UNIVERSITÄT BAYREUTH

The Struggle for Space: Youth Participation in 'Ngoma' groups in Globalizing Tanzania

Dissertation

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STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

This is to certify that to the best of my knowledge, this work is entirely my own original work. It has been written by myself and has never been submitted for higher degree in other institutions.

Information used from published and unpublished works has been acknowledged in the thesis and references are clearly provided in the list of references.

Signature

Date   12th December, 2015

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG DER STUDIE

Diese Studie stellt den Versuch da, die Frage zu beantworten, wie junge Menschen ngoma nutzen, um ihren Platz in der Gesellschaft zu finden, basierend auf der Hauptthese, dass ihnen der Zugang zur Gesellschaft verwehrt bleibt. Daher benutzen die Jugendlichen *ngoma*[1], um einen alternativen Raum für sich zu finden. Um diese Frage zu beantworten, verwendet diese Studie Felddaten, die zwischen Juli 2011 und Januar 2014 von jungen Menschen in ngoma-Gruppen, im ngoma-Publikum, von Lehrern und Theaterangehörigen aus Iringa und Dar es Salaam erhoben wurden. Zur Datenerhebung wurden folgende Methoden gewählt: Fokusgruppendiskussionen (FGD), teilnehmende Beobachtung (PPR), Fragebögen, dokumentarische Analyse und Interviews mit Schlüsselinformanten (KII). Außerdem werden die Konzepte der Globalisierung, des Geschlechts, der Authentizität, Hybridität, des Raums in der Gesellschaft und der Teilnahme an ihr verwendet, um die Ergebnisse dieser Studie zu entschlüsseln.

Der entscheidende Punkt dieser Doktorarbeit ist, wie junge Menschen in der vorliegenden Studie dargestellt werden. Viele der bisher durchgeführten Studien beschreiben Jugendliche negativ, als Opfer, stur, gewalttätig, Straftäter und Symptome, die einer staatlichen „Behandlung" bedürfen (Tienda and Wilson 2002: 8). Noch schlimmer ist, dass ihre unbedeutende soziale, ökonomische, politische und kulturelle Stellung, die sie dazu treibt sich so zu verhalten, häufig nicht erwähnt wird. In dieser Arbeit ist daher ein ganzes Kapitel der Aufklärung des Dilemmas dieser jungen Menschen gewidmet, welches diese auf allen Ebenen ihres Alltags erleben. Zu diesem Zweck wird zu Beginn dieser Arbeit Literatur über die Jugend in Tansania aus verschiedenen Quellen untersucht. Die Informationen aus der Literatur werden dann zu einem Gesamtbild zusammengesetzt, das alle Aspekte ihres Lebens darstellt. In Bezug auf die Politik argumentiert diese Arbeit durch die Literaturanalyse, dass tansanischen Jugendlichen ihr Platz in der Politik verweigert wird. Seit der Unabhängigkeit werden die meisten politischen Ämter noch immer von den *wazee* (ältere Generation) besetzt, wohingegen die wenigen Ämter, die für die Jugend übrigbleiben, ständig von den *watoto wa vigogo* (Kinder der führenden Schicht) besetzt werden. Infolgedessen werden ihre Stimmen weder gehört, noch bei der politischen Planung berücksichtigt. Jegliche Entscheidungen, die ihr Leben direkt betreffen, werden daher oft ohne ihren Beitrag getroffen.

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[1] Ngoma ist ein Suaheli Ausdruck. In dieser Studie wird er verwendet, um einen Tansanier Tanz oder eine Tanzaufführung zu beschreiben.

Die Studie zeigt den benachteiligten finanziellen Status der Jugend auf. Durch die in der Literatur gesammelten Informationen werden die Verletzlichkeit und Hoffnungslosigkeit der tansanischen Jugend in der nationalen Wirtschaft verdeutlicht.

Kulturell betrachtet liefert die Studie Nachweise dafür, wie junge Menschen als Missetäter und Straftäter an der nationalen Kultur behandelt werden, die diese eher zerstören als formen wollen. Aus diesem Grund besteht diese Studie auf eine Änderung der Einstellung gegenüber den Jugendlichen, von einer pessimistischen Sichtweise, in der sie als Bedrohung für die kulturelle Entwicklung betrachtet werden, zu einer positiveren Sicht, in der sie aktive Mittler und Botschafter für ihre Kultur sind. Ihre Kreativität sollte als Erneuerung der Kultur von innen heraus betrachtet werden und ihr Zweck ist es, die Kultur so anzupassen, dass sie ihre sich verändernde Realität widerspiegelt (Bayat and Konig 2005: 60).

Betrachtet man die Ergebnisse, kommt die Studie zu ähnlichen Ergebnissen wie die oben erwähnte Literatur. Die Ergebnisse zeigen deutlich, dass tansanischen Jugendlichen ihr Platz in der Gesellschaft verwehrt wird und sie daher *ngoma* als Ausweg in einen alternativen Raum nutzen. Als politisches Instrument scheint ngoma von der Jugend verwendet zu werden, um Heuchler und korrupte Politiker herauszufordern, die gewählt wurden, um für das Wohl des Landes zu arbeiten, ihre Position aber nutzen, um ihre Gier zu befriedigen. Neben dem Kampf gegen Korruption, scheint ngoma von den Jugendlichen genutzt zu werden, um ihre Bürgerrechte zurückzufordern. Die Jugendlichen fordern nicht nur ihre eigenen Recht ein, sondern auch die von denjenigen, die nicht für sich selber sprechen können, wie Kinder, *wazee* (alte Männer und Frauen), Strafgefangene und Schwangere. Bellino (2014: 4) zeigt auf, dass egal wie kompliziert dies auch sein mag, die Jugendlichen durch ihre Teilhabe an der Politik das Gefühl haben, wieder Kontrolle über ihr Leben zu erlangen.

Die jungen Menschen stehen keineswegs in Opposition zur Regierung. In dieser Studie wird aufgezeigt, dass Jugendliche die Regierung manchmal sogar unterstützen, vor allem wenn es um Themen geht, die ihr eigenes Leben oder das Leben aller betreffen. Die Entwicklungspolitik, die jungen Menschen als unterstützend erscheint, umfasst Themen wie Umwelt, Gesundheit und Bildung und ähnliches.

Ein weiterer Punkt, der in dieser Untersuchung behandelt wird, ist, dass junge Menschen ngoma als sozialen Raum nutzen, in dem sie ihr Privatleben teilen können, was ansonsten schwierig wäre. Jansen (2010: 10) enthüllt: „Tansania ist eine patriarchische Gesellschaft, die Jugendlichen keinen Raum bietet, ihr Privatleben mit ihren Eltern zu besprechen." Die Studie

zeit offenkundig, wie junge Menschen ngoma nutzen, um diesen Zweck zu erfüllen. Angelegenheiten wie neue und zerbrochene Beziehungen sowie Gesundheitsangelegenheiten, einschließlich Schwangerschaften, werden in den ngoma-Gruppen geteilt. So besteht die Hoffnung, dass mögliche Lösungen gefunden werden können. Ein Beispiel ist Subira, die zu dem Zeitpunkt, als diese Studie durchgeführt wurde, ein drei Monate altes Baby hatte. Sie gab an, dass ihre Freunde aus der ngoma-Gruppe die ersten waren, denen sie von ihrem Zustand erzählte. Nachdem sie darüber Bescheid wussten, unterstützten ihre Freunde sie auf jede ihnen mögliche Art und Weise. Sie gab weiterhin an, dass ihre Freunde sie sozial und emotional stark unterstützten und dass sie ohne diesen Rückhalt sehr gelitten hätte. An dieser Stelle wird in der Studie erörtert, dass die ngoma-Gruppen als 'eigener Raum für Jugendliche' entstanden sind, in dem sie ihr Privatleben besprechen können, wobei jedoch noch mehr daran getan werden muss. Die Studie deckte auf, dass manche der von den Jugendlichen besprochenen Themen so heikel sind, dass sie ein Eingreifen der Eltern erfordern.

Ein weiteres in dieser Arbeit behandeltes Thema ist ein Porträt junger Menschen als Individuen, die ihre Eigeninitiative nutzen, um wieder Zugang zu dem wirtschaftlichen Raum zu bekommen, der ihnen verwehrt wurde. Die Studie zeigt auf, wie junge Menschen ngoma nutzen, um Finanzkraft zu Erlangen und wie diese ihnen wiederum hilft, ihre Lebensträume und –ziele zu erfüllen. Mzuri hatte zum Beispiel den Traum zu heiraten und eine Familie zu gründen. Diesen Traum konnte er sich durch sein Engagement in der ngoma-Gruppe erfüllen. Der Selbsthilfeplan, der *Vikoba* genannt wird, und wie er den Jugendlichen hilft ihre Finanzkraft zurückzuerlangen, wird ebenfalls in dieser Studie erläutert. Nebenbei zeigt die Studie, wie junge Menschen ngoma in Zeiten von sozialem und wirtschaftlichem Abschwung als eine Art Schutzraum nutzen.

