. However, some of them, for example, take an album by Rebecca [Malope][35] as it is. You find they take three songs, write Kiswahili words...then they take another album maybe from America. Then they call it an album. Although they really sing well, musically I find this to be a kind of piracy. It is a certain kind of theft which makes it impossible for the album to find markets outside Tanzania (Daniford Mbilinyi during a conversation with Geovin Festo and the author on December 26, 2004, my translation)

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[34] "Sauz" is also a term used to refer to South African popular music especially South African gospel music.

[35] Rebecca Malope is a South African gospel musician. She has become famous in Tanzania not only through her albums but also through a visit and performance in Dar es Salaam that she made in the late 1990s.

284

The third perspective can be referred to as a dialogic perspective. With this perspective, globalization is seen to involve the negotiation of both global and local cultural forces. According to Roland Robertson, globalization is seen to mean "the drawing or coming together of local cultures whose content has to be redefined" in the clash of localities (Robertson 1992 as quoted by Beck 2000: 48). To express the coming together of both global and local forces, Robertson uses a term coined by him, that is, *Glocalisation*.

The workings of this perspective can be expressed by a concept of cosmopolitanism (Turino 2000, Masolo 2002 and Appiah 1996). As with the first perspective, cultural contacts in the world we live today seem to be inevitable. However, with this concept, while individual cultures embrace cultural elements from other cultures, each continues to be attached to its own roots or "local specificities", to borrow a phrase from Mitchel (2001: 2). As a result, the product of cultural contacts is not a spread of a single brand of global style as it is assumed with the "*McDonadization* of the world thesis" but a number of brands of global styles which are rooted in different localities. As Appiah writes:

> The cosmopolitan patriot can entertain the possibility of a world in which everyone is a rooted cosmopolitan, attached to a home of his or her own, with its own cultural particularities, but taking pleasure from the presence of other, different, places that are home to other, different people...(Appiah 1996: 22 as quoted by Masolo 2002: 570).

To use a musical example, while musicians throughout the world take pleasure in playing rap music, different cultures have produced different brands of rap. Thus we have South African rap, American rap, British rap, Japanese rap and Tanzanian rap which is commonly known as *Swahili rap* or *Bongo flava,* to name but a few (Omari 2004, Mitchel 2001, Haas and Gesthuizen 2000 and Remes 1999). I have given an

example of a Masai rap musician in Tanzania, Mr. Ebo who sings a Masai brand of rap. We may also recall the two examples I provide in the beginning of this section. While our musicians take pleasure in singing and playing "Hallelujah" Chorus or "The Gate Ajar for Me", they have appropriated the music by introducing a number of other elements to the music. In other words, they perform their brands of these songs.

CONCLUSION

I began this chapter by pointing out that African nationalism differs from the dominant discourse in nationalism scholarship which is informed by the formation of nation-states in eighteenth-century Europe. African nationalism is primarily a product of colonial experience and the need for liberation among Africans. Using the spatial trialectics model, I have argued that the practice of African nationalism has been concerned mainly with the liberation of the mental or second layer of national space because the liberation of physical spaces of African countries seems to be insufficient for a full realisation and experience of liberation from colonialism and neo-colonialism. Practically, it has involved exploration of African indigenous knowledge systems, African traditional materials and African approaches so as to regain self esteem and a sense of belonging among Africans.

Then I proceeded to interpret the construction of African nationalism in popular church music in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Two main ways have been examined including the use of traditional music materials and the discourse that address nationalistic issues in the lyrics of the songs. With these processes the nationalism that is expressed and constructed through these songs has been a meta-ethnic and intercultural one. The reason is that the music is taken from its original traditional

286

context into a new context. The meta-ethnic formation of the new context as well as the various intercultural experiences through mass media and electronic technology lead to the metamorphosis of the music adopted. The transformations include linguistic, instrumentation, structural organisation and performance practice. Through a reading of lyrics and musical styles of selected songs, I have also pointed out that African or Tanzanian nationalism is constructed around a number of issues that cultivate national pride among individuals. These issues include national unity, peace, prosperity, pride on national reserves and landscape. Also I have shown how African nationalism is constructed by resisting pervasive constructs that associate Africa or individuals in Africa with poverty or inferiority. These constructs include, "poor people" and "non-educated", at the individual level and "poor countries", "underdeveloped countries", "developing countries" and "third world", at the national or continental level. The reason for this rejection is that these naming or representations, with their reverberations of difference and imbalance of power, cause Africans to experience poverty, underdevelopment and marginality.

Finally, the use of foreign musical elements in popular church music seems to reverse nationalistic efforts in this music. Some people see it as a manifestation of western cultural hegemony over African cultures. Thus they recommend the use of traditional music materials for cultivating national cultural identity and pride. However, it has been observed in this chapter that both practices (the use of traditional music materials and the use of foreign music materials in popular church music) are characterised by the interaction between local music aesthetics and foreign music aesthetics. The use of foreign music materials has been part of a process involving creative localisation and individualisation by adopting new elements such as the use

287

of electric guitars, keyboards and new introductions and interludes and local elements such as dance movements and call and response organisation, as well as improvisatory melodic and rhythmic modifications by individual musicians.

CHAPTER 6
POPULAR CHURCH MUSIC
AND THE DYNAMICS OF GENDERED SPACE

6.1 INTRODUCTION: PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACHES TO GENDERED SPACE IN POPULAR CHURCH MUSIC

It takes more than good musicians to make a good concert of popular church music.

What is also needed is a good MC (Master of Ceremony, or Mistress of Ceremony I

would add). One of the concerts which I attended as an observer and recorder was

organized by the Calvary Assemblies of God Church in Dar es Salaam. The concert

took place on November 21, 2004 at Msimbazi Centre Hall (one of the halls owned by

the Roman Catholic Church and used for many functions including send-offs,

wedding ceremonies and church music concerts on hire). The concert had two MCs:

Mr. Harris Kapiga, presenter at Praise Power Radio (a new Christian radio station in

Dar es Salaam) and Pastor Catherine Abihudi, one of the pastors of Calvary

Assemblies of God (the church that organized this concert). In the following

paragraph, I allow my fieldnotes and memory to flash back and transform the past

into the present so as to present the MCs at work here and now.

An Extract from Author's Fieldnotes: After the first round of performances the

MCs also perform to prepare the musicians and audience for the next round. Theirs is

not a song. It is a conversation. Holding their microphones, they look at the audience

and then at each other. They both smile. Harris Kapiga starts with a remark,

"Wanawake wamekuja juu kweli katika muziki wa injili siku hizi" (Women have

really come up in gospel music nowadays). He starts to mention the names of the female musicians who have just performed: Mercy Nyagwaswa, Miriam Lukindo, Debora Shaaban. He stops and looks at Pastor Catherine Abihudi. Abihudi says that there are also men. She mentions the two men who have just performed: David Robert and Mr. Billionaire. Kapiga interrupts and adds a list of other famous female musicians who are not here today: Rose Muhando, Bahati Bukuku, Jennifer Mgendi, Neema Mushi, Flora Mbasha, Ency Mwalukasa. "OK *tuendelee*" (OK, let's continue), Pastor Catherine Abihudi brings the dialogue to an end and the concert continues (my fieldnotes, November 21, 2004).

It has been noted that traditionally, many societies have been organized so that men and women occupy different spheres. While men occupy a public sphere, women occupy a private sphere (Rosaldo 1974, Koskoff 1987, Rieger 1985, Bayton 1998 and Worth 2001). In addition, men have been associated with culture and creativity while women have been associated with nature and a lack of creativity (Koskoff 1987, McClary 1991, Nzegwu 1998 and Makore 2004). With these views one would not be surprised to read an account that Nicholas Cook writes about the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

> In the face of mounting public protest, the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra *confirmed* its policy of excluding all women — excerpt harpists (the male harpist is virtually an endangered species). It thereby remained true to the dictum of its most famous conductor, Herbert von Karajan, that *"A woman's place is in the kitchen, not in the symphony orchestra"* (1998: 110, my emphasis).

The popular church music scene in Dar es Salaam has not been very different from the above. It was observed in my earlier study that most roles (particularly the most prestigious ones such as choir teacher, choir conductor or an instrumentalist) were played by men (Sanga 2001). To borrow a phrase from Cook (1998: 105), this is "the

way things were". Cook uses the phrase to show that what is taken to be "the way things are" is what keeps ideologies of domination in place. It is a system of beliefs that keep the ideologies unchallenged. The present scene in popular church music in Dar es Salaam (as Kapiga observed) indicates that something seems to be not "the way things were".

There were a number of male popular church musicians in Dar es Salaam that Pastor Catherine Abihudi could mention had she decided to extend the MCs' show. But that was to be expected. However, the prominence of female musicians in this music genre was a recent phenomenon. Given the public nature of this music genre, the situation seemed to challenge and threaten gender stereotypes that were taken to be unquestionable truth.

In her essay "Coming to Writing", Hélène Cixous begins with a little poem titled "A Girl is Being Killed". In the poem someone complains about a girl who has been allowed to speak out, to write or "to fly", in short, to behave in a way that culturally seems to be inappropriate for a girl. At the end of the poem the person asks:

> Who is the Superuncle who hasn't prevented a girl from flying, flight of the thief, who has not bound her, not bandaged the feet of his little darling, so that they might be exquisitely petite, who hasn't mummified her into prettiness? (Cixous 2001: 226–27).

A "Superuncle" in this poem can be understood to be social mechanisms that ensure that members of a given society do not, as Bisi Adelẹyẹ-Fayemi puts it, "break with accepted value systems" (1997: 127). Reading this poem along with Harris Kapiga's remark, I ask myself, what is the context that led to the changes in popular church music where a number of women began to occupy such a public and prestigious position? I am not looking for a "Superuncle" to blame or to praise. Instead, I wish to

examine the nature of change and the forces or circumstances that led to these changes.

There has been an increased use of spatial dimensions in the recent theorization of gender (Rosaldo 1974, Moore 1986, Ardener 1993, Rosa 1993, Massey 1994, Pellow 2003, and Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003). Generally speaking, in these studies gendered spaces have been taken to include particular locations or physical spaces in which or through which gender is constructed, expressed, practiced and/or experienced. As Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga put it:

> We define gendered spaces to include particular locales that cultures invest with gendered meanings, sites in which sex-differentiated practices occur, or settings that are used strategically to inform identity and produce and reproduce asymmetrical gender relations of power and authority (2003: 7).

My treatment of gendered space in this chapter goes beyond the physical spaces ("locales", "sites", or "settings") in which or through which gender is constructed, expressed, practiced, contested and experienced. Using a spatial trialectics model or a model of the three-dimensional construction of space (following Nzegwu 1999) developed in the previous two chapters, I consider gendered space to be a three layered spatiality that includes physical, mental, and lived space (Lefebvre 1991, Soja 1985, Foucault 1993 and Deal 2002). The physical gendered space includes "locales", "sites" and "settings" such as houses, churches, or school buildings. The mental gendered space includes words, myths, songs, paintings, literary works and other forms of communication and representation through which ideas about gender are constructed, expressed or communicated. Various physical gendered spaces normally acquire gendered meanings through this mental gendered space. The lived gendered space includes real experiences of individuals who encounter various gendered

292

physical practices (e.g. wife beating) or gendered mental representations (e.g. words of insult on the grounds of one being male or female). The experiences therefore may be physical (e.g. injury), economic hardships or psychological marginalization and alienation.

Let me cite a few examples to illustrate the workings of this model. To begin with physical gendered space, Gregory Barz observes the gendered sitting plan at Azania Front Lutheran Church in Dar es Salaam where women sit on one side of the church while men sit on the other side of the church (1997: 340). This gendered spatialization is replicated when the congregation moves outside the church. As Barz writes:

> After the recessional, the congregation maintains gendered boundaries, splitting into separate male and female areas to listen to the *kwaya* [choir] sing one last *wimbo* [song] on the steps and to receive the benediction from the *mchungaji* [Pastor] or visiting preacher (1997: 342).