Eine neue Erkenntnis in dieser Studie betrifft die Kultur, genauer gesagt, die Art wie Jugendliche als aktive Teilnehmer und Urheber der nationalen Kultur dargestellt werden. Die Studie zeigt wie junge Menschen die ngoma-Gruppen nutzen, um ngoma-Auftritte neu zu erfinden, was ihnen wiederum dabei hilft, einzigartige Identitäten zu formen, sich diese zu eigen zu machen und damit Kontrolle über ihre Kultur zu übernehmen. Durch die aktive Teilnahme an der Gestaltung der Kultur, ändern sie stetig ihren passiven Status als reine Empfänger der Erwachsenenkultur zu aktiv Handelnden und Urhebern ihrer eigenen Kultur. Jugendliche aus Lumumba, die die Art durch die Nase zu pfeifen neu erfunden haben, beanspruchen die Rechte für diese Art zu pfeifen für sich, da sie ihre Erfindung ist. Da ngoma

ermöglicht, die Rechte daran für sich zu beanspruchen, kann es am besten als eine Plattform beschrieben werden, die die Möglichkeit zur Umverteilung der Macht von den Erwachsenen zu den Jugendlichen schafft.

Obwohl ngoma als Lösung für den Raum erscheint, der den Jugendlichen verwehrt wird, bringt die Studie einige Veränderungen ans Licht, denen sich die jungen Menschen gegenübersehen, wenn sie durch ngoma ihren Raum einfordern. Die Studie betont, wie die Dynamik des niedrigen Status eines Tänzers, der Problemstellungen für Spender, der Theaterinfrastruktur, der unpolitischen Stellungnahmen, der Einnahme von Rauschmitteln, der Teilnahme beider Geschlechter, des Dilemmas der englischen Sprache, der Bildungsstruktur, der abnehmenden sozialen Ereignisse und der Medienexplosion, die Jugend in ihrem Streben herausfordert. In der Studie wird argumentiert, dass der niedrige Status eines Tänzers daher rührt, dass die Ansicht verbreitet ist, dass jeder den Tanz meistern kann, im Gegensatz beispielsweise zum Ingenieurswesen oder der Pflege. Es wird als normal angesehen ein Tänzer zu sein, daher ist es auch nichts Besonderes.

Die Spender sind ein weiteres in dieser Studie behandeltes Thema. Sie spielen vor allem eine wichtige Rolle, wo Jugendliche unter dem Schirm einer Nichtregierungsorganisation ihre Gruppen organisieren. In der Studie wird der Druck der Spender auf die jungen Tänzer unterstrichen und wie dies sie bei ihrem Streben nach Raum beeinflusst. Ein weiterer Problempunkt ist der Mangel an Theatern und Übungsräumen. Die Studie zeigt auf, wie Theaterräumlichkeiten im Besitz der Regierung in Bars und Lokale umgewandelt werden, während die Mikole-Bäume, die für rituelle Tänze gebraucht werden, den Investoren geschenkt werden. Nebenbei behandelt die Studie auch das Proszeniumtheater, welches von Präsident Kikwete erbaut wurde, als er sein Versprechen erfüllte, tausende von Arbeitsplätzen für junge Menschen zu schaffen – doch die Preise sind für Jugendliche unerschwinglich. In der Folge wird das Proszenium von der Jungend nicht länger genutzt. Stattdessen wird es von denjenigen genutzt, die es sich leisten können, die Gebühren zu zahlen. Diese gehören meist der älteren Generation an, einschließlich Politikern und einflussreichen Persönlichkeiten. Während die Politiker das Proszenium für ihre Treffen nutzen, veranstalten die Einflussreichen hier ihre Hochzeiten, Partys und ähnliches.

Auch die Teilnahme beider Geschlechter stellt ein Problem dar, das in der Studie behandelt wird. In der Untersuchung wurde aufgedeckt, dass ngoma bei weiblichen Tänzern als Befürwortung sexueller Promiskuität angesehen wird und bei männlichen Tänzern als

Frauenberuf und als Metapher für Homosexualität. Alle diese Punkte hindern junge Menschen daran, durch ngoma Zugang zum Markt zu erlangen. Auf der gleichen Ebene steht die Einnahme von Rauschmitteln wie Bier und Marihuana – ebenfalls ein in dieser Studie behandeltes Thema. Mithilfe der PPR-Methode zur Datensammlung wurde offensichtlich, dass manche der Jugendlichen Rauschmittel anwenden, um unzureichende Proben oder Lampenfieber auszugleichen. Junge Menschen, die dieses Verhalten ablehnten, schrieben es dem mangelnden Ernst ihrer Kameraden zu. Es geschieht auch, weil die Jugend es versäumt hat, zwischen Arbeit und Freizeit zu trennen.

Eine weitere wichtige Erkenntnis dieser Studie ist der globale Einfluss in Tansania auf die ngoma-Aufführungen von jungen Menschen. In der Studie werden die globalen Einflüsse auf Musikinstrumente, ngoma-Bewegungen und –Lieder, die Kleidung, das Makeup, Requisiten und die Organisation der Gruppen untersucht. Es ist eine verbreitete Beobachtung, dass verschiedene Kulturen durch die Globalisierung miteinander in Kontakt gekommen sind. Die Dynamik der Medien, Migration und aufgezeichneter Musik ermöglicht es, dass eine Kultur vom einen Ende der Welt eine Kultur am anderen Ende beeinflusst. Trotzdem scheint die Art, wie die Kulturen sich gegenseitig beeinflussen asymmetrisch zu sein. Es gibt einen deutlichen Trend, der zeigt, dass Kulturen des globalen Nordens die des globalen Südens beeinflussen. In einem Land wie Tansania entsteht ein Ungleichgewicht dieser Beeinflussung dadurch, dass nur 20 Prozent der Fernsehinhalte in Tansania selbst produziert werden, die restlichen 80 Prozent werden von länderübergreifenden Fernsehstationen wie CNN, BBC, Deutsche Welle produziert, um nur ein paar zu nennen (Ekiström 2010: 168). Da es stark von internationalen Fernsehstationen abhängt, ist Tansania eher zu einem passiven Empfänger als zu einem aktiven Gestalter der Weltkultur geworden. Dies wurde durch die Abnahme von sozialen Ereignissen wie Beerdigungen, Hochzeiten und Initiationszeremonien noch verschlimmert, die früher als primäre Quelle für ngoma-Inspiration dienten.

Diese Arbeit leistet einen bedeutenden Beitrag zur Würdigung des ngoma als einen eigenen Jugendort, der ihnen hilft den Zugang zu dem zuvor verweigerten Raum zurückzuerlangen. Angesichts der Tatsache, dass junge Menschen in dieser Arbeit als kreative Akteure und Helden dargestellt werden, die nach Alternativen suchen, ohne den Frieden zu zerstören, kann sie dabei helfen, die Art wie Jugendliche wahrgenommen werden – bisher als Unruhestifter und Straftäter – dahingehend zu ändern, dass sie talentierte und innovative Individuen sind, die die Möglichkeit brauchen, ihr Potential zu beweisen. Indem den jungen Menschen ihr

Platz zugestanden wird, wird Tansania hoffentlich von seinem demografischen Bonus profitieren – wie asiatische Länder dies von ihren Jugendbewegungen haben.

SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

This study is an attempt to answer the question how young people use ngoma to gain access to space based on the main argument that they are denied access. Consequently, youth use *ngoma*[2] to search for alternative space. Striving to achieve this, the study uses field data collected between July 2011 and January 2014 from young people in ngoma groups, audiences, teachers and theatre professionals from both Iringa and Dar es Salaam. Focus group discussions (FGD), participant performing researcher (PPR), questionnaires, documentary review and key informants interviews (KII) were the methods chosen for collecting data. Moreover, the concepts of globalization, gender, authenticity, hybridity, space and participation are used to unpack the findings of this study.

What is significant in this thesis is how young people are portrayed in this study. Many of the previous studies carried out on youth present youth negatively as victims, stubborn, violent, perpetrators and pathologies who require state intervention (Tienda and Wilson2002: 8). Worse still, their trivial position socially, economically, politically and culturally, which cause them to behave the way they do is often unmentioned. This is why this study devotes one of its chapters to bringing to light the predicament young people encounter in all dimensions of their lives. To accomplish this, the study begins by exploring literature from diverse sources about youth in Tanzania. Information from the literature is then put together to give a wider picture of youth in all dimensions of their lives. As for politics, from the literature the study argues that Tanzanian youth are denied access to political space. Since independence most of the political positions are still in the hands of *wazee* (older people) whereas the little amount of space left for the youth is constantly occupied by *watoto wa vigogo* (children of big-shots). As result, youths' voices are neither heard nor incorporated in the national agenda. All decisions about matters which affect their lives are often made without their input.

Economically, the study reveals the deprived state of youth financially. From the literature gathered about youth, the vulnerability and hopelessness of Tanzanian youth in the national economy is made clear.

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[22] Ngoma is a Kiswahili term. In this study it is used to refer to Tanzanian dance performance. In-depth discussion of what ngoma is will be found in chapter 1 of this thesis

In cultural terms, the study shows how young people are thought of as transgressors of national culture, whose intention is more about corrupting culture rather than constructing it. Scholars like Bayat and Konig (2005: 60) insist on a change of attitude from viewing young people pessimistically as a threat to the development of culture to viewing them as active agents and ambassadors of their culture. Their creativity should be regarded as renewing culture from within and its purpose is to modify culture to suit their changing realities rather than demolishing it.

Turning attention to the findings, the study has demonstrated almost similar results to those explored in the literature above. The findings have shown that Tanzanian youth are denied space, and so they use *ngoma* as a gateway for alternative space. As a political pursuit, ngoma seems to be used by youth to challenge hypocrites and corrupt leaders, who have been elected to work for the country's good, but because of their greed they use their positions to indulge in corruption. Apart from using ngoma to fight corruption, young people appear to use ngoma to reclaim for their rights as citizens who entitled to all civil liberties. Not only do youth reclaim their own rights, but also the rights of those who cannot speak for themselves such as children, *wazee* (old men and women), prisoners and pregnant women. Bellino (2014: 4) reveals that no matter how tricky the participation is, taking part in politics makes youth feel that they have regained a sense of control over their lives.

Young people are not always opposed to the government, as the study noted that they are sometimes supportive, especially regarding issues they consider make sense of their lives and the lives of many. The developmental policies young people appeared to support ranged from those aimed at the environment and health, to education and the like.

Another issue appearing in this study is that of young people using ngoma as social space through which they share their private lives which would be difficult to do otherwise. Jansen (2010: 10) reveals "Tanzania is a patriarchal society which does not offer room for young people to discuss their private lives with parents." The study shows how young people use ngoma to serve this end. Matters like new and broken relationships and dilemmas relating to their health, including pregnancies, are all shared in ngoma groups. Hopefully, possible solutions are found. Subira, for example, who at the time this study was carried out had a three-month-old baby, claimed the first people to share her condition with were friends from the ngoma group. Being aware of her condition, these friends gave her whatever support was within their reach. She added that these friends gave her a great deal of social and emotional

affection without which she would have suffered a lot. At this point the study argues that although ngoma groups have emerged as 'youth's own space' through which they engage in discussion about their private lives, something more has to be done about this. The study revealed that some of the issues young people share with friends in groups are so sensitive that they require parents' intervention.

A portrait of young people as individuals who use their initiative to regain access to denied economic space is another matter covered by this thesis. The study shows how young people use ngoma to gain financial power, which in turn helps them to fulfil their dreams and goals. For instance, Mzuri's dream was to marry and establish his own family, and this came true through his commitment to the ngoma group. The self-help scheme known as *Vikoba* is also elucidated by this study and how it enables youth to regain financial control. In addition, the study shows how young people use ngoma in times of social and economic downturns.

As for culture, what is new in this study is the way in which youth are displayed as active participants in and producers of national culture. The study demonstrates how young people use ngoma groups to reinvent ngoma performances which later assist them in establishing unique identities and furnishing them with ownership and control of their culture. Forging space in the production of culture, youth steadily transform their status from being passive receptors of adults' culture into active agents and owners of society's culture. Lumumba youth, who reinvented the style of blowing a whistle through their nostrils, claimed ownership of the style, for they alleged it was reinvented by them. Being able to claim ownership, ngoma can best be described as a platform that offers the possibility of redistributing power from adults to the youth.

Despite ngoma emerging as a solution to young people denied space, the study brings to light several challenges young people often come across as they foray for space via ngoma. The study underscores that the low status of a dancer, donors' challenges, theatrical infrastructure, apolitical stance, the use of intoxicating substances, gendered participation, dilemma of the English language, educational structure, diminished number of social events and the explosion of the media are the things that challenge youth in their endeavour for space. The study argues that the low status of a dancer, as mentioned above, is due to the myth that dancing is a career that can be pursued by anyone, unlike nursing or engineering. Being a dancer is perceived as normal, and so there is nothing special about being a dancer.

Donors are one of the matters raised in this study. This is particularly the case of youth whose groups operate under the umbrella of NGOs. The study underscores the pressure from donors and how it impacts young dancers' venture for space. The lack of theatres and halls for rehearsing in is another concern of this study, which shows how theatres owned by the government are turned into bars, whereas Mikole trees used for ritual dances are given to investors. Alongside this, the study reveals that to hire the proscenium theatre, which was built by president Kikwete to fulfil his promise of creating thousands of jobs for the youth, is unaffordable. Accordingly, it is hardly used by the youth, but is used by those who can afford to pay the charges, most of whom are older people, including government officials and affluent individuals. Government officials use it for their meetings, while the affluent use it for weddings, parties and the like.

Gendered participation is another issue raised in this study. The study reveals that while female dancers taking part in ngoma is regarded as advocating sexual promiscuity, to male dancers, ngoma is viewed as a woman's career and a metaphor for homosexuality, all of which deter young people from taking part in ngoma. In line with this, the use of intoxicating substances is another issue the study came across. Through PPR it became obvious that some of the youth use intoxicating substances to combat the plight of inadequate rehearsals and performance anxiety. Young people, who were against their fellows' behaviour of using intoxicating substances in ngoma performances, equated it with their lack of seriousness, because some youth fail to make a distinction between leisure and work.

Another distinctive finding of this study is the global influences on Tanzanian ngoma performances performed by young people. The study explores the global influences on musical instruments, ngoma movements and songs, costumes, make-up, props and organization of the groups. The overall observation was that globalization has caused cultures to come into contact with one another. Dynamics like media, migration, and recorded music appear to facilitate cultures in one corner of the world to influence cultures in another corner of the world. Nevertheless, the way cultures influence one another seems to be asymmetrical. A trend shows clearly that cultures of the global north influence cultures of the global south. In a country like Tanzania, where TV stations produce only 20 percent of the programmes, whereas 80 percent of the programmes are imported from transnational television stations such as CNN, BBC, and Deutche Welle, to name just a few, such an imbalance is bound to have an influence (Ekiström 2010: 168). An offshoot of depending heavily on transnational

TV stations is that Tanzania has been labelled a passive receiver of global culture rather than an active contributor. The diminishing number of social events, such as funerals, weddings and initiation ceremonies, which were initially used as primary sources from which material for ngoma was drawn, has made matters worse.

This thesis makes a significant contribution to an appreciation of ngoma as 'youth's own space', which enables them to regain access to denied space. Given the fact that young people are portrayed in this study as creative actors and heroes who search for alternatives without shattering the peace, this can serve as a mechanism for transforming society's perception towards youth as trouble makers and perpetrators, to gifted and innovative individuals, who require space to prove their potential. By giving space to young people, Tanzania may hopefully benefit from its demographic bonus. [3]

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[3] What is called the Asian miracle today is a product of demographic bonus. East Asia formulated clear policies that made the young labour force take part in economic development.

ABSTRACT

The main argument of this study is that Tanzanian youth do not have access to socio-economic, political and cultural space.[4] As a result of this, they use 'ngoma' to combat this lack of space. The study employs globalization and gender concepts to explore how youth use ngoma as a substitute for denied space. Apart from gender and globalization, the study employs concepts of 'hybridity', 'authenticity' 'space' and 'participation.' The concepts are used as a window through which to explore how youth use global culture to seek space. The same concepts are also employed to gain an understanding of the extent to which Tanzanian ngoma performances have been influenced by global cultures and how youth make use of ngoma to search for alternative space.

As regards methods, the study used focus group discussion, participant performer researcher and questionnaires to collect primary data. Documents were reviewed to back up the information provided by informants. This study discloses that young people take advantage of ngoma to establish a strong network of friends and individuals from different social classes with whom they share happiness, grievances and what they consider triumphs. Ngoma as an alternative to political space is used by youth to voice their political concerns and to suggest the way forward towards change. This is often done by reconstructing movements and songs whose purpose is to send messages to the audience in a diplomatic way without causing harm.

As regards economic space, the study reveals that youth perform ngoma at different events to gain economic power since they are paid for that. Besides performing at social and political events, youth assist each other financially through the scheme known as '*vikoba.*'[5] Ngoma as cultural space is used by the youth to exercise their agency as cultural actors. They often fuse and juxtapose cultures from diverse sources in a manner that suits their changing circumstances.