John Blacking also observes a similar gendered spatialization in a Zionist church among the Venda of South Africa (1995: 208–209). In both cases children (both males and females) were observed to be sitting with their mothers, that is, in the women's space. The church or the physical space outside the church is a physical space that the congregation has partitioned in terms of gender such that a man or a woman who happens to sit on the side of people of a different sex is viewed to be a "fish out of water" and feels ashamed if he or she notices his or her gendered dislocation.

With regard to mental gendered space through which gendered meanings are constructed and exchanged, I would like to cite an example of a myth from the Kikuyu of Kenya. The myth explains why women in the Kikuyu society do not own

293

property. Ngugi wa Thiong'o recounts this myth in his novel *The River Between* (1965). The scene is in the Hills along Honia River. Waiyaki (a young man) accompanies his father Chege for a walk in which Chege wants to introduce to his son a number of Kikuyu traditions and show him Kikuyu land (now taken by the colonialists). He also uses this opportunity to teach him to fight for the land. On their way they see an antelope leaping away from them. Waiyaki is puzzled and remarks: "They see men and run away. Why? Don't they run away from women?" Then Chege replies by narrating a myth:

> You don't know this! Long ago women used to rule this land and its men. They were harsh and men began to resent their hard hand. So when all the women were pregnant, men came together and overthrew them. Before this, women owned everything. The animal you saw was their goat. But because the women could not manage them, the goats ran away. They knew women to be weak. So why should they fear them?

And the narrator comments: "It was then Waiyaki understood why his mother owned nothing" (wa Thiong'o 1965: 15).

The myth explains and justifies why men had to overthrow women (because they were harsh). It also explains why this process of overthrowing women was successful (because of pregnancy and weakness). Then it justifies the denial of property ownership to women. Through myths such as this (which is a mental gendered space), a real experience of asymmetrical property ownership in many societies (which is a lived space) is not only justified but also sustained in that the myth is passed from one generation to another. Chege shows Waiyaki not only the land (physical space) that Waiyaki should fight to seize back from the colonialists but also the myth (mental space) to ensure that the land remains in the hands of men.

As argued in the previous two chapters, it is through the gendered physical and mental spaces that the real experience of gender spatiality (lived space) takes place. The experiences include alienation, asymmetrical power relations, denial of property ownership and humiliation, among other experiences.

In the second section of this chapter I focus on the musical life history of Jennifer Mgendi. By reading her history in music, church music and popular church music in particular, I wish to examine the conditions or circumstances that made it possible for her to become a successful independent musician for at least one decade. In other words, I want to investigate the conditions that lead to the success of her "transgressive character", to borrow a phrase from Nkiru Nzegwu (1998). Nzegwu uses this phrase to refer to efforts made by an individual to act "against prevailing gender stereotypes" or to cross gender categories and adopt a "self-empowering language that recasts history and tradition" (1998: 105–106). In the third section, I analyse the lyrics of selected popular church songs (in most cases with their video presentations) and show how the songs deal with gender relations as well as the way masculinity and femininity are constructed or deconstructed in these songs.

6.2   JENNIFER MGENDI AND THE TRANSGRESSION OF GENDERED SPACE

I begin by quoting Jennifer Mgendi's history as she told it during my interview with her when replying to my question: "Can you tell us[36] your musical history?" After presenting her narrative, I make some comments to show how her narrative is linked to what I call "transgression of gendered space".

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[36] The interview was filmed. I noticed later that the interviews that were filmed (with a video photographer) I tended to use "us". This was not the case with those interviews I recorded with a tape recorder in which I used "me".

My history of *Muziki wa Injili* began officially in the year 1995. However, I can say, even before that I was involved in music activities though it was not *Muziki wa Injili*. I remember since my childhood I was a person who liked to listen and dance to music. When I heard music, sometimes I could even cry because I longed that I could be one of the singers in that music.

From 1979–1985 at Mgulani Primary School in Dar es Salaam:[37]

> When I was in primary school I was dancing *ngoma* (traditional dances) in a school dance group. I also sang in a school choir with the same group at Mgulani Primary School. At the same time I was singing in a church choir [later she clarified that it was a children's choir]. So I continued thus until the time when I decided to be saved and also I had completed my primary education. So I abandoned those *shughuli za utamaduni* (lit. cultural activities but also used to refer to traditional dances).

From 1986–1989 at Kisutu Girls Secondary School:

> To be frank, when I went to secondary school I could not manage to repress my great enthusiasm in music. So I found myself still in love with music. I joined a fellowship group at our school. We had a student fellowship of saved students and we had a choir. I continued to sing in that choir. I also joined a school [secular] choir and we were performing in various school functions like form-four graduations.

From 1990–1993 at Korogwe Teachers College in Tanga:

> Then I went to Korogwe teachers college where I continued to sing in a school choir as well as in a student fellowship choir at the college.

1994 at Handeni Secondary School in Tanga:

> After that I was posted to teach at Handeni Secondary School. When I arrived there I continued with my music business. I joined a church choir. But more importantly, I met an American *dada* (lit. sister, also a respectful way of calling a girl or a woman). She was a volunteer worker from a certain organization called Peace Corps. That *dada* whose name was Rachel Nagel knew to play a guitar. So when I saw her playing a guitar I was so attracted. I asked her to teach me. So she taught me to play some chords like A, D, E and G. I played those chords until I was able to play them *vizuri* (lit. nicely). I began to compose my own *mizunguko* (lit. rounds, used to refer to repeated chord progressions) like A D E. I tried to play those *mizunguko* in a certain way and I began to sing at the same time. I mean I was composing various songs in relation to those *mizunguko*. I found myself having composed many songs during that period.

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[37] Some details about years were provided to me later (through email correspondences).

From 1994–1998 and 2000–2002 at the University of Dar es Salaam:

> In the same year, I left and went to join the University of Dar es Salaam. When I arrived there the zeal for music increased and now I desired to record my songs. I wanted to see how they would be when they are recorded, well accompanied with instruments and played by good instrumentalists. That is when I informed my fellows who knew well about studio recording. These were Lugendo Msegu and Cleopa John who were also students at the University of Dar es Salaam. Therefore I saw them. They practiced the songs themselves as instrumentalists and then we practiced the songs together. We went to the studio to record the songs. That was 1995 and that is when I can say that my musical history officially began (Jennifer Mgendi during an interview with the author on September 18, 2004 my translation).

By the year 2004 Jennifer Mgendi had recorded and released a total of four albums in audio form including *Nini?* (1995), *Ukarimu Wake* (2000), *Nikiona Fahari* (2001) and *Yesu Nakupenda* (2003). She had also released two video cassettes that included selected songs from the first three audio albums. These video cassettes include *Best of Jennifer Mgendi* (2001) and *Chombo cha Sifa* (2004).

Fig. 6.1 Covers of Jennifer Mgendi's Albums (Video)
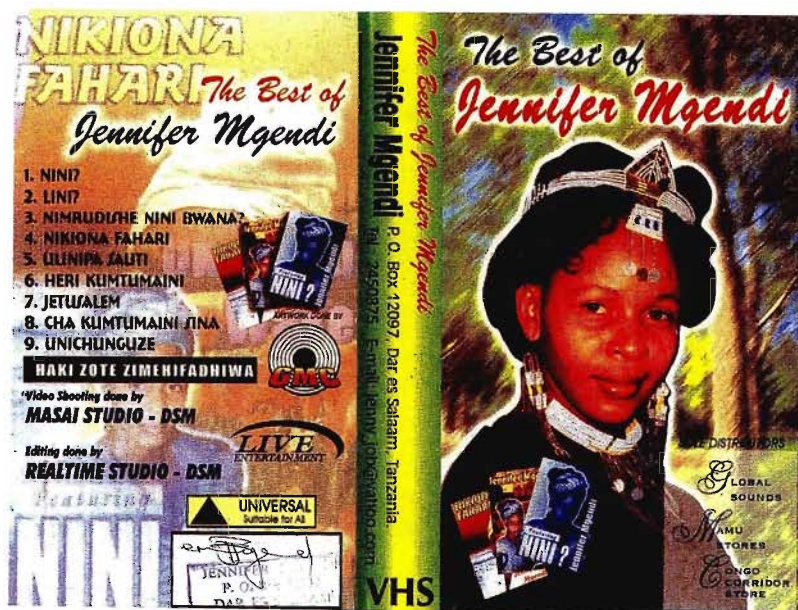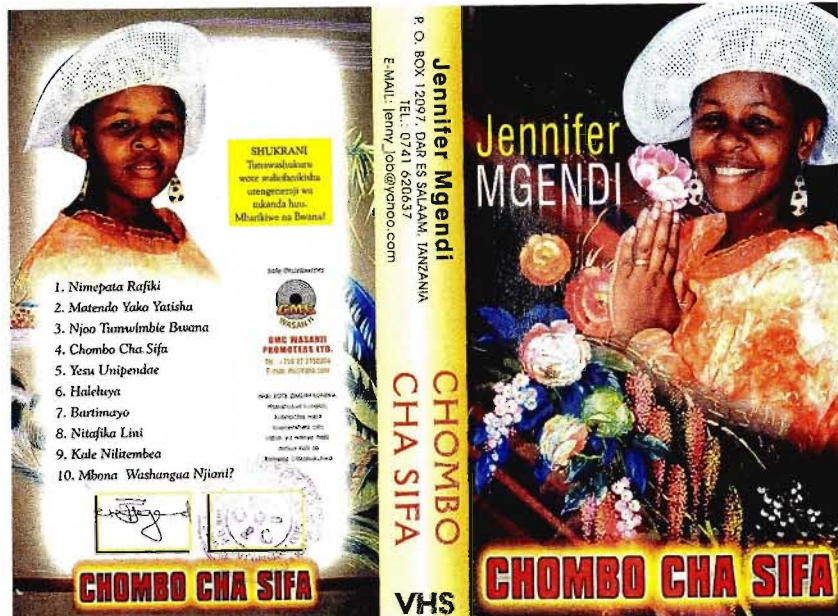
In what follows she explains about the financing of all these projects.

> My first album, I recorded it myself and I went to do the doubling to *Wahindi* (referring to Indian business persons involved in the music business), Mamu Stores. I was selling them myself when I was invited to sing somewhere such as in church services or concerts. But I became surprised to find the album was spreading fast without my getting any profit. The *Wahindi* and other people were reproducing them without corresponding with me. As for my second, third and fourth, I have entered into a contract. When I was in the studio, recording my second album, the Mamu Stores personnel came and found me there. Because they had already heard my first album and they had found that it was marketable, they asked to be distributors of my albums. I agreed. So they pay studio expenses, they sell the cassettes and they give me my royalty (Jennifer Mgendi during an interview with the author on September 14, 2004, my translation).

Let me begin by commenting on the role of the various physical places that Jennifer Mgendi's narrative of becoming an independent musician of *Muziki wa Injili* takes us to. To the extent that this narrative is a historical one, time plays a significant role. However, we can also observe the primacy of physical spaces in it. Hence the narrative integrates both temporal and spatial aspects. Evoking the temporal theory developed in the first part of this thesis, I consider these physical spaces to be "stamps" or "mile stones" in her time of becoming a musician of *Muziki wa Injili*.

Important events in her life history are situated within physical spaces. The conditions within those physical spaces influenced her involvement in music.