Despite youth's endeavour to use ngoma to resolve their problem of space, they encounter challenges on the way. The study underscores that gender, the status of a dancer, theatrical infrastructure, donors, the lack of proficiency in English and inadequate skills in *ngoma* are

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[4] In this study the concept of space is employed beyond physical space. The meaning of space in this study is metaphorical. A detailed discussion of the concept of space and how it is employed in this study is given in chapter two of this thesis.

[5] The meaning of *Vikob*a is given in chapter 4.

stumbling blocks undermining youth's struggle for space through ngoma. The study sums up the discussion by highlighting the major findings of the study.

To my husband Laurent, daughter Verity and sons Johnson, Baraka and Junior

In memory of my mother Tulapona Sembata

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACBF	African Capacity Building Foundation
ACFSS	African Centre for Strategic Studies
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
BASATA	Tanzania National Arts Council
CD	Compact Disk
CEDAW	Convention on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
COSOTA	Copyright Society of Tanzania
DVD	Digital Video Disk
ESR	Education for Self-Reliance
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
GDP	Gross National Product
GNP	Gross Domestic Product
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus *(HIV)*
ICR	Institute for Career Research
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MB	Megabyte
MC	Master of Ceremonies
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NHIF	National Health Insurance Fund
NSSF	National Social Security Fund
PCB	Prevention of Corruption Bureau
PPF	Parastatal Pension Fund
PPR	Participant Performer Researcher
PSPF	Public Service Pension Fund
RD	Restless Development
REDET	Research and Education Democracy of Tanzania
SACCOs	Savings and Credit Cooperative Organizations
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SBF	Sauti za Busara Festival

TGNP	Tanzania Gender Networking Programme
THT	Tanzania House of Talent
TOT	Tanzania One Theatre
TShs	Tanzania shillings
TV	Television
TYP	Tanzania Youth Report
UDOM	University of Dodoma
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
UMATI	A union of Reproductive Health and Care
UMISAVUTA	Tanzania Sports and Arts College Association
UMISSETA	Tanzania Secondary School Sports Associations
UMITASHUMTA	Tanzania Primary School Academic and Sports Association
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
USD	United States Dollar
WB	World Bank
WGDP	Women and Gender Policy
WYR	World Youth Report

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CHAPTER 1

"Despite all the difficulties they face, young people in Africa are actively participating in social, economic and political development . . . in a surprising way."

<div align="right">(De Boeck and Honwana 2005: 1)</div>

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Tanzania has a population of 44,928,923, 60 percent of which are youth (Helgesson and Earnest 2008: 3, RDR 2011, Haji 2007). Because of the large number of young people, unemployment and underemployment are among the major challenges facing them in Tanzania. Factors like lack of skills needed in the workplace, lack of experience, knowledge and space prevent their absorption in the market (*Ibid*: p. 16). As a result, they end up being employed in manual work in which abuse and lack of security become features defining their work (WYR 2007: 24).

Studies on youth and unemployment have ignored the fact that the older generation tend to hold on to their positions after retirement, which is one of the factors undermining young people's employment space. Historically, workers in both the formal and informal sector had to retire at the age 60. Recently, the retirement age has increased to 65 (Mwapachu 2005: 466). Despite the fact that people have to retire at the age of 65, many choose to stay on in their positions. Spitzer *et al.* (2009) provide a reason for this. They revealed that the older generation stay on after retirement due to the pension they receive, which is between 15,000 and 50,000 TShs per month, equal to 10 to 20 USD. The money is not enough to meet their daily needs, such as food, clothing and water for those who buy it every day. In addition, their pension is paid irregularly, is delayed or sometimes not paid at all (p. 31). The National Social Security Fund (NSSF), the Parastatal Pension Fund (PPF) and Public Service Pension Fund (PSPF) are responsible for this. The holding on to positions by the older generation implies the denial of space to the younger generation (Shaba 2007: 4).

Tanzania's economy depends on agriculture. It is estimated that 80 percent of the population depend on agriculture as their main occupation. Employment in agriculture is possible because, as Kopenen (1986: 46) revealed, Tanzania has a vast amount of land. However, since independence, the great challenge has always been that a pitiable working environment and the returns from agriculture are low (Mjema 1999: 26). Moreover, inadequate water supply, health care facilities, poor roads and disasters like drought and epidemics (Mganga 2009: 3)

have made agriculture unattractive to young people, who increasingly move from the countryside to cities in search of better working conditions.

Mlama (1999: 26) associates the failure of agriculture with Tanzanian elites. She argues that Tanzanian elites have been influenced by the former capitalists to believe that development can never be achieved unless the country imports technology from the developed world. Surprisingly, since independence, the technology which elites are waiting for has not yet been imported. What has been imported until now is outdated and inappropriate technology, which cannot cope with global demands and customers' patterns of consumption.

Credit institutions, both formal and informal, have proved to be of great assistance to people in resolving the plight of unemployment. By borrowing money from credit institutions people are able to start their own business, thereby gaining economic power to meet their needs. However, Atieno (2001: 11-12) argues that getting money from banks is not an easy task, because the lenders' objective is to give loans to clients who are able to repay them plus interest. Since giving loans has potential risks, lenders (banks and informal credit institutions such as SACCOS) often thoroughly screen clients before they provide a loan. Unfortunately, credit institutions do not regard young people as suitable beneficiaries of their loan service, due to the belief that young people can neither repay the loan nor the interest. Helgesson and Earnest (2008: 5) are of the opinion that loans given to youth are often written off, and so they regard it as a gift, which has unfortunate consequences for the youth whose intention is to borrow money and establish their own business to better their lives. Adding to the point, Mjema (1999: 26) disclosed several conditions hampering Tanzanian youth from obtaining loans. These comprise age, proven experience in the business proposed, the equity contribution ranging from 10 to 50 percent of the loan requested and collateral whose value is equal to or greater than the loan requested. Salkowitz (2010) pointed out that young people's lack of credit history is one of the factors hindering them from getting a loan. Unlike the older generation, who have a history of receiving and repaying loans, young people do not. Therefore, credit institutions wonder how they can risk providing capital for an unproven venture (p. 39), which makes it almost impossible for young people to borrow money to establish their own business.

As a result, young people search for alternatives to resolve their plight. This study sets out to explore how young people use ngoma to gain access to loans, which enables them to establish small businesses. Self-help schemes like *Vikoba* and *Michezo* are used as a case in point. The

study elucidates how loans from the above schemes enable young people to fulfil their dreams including setting up businesses, establishing their own families, sending remittances to their home villages and paying school fees for their siblings. Because young people are also denied access to political space, the study explores how they use ngoma to get involved in political matters of their country and how they feel about it. As regards the production of culture, the study examines how young people make use of ngoma to gain status as producers of culture and how they use global culture to come up with ngoma performances of their own making, which in turn assists them in establishing their distinctive identity and place in society. Through ngoma performances designed by the youth, the study sought to reveal how young people use ngoma to transform their status as receivers of adults' culture to becoming active agents and owners of their culture. This transition of ngoma from social to economic activity is delved into.

Using ngoma as an alternative to denied space is done not without cost. The study examines the specific challenges young people encounter as they use ngoma as an alternative space. The challenges relating to theatrical infrastructure, donors, poverty and the like are explored to find out how they impact their endeavour for space. For systematic presentation of the above-mentioned findings, the thesis is structured in eight chapters as follows.

Chapter 1 comprises the introduction to the study, statement of the problem and research ethics. The chapter provides a practical understanding of the methods employed for collecting data, which were FGDs, PPR, in-depth interviews, documentary review and KIIs. The chapter also provides a detailed discussion on the rationale for choosing Dar es Salaam and Iringa as areas of research as well as ngoma groups selected for the study. It also gives working definitions of key terms employed throughout this study. The concept of 'youth', 'tradition', 'modernity' and 'ngoma' are discussed and their application to this study is also articulated. The literature review is one of the sections comprising the first chapter.

 Chapter 2 focuses on conceptual models. The chapter describes the concepts of globalization and gender. As regards the concept of gender, the study uses the four elements proposed by Lorber (1995), namely gender as an institution, gender as a process, gender as a stratification system and gender as a structure. The study also uses the four concepts of 'participation', 'space', 'authenticity' and 'hybridity' to put some of its ideas into context.

Chapter 3 offers a historical overview of youth's participation in ngoma from pre-colonial times to the late 1980s. Their participation in ngoma from 1990 is discussed in the data

analysis part. A historical overview of the participation of youth in ngoma is pivotal for a better understanding of the participation of the youth in ngoma currently.

Chapter 4 locates youth in the broader social, economic, political and cultural context. The chapter gives a clear understanding of the real situation of youth and their predicament in the Tanzanian setting. Their situation in the labour market economy, in politics, culture and society are elucidated in this chapter. The educational structure of Tanzania is also explored to find out how it impacts young people's access to the job market. The chapter is fundamental for understanding why young people have chosen ngoma as their alternative space, which is discussed in chapter 5.

Chapter 5 presents findings based on how Tanzanian youth use ngoma to combat their plight of space. This entails political, social, economic, psychological and cultural space.

Chapter 6 analyses data on the challenges encountered by young people as they endeavour to use ngoma in their search for social, economic and cultural space. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part covers challenges relating to gender, the social status of a dancer, donors and technology, as well as challenges like theatrical infrastructure and the use of intoxicating substances and how they impede young people in their struggle for space. This study is of the view that in order for youth to combat their plight of lack of space through ngoma, basic skills for ngoma are indispensable. For this reason, the second section explores the extent to which Tanzania's education system and diminishing social events impact youth's struggle for space. In addition, the study explores how new lifestyles affected by technology impacts youth's access to basic skills for ngoma, which this study considers pivotal in their venture for space.

Chapter 7 presents the findings on global influences on ngoma and is divided into small parts. It comprises global influences on costumes, dancing styles and movements, props, musical instruments and make-up. The perceptions of the youths themselves of global influences and the audience's views are considered in this chapter.

Chapter 8 underscores the main findings that emerged throughout this study.

1.2 LITERATURE REVIEW: IDENTIFYING THE GAP

Tanzanian youth, similar to the rest of youth in developing countries, have been excluded from the socio-economic and cultural domain. In political terms, young voices have been rejected in the national discourse under the banner of preparing them for the future. Despite all the difficulties facing them, they often search for alternative space to realize their socio-economic, political and cultural goals. Many studies conducted on the youth's struggle for space in Tanzania have focused more on hip-hop and Bongo Fleva, while scant attention has been paid to exploring how Tanzanian youth use ngoma to combat their plight of lack of space. Through the literature review I came across one study exploring how Jamaican youth use dancehall to struggle for social and economic space. The study was carried out by Newell in (2009).

In her study, Newell explores how marginalized youth in Jamaica make use of dancehall as an alternative to social and economic space. She argues that dancehall is not only a style of music or musical expression but an alternative way of surviving and a space in which young people are involved in the production of culture and the formation of distinctive identities. Newell goes further by arguing that since Jamaican youth's right to express their views has been denied for a long time, they use dancehall culture to legally express their concerns to achieve material advantage and upward social mobility. Politically, they use dancehall culture to produce political lyrics that help them to reclaim their dignity in society as political beings. The songs are characterized by slang and the themes focus mainly on the economic and political situation of lower-class citizens. Newell argues that although dancehall is viewed sceptically as a performance activity that encourages violent, vulgar, misogynistic and disruptive behaviour, she insists that it should not be ignored by the people in power, because this is where the social, economic and political problems of the lower class are articulated. In this respect, Newell, similar to Garratt (2005: 147), suggests that the dancehall culture of the youth should be regarded as a thermometer that measures the social, economic and political climate of the nation. Newell's study focuses on Jamaican ghetto youth as an important element for studying how young people in society use performance to look for space. This study considers that the sample of ghetto youth is unrepresentative. This study employs both street and non-street youth for the same ends. Apart from the sample, this study differs from Newell's study in terms of location. While Newell's study focuses on Jamaica, this study focuses on Tanzania.

Apart from Newell's study, Munoz and Marin in (2006) did a study titled "*Music in Connection: Youth Cultures in Colombia.*" Their study focused on youth and how they use punk music to struggle for cultural and political space. In their study they proclaim that for ages Colombian youth have been envisaged as passive recipients of adult culture and mass media and as trivial members of society. Punk music not only gives them the opportunity to juxtapose different music styles and produce music of their own, but it also gives them a primary place in society (p.131). Colombian youth avail themselves of the punk music they have obtained from the UK to creatively fuse music from their country with punk to fight against their space as recipients of adults' culture. Indeed, the study shows that punk music has not only enabled youth to exercise their agency as actors of culture but also to form their exceptional identities and achieve recognition without which they could not have formed their identities.

In political terms, Munoz and Marin observed that youth make use of their music to reclaim their voices which for a long time have been denied in the national agenda. Munoz and Marin discovered that in using punk music to reclaim space as political actors, at this point, what matters to them is what is expressed in the lyrics that flow from the heart with the force of non-conformity. Musical expertise often does not matter at all according to them. Below is an example of political lyrics that flow from their heart.

Everyone against the wall
One, two, three, Pigs
The world has lost
The government has lost
Lots of land for very few
Colombia is such a crazy place
And people are dying of starvation
The government is ignorant
And in election time
Innocent people in prison
And no, no
We can't protest
Because the military boots are gonna kill us (p. 139).

The citation of the song above indicates how youth in Colombia use songs to criticize the government's irresponsibility. Through the above song, youth blame their government for lacking commitment to its citizens. In this song the government is criticized for abandoning its people to hunger and poverty while the vast amount of land is being managed by the privileged few. This occurs on the government's watch but it hardly takes the issue further. If

citizens attempt to take matters into their own hands, they are attacked, beaten up and killed by the military, which often horrifies citizens to protest against despotism.

In struggling to send strong messages as shown above, Munoz and Marin bring to light the fact that youth often do not care what kind of musical instruments accompany their songs. Youth are willing to use anything provided that it is capable of producing a sound. They can use low quality musical instruments, such as tin cans, pots and pans or high class acoustic guitars if available. The purpose is not to show how good they are at playing music or how rich they are in possessing musical instruments. The purpose is rather to use music to dispatch strong messages to the intended audience (2006: 138-139). This study is noted as it is used as a foundation, particularly for analysing issues relating to how young people use ngoma to reclaim their space as active producers of culture.

In relation to the Tanzanian context, several studies have explored how young people use the performing arts to search for denied space. However, these studies have focused more on Bongo Fleva and Hip-hop rather than on ngoma. Suriano (2007: 210), for instance, in her study '*Mimi ni Msanii, Kioo cha Jamii' Urban Youth Culture in Tanzania as Seen through Bongo Fleva and Hip-hop*" uses both Bongo Fleva and Hip-hop to reveal the social status of youth as victims, petty thieves and passionate about living expensive lives, and obsessed with sexual lives. Her study also revealed that Tanzanian youth are treated as immature beings in need of adult protection. Being treated as such, their presence is repeatedly ignored. As a result, they use Hip-hop and Bongo Fleva as a means of contributing to the social, economic and political development of their nation. Despite all these initiatives, they are accused of corrupting culture that has been preserved by the older generation for so long. This study is noted, as it looks at youth not as vandals of culture but rather as creative producers of their own culture. This point of view is the subject of this study.

Reustier-Jahn (2008) in her study "*Bongo fleva and Electoral Campaign 2005 in Tanzania*" states clearly how Tanzanian youth use Bongo Fleva to address issues which directly affect their lives. Among other things, she explores the role of Bongo Fleva in the lives of youth from the political point of view. Among other things, Reustier-Jahn demonstrates how Tanzanian youth avail themselves of ngoma to criticize politicians who often do everything they can to gain access to political positions, mainly to enrich themselves. She uses *Kura Yangu* (My Vote), Tawile 1 and 2 and many others to make clear how young people in Tanzania use Bongo Fleva to determine the future of their country. She proclaims that

through songs like '*Kura yangu*' citizens are urged to use the power of the ballot box to choose leaders they believe will bring change to their country. Since leaders tend to dupe voters with small gifts, citizens are alerted to such leaders. In the same token, Reustier-Jahn uses Tawile 1 and Tawile 2 to clarify how young people take advantage of Bongo Fleva to criticize leaders who tend to make dozens of unfulfilled promises, the adverse effects of which are clearly expressed in the songs. In the same vein, Reustier-Jahn uses the song Tawile 2 to show how the younger generation teaches the older generation the irrelevance of the tactics they employ in political rallies, particularly witchcraft, as a mechanism for gaining parliamentary seats.

Englert's (2008) in her study "*Ambiguous Relationship: Youth, Popular Music and Politics in Contemporary Tanzania*" regards youth's participation in Bongo Fleva as a substitute for political space. In her study, Englert reveals that political office has for so long been dominated by the older generation due to fear associated with the incapability of youth (Camino and Zeldin 2002: 213, Chachage 2006). Being aware of their marginalized position, Birgit alleges that youth take advantage of artistic performance to reclaim their status as political actors. She observed that Bongo Fleva not only gives renowned musicians the opportunity to participate in politics but underground musicians also get to participate in politics, thereby making their voice heard, similar to their counterpart superstars (*Ibid*, p.71). She further argues that is not uncommon for ordinary people's voices to be heard in a poor country like Tanzania. However, Bongo Fleva has become an outlet through which individuals from the lower class, like underground youth, can communicate their political messages. She further alleges that patriotic leaders like Amina Chifupa and Zitto Kabwe came into being as an offshoot of Bongo Fleva. However, this statement is difficult to prove, because she does not state clearly the extent to which Bongo Fleva assisted Amina Chifupa and Zitto Kabwe in their struggle for political positions.What is clear in her study is the opportunity that Bongo Fleva gives to underground artists to participate in political rallies. Taking a closer look at the literature on popular culture, most of it gives details of how youth use Bongo Fleva and Hip-hop as an alternative to political participation. Hitherto, no study has been done elaborating how young people use *ngoma* to strive for social, economic, cultural or political space. It should be noted however that not all contemporary ngoma groups are categorized as popular culture. Wangai (2008:58), for instance, argues that popular culture is characterised as trash and inferior, unlike serious culture which discusses serious

issues. In the case of this study, ngoma is employed by the youth to engage in discussion about serious matters affecting their lives.