Second, in spite of her great enthusiasm to become a popular music singer, an enthusiasm she had felt since her childhood, Jennifer Mgendi never became one until later in her life. It was when she met Rachel Nagel she began to follow her "transgressive" path. She was inspired to see Nagel playing a guitar. Most popular church choirs in Dar es Salaam used guitars. Likewise, the popular music groups she saw in videos used guitars. But she was never inspired to become a guitarist then. We cannot avoid speculating that since in most of these choirs and music groups the guitarists were men, guitar playing was synonymous to men's business. Finding out that a guitar was played by a woman or a *dada,* as she calls her, this discovery, "unlearnt" or erased her former notions about guitar playing. The mental "wall" between what was considered men's roles and women's roles in popular music was "deconstructed" (to borrow a terminology from Derrida 1978, 1985 and 1995) and this "deconstruction" of a mental wall made the lived experience of learning and playing a guitar possible. Equally important, Nagel agreed to teach her and she taught her to play some chords.

It should be pointed out though that the changes in terms of an increased number of female instrumentalists have been taking place even in church choirs (although with a slow pace). There are more women instrumentalists in popular church choirs today than was the case a few years ago. However, the male dominance in the area of instrument playing in most choirs seems to make the learning environment for women

difficult. I illustrate this claim with one example of the only female instrumentalist in the Sayuni Evangelical Choir.

After a Sunday service on December 5, 2004, the choir returned to the church for a brief discussion and announcements. During the service TVT (national television) personnel were recording the service in order to broadcast it in the afternoon of the same day. When the chairperson had made a few announcements he congratulated the choir for performing well during the service. Then he invited anyone with an opinion before closing the session. A woman from the soprano section stood up and praised the way instrumentalists played nicely during the service. We (the choir members) clapped our hands for the instrumentalists. Later, the chairperson repeated his congratulations. This time he directed his praise to the instrumentalists. He praised particularly two of the instrumentalists who, as he said, were playing for only the second time in a church service. He mentioned the names of the instrumentalists Devotha and Brighton and asked them to stand up. During the service they took turns playing a bass guitar. We clapped our hands for them and they sat down. Then the chairperson encouraged them to continue to learn even when some other people might be saying words which discourage them. "You should not give up", he said. He gave an example of the rumours against Devotha when she began to learn the guitar. He said that there were rumours that she had a love relationship with the guitar teacher of the choir such that she decided to stop learning for a certain period of time. Then he encouraged her saying she should not take these conspiracies seriously "because even now people can start saying you have some relationships with the new teacher Laban" (laughter). "After all", he continued, "you know this choir very well. You know all of these people very well". Then he addressed the choir. "Devotha had been coming to

this choir since she was a little girl like those children there" (he pointed to a few children who were standing nearby looking at the choir; my fieldnotes December 5, 2004)[38].

In short, it was difficult for female members of the choirs to become instrumentalists in this male dominated field. I want to consider the rumours that the chairperson talked about was the "Superuncle", to borrow a word from Hélène Cixous, that functioned to ensure that the "transgression" of gendered spaces was impossible or at least difficult. In other words, the rumours were the mental walls that operated to keep the mental gendered spatialisation in place. In effect, they influenced the lived experiences of many women by making learning difficult for them. The encouragement offered by the chairperson and Devotha's practice of learning and playing the guitar, in spite of the work of the "Superuncle", were efforts to destroy the walls and make the "transgression" of gendered space possible and easier. For Jennifer Mgendi this "transgression" was made easier because she found someone, a *dada* outside the male-dominated context, who was willing to teach her.

It is interesting to note that the learning of guitar did not only inspire Jennifer Mgendi to become a guitar player but more importantly, it led to her becoming a composer. When she had mastered playing it, she composed her own chord progressions and later composed songs based on those progressions. Some of the songs she composed through this method were later recorded in her albums. In other words, her learning guitar led to a "second transgression" of gendered spatiality, that is, composition. It was observed in my early study that most teachers of popular church choirs in Dar es

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[38] Normally during choir rehearsal there were some children around. At times they would imitate the singing and dancing of the choir (see section 2.7 in chapter 2).

Salaam were men and it was the teachers who composed songs for these choirs (Sanga 2001). The situation was not very different in 2004 in most church choirs that I studied. Most of the choir teachers were men. However, in a few cases women did become choir teachers, as was the case with Rose Muhando. Muhando reported that she had been a choir teacher in Dodoma and the choir (Chimuli) had recorded an album *Kitimutimu* that includes her songs, most of which she sang as a lead singer (*Nyakati* of February 6–12, 2005). Jennifer Mgendi worked outside this male-dominated context; that is, she composed all the songs which she recorded and she sang all the parts herself.

Let me comment on the role of the financial status in Jennifer Mgendi's success. After completing her studies in a teacher's college, Mgendi worked for about a year as a secondary school teacher. Then she joined the University of Dar es Salaam in 1994 as a student. In 1995 she recorded her first album *Nini?* Mgendi was able to pay all the studio expenses herself for recording this album. In addition, she paid the expenses of doubling the cassettes. This made it possible for her to start selling the album. The *Wahindi* proposed to be suppliers of her albums after they had found that her first album "was marketable", as she puts it. This serves to underscore the fact that if she had not been able to finance the recording of her first album, the *Wahindi* would not have recognized her even if she had gone and asked them to finance her recordings. I was informed that normally these music agents wanted an artist to show them an album which they listened to before they decided whether they would distribute the album and refund the recording expenses or not. In some cases they told the artists to distribute the albums first to various radio stations and if they found that the albums become popular they would agree to refund the recording expenses and distribute the

albums (personal communication Chediel Nyirenda on January 1, 2005 and Nestory Ihano on December 21, 2004). Mgendi's "transgressive" practice was made possible by her being able to finance her first album which became a springboard for her future projects.

Finally, Jennifer Mgendi's success depended partly on the role of recording technology and the expanding mass media, particularly church-owned radio stations. The technology and mass media made it possible for many people not only in Dar es Salaam but even in other parts of Tanzania to hear Mgendi's songs. For this reason, her compositions were able to "go public". This was also the case with other female musicians: the public and institutions acknowledged these artists not only as singers but also as composers. For instance, during the Tanzania Gospel Music Award Concert (2004) on January 31, 2005, Rose Muhando was awarded the "best composer of the year" award among other awards. As pointed out earlier, the involvement of mass media and recording technology in publicizing not only the songs of female musicians but also their composition skills played a role in "deconstructing" the mental walls around composition as a male-gendered space.

6.3 READING GENDER IN THE LYRICS OF POPULAR CHURCH MUSIC

It has been observed that one possible explanation as to why some artworks by women differ from those by men (though the differences need not be essentialized) is that women and men are exposed to different life experiences and that their experiences have an influence on their artworks (Worth 2001, Nzegwu 1998, Ballantine 2002 and Cox 19991). For example, during an interview with a reporter of

303

a Christian newspaper (*Nyakati*), Rose Muhando (who had just won three awards

during the Tanzania Gospel Music Award 2004, that is, as best composer, as best

singer and for the best album of the year) was quoted saying:

> In that second song [in her album] *Bwana Nipe Uvumilivu* (Lord Give Me
> Endurance) I really sang my own life; how I and my children suffered after the
> fathers of my children ran away from me. Surely, I sang it with deep feelings
> because it was really my own suffering (*Nyakati* of February 13-19, 2005, my
> translation).

Listening to popular church music one encounters a number of songs that deal in

varied ways with gender relations. For this reason, in this section I focus on the lyrics

of three selected songs and in most cases with the video presentation of the songs, and

I analyse how these songs deal with gender relations as well as the way masculinity

and femininity are constructed, contested or deconstructed. The selected songs include

Mama (Mother I Thank You)[39] by Mercy Nyagwaswa (from her album *Mbingu*

Zahubiri), *Mapito* (Paths) by Bahati Bukuku (from her album *Yashinde Mapito*) and

Nipe Uvumilivu (Give Me Endurance) by Rose Muhando (from her album *Uwe*

Macho).

6.3.1   Mercy Nyagwaswa: *Mama* (Mother I Thank You)

The first song to be analysed is *Mama* (Mother I Thank You) by Mercy Nyagwaswa. I

begin by presenting the lyrics of the song and my English translation. Then I proceed

to provide an analysis of the lyrics.

Original Version in Kiswahili	English Translation
Chorus:	**Chorus:**
Wewe ni jasiri. Mama nakusifu.	You are a brave person. Mother I praise you.
Wewe ni malkia. Mama ninakuimbia.	You are a queen. Mother I sing for you.

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[39] Mercy Nyagwaswa translates the titles of her songs into English (or gives English titles) in the album on a cover of her CD. I have adopted her translation or alternative title here.

Wewe ni jasiri. Mama nakusifu.

Wewe ni malkia. Mama ninakuimbia.

Stanza 1:
Mama yangu ninakushukuru.
Ulinileta hapa duniani.
Ulihangaika nikiwa tumboni
miezi tisa uliyonibeba.

Ulisumbuka, ulitaabika.
Uliugua, ulihangaika.
Lakini mwisho ukanizaa.
Kwa uchungu ulivumilia.

Chorus:
Wewe ni jasiri. Mama nakusifu.

Wewe ni malkia. Mama
ninakuimbia.
Wewe ni jasiri. Mama nakusifu.
Wewe ni malkia. Mama
ninakuimbia.

Stanza 2:
Mama yangu ninakushukuru.
Ulinitunza niwe na afya njema.

Ulisumbuka nikiwa mgonjwa,
hata pia nikiwa mzima.
Ulinilea niwe mtu mwema.

na mambo mengi ulinifundisha.
Siwezi mama kukulipa.
Mwenyezi Mungu akubariki.

Chorus:
C: Wewe ni jasiri.
L: Mama,
C: Mama nakusifu.
L: Mama,
C: Wewe ni malkia.
L: Mama,
C: Mama ninakuimbia.

L: Mama mama,
C: Wewe ni jasiri.
L: Mama mama,

You are a brave person. Mother I praise you.
You are a queen. Mother I sing for you.

Stanza 1:
My mother, I thank you.
You brought me here on earth.
You suffered when I was in your womb
during those nine months that you carried me.
You were troubled and distressed.
You became sick, you were disturbed.
At last you delivered me.
You endured pains.

Chorus:
You are a brave person. Mother I praise you.
You are a queen. Mother I sing for you.

You are a brave person. Mother I praise you.
You are a queen. Mother I sing for you.

Stanza 2:
My mother, I thank you.
You took care of me so that I became healthy.
You were troubled when I was sick,
even when I was in good health.
You raised me so that I become a good person
and you taught me many things.
I cannot pay you mother.
May God almighty bless you.

Chorus:
C: You are a brave person.
L: Mother,
C: Mother I praise you.
L: Mother,
C: You are a queen.
L: Mother,
C: Mother I sing for you.

L: Mother mother,
C: You are a brave person.
L: Mother mother,

C: Mama nakusifu.	C: Mother I praise you.
L: Mama Mama,	L: Mother mother,
C: Wewe ni malkia.	C: You are a queen.
L: Mama,	L: Mother,
C: Mama ninakuimbia.	C: Mother I sing for you.
L: Wewe ni shujaa.	L: You are a hero.
C: Wewe ni jasiri.	C: You are a brave person.
L: Nausifu wee,	L: I praise you,
C: Mama nakusifu.	C: Mother I praise you.
L: Wewe ni malkia	L: You are a queen.
C: Wewe ni malkia.	C: You are a queen.
L: Mama,	L: Mother,
C: Mama ninakuimbia.	C: Mother I sing for you.
L: Mama,	L: Mother,
C: Wewe ni jasiri.	C: You are a brave person.
L: Mama ee,	L: Mother ee,
C: Mama nakusifu.	C: Mother I praise you.
L: Mama mama mama,	L: Mother mother mother,
C: Wewe ni malkia.	C: You are a queen.
L: Mama,	L: Mother,
C: Mama ninakuimbia.	C: Mother I sing for you.
Wewe ni jasiri. Mama nakusifu. Wewe ni malkia. Mama ninakuimbia.	You are a brave person. Mother I praise you. You are a queen. Mother I sing for you.
Wewe ni jasiri. Mama nakusifu. Wewe ni malkia. Mama ninakuimbia.	You are a brave person. Mother I praise you. You are a queen. Mother I sing for you.
A song by Mercy Nyagwaswa available in her album *Mbingu Zahubiri*. The cover of this CD includes the lyrics of all the songs. Therefore, the Kiswahili version of the lyrics are adopted from this CD (my translation).	

In this song the singer thanks her *mama* (mother) for a number of reasons. First, she thanks her mother for bringing her into the world. In particular she acknowledges the pains which her mother experienced during pregnancy and later at delivery. Second, the singer thanks her mother for taking care of her. The care expressed in this song is twofold, that is, physical care (making sure that she is healthy) and mental care (teaching her many things including how to be good or kind). The mental care here

306

may be taken to mean socialization, that is, imparting cultural, religious or moral values that make a person able live in a society. Since she highly values these experiences of her mother, she says she is not able to pay back. So she sings for her and praises her. She also asks God to bless her mother.

The song does not only mention these experiences of a woman, but more importantly, it shows and respects their value. The chorus (which she sings twice before and after the first verse and six times after the second verse) portrays these experiences (pregnancy, childbearing and teaching or socializing her) as heroic acts. Hence the mother is praised for being *jasiri* (a brave person) and *shujaa* (a hero). It is important to note the fact that the Kiswahili words used here, *jasiri* and *shujaa,* do not differentiate between masculine and feminine heroism. The heroism of being pregnant or of bearing a child has the same name, value or status as the heroism of a warrior who fights to defend his or her nation against enemies. In fact, Mercy Nyagwaswa uses the same words, *jasiri* and *shujaa,* in another song (*Cheza*) in which she uses them to describe and praise the heroism of King David for fighting against the enemies of the nation of Israelites. I posit that the song "deconstructs" the old myth that "painted" pregnancy or childbearing experiences as sources of women's weakness and consequently, a reason for their subordination to men. We may recall the Kikuyu myth I evoked in the first section of this chapter in which women's pregnancy is portrayed as an expression of their weakness and as a justification for being overthrown, ruled and denied rights of property (land) ownership (wa Thiong'o 1965: 15).

Additionally, the woman in the song performs a number of roles including not only

childbearing but also teaching or socializing her child. In this case, the song

"deconstructs" the wall between the nature/culture and private/public gendered

spaces. The wall has been used as a justification for women's marginalization from

taking part in most public affairs including some musical performances as

exemplified by our reading of Cook 1998 concerning women being denied the

opportunity to play in an orchestra (Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra), since the kitchen

is considered to be their place, as a conductor von Karajan stated. In his essay,

"Structure, Sign and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences" (in *Writing and*

Difference), Jacques Derrida examines the deconstruction of nature/culture opposition

by focussing on Claude Lévi-Strauss's study of incest prohibition. He observes that

the prohibition of incest refuses to be bound to only one of these "spaces". This

refusal which is referred to as a "scandal" is a deconstruction of a well established

opposition in philosophical discourses, that is, the nature/culture opposition. In

honour of his eloquence let me quote a passage from him:

> In order to follow this movement in the text of Lévi Strauss, let us choose as
> one guiding thread among others, the opposition between nature and culture.
> Despite all its rejuvenations and disguises, this opposition is congenital to
> philosophy. It is even older than Plato. It is at least as old as the Sophists.
> Since the statement of opposition *physis/nomos, physis/technē*, it has been
> relayed to us by means of a whole historical chain which opposes "nature" to
> law, to education, to art, to technics – but also to liberty, to the arbitrary, to
> history, to society, to the mind, and so on. Now from the outset of his
> researches, and from his book *(The Elementary Structures of Kinship)* on,
> Lévi-Strauss simultaneously has experienced the necessity of utilizing this
> opposition and impossibility of accepting it. In the *Elements of Structures*, he
> begins from this axiom or definition: that which is *universal* and spontaneous,
> and not dependent on any particular culture or on any determinate norm,
> belongs to nature. Inversely, that which depends upon a system of *norms*
> regulating society and therefore is capable of *varying* from one social structure
> to another, belongs to culture. The two definitions are of the traditional type.
> But in the very first pages of the *Elementary Structures* Lévi-Strauss, who
> begun by giving credence to these concepts, encounters what he calls a
> scandal, that is to say, something which no longer tolerated the nature/culture
> opposition he has accepted, something which simultaneously seems to require

the predicates of nature and of culture. This scandal is the *incest prohibition*.... By commencing his work with the *factum* of the incest prohibition, Lévi-Strauss thus places himself at the point at which this difference, which has always been assumed to be self-evident, finds itself erased or questioned (Derrida 1978: 282–83).

In so far as the role of the mother in Mercy Nyagwaswa's song *Mama* refuses to be bound to only one of the socially constructed oppositional spatialities (nature/culture and private/public), the song "deconstructs" the walls between these spatialities. This is another "scandal". In so far as this opposition is a mental construct, the song deconstructs the "mental wall" between these mental gendered spaces. In so far as women's lived experiences (marginalization or denial of property ownership) have been shaped by these constructs, the song plays a role in reshaping these experiences. Reading this song and Derrida's passage which I have just quoted above, I am reminded of a South African gospel song which has become very popular in Dar es Salaam in recent years. The song *Izindonga Zeziwelale* (in isiZulu) is normally performed in many concerts of *Muziki wa Injili* in Dar es Salaam with both isiZulu and Kiswahili lyrics. In Kiswahili the title is *Ngome Zimeanguka* (the walls or fortress have fallen down). The song is normally performed during the first part of the concert in which the singers sing to call upon God's presence during the concert. With God's presence it is believed that the kingdom of Satan is destroyed. The song portrays the destruction of Satan's kingdom by the fall of its walls, the fortress. The message in the song *Mama* by Mercy Nyagwaswa implicitly declares the walls or fortress between the nature and culture or private and public spaces fallen down. This is a fall or destruction of the social or cultural systems that for so long have been justifying women's marginalization from participation in a number of public affairs including music making.

309

6.3.2   Bahati Bukuku: *Mapito* (Paths)

There are songs that address women's difficult experiences: the experiences that are caused by their interaction with a gendered space. In what follows I analyse a song by Bahati Bukuku *Mapito* (Paths) and show how it deals with women's experiences in a gendered space. The lyrics of the song and my English translation are presented below.

Original Version in Kiswahili	English Translation
Mapito	*Mapito* (Paths)
Mapito ee	*Mapito*
Mapito	*Mapito*
Mapito kweli Mapito	*Mapito* really *Mapito*
Mapito kwa mjane anaponyang'anywa mali ee.	*Mapito* of a widow when wealth is grabbed from her.
Mapito kwa wanandoa wanapofarakana.	*Mapito* of a married couple when they are in comflict.
Mapito kwa wasomi wanapofukuzwa kazi ee.	*Mapito* of educated people when are retrenched or expelled from work.
Mapito kwa wachumba wanapodanganyana.	*Mapito* of an engaged couple when they cheat each other.
Duniani kuna mapito ambayo mwanadamu anapitia.	The world is full of *mapito* in which a human being passes through.
Kweli mapito yanakatisha tamaa.	Surely *mapito* are demoralizing.
Kweli mapito yanavunja moyo.	Surely *mapito* are heartbreaking.
Haijalishi wewe mapito yako.	It does not matter what kind of *mapito* you are going through.
Wewe ni mjane mama, wamekunyang'anya mali, jibu sio kulaumu. Mwamini Yesu. Yeye aliyekupa mali airekebishe.	If you are a widow, mother, they have grabbed your wealth, blaming is not an answer. Believe in Jesus. He who gave you wealth will amend (the situation).
Haijalishi mama mapito yako.	It does not matter what kind of *mapito* you are going through mother.
Wewe ni mjane, wamekunyang'anya mali, jibu sio kulaumu. Mwamini Yesu. Yeye ndiye jibu lako akusaidie	If you are a widow and they have grabbed your wealth, blaming is not an answer. Believe in Jesus. He is your answer to help you.
Vumilia vumilia mama.	Endure, endure mother.

310

Vumilia vumilia tena umwombe Mungu.	Endure, endure and pray to God.
Vumilia vumilia mama.	Endure, endure mother.
Vumilia vumilia huku ukimwombea Mungu.	Endure, endure and pray to God.
Inakupasa uvumilie mama.	You ought to endure mother.
Inakupasa uvumilie mjane.	You ought to endure widow.
Yawezekana Baba mapito yako ni hiyo ndoa yako inakusumbua.	Father, maybe your *mapito* is your marriage that troubles you.
Yawezekana mama mapito yako ni hiyo ndoa yako inakusumbua.	Mother, maybe your *mapito* is your marriage that troubles you.
Jibu siyo taraka mama.	Divorce is not an answer, mother.
Mwamini Yesu oo.	Believe in Jesus.
Yeye aliyekupa ndoa airekebishe.	He who gave you marriage will amend it.
Yawezekana Baba mapito yako ni hiyo ndoa yako inakusumbua.	Father, maybe your *mapito* is your marriage that troubles you.
Yawezekana mama mapito yako. Ni hiyo ndoa yako inakusumbua.	Mother, maybe your *mapito* is your marriage that troubles you.
Jibu siyo haki sawa.	"Equal rights" is not an answer.
Mwamini Yesu.	Believe in Jesus.
Yeye aliyekupa ndoa airekebishe.	He who gave you marriage will amend it.
Vumulia vumilia baba.	Endure, endure father.
Vumulia vumilia mama.	Endure, endure mother.
Vumulia vumilia baba.	Endure, endure father.
Vumulia vumilia mama.	Endure, endure mother.
Inakupasa uvumilie mama.	You ought to endure mother.
Inakupasa uvumilie ee aa.	You ought to endure.
Yawezekana baba mapito yako ni maisha magumu yanakusumbua.	It maybe your *mapito* father, is that difficult life which troubles you.
Jibu siyo kujiua. Mwamini Yesu.	Suicide is not an answer. Believe in Jesus.
Yeye mtuliza bahari ayarekebishe.	He who calmed the sea will amend it.
Yawezekana mama mapito yako ni maisha magumu yanakusumbua.	It maybe your *mapito* mother, is that difficult life which troubles you.
Usikate tama. Mwamini Yesu ee.	Do not lose hope. Believe in Jesus.
Yeye ndiye jibu lako. Atarekebisha.	He is your answer. He will amend it.
Inakupasa umwombe Mungu.	You have to pray to God.
Inakupasa umwombe Mungu.	You have to pray to God.
Mwombe Mungu.	Pray to God.
Mwombe Mungu.	Pray to God.
Haijalishi kaka mapito yako ni huyo mchumba amekudanganya.	It doesn't matter whether your *mapito* brother is that your fiancée has deceived you.
Yawezekana dada mapito yako	It doesn't matter whether your *mapito* sister

ni huyo mchumba amekurubuni.	is that your fiancée has deceived you.
Usikate tamaa. Mwamini Yesu ee.	Do not lose hope. Believe in Jesus.
Kumbuka, mume mwema hutoka kwa Mungu.	Remember, a good/kind husband comes from God.
Kumbuka mke mwema hutoka kwa Mungu.	Remember, a good/kind wife comes from God.
Acha tama. Wewe mwombe Mungu (sic).	Don't lose hope. Pray to God.
Vumilia huku ukimwomba Mungu.	Endure while you pray to God.
Inakupasa uvumilie kaka.	You ought to endure brother.
Inakupasa uvumilie dada.	You ought to endure sister.
Vumilia vumilia tena umwombe Mungu.	Endure and pray to God.
Vumilia vumilia tena umwombe Mungu.	Endure and pray to God.
Inakupasa uvumilie kaka.	You ought to endure brother.
Inakupasa uvumilie dada.	You ought to endure sister.
Vumilia vumilia baba.	Endure, endure father.
Vumilia vumilia mama.	Endure, endure mother
Inakupasa uvumilie ee.	You ought to endure.
Inakupasa uvumilie ee.	You ought to endure.
Vumilia vumilia kaka.	You ought to endure brother.
Vumilia vumilia dada.	You ought to endure sister.
Inakupasa uvumilie ee.	You ought to endure.
Inakupasa uvumilie ee aa.	You ought to endure.
A song by Bahati Bukuku available in her album *Yashinde Mapito* (my translation).	