Turning our attention to ngoma, despite several studies having been carried out on ngoma in Tanzania, little attention has been given to studying the extent to which Tanzanian youth make use of ngoma to resolve the problem of denied space. Songoyi (1998), for instance, in his study titled *"Commercialization: Its Impact on Traditional Dances in Tanzania"* explores the transition of ngoma from cultural activity to commercial activity during the economic crisis of the 1980s. In his study, Songoyi explains clearly the transformation that Tanzanian ngoma underwent as an outcome of the economic crisis. Songoyi's study sheds light on the transformation Tanzania ngoma performances have undergone from a communal activity to a business-oriented pursuit. His study is pivotal, as it provided this study with a history of ngoma as a lucrative activity to which this study pays attention.

Kaduma (1972) carried out his study titled "the *Theatrical Description of Five traditional Dances."* As the title suggests, he provides a thorough description of five Tanzania ngoma performances. This study is not only a process but also a product of initiatives taken by the former President of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, to restore the culture. After independence, Nyerere was of the view that culture was one of the activities which was seriously damaged during the period of colonialism. His view is echoed in the National Assembly document as he states,

> "Of all crimes of colonialism, there is none worse than the attempts to
> make us believe we had no indigenous culture of our own; or what we
> did have was worthless - something that we should be ashamed of
> rather than a source of pride" (1962: 9).

This statement was a catalyst for every government actor to do everything possible to redeem culture, which was thought to have been fallen apart. While curriculum developers' response to this was to transform the curriculum, academicians like Kaduma and others took up the pen for the very same reason (Hussein 1975: 11). The study was useful for this study as this study explores the global influences on ngoma. In this respect, Kaduma's study is important in seeking to understand whether there is a difference in the costumes, songs, props, make-up and movements of Tanzanian ngoma performances between the present and previous periods.

Kapingu (2009), in her study titled "*The Changing Functions and Characteristics of African War Dancing: a Case of War Dance in the Hehe Tribe*" explores how the Kiduo war dance changed from a war dance into a social dance. In her study she raises the issue of gender, arguing that in olden times, performers were only men combatants trained for imminent battle. Women were involved in the Kiduo dance not as dancers but as supporters, whose role was to lend a hand to the male dancers. She further reckons that in the course of dancing males displayed their maleness by stamping their feet vigorously on the ground accompanied by loud voices signifying their superiority over women. Their dancing style suggested that they were tall and fat as opposed to female dancers who were small, short and introverted (*ibid*, p.27). Although Kapingu obviously shows the binary relationship between female and male dancers in Kiduo ngoma, she does not go deeper to uncover what this relationship suggests from the point of view of gender. She appears to consider such a binary relationship as a custom rather than a plight needing an urgent solution. This study sees the need to go beyond looking at binary representation as standard practice in Tanzanian culture to using it as a window that will enable one to explore how such a twofold representation impacts dancers' attempt to use ngoma as a means of looking for space in their society.

A study on choreographic changes in ngoma performances in Tanzania is pertinent for finding out the kind of transformation that ngoma performances have undergone since independence. Makoye (1996) in his study titled *"Tanzania Traditional Dances: Choreography and Communication in Tanzania"* explores the transformation of traditional dances as an offshoot of the growth of cities. He argues that after independence people moved from rural to urban areas for reasons varying from escaping family responsibilities, to obtaining better salaried jobs, and access to electricity, water and medical treatment. Moving from rural to urban areas, people took their culture with them, including ngoma performances, which meant that these ngoma did not remain static. They had to change to suit urban realities. Makoye alleges that the transformation that ngoma underwent at that particular period caused confusion in ngoma performances. The mismatch between movements and songs began to be a recurring problem. Unlike Makoye, who explored the changes that ngoma experienced as a ramification of the growth of cities, this study differs from Makoye's study in two ways. Whereas Makoye's study focused on the period after independence, this study explores the changes that ngoma performances have undergone in the era of globalization. Another difference is that of the sample. While Makoye paid attention to ngoma groups in spite of age, this study focuses on

young people. Other informants are also used for triangulating the information provided by the youth.

Examining the process that the youth in ngoma groups undergo in order to be recognized as members of a group is pivotal to undestanding the challenges that young people encounter as they struggle for space through ngoma. Browning (2009), for example, in her study "*Shake it: A study of Traditional Dance and Drumming in Tanzania with the African Traditional Dance Group*" gives detailed information on the factors that often push the youth into joining ngoma groups. She points out economic and cultural forces. Browning observed that young people join a group for economic reasons, but when they do not receive the income they want, they tend to withdraw from the group. Young people of this nature tend to join and withdraw from groups repeatedly until they come across a group that pays them well (See also Songoyi 1998). This study considers it vital to go beyond looking at the behaviour of withdrawing from groups as a common practice of the youth, to find out how this disappoints other youth in their endeavour to search for space through ngoma.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Youth in Tanzania make up 60 percent of Tanzania's population (RD -Restless Development 2011: 3, see also Population census 2012, ACBF - The African Capacity Building Foundation 2011). However, in economic terms, young people in Tanzania make up 53 percent of the unemployed population (RD 2011: 5, Dar es Salaam City Profile 2004). Being unemployed, Tanzanian youth use different techniques to make ends meet, both legal and illegal. While youth from better-off families survive unemployment by choosing to remain at home or prolonging schooling, those who have nobody to turn to, because of the loss of parents or poverty, tend to opt for prostitution, unsafe sex, armed robbery, drug abuse, violence and drug-trafficking to deal with their unemployment plight. Therefore, the option to survive unemployment by illegal methods has caused the government and people around them to perceive them as a problem that needs an urgent solution rather than as national capital whose energy is important for the economic development of the nation (Chachage 2006: 4).

In terms of politics, young people in Tanzania are perceived as helpless individuals whose experience in politics is too immature for them to participate meaningfully in political matters (*ibid*). As a result, decisions on issues that directly affect them are repeatedly made by the older generation and brought to them as a package, which tends to provide no room for youth to negotiate, amend or add the inputs they feel make sense in their lives (Muhula 2007: 365,

see also Herrera 2006). All these decisions are made under the banner of youth as *viongozi wa kesho* (leaders of tomorrow) as opposed to the adult generation who are *viongozi wa leo* or leaders of today (Chachage 2005: 13, see also Muhula 2007, Sinclair 2005).

As for culture, youth are considered passive recipients of adults' culture (Munoz and Marin 2006). Whatever changes they bring to the culture is looked down on as a corruption or violation of culture. Youth's creativity in relation to culture is seen as an attack on adults' culture, obscene, brutal, ugly and a form of pornographic activity defined by its sexual overtones (Falk and Falk 2005: 49-51).

Many studies carried out to find out how young people deal with this attack on them have focused more on exploring how young people use Bongo Fleva and Hip-hop to cope with their dilemma (Reustier-Jahn 2008, Reustier-Jahn and Hacker 2011, Suriano 2006, Suriano 2007) while scant attention has been paid to ngoma performances. Therefore, this study is an attempt to examine how young people in Tanzania avail themselves of ngoma to deal with their plight of lack of space.

1.4 THE OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This study explores how Tanzanian youth use ngoma to look for space. To achieve this, the study was guided by five research objectives. First, as established by the statement of the problem in this study, Tanzanian youth are denied political space. Therefore the first objective was to discover how young people in ngoma groups use ngoma to exercise their agency as political actors. Second, given that Tanzanian youth are denied access to social space, the second objective was to find out how they take advantage of ngoma to gain social space. Third, because of their inadequate cultural space, the third objective was to discover how young people use ngoma to exercise their agency as cultural actors. Fourth, the study sought to examine how dancing for combating the dilemma of space poses problems. The objective was to find out how gender, the social status of a dancer, limited knowledge of ngoma, proficiency in English, donors, technology and theatrical infrastructure impact young people looking for space through ngoma. Lastly, the study sought to examine global influences on movements, musical instruments, costumes, songs and singing, make-up, props and the procedure for becoming a member of a group.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The aforementioned objectives were guided by research questions. The first question was how do young people use ngoma to search for political space? The second question was how do young people use ngoma as social space? The third question was how do young people in ngoma groups use ngoma to reclaim their space as actors of culture? The fourth question asked young people what challenges they encounter as they dance to combat their plight of lack of space. The fifth question was what are the negative and positive global influences on Tanzanian ngoma performances?

1.6 THE RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

Much has been done pertaining to ngoma in Tanzania. However, scant attention has been given to studying how young people use ngoma to venture for their denied space as most of the studies have focused on how young people use Bongo Fleva and Hip-hop. In this respect, this study will add knowledge concerning the place of ngoma in helping young people to negotiate for space in national development.

In the era of globalization unemployment has greatly affected youth, irrespective of their social and educational background. In Tanzania, the labour force prepared each year exceeds seven hundred thousand, but only 3 percent get employment in the formal sector while 97 percent of the entrants partly enter the informal sector (Mwanjali *et al* 2005: n.p, See also Mjema 1999: v). This level of unemployment is, among other things, contributed by the type of education that is currently offered to Tanzanian youth. Education has been designed to prepare young people for employment in the formal sector, and so they expect that at the end of the month they will be paid a salary. As a result, the majority of youth are at home watching TV, playing games and chatting with friends, waiting for formal employment to materialize. Robinson (2006) calls this new trend as a warning sign of "academic inflation." By this he meant that education is not a determinant of employment. For educated people in the era of globalization are innumerable, unlike previous eras. On these grounds, this study adds knowledge on how educated youth can take advantage of ngoma to overcome their dilemma of unemployment rather than sitting down waiting for employment without success.

In the era of globalization ngoma is increasingly being seen as an imprudent activity, in opposition to global development. This is evident through studies carried out on culture in the period of struggle for economic development. Ngoma and other cultures were, and still are, suspected of delaying development and causing those who take part in them to end up in a

vicious cycle of poverty (Njoh 2006: ix, Huntington 1993 & Rostow 1960). Demonstrating how young people use ngoma to gain economic power will raise the status of ngoma in society. This study is of the view that carrying out this study will change people's perception of ngoma, from viewing it as an imprudent activity to an influential pursuit enabling individuals, particularly youth, to raise their standard of living in spite of their social, economic, cultural and academic background.

Being a dance teacher at the University of Dar es Salaam, searching for materials relating to ngoma was not an easy task. I observed that fewer studies have been carried out on ngoma in Tanzania than on education, political science, development studies and sociology, to name a few. This study will be among the few sources available in the library. Owing to the complex nature of this research, it is anticipated that the study will offer sound knowledge to organizations, scholars and students interested in exploring issues relating to youth, hybrid dances, space, youth participation, globalization and gender-related matters.

Apart from being important to scholars and students, this study is important to Tanzanian youth and other youth from across the world in providing an understanding of how they can use culture as an opportunity to better their lives without being involved in verbal, psychological and physical violence. As for Tanzanian youth, through this study they will get to know their position as cultural players and what must be done in the first place to fulfil such an enormous duty and in the second place to take pride in doing that.

1.7 METHODOLOGY

This study is based on the data collected between 2011 and 2014. In December 2011, I went to Dar es Salaam for a pilot study which took place from December 12 to January 2011. Data from the pilot study was also used in the analysis of this study. The actual fieldwork lasted from early July 2012 to December 2012. Since I had to collect data from two regions, Iringa and Dar es Salaam, and at the same time consult some literature relating to this study, I decided to split my fieldwork into three phases. The first phase of my fieldwork was in Iringa region where I spent two-and-a-half months with respondents and fifteen days in Iringa regional library in search of secondary data relating to this study. The second three months I used for collecting data from informants in Dar es Salaam and the third phase was used for reviewing literature at the University of Dar es Salaam library, namely studies conducted on the subject of ngoma. Besides searching for studies conducted on the subject, I went through pamphlets and policy documents which I thought I would not have access to otherwise. The

second phase of fieldwork was carried out between September 2013 and January 2014 when I searched for missing information and confirmed the data that I had. This was done in both in Iringa and Dar es Salaam with the same informants. Therefore, the fieldwork for this study took a year.

To collect data for this study, various methods were used. The selection of methods was determined by the nature of the respondents and the sensitivity of the issue under discussion. The following methods for collecting data were employed.

1.7.1 FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION (FGD)

The focus group discussion method (FGD) was used to collect data from youth in ngoma groups and, in some cases, from adult respondents. FGD by definition is a technique for finding out and documenting the attitudes and behaviour of people and the meanings they have of their world, and normally lasts between 90 minutes and three hours. The number of respondents for FGD should be between six and twelve (*Law et al* 2003: 298). The FGD method was employed due to the nature of the informants, some of whom were uneducated. This is especially true of informants from the countryside whose access to education was limited due to different factors, including the patriarchal culture, high drop-out rate and the lack of a gender-sensitive education system. By employing FGD, each informant, irrespective of educational background, benefited from participating in the discussion. I conducted a total of six FGDs. Two sets of interviews were conducted with youth in Iringa urban and another two with youth in Tanangozi group.

Tanangozi group was one of the largest groups I came across, which combined both adults and youth. The total number was twenty. Because it was such a big group, I divided the FDG into two groups of ten informants per group. Because FGDs can have up to twelve respondents as a rule (*ibid*), it was still possible to add two more respondents to each group. The remaining FGDs were conducted with youth from Hayahaya group in Dar es Salaam. This method was useful as it enabled me to collect plenty of data in a very short time. In the process of collecting data using FGDs I noted that this method is not applicable in mixed groups of adults and youth. This became obvious when I was collecting data from informants from Iringa rural. I realized that youth were hesitant to participate in the discussion and adult members dominated the discussion. The youth simply agreed with whatever had been said by the adults by nodding their heads.

Because of this I had to think of another way to make these young people talk, given that their voices were very important for this study. I decided to choose one youth after another to respond to various issues raised, but the approach did not work. Youth were not used to talking in front of adult members. Despite my attempts they simply supported everything that was raised by adults. Therefore I decided to conduct interviews with each of them individually. Indeed, through the interviews, I became aware of how young people in the rural environment take advantage of ngoma to search for alternative space and the challenges they encounter in the process. Even the reason that discouraged then from talking in front of older people became obvious through interviews I had with them privately. Besides FGD, I also employed the participant performing researcher approach (PPR).

1.7.2 PARTICIPANT PERFORMING RESEARCHER (PPR) METHOD

Participant performing researcher is a method for collecting data suggested by Na'Allah in 2009. While participant observer dates back to the 20th century and was developed by cultural anthropologists, PPR is a recent method. Na'Allah who proposed the PPR method suggests that there is huge difference between the participant observer and PPR. Whilst the former means the researcher sits with the informants to observe them, the latter means that the researcher takes part in the performance. In his opinion, using the observation method, the researcher cannot collect first-hand information but remains simply an observer. He emphasizes that the observer often collects second-hand data in contrast to the participant performing researcher who takes part in the performance. Na'Allah suggests that the observation method should be left in the hands of anthropologists, whereas PPR should be employed by researchers in performance studies, in particular, African performance studies (Tanzania in this case). Na'Allah, in his own words, says,

> "In order to understand oral performance, observation of events is not enough. We need to be part of action and experience it so that we can have a first-hand understanding of it or have those who have experienced it present the knowledge of it to us, thus making our knowledge second hand but reliable in the sense we have acknowledged it as other peoples' interpretation of their personal experience . . . The problem is that the status of observer is not the same as that of performer. It is wrong, in my opinion, to call observant participant as anthropologists often do. An observant is an observant, and a performer is a performer . . . at least in African performance research. The performance studies scholar interact the same level as primary performers, get to know them on their grounds, listen to them, and perform with them at the level of their inner and outer most circle . . . when it is time for them to throw themselves into the social

cultural, spiritual and artistic performance frenzy, he or she should freely throw him or herself with them; and only after that can he sit down to analyse only aspects of their life performances to which he or she has been a part of " (2009:36-37).

Indeed, following Na'Allah's argument I found it worth employing this technique to observe ngoma performances in order to experience first-hand how young people avail themselves of ngoma to combat their plight of denial of space along with the challenges they come across in their endeavours.

My double role as a dancer and researcher was incredibly beneficial to me. It helped me to gain a practical understanding of the issues facing young people in ngoma groups and the strategies they employ to overcome their problems. Besides gaining first-hand knowledge of the issues I was researching, I found that the method was useful for minimizing the gap between the researcher and the researched. For instance, when I introduced myself as the researcher, at first, young dancers, particularly females, kept their distance. However, as soon as I joined the group and began to dance with them the gap slowly began to narrow. The more I danced with them, the closer we became. Then, I noticed that the relationship was developing between us that filled the gap mentioned above. Finally we became friends, which simplified my life as a researcher, especially when it came to discussing sensitive issues. Dancing together, being tired together, eating together and staying together for so long at rehearsals and performances as well as in our social lives made them slowly forget my role as a researcher, which gave them the freedom to share their private lives with me.