Fig. 6.2 A Photograph of a Cover of Bahati Bukuku's Album *Mapito*

312
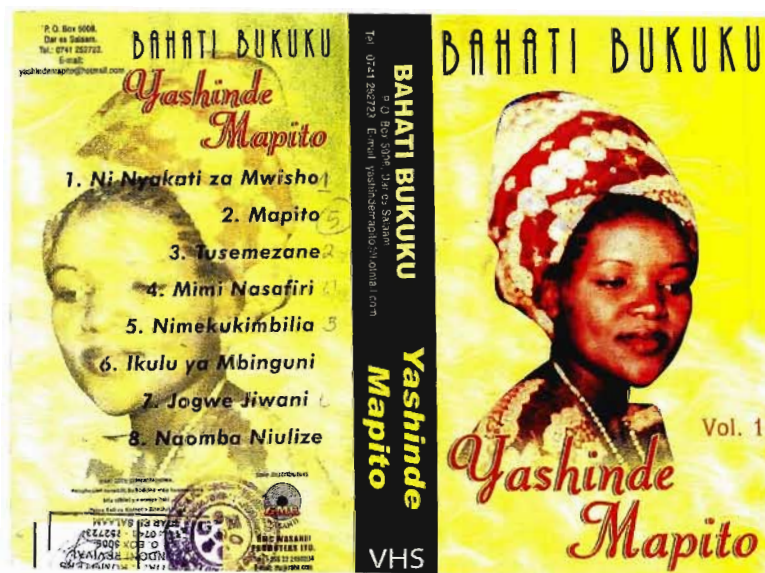
My first attempt to translate the title of this song, *Mapito* led me to a phrase: difficult experiences. "Is this not an interpretation of the metaphor in the title?" I asked myself. The word *mapito* is not a formal one and it does not have an entry in a dictionary (TUKI 2001). Literally the term means paths or ways especially those used by people who walk on foot. It is derived from the Kiswahili verb *pita* which means pass. It is synonymous with the Kiswahili word *njia* which is used formally. However, in most cases the term *mapito* is used in its metaphorical context. Recalling my first attempt to translate the title, I am reminded of an observation that Friedrich Nietzsche makes in his article, "On Truth and Lie in an Extra-Moral Sense", that after a long usage a metaphor is conceptualized as a concept and what we take to be a concept, he writes, "is nevertheless merely the *residue of a metaphor*, and that the illusion which is involved in artistic transference of a nerve stimulus into images is, if not the mother, then the grandmother of every concept" (2000: 57, emphasis original). Bahati Bukuku begins the song *Mapito* by defining the term in its metaphorical context. After singing the word five times, she puts it in four contexts. She says: *Mjane* (a widow) is in *mapito* when properties are grabbed from her, a married couple are in *mapito* when they are in conflict against each other, educated people are in *mapito* when they are retrenched or expelled from work and an engaged couple are in *mapito* when they cheat one another. Then she comments: "the world is full of *mapito* in which a human being passes through" and that these *mapito* are demoralizing and heartbreaking.

This process of defining *mapito* in a video of this song is undertaken by using two types of actions. First, there are those *matendo* (actions) performed by the singers which are part of the performance of the song. Bahati Bukuku, the lead singer and other singers (backing vocalists) dance while they put their hands on their chests and

313

make their faces look gloomy. I interpret this as a sign of sorrow and sympathy to the people who suffer from the various experiences they mention in the song. In addition, Bukuku shows and touches the ring on her ring finger when she sings about the *mapito* of the engaged couple who cheat one another. Secondly, there are those actions that are acted out in the style of a play or a movie. When Bukuku sings about the *mapito* of educated people being retrenched or expelled from work, we see a man in the office working on a computer. Then another man comes in, he gives a letter to the first man and he leaves. The first man opens the letter, he reads it silently and then he angrily throws it down and confusedly stands up. Since we hear the lyrics of the song, we believe that the letter is a notification of his retrenchment or dismissal from work. Similarly, when Bukuku sings about the *mapito* of a married couple who are in conflict with each other, we see a man carrying a stick and chasing a woman who struggles to run away from him. Again, by listening to the words of the song at this section we perceive that it is a husband who abuses his wife.

Let me pause here for a while and examine the power asymmetry in this family conflict. When we listen to the words of this song without a video presentation we may not be able to perceive the gender asymmetry between a husband and a wife. I posit that it is a normal thing for people to have conflicting or opposing ideas on some matters. As a Kiswahili saying goes: *Vikombe viwili vikiwa pamoja havikosi kugongana* (lit. when two cups are placed at the same place no wonder they will clash). The saying is normally used to imply the possibility of conflict or disagreement among people who happen to live together for some time. One uses it when leaving the persons he or she has stayed with for a given period of time, as a way of asking for forgiveness in case there was any collision even when one does not

314

remember any incident of disagreement with them. Married persons are not exceptional in this regard. Focusing on the family conflict in this song, two questions arise: Must a conflict or disagreement be solved or negotiated in a manner in which power is asymmetrical? Must it be solved with the use of force (stick)? The video presents this *mapito* as an asymmetrically gendered one. It is a husband who chases his wife using a stick. To re-contextualize Foucault's terminology, the stick and the force used by a man in this conflict seem to me to be a "technology" of gender subjugation, suppression and domination through which a husband seizes power in a family (Foucault 1999, 1997 and 1994). It is a "technology" similar to that used by an armed robber or a hijacker, to whom one is forced to surrender anything in order to save one's life. In so far as the users of this "technology" are informed by a gendered mental space (beliefs in men's supremacy over women), this "technology" is used by men to seize power over women. Therefore, the *mapito* in this family conflict should be understood to be bad experiences or sufferings on the part of a wife.

After this exposition, the song deals with a few *mapito* in some detail including the *mapito* of an engaged couple who cheat one another, the *mapito* of a married couple who are in conflict and the *mapito* of a widow (*mjane*) whose belongings have been grabbed. Let me comment on the last type of *mapito* here.

The Kiswahili word *mjane* for a widow needs a first comment. A dictionary describes *mjane* as: 1. widow, widower. 2. unmarried person, bachelor, spinster (TUKI 2001). Normally people use this word with the first definition in mind but in both definitions the term applies to either males or females. However, in practice the term is commonly used to refer to a woman whose husband has died. Normally people suffer

315

the loss of their relatives (a brother, a sister, a wife or a child). But being a widow (*mjane*) is a double suffering. It means not only losing a spouse but also suffering gender oppression. It is the later problem that becomes a social and a gender problem particularly when losing a husband means losing the ownership of property. The life after the loss of a husband becomes a miserable one no matter how much wealth the couple has accumulated.

The song does not end with revealing these *mapito*. It suggests some solutions to the problems highlighted. The solutions are rooted within a Christian faith in God. The song says that a person who is in *mapito* should not only endure but also should believe in Jesus and pray to God, since God is a provider of anything that one loses such as wealth (for a person like our *mjane*) and marriage (for a woman who has been chased away from her husband and home). It says that God is able to *rekebisha* (amend) the situations in which people find themselves. In the video, we see Bukuku at the seashore and she points to the sea when she sings that God is a solution for all *mapito* since He is the same God who calmed the storms in the sea. We can re-contextualize here the message of Steve Biko that I cited in a previous chapter: i.e. within Christianity, God is considered to be a God who fights for the oppressed and who never lets a lie go unchallenged (Biko 2002: 83). In short, He is a God that responds to the needs and problems of His people. With this belief the song discourages two commonly used ways to solve family matters. It discourages demands for equal rights as well as divorce as solutions for family conflicts. Only God, the song says, is a solution for these problems.

It is not the case that the situation seems to be not a problem. It is also not the case that the song advises people to accept and continue to live with the problem. Conversely, the situation is portrayed as a problem that needs to be solved. However, the solution offered here is deeply rooted within a Christian faith in which a fight against the problem has to be a spiritual one. That is to say it has to be fought through prayed, faith and endurance and that God the fighter will fight for the oppressed and solve their problems.

Let me note the gendered nature of this solution to the problem of *wajane* (widows) highlighted earlier. It is normally said that God is a husband of *wajane* (widows) and a father of orphans. The song by Rose Muhando (discussed in the next subsections) also explicitly declares this message. God a husband of widows! In order not to perceive this message as another "scandal" (that of deconstructing the wall between binary opposition of God and human beings), we need to grasp its metaphorical nature. The metaphor aims to portray God as a provider of needs to the needy. However, this interpretation raises two questions related to the politics of gendered space. First, if calling God a husband of widows is just a metaphor (which we believe it is, in so far as the wall between God and human beings in Christianity is still in place), why is God not portrayed as a wife of the husbands who lose their wives? Second, if calling God a father of orphans is just a metaphor, why is God not portrayed as a mother of orphans (or at least of those who lose their mothers)?

There are two possible explanations for the above questions. First, according to a Christian tradition, God is a male God and therefore it sounds like an insult calling Him a wife or a mother, just as is the case when one calls a woman a "man" or a man

a "woman". Secondly, and it is this that I want to insist upon in relation to this song, when men lose their wives, they do not experience problems like those experienced by wives who lose their husbands. The relatives of a wife do not grab properties from a husband who loses his wife. Hence, it is the wives who lose their husbands who need God as a husband, since "husband" in this context means someone with properties and a provider of family needs. Children who lose their parents need God who is a father, since "father" means someone with properties and a provider of family needs. In this context, they do not need God as a mother, since "mother" means someone who does not own properties or who is dispossessed of her belongings.

This discussion aims at revealing that beneath the surface layer of these metaphors (God, a husband of widows and God, a father of orphans) there is a gendered social space or context from which the metaphors take their reference. A metaphor is a mental space that, on the one hand reveals a lived space or experience and on the other hand, it informs or challenges the lived space.

6.3.3 Rose Muhando: *Nipe Uvumilivu* (Give Me Endurance)

Another song that deals with women's experiences in a gendered space is *Nipe Uvumilivu* (Give Me Endurance) by Rose Muhando. Recalling her statement during an interview with a newspaper reporter, "in that second song, *Bwana Nipe Uvumilivu* (Lord Give Me Endurance), I really sang my own life", I find that it is important to read this song along with the story about her life which she narrated during the previosly mentioned interview. The first part of this interview was published in *Nyakati* of February 6–12, 2005 and the second part was published in the same

318

newspaper a week later (February 13–19, 2005). The song is now in her album *Uwe Macho*. The album was first released as an audio cassette and CD. Later, the video cassette of this album was also released. For this reason, the discussion of this song integrates three narratives of Muhando's life history, that is, the story told through the lyrics of the song, the story told through a video presentation of this song and the story told through a newspaper interview. It should be noted here that in all these three cases, the story is mediated by the techniques, aesthetics and conventions of the medium in which it is told. However, it is also interesting to read how Muhando interacts with these media (with their powers, techniques, aesthetics and conventions) to tell her story. In addition, this reading is also another layer of the mediation that is fashioned by academic conventions and my own manner of analysis and writing. Therefore, the reader should take into consideration all these factors.

The lyrics of the song and my English translation are as follows:

Original Version in Kiswahili	English Translation
Stanza 1:	**Stanza 1:**
Nimekukimbilia wewe Bwana mwamba wangu na ngome yangu.	I have taken refuge in (run to) you Lord my rock and my fortress.
Nakuinulia macho yangu.	I lift up my eyes to you.
Baba Mungu naja kwako.	God, Father I come to you
Nainua mikono yangu juu.	I lift up my hands.
Nahitaji msaada wako.	I need your help.
Magonjwa mengi yamenitesa.	Many diseases have tormented me.
Yesu nipe uvumilivu.	Jesus, give me endurance.
Dhiki nyingi zimenisonga.	I am overwhelmed by sufferings.
Baba nipe uvumilivu.	Father, give endurance.
Watoto wangu wanahangaika.	My children are in troubles.
Yesu nipe uvumilivu.	Jesus, give me endurance.
Walonizalisha wamenikimbia.	The fathers of my children have run away from me.
Baba nipe uvumilivu.	Father, give endurance.
Maisha yangu yamo mashakani.	My life is uncertain.
Baba nipe uvumilivu.	Father, give endurance.

Chorus:
Baba Baba,
Mungu nipe uvumilivu.
Baba Baba oo,
Mungu nipe uvumilivu.
Bwana Bwana ii,
Yesu nipe uvumilivu.
Bwana Bwana,
Nipe uvumilivu.

Stanza 2:
Hata ndugu zangu wamenigeuka.
Nahitaji faraja yako.
Wamejitenga mbali nami.
Nasogea kitini pako.

Mbele yangu kuna kiza kubwa.
Ndiwe mwanga wa njia zangu.
Wewe ni Bwana mume wa
wajane.
Yesu nipe uvumilivu.
Tena wewe ni baba wa yatima.
Baba nipe uvumilivu.
Pia wewe ni Mungu wa maskini.
Yesu nipe uvumilivu.

Chorus:
Baba Baba,
Mungu nipe uvumilivu.
Baba Baba oo,
Mungu nipe uvumilivu.
Bwana Bwana ii,
Yesu nipe uvumilivu.
Bwana Bwana,
Nipe uvumilivu.

Stanza 3:
Adui zangu wamenizunguka.
Wanataka roho yangu.
Wamenitegea mitego mingi.
Wanawinda roho yangu.

Nafsi yangu inazimia.
Njoo hima. Nisaidie.

Chorus:
Baba Baba,
Mungu nipe uvumilivu.

Chorus:
Father, Father,
God, give me endurance.
Father, Father,
God, give me endurance.
Lord, Lord,
Jesus, give me endurance.
Lord, Lord,
Give me endurance.

Stanza 2:
Even my relatives have turned away from me.
I need your comfort.
They have distanced themselves from me.
I come nearer to you (to your chair).

There is a deep darkness ahead of me.
You are the light of my ways.
Lord, you are a husband of widows.

Jesus, give me endurance.
Also you are a father of orphans.
Father, give me endurance.
And you are a God of the poor.
Jesus, give me endurance.

Chorus:
Father, Father,
God, give me endurance.
Father, Father,
God, give me endurance.
Lord, Lord,
Jesus, give me endurance.
Lord, Lord,
Give me endurance.

Stanza 3:
My enemies have surrounded me.
They want my soul.
They have set many traps.
They hunt my soul.

My soul freezes.
Come urgently. Help/rescue me.

Chorus:
Father, Father,
God, give me endurance.

Baba Baba oo,	Father, Father,
Mungu nipe uvumilivu.	God, give me endurance.
Bwana Bwana ii,	Lord, Lord,
Yesu nipe uvumilivu.	Jesus, give me endurance.
Bwana Bwana,	Lord, Lord,
Nipe uvumilivu.	Give me endurance.
Spoken words (spoken simultaneously with the singing of the above chorus):	**Spoken words** (spoken simultaneously with the singing of the above chorus):
Nakuhitaji Yehova Shalom	I need you Jehovah Shalom.
Mungu uliyaketi mahali pa juu.	God who dwells on high.
Wewe mume wa wajane.	You are a husband of widows.
Wewe ni Mungu wa yatima.	You are a God of orphans.
Wewe uliyeketi na maserafi na makerubi.	You who sits with the Cherubs and Seraphs [angles].
Wakati wa msaada wangu.	The time of my help.
Oo ndiwe mwanga wa njia zangu.	You are the light of my ways.
Oo unipendaye, ninakimbilia kwako.	You who love me, I take refuge in you/I run to you.
Oo tazama watoto wako Bwana.	Lord, Look at your children.
Unitazame hata mimi Yesu.	Look even at me Jesus.
Oo Yeee.	Oo Yee.
Oo nakupenda.	I love you.
Oo nakuhitaji.	I need you.
Oo mfalme wangu.	My King.
Oo haleluya.	Hallelujah.
Oo nakupenda Yesu.	I love you Jesus.
Oo ninakukimbilia Bwana.	I take refuge in you Lord/ I run to you Lord.
Unisitiri na adui zangu.	Protect/hide me from my enemies.
Wewe umekuwa ngome yangu siku zote za maisha yangu.	You are my fortress during all the days of my life.
Uliwavusha wana wa Israel bahari ya shamu.	You took the Israelites across the red sea.
Univushe nami katika jaribu langu.	Take me across my temptation.
Oo haleluya.	Haleluya.
Oo haleluya.	Haleluya.

A song by Rose Muhando available in her album *Uwe Macho* (my translation).

Fig. 6. 3 A Photograph of the Cover of *Uwe Macho* (an Album by Rose Muhando)

In the video, the song begins with a family conflict: a man (a husband) carries a stick and chases a woman (his wife) who carries a baby (maybe two years of age). He also chases away three other children who run away with the woman. The chasing is brutal, that is, the man pushes the woman who falls down with the baby. He lifts up the stick (almost beating her), which makes the woman stand up quickly and run away. During this introductory section there is no music background but there are other sounds. Perhaps they are a difference kind of music. We hear the sound of the woman falling on ground, the sounds of steps and some cries of the children. In addition, when the woman falls down and when the man pushes the children out of the house, we hear the voices of some people from a distance who shout sorrowfully, *oo jamani!* (my goodness!). The scene ends as the woman and the children disappear out of the frame and the man speaks angrily, *nendeni, toka* (an impolite way of telling someone to leave). Then the instrumental introduction begins (in the audio cassette

and CD this is the first part). During this section in the video we see the woman walking with four children on a path. They are carrying some loaded baskets with them.

When she starts to sing we see her sitting down outside a little hut with the four children (holding one in her arms and the others sitting close to her). She begins by addressing God saying that she has run to Him or taken refuge in Him since the Lord is her rock and her fortress. She sees God as the only help so she asks Him to help her. The reason for this need of help, as the opening scene in the video suggests, is that she has been passing through "*mapito*" (to use a term that a newspaper reporter uses in the same way as used in the previous song by Bahati Bukuku). She mentions a number of various tribulations that she and her children have been experiencing including diseases and *dhiki* (sufferings or distress) caused by the lack of basic needs after being neglected by the fathers of her children as well as the parents of these men. These *mapito* make her feel that her life has no bright future. As Muhando puts it, "there is deep darkness ahead of me".

In the newspaper interview she describes these experiences in more detail. She says that when she was a little girl of six years of age she began to experience pains in her head which had a swelling and some wounds. "It was as if I had two heads", she says. She also narrates how she was rejected and abandoned not only by the fathers of her children (when they found that she was pregnant) but also by the parents of these men. She says that two of those men were pastors' sons and the pastors did not want her pregnancies to scandalize their pastoral families. As she explains:

> Two of my children were fathered by pastors' sons. Unfortunately, both of them and their parents sacrificed (abandoned) me and threw me out like

rubbish in order to protect their children. That is why I ask God to give me endurance.... [T]hey sacrificed (rejected) me in order to protect the honour of their families (*Nyakati* of February 6–12, 2005 page 9, my translation).

Let me note the difficulty I faced in translating this passage. Rose Muhando uses a phrase "*walinitoa muhanga*" [sic]. In the above passage I have translated it as "they sacrificed me". I have also provided alternative translations as "they abandoned me" or "they rejected me" (perhaps this translation is influenced by the lyrics of the song in which she says that the fathers of her children ran away from her). However, I find these (alternative) translations inadequate to express the sentiments in her Kiswahili phrase "*walinitoa muhanga*". The term *mhanga,* used in its religious context, refers to a blood sacrifice in which an animal is slain particularly for a purification ritual. In Christianity, the death of Jesus at the cross and his blood is considered to be a sacrifice that purifies the sins of those who believe in Him. He suffered not for His sins but for the sins of other people so that they become saved. When used in the context of Muhando's narrative, it sounds as though by rejecting or abandoning her and the pregnancies, those fathers of her children and their parents sacrificed Rose Muhando. She was made a "sacrifice" to hide or protect the families of those pastors. For the honour of those families she was, to use her own words, "thrown out like rubbish". In short, while I am convinced that the phrase *walinitoa muhanga* is used metaphorically to mean "they rejected or abandoned me", I also see the sentiments that are not captured in this alternative translation ("they rejected or abandoned me"). The transference that takes place between these layers of metaphor loses some of the sentiments which I consider important in understanding the story of Rose Muhando, that is, being forced to suffer for other people's honour.

In this incident the interaction between religious space and gendered space seem to play a role in her suffering. According to Christian teachings being pregnant outside marriage is considered to be a sin. This is also the case with many traditional cultures in Tanzania. Rose Muhando states this in the interview. She says, "although I was a sinner for bearing children out of marriage because of being tempted and life hardships, those pastors sacrificed me..." (*Nyakati* February 6–12, 2005 page 9). Given this background, pregnancy outside this officially recognized system or institution (as marriage is normally referred to in Christian teachings), seems to be a social problem, a social deviation. In so far as being pregnant outside marriage seems to be a social deviation, often people would like to escape from it. When a girl becomes pregnant in this situation, a school would expel her, her parents would chase her away from home (telling her to go to the man who impregnated her), the man involved would also reject her (normally on the fear of shame and of the expenses of taking care of her), and in the church the terminology *amejitenga* (she has excluded herself) from the church is used. Although she may not be barred from attending Sunday services, normally the church authorities ensure that she does not share in Holy Communion. I am not aware of any incident of a pregnant girl (under these circumstances) before she delivers a child being allowed to repent and continue to share Holy Communion (as it is normally the case with other kinds of sins). In short, when a girl becomes pregnant outside marriage she becomes an outcast and is forced to live in the spaces of outcasts. Let me once again re-contextualize Foucault's terminology for a place of social deviants or outcasts. Foucault uses a terminology "heterotopias of deviation" to refer to places reserved for those individuals "whose behaviour is deviant with respect to the mean or the required norm". Foucault has in mind places like rest homes, psychiatric hospitals and prisons (1994: 180). These are

325

concrete physical spaces. Sometimes the girls I am discussing here are allowed to live in normal physical spaces (as it is the case with the church mentioned above) and sometimes even at home with their parents (as was the case with Rose Muhando). However, they continue to be treated as outcasts or deviants. For this reason, following Foucault, I would like to refer to these psychological, spiritual or mental spaces in which they are placed as "mental heterotopias of deviation". Therefore, I call "physical heterotopias of deviation" those places where they go to after being physically dislocated, for example, when a girl is forced to leave her school or church. This is also the case when she is forced to leave her home. These places in Tanzania normally include the houses of relatives or other people (good Samaritans) who may feel pity for the girl and decide to allow her to stay in their homes.