Being transparent about their private lives I became conscious of several dynamics including why the number of male dancers surpasses that of females. Moreover, I got to participate in meetings discussing sensitive issues like the earnings and division of roles of groups. Participating in sensitive issues was beneficial for gaining an understanding of how the earnings were divided between males and females and why. While taking part as a member of the group, youth told me about the injustice, oppression and exploitation occurring in groups and how they impact their struggle for space via ngoma. Through the intimate relationship established I gained an understanding of the consumption of intoxicating substances during performances and why young people indulged in it. A detailed discussion about intoxicating substances is presented in chapter six.

Although PPR is very useful in research which involves performance, the technique has its limitations. It challenges the researcher as it demands him or her to play a double role. When

using this method I was obliged to play the role of a dancer and researcher. I sometimes experienced a conflict of roles. This was especially the case when I had to dance and at the same time record events. In some cases the method was unproductive as I found myself pulled towards dancing and so forgot my role as a researcher, which is why I employed an assistant to record live performances. The research assistant was of great help when I had to collect data from the audience while the performances unfolded on the stage. The photo below elucidates the point.

Figure 1: Researcher in live performance with Alamano group, field photo by Elizabeth Singile

PPR requires the researcher to live the same life as the dancers during rehearsals and performances. Therefore, the researcher has to eat, dance and do everything the dancers do (*ibid* 37). The Hayahaya ngoma group could be cited here as an example to illustrate the point. This group, which is in Dar es Salaam, tends to cook and eat together during rehearsals, which creates equality and unity among the members. I observed that because they shared whatever little they had, it created a feeling of family and a sense of being loved, cared for and treasured by those who had not experienced that.

The study observed that they rehearsed twice a week, Tuesdays and Fridays from 10 am to 6 pm. During this time the members lived like a family and cooked together. It should be noted, however, that the cooking was not done every time they met for rehearsals. Cooking was done when there was something to cook. This is especially the case when the group got a deal to perform somewhere. Thus the money sometimes was given to the cook who could prepare something for the group. In some cases the members themselves decided to bring something with them to be cooked for the group. If no money had been generated or no member came with something to cook, it simply meant no lunch. So everybody had to be tolerant while rehearsing on an empty stomach and wait for dinner at home. Group members were already used to rehearsing without lunch and had learned how to cope with the situation. As for me, it

was not easy. In my first days in the group I suffered from missing lunch as I started losing energy. In fact, it took some time for me to get used to dancing without eating something. Besides PPR, I employed a questionnaire to collect data from dance professionals.

1.7.3 QUESTIONNAIRE METHOD

A questionnaire comprises a list of questions to be sent to the respondents who then respond to the questions (Glix 2004:129). A total of twenty questionnaires were administered to twenty professionals. The decision to have twenty questionnaires was based on the limited number of dance professionals in Tanzania. The questionnaire method was chosen for the professionals due to the nature of their occupation and their limited time. The majority of practitioners expected to fill in the questionnaires were lecturers at the University of Dar es Salaam and others working in government institutions whose time was also limited. The time taken for receiving the questionnaires from the targeted group varied between a week and three months. Despite all this time, some questionnaires were not filled out. Alongside questionnaires, I prepared an interview guide to redeem the situation since it is advised that when the questionnaire method is no longer possible, the researcher can employ the interview method to rescue the data from the danger of being lost (*ibid*). Those who failed to fill out the questionnaire were interviewed instead. Through the questionnaires administered to theatre professionals it became clear that they are concerned about the quality of ngoma reinvented by the youth. Several factors were mentioned by them which they thought caused the youth to offer low quality ngoma performances. An in-depth discussion of the matter is presented in detail in chapter six.

To triangulate the information collected through the aforementioned methods, in-depth interviews were also employed to collect data from young people in the groups. I used this method to delve deeper into issues relating to gender and how it impacts youth's struggle for alternative space through ngoma. In-depth interviews were useful for collecting data relating to gender because youth shared personal issues with me, which I think they would not have done it if not for in-depth interviews. Indeed, in-depth interviews gave youth the privacy to express their opinions on gender-related issues without fearing that they would be overheard by others (Wills 2006:149). The interviews lasted between 60 and 90 minutes per respondent. The time for conducting interviews depended on the respondents' schedule. A detailed discussion about gender issues is given in chapter 6.

1.7.4 KEY INFORMANTS INTERVIEWS (KIIS)

Furthermore, I used key informants interviews (KIIs) to collect data from key persons. These were resource persons who had valuable information on what I was researching. According to Marshall (1996: 92), KIIs by definition are interviews often conducted with informants who have a position in their society and have accumulated a lot of knowledge and experience. KIIs resemble everyday conversations that allow the free flow of information and ideas between the interviewee and the researcher. This is especially true when the purpose of conducting research is clearly stated by the researcher right at the start and how the findings will be utilized. KIIs were used to collect data from government leaders, who instigated changes in the curricula, which removed ngoma as an extracurricular activity and instead introduced vocational skills. For various reasons the subject is hardly taught.

Gathering information from key informants was incredibly challenging because of their status. It was not easy to communicate with them directly due to unpredictable bureaucracy and limitation of time. For this reason, my friends and colleagues played an important role in linking me with them. Through these KIIs I became aware of the factors that contributed to a change in the curricula in 2000 and 2005. An in-depth discussion on this is presented in chapter six.

1.7.5 DOCUMENTARY REVIEW

The study also utilized the documentary review method, which refers to the mobilisation of existing information to answer new questions (Laws *et al.,* 2003:302). The documentary review method is data in its own right *(ibid)*. Park argues that documentary review is merely secondary data used to fulfil a particular purpose. He further warns that data from government sources should be utilized vigilantly, for they are often manipulated to fulfil certain political functions (2006:117). This study utilized a good number of government documents, but cautiously.

Documentary review was useful for locating the concepts used during data analysis, namely, those of gender and globalization. While gender was used to analyse gender issues as they arose in the study, globalization was used to trace how globalization influences ngoma performances performed by the youth.

In addition, the documentary review method assisted in searching for important concepts for analysing some of the issues emanating from the study. The concepts of participation, space, authenticity and hybridity were derived from the various articles, books and reports reviewed.

The concept of space was essential when analysing issues relating to the denial of space and the strategies young people used to combat this. The concept of participation was also important when exploring the participation of youth in ngoma, especially issues relating to political participation. The concepts of hybridity and authenticity were derived from the documents reviewed, which were useful for examining the styles young people employ to fuse and superimpose their ngoma to come up with ngoma of their own.

In addition, the documentary review method was employed to back up the information collected through interviews. Both the Bayreuth University and University of Dar es Salaam libraries were very useful sources for gathering secondary data. Through Bayreuth library, it was possible to get journals, reports, books, dissertations and papers relating to my study. The University of Dar es Salaam library was very useful for gaining access to unpublished dissertations, speeches and other important documents not accessible online. Other useful information found at the University of Dar es Salaam library was photocopied and taken to Bayreuth, where most of the analysis was done.

1.8 AREA OF STUDY

The study was conducted in Dar es Salaam and Iringa, Tanzania. Ngoma groups were important sources of information for this study. In Dar es Salaam three groups were selected - Lumumba, Hayahaya and Makumuila. In Iringa six dance groups were selected - Livalangala, Tanangozi, Alamano, UMATI, Hisia and Makanya. It should be noted however that not all groups were intensively involved in the data-collection process. Because of limited time, most time was spent with Hayahaya and Lumumba groups from Dar es Salaam and UMATI and Alamano in Iringa municipality and some time was spent with Tanangozi group from Iringa rural. The remaining groups were involved by being observed, having customary conversations and by participating in their performances. Below is an in-depth explanation of the reason for selecting Dar es Salaam and Iringa and not other regions.

1.8.1 DAR ES SALAAM

The name Dar es Salaam means harbour of peace or house of peace. The name was given by Seyyid Majid, the Sultan of Zanzibar 1862 when he was building Dar es Salaam city (Dar es Salaam City Profile 2004: 3). The recent population census shows that Dar es Salaam has a total of 4.3 million inhabitants, which accounts for 10 percent of the total population of Tanzania. Mwanza follows Dar es Salaam with a population of 2.7 million (Population census 2012: 1). Although Mwanza is the second largest city in Tanzania after Dar es Salaam, the

discrepancy between them is incredibly large, as Dar es Salaam's population is approximately twice as much as that of Mwanza. Dar es Salaam was chosen because of its rapid growth due to the fact that many youth have been attracted to come and reside in the city in search of better living conditions. The rapid growth of Dar es Salaam is reflected