As I have pointed out above, Muhando asks God's help since she believes that only God is a rock, a fortress or a refuge, in short, a place where an outcast or a social deviant (in our case, a girl who becomes pregnant out of marriage) can run to without feeling that she is in mental or physical "heterotopias of deviation". So she asks God to give her endurance against all the distress she faces, she asks God to comfort her for the sorrows and pains she suffers, she asks God to be a light against a deep darkness ahead of her and she asks God to be an immediate saviour to rescue her when she is surrounded with enemies and when she faces temptations. In most parts of the song when she mentions a problem, then (in the sentence that follows) she mentions a need for God to be a solution of the problem mentioned (see stanzas 1and 2). Let me quote a few lines (my English translation) from the song to illustrate the point.

326

Even my relatives have *turned away* from me.
I need your comfort.
They have *distanced themselves* from me.
I come nearer to you (to your chair).
There is a *deep darkness* ahead of me.
You are the *light of my ways* (my emphasis).

The metaphor of light seems to play two functions in this song. First, as noted above, there is darkness ahead of her. This may be understood to mean the future, which seems to be uncertain due to the lack of financial security as well as social neglect or exclusion. God, the light, seems to be a provider of both financial security and spiritual refuge. I have argued above that this spiritual refuge transforms the experience of mental "heterotopias of deviation" into mental spaces where one feels at home. In other words, it accommodates and cares for those who have been "thrown out like rubbish", to borrow a phrase from Rose Muhando. Second, since she sings that God is the light of her ways, God the light seems to be a provider of guidance or directions in her life, that is, to guide her thinking and actions according His will.

In addition, God is believed to be a solution for the problems of diseases (and He is portrayed so in this song). In a newspaper interview Rose Muhando describes how she became healed from her serious disease at the age of nine which she had suffered for three years. By then she, like her parents, was a Muslim. She says that the healing was a miraculous one and that the miracle came from Jesus. Let me quote her reply to the reporter's question: *"Sasa Yesu alikuokoaje?"* (Now how did Jesus save you?).

> One day when I was sleeping something marvellous happened to me. A great light gleamed to the whole house in which we were living and everyone saw it. And we all, even my parents, heard a voice saying: *Bwana Yesu amekuhurumia* (Lord Jesus has granted mercy on you). After a little while we went back to sleep. In the morning I asked my mother about Jesus who had granted mercy on me but she didn't explain it adequately.

> Since that day on, the swelling was healing [on the head], the wounds were becoming better and after sometimes I discovered that I had been healed. But

the question that continued to disturb me was; who is this Jesus? I didn't know anything about Jesus.... One day when I was on my way and asking myself, that voice came again. I decided to find out the truth. So I went to the Anglican Church at Dumila [in Dodoma] and I explained this incident to the pastor. Then I was baptized and became a Christian.

When asked if her Muslim parents had any objection to her being baptized, she said:

My parents did not have any objection because they saw everything in my life and I believe that they knew about Jesus when I was healed but they were not ready to explain it to me, maybe because of their Islamic faith (Rose Muhando's interview *Nyakati* February 6–12, 2005 page 9, my translation).

Since God seems to be a solution of all problems, such as financial, social and health problems, He is portrayed in this song as a husband of widows, a father of orphans and a God of the poor. A comment has already been made in my analysis of the previous song, Bukuku's *Mapito* about the gendered nature of the first two metaphors. However two observations can be added in relation to this song and Muhando's story. First, Rose Muhando uses both metaphors in her prayer to ask for God's help, that is, during her *mapito* she considers herself to be both a widow and an orphan. Since she was abandoned (thrown out) by the parents of the fathers of her children she became like an orphan (without parents to take care of her). Since she was abandoned by the fathers of her children she became like a widow (without a husband to take care of her and the children). I evoke the gendered meaning of "husband" and "father" I discussed earlier; since "husband" and "father" are synonymous with the owner of properties and provider of daily needs, she needed God who is a "husband" and God who is a "father". She did not need a God who is a "mother". The reason is that in the gendered space which is expressed in a song, being a "mother" means being denied the right to property ownership and being chased out with a stick.

Secondly, I would like to note the interaction between various layers of gendered space in Muhando's narrative. The mental gendered space which is itself informed by religious teachings, cultural norms and sometimes even government laws, influences the lived gendered space, that is, the real experiences of gender such as marginalization, oppression, subjugation and lack of daily needs, among other experiences. Likewise, the mental gendered space sometimes causes people to be physically dislocated to "physical heterotopias of deviation". This dislocation is a lived space, that is, an experience of physical marginalization or exclusion. However, it should also be pointed out that, on the other hand, the mental space which is informed by religious teachings and other cultural moral values provides a refuge for marginalized persons. A belief in God, for example, leads "good Samaritans" to accommodate the pregnant girls who are thrown out. The belief in God's forgiveness makes one to feel that a return to normal religious space is possible no matter what sin one commits.

Finally, let me end this reading by returning to the issue I began with, that is, Rose Muhando's interaction with three kinds of media in telling this story about her life. While all the narratives are similar in many respects with regard to "stamps" in her time of *mapito*, one notices a few differences or contradictions. While in her newspaper story, she says she has three children and she mentions the names of all the three children, in the video she is seen to have four of them. Likewise, while in the video we see her in conflict with only one man who chases her and the children from the house (which leads us to think that the husband chases his wife), in the newspaper interview she says she had been abandoned by three men (the three fathers of her children) and that she was not been married (none of the three men became her

husband as the video may make us believe). However, as I have pointed out, these media (including individual directors or reporters) have their techniques, aesthetics and conventions with which she had to interact in order to tell her story. We may think of the need for an antagonist and a protagonist in movies and other dramatic works. For this reason, we should not be surprised to have one man as the antagonist of her, the hero. We may also think of the need to make the movie (video) dramatic. Hence the family conflict is made more bold by her "playing" the part of a wife and mother of four children. In short, while I am highlighting the influence of media in shaping her story and our reaction to it, I am also underscoring her creative interaction with these media (with all their powers, aesthetics and conventions, sometimes so rigid as to bend facts) to let her story out. Of course, it maybe the case that through these conventions her message acquires the sentimental and critical value which would not be attained by telling the story using plain facts.

6.4   CONCLUSION

I began this chapter by arguing that the prominence of women musicians in popular church music in Dar es Salaam was a recent phenomenon. Given the public nature of this music genre (performances during concerts, outdoor evangelistic meetings and church services as well as publicity of the music through audio and video cassettes, CDs and radio and television) this prominence of women musicians in the music seemed to oppose a number of views that associate women with nature, the private sphere and a lack of creativity as opposed to men who are associated with culture, the public sphere and creativity. I have argued that women's prominence in the music was therefore a transgression of gendered space. By focusing on Jennifer Mgendi's

narrative of her musical life history, I have discussed various factors that made this transgression possible such that she had been a successful independent musician of *Muziki wa Injili* for at least a decade (1995–2005). The factors range from personal enthusiasm, her exposure to a woman guitarist who was ready to teach her to play a guitar and her ability to finance her first album to the role of recording studios and mass media (radio and television).

Then I have focused on three selected songs by women musicians in Dar es Salaam which address women's experiences or the constructions of gender in various ways. I have shown that Mercy Nyagwaswa's *Mama* participates in deconstructing the nature/culture or private/public oppositions, in so far as the role of a woman in the songs (her mother) refuses to be bound to only one of the oppositional gendered spaces. In addition, the song values women's experiences such as pregnancy and childbearing as heroic acts and not signs of weakness as it has been claimed traditionally. Both Bahati Bukuku's *Mapito* and Rose Muhando's *Nipe Uvumilivu* address the experience of being a widow and family conflicts that are informed by the ideologies of men's superiority over women. These experiences become synonymous with women's tribulations and oppression. Using her own experiences Muhando adds to these the problem of pregnancy out of the marriage system, where pregnancy is considered to constitute social deviation and where being a social deviant forces one to live in mental or physical heterotopias of deviation or in both. In all these cases the singers see God to be the only solution. God, according to the songs, is able to amend any situation in which one finds herself or himself. He is able to transform the mental and physical heterotopias of deviation into normal spaces where one can live not as an outcast but as a normal person. Finally let me note that these themes and their

331

personal nature (about oneself or about one's own parents or mother in this case) were not commonly performed during church services. This was the case partly because most women musicians operated outide of organized church choirs, that is, by recording their own albums and attending concerts as independent musicians, and partly because most songs performed during church services had to conform to the yearly calendar of the church in which these issues hardly became topics for services.

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY AND AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

7.1 SUMMARY

One theme namely, changes in popular church music in Dar es Salaam since the 1980s through 2005 unites this work by running throughout the thesis. However, the work is divided into two major parts by two philosophical approaches, temporality and spatiality, which I employ to study the changes in this music throughout the time in question. Borrowing imagery from cinematography, I consider these philosophical stances as different "camera-angles" from which I take different photographs of the same object. While the first part focuses on changes in this music in relation to temporal change, the second part focuses on various changes in this music in relation to social spaces.

In the first part, I began by referring to Alexis Kagame and John Mbiti and argued that temporal change is experienced by human beings in relation to events or stamps which mark time and make the reckoning of it possible (Kagame 1977 and Mbiti 1969). In addition, the stamps influence musical change. Then I went on to examine four ways in which popular church music was related to temporal change. First, by discussing selected events in the history of Tanzania from 1980 to 2005, I argued that on the one hand these stamps played a role in shaping popular church music in terms of lyrics, structural organization, music's publicity through media and improvement

of sound quality as well as people's experiences of the music. These events include privatization and the liberalization of trade, the death of *Mwalimu* Julius K. Nyerere, the Tanzania Gospel Music Award Concert 2004 and the proliferation of computer, internet and telecommunication technology, On the other hand, the music had an influence on people's experiences of events such as the death *Mwalimu* Nyerere and on their attitudes toward the recent proliferation of computer and internet technology and its culture. Secondly, I discussed how the rhythmic ordering of time (i.e., the recurrence of days, weeks, seasons or years) shaped choirs' musical experiences in that choirs ordered their rehearsals and performances in relation to this rhythmically ordered time. In addition, some songs were composed or recomposed in relation to this rhythmic temporal ordering. In turn, the music also contributed to the shaping of people's experiences of temporal rhythm in so far as the music became part of the way in which time in general was ordered. Finally, I discussed how popular church music was related to the future of humanity, that is, in relation to ideas about life after death, the future of the music as communicated through educational means and the involvement of children in the music.

Thirdly, in chapter three I focused on the period of time encompassed by music-making processes which were both multistage and collaborative processes. Then I argued that various stages in the making of this music including conceiving basic music ideas, teaching and rehearsing, instrumentation and performances as well as various people involved in the creation of popular church music were stamps on the process of creating the music through which the music either acquired new musical elements or some of its elements were transformed or reorganized. The people involved in the process included independent musicians, choir teachers,

instrumentalists, singers, lead singers and studio sound engineers. Fourthly, toward the end of the chapter (chapter 3), I focused on the organization of musical materials in each musical work. I selected three major elements in this music including vocal organization, instrumentation and musical styles as well as dance movements and, considering these materials as events or stamps within a musical work, I discussed how each musical element imprints on a musical work and gives a musical work its individual identity and identity with other works which are organized in more or less similar ways.

In the second part of the thesis, I focused on changes in popular church music in relation to the dynamics of three social spaces including religious, national and gendered spaces. To the extent that the dynamics are historical (have been changing with temporal change) this part is characterized by an interaction between spatiality and temporality in spite of the fact that spatiality is my focal point. A social space is considered to have three layers including physical space (physical locations and physical structures) within which or through social relations are produced, negotiated or deconstructed; mental space (various ways of representation and communication) through which ideas about social relations are constructed or communicated as well as lived space which involves real experiences of individuals as they encounter the above two layers of social space, that is, physical and mental space.

I pointed out that religious space (in all its layers) has been changing in relation to temporal change and that the changes have been the basis for the dynamics in this space. The dynamics of religious space in relation to the changes in popular church music in Dar es Salaam involved a number of forces including musicians' practice,

criticisms from some church goers or church authorities as well as the defences from the musicians, fans and radio and television presenters. I argued that the changes in the music and other elements that constitute religious mental space led to changes in people's inner experiences of Christian spirituality since people experience spirituality through these "externals of religion", to borrow a phrase from Kwasi Wiredu 1992.

On national space, I pointed out that the thrust behind African nationalism is the need for the liberation of Africans from colonialisms, from neo-colonialism and from the present form of globalization. The liberation sought includes not only the liberation of physical spaces but more importantly the liberation of mental spaces, that is, creating among Africans a sense of belonging and cultivating self esteem and pride in their own cultures or, following Wiredu, deconstructing "colonial mentality" among Africans (1992). The practice of African nationalism in popular church music involves a number of strategies, including the use of traditional music materials and addressing various national issues in the lyrics of popular church music. By analysing three selected songs I discussed how the songs addressed some of these issues including national unity, peace, prosperity, pride in national reserves and landscapes and served as resistance to pervasive constructs that associate Africa or individuals in Africa with poverty or inferiority. These constructs include "poor people" and "the non-educated", at the level of the individual and "poor countries", "underdeveloped countries", "developing countries" and "third world", at the national or continental level. I pointed out that through the liberation of both physical and mental spaces the lived space of liberation is experienced. I also discussed the dynamics caused by the use of foreign music elements in this music. This practice seemed (at least to some

people) to be a manifestation of western hegemony over local music cultures. By examining a few selected examples I showed that, like the practice of using traditional music materials, this practice was characterized by the interaction between local and foreign aesthetics and individual musicians' creativity.

Finally, on gendered space, I pointed out that there has been an increased prominence of women musicians in popular church music in recent years. By focusing on Jennifer Mgendi's musical life history, I showed that the factors for this change range from personal enthusiasm, exposure to other women musicians and individual financial status to the role of recoding technology and mass media such as radio and television stations. Then I pointed out that the prominence of women musicians in this music had an influence on the increased focus on women's issues in the lyrics of popular church music. Through a close reading of the lyrics of three selected songs by women musicians (in some cases with their video presentations), I examined how the songs address issues of pregnancy and experiences related to childbearing which in the song by Mercy Nyagwaswa, for example, are portrayed as heroic acts. Other issues include the problems of being a widow, family conflicts and tribulations of the girls who become pregnant out of the marriage system. I argued that individual's experiences of these problems are greatly shaped by the gendered mental space which is informed by religious and other cultural norms.

7.2 AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Finally, let me conclude by focussing on the implications of this study for future work. To do this I mention four research areas or new research questions that this study has generated. First, given the temporal borders of this study (1980s–2005), it

338

would be useful to explore the changes in this music before 1980 and also in the future (after 2005). Second, given the limited number of choirs and independent musicians focused in this study we ask ourselves what has been happening among other musicians and choirs. Particularly pertinent here is a question; what has been the place of popular church music in the Roman Catholic (RC) and Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) churches, and to what extent have the recent changes in the country influenced popular church music or its use in these denominations? Third, given the geographical boundaries of this study (Dar es Salaam), we become curious to know about the changes in this music in other parts of Tanzania. This is particularly important because most choirs that recorded in the 1980s and the early 1990s were not from Dar es Salaam. Some of these choirs were the Ulyankuru and Nkinga Choirs from Tabora, the Tumaini Choir from Arusha and the Mwanza Town Choir from Mwanza. Fourth, since the discussion of the influence of foreign music in popular church music has been general in some sense, one may wish to explore the influence of the music from specific foreign countries (such as Congo or South Africa). Does the influence of music from different countries raise different dynamics concerning social spaces?

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352

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1. Bahati Bukuku. Interview conducted on September 27, 2004.

2. Geovin Festo and Danford Mbilinyi. Interview conducted on December 26, 2004.

3. Sebastian Henry. Interview conducted on December 4, 2004.

4. Nestory Ihano. Personal communication on December 21, 2004.

5. Harris Kapiga. Interview conducted on November 16, 2004.

6. Pastor Magafu. Interview conducted on November 3, 2004.

7. Julieth Masanja. Interview conducted on November 30, 2004.

8. Bakunde Mbilima. Interview conducted on October 8, 2004.

9. Danford Mbilinyi and Geovin Festo. Interview conducted on December 26, 2004.

10. Jennifer Mgendi. Interviews conducted on September 14 and 18, 2004.

11. Aliko Mwankenja. Personal communication on December 14, 2004.

12. Laban Mwasimba. Personal communication on December 5, 2004.

13. Mercy Nyagwaswa. Interview conducted on November 1, 2004.

14. Chediel Nyirenda. Personal communication on January 1, 2005.

15. Mr. Ombeni. Interview conducted on November 8, 2004.

16. Dr. Remmy Ongala. Interview conducted on October 25, 2004.

17. Archbold Tesha. Interview conducted on December 22, 2004.

Discography and Videography

The audio and video recordings cited in this work are listed below and arranged according to the independent musician, group or choir. The dates when these recordings were made are not written on the covers of most cassettes, though all of them were recorded after 1980. While some of them are distributed by the musicians or choirs themselves others are distributed by music agents named.

A. Independent Musicians:

1. Bahati Bukuku.

   Audio:
   - Yashinde Mapito (Vol. 1). Distributed by GMC Wasanii Promoters Ltd.

   Video:
   - Yashinde Mapito (Vol. 1). Distributed by GMC Wasanii Promoters Ltd.

2. Beatrice Muhone
   Audio:
   - Ingoje Ahadi: Nyimbo za Kuabudu Tenzi za Rohoni. Distributed by GMC Wasanii Promoters Ltd.

3. Cosmas Chidumule.

   Audio:
   - Yesu ni Bwana. Distributed by F.M Music Bank.

- Kimbilia Kwa Yesu. Distributed by F.M Music Bank.

4. Ency Mwalukasa
   Audio:
   - Iko Gharama: Featuring Hit Song Tanzania Njoo (Vol. 3).

5. Fanuel Sedekia & ETM (Evangelism Through Music).

   Audio:
   - Unaweza. 1998. Distributed by Radio Habari Maalum (RHM).
   - Uwepo Wako Umenifunika. Distributed by MBC Hot Media Production.

6. Flora E. Mbasha.

   Audio:
   - Jipe Moyo: Utashinda. Distributed by GMC Wasanii Promoters Ltd.

7. Jennifer Mgendi.

   Audio:
   - Nini? (Vol. 1).
   - Ukarimu Wake (Vol. 2). Distributed by Global Sounds, Mamu stores and Congo Corridor Stores (GMC).
   - Nikiona Fahari (Vol. 3). Distributed by Global Sounds, Mamu stores and Congo Corridor Stores (GMC).
   - Yesu Nakupenda (Vol. 4). Distributed by Global Sounds, Mamu stores and Congo Corridor Stores (GMC).

   Video:
   - The Best of Jennifer Mgendi. Distributed by Global Sounds, Mamu stores and Congo Corridor Stores (GMC).
   - Chombo cha Sifa. Distributed by Global Sounds, Mamu stores and Congo Corridor Stores (GMC).

8. Mercy Nyagwaswa.

   Audio:
   - Mbingu Zahubiri

9. Dr. Remmy Ongala and Modest Mogan.

   Audio:
   - Kwa Yesu Kuna Furaha. Distributed by GMC Wasanii Promoters Ltd.

10. Rose Muhando.
    Audio:

- Uwe Macho. Distributed by GMC Wasanii Promoters Ltd.

Video:
- Uwe Macho. Distributed by GMC Wasanii Promoters Ltd.

11. Wema Chamshama.

Audio:
- Tumaini Langu (Vol. 1).

B. Choirs and Groups:

1. A.I.C. (African Inland church) Dar es Salaam Choir.

Audio:
- Basi Kwakuwa (Aturukuye). Distributed by F.M Music Bank.

2. Kinondoni Revival Choir.

Audio:
- Twaililia Tanzania (Vol. 1). Distributed by GMC Wasanii Promoters Ltd.
- Ayubu Part II (Vol. 2). Distributed by GMC Wasanii Promoters Ltd.
- Wrong Number Shetani : Mimi nina Dini Iliyo Safi (Vol.3). Distributed by GMC Wasanii Promoters Ltd.
- Ndugu Yetu Tunakutafuta: Kwa nini Unataka Kujiua? (Vol.4). Distributed by GMC Wasanii Promoters Ltd.
- Vumilia Kidogo Samweli Atazaliwa (Vol. 5). Distributed by GMC Wasanii Promoters Ltd.
- Maombi ya Yabesi (vol.6). Distributed by GMC Wasanii Promoters Ltd.

Video:
- Kwa nini unataka Kujiua?
- Vumilia Kidogo Samweli Atazaliwa (Vol.2). Distributed by GMC Wasanii Promoters Ltd.
- Maombi ya Yabesi. Distributed by GMC Wasanii Promoters Ltd.

3. Kijitonyama Upendo Group.

Audio:
- Usicheza na Shetani. Distributed by GMC Wasanii Promoters Ltd.
- Haleluya Tunaimba. Distributed by GMC Wasanii Promoters Ltd.

4. *Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Kijitonyama* (Kijitonyama Evangelical Choir).

Audio:

- Kilio Tanzania. Distributed by Global Sounds, Mamu stores and Congo Corridor Stores (GMC).
- Dhambi ni Dhambi. Distributed by Global Sounds, Mamu stores and Congo Corridor Stores (GMC).
- Twakaribia Kanaani. Distributed by Global Sounds, Mamu stores and Congo Corridor Stores (GMC).
- Twaokolewa kwa Neema. Distributed by GMC Wasanii Promoters Ltd.

Video:
- Hakuna Mungu Kama Wewe. Distributed by GMC Wasanii Promoters Ltd.

5. *Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Sayuni* (Sayuni Evangeliucal Choir).

Audio:
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6. *Kwaya ya Umoja wa Vijana Mabibo* Lutheran Church (Mabibo Youth Choir of the Lutheran Church).

Audio:
- Sauti Ikatoka (Vol.1). Distributed by GMC Wasanii Promoters Ltd.
- Yerusalem (Vol.6). Distributed by GMC Wasanii Promoters Ltd.

7. (Mapigano) Ulyankuru Kwaya.

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- Fahari ya Vijana ni Nguvu Zao. 1992. Distributed by Radio Habari Maalum (RHM).
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8. Nkinga (Christian) Choir.

Audio:
- Mpende Mungu Wako. 1987. Distributed by Radio Habari Maalum (RHM).

9. Mtoni Evangelical Choir Dar es Salaam.

Audio:
- Lulu: Yesu Nipeleke. Distributed by F.K Mitha & Sons, Hings Brothers and Wananchi Stores (F.K.W).

Video:
- Lulu: Yesu Nipeleke (Video Collection). Distributed by F.K Mitha & Sons, Hings Brothers and Wananchi Stores (F.K.W).

10. Saint. Mary's Choir (Chimuli Anglican Church Dodoma).

Audio:
- Kitimutimu. Distributed by GMC Wasanii Promoters Ltd.

11. The Patmos (Rejoice Music).

Audio:
- Amekamilika

12. Tumaini Choir St. James Arusha.

Audio:
- Shangilieni. 1992. Distributed by Radio Habari Maalum (RHM).
- Usinipite. 2000. Distributed by Radio Habari Maalum (RHM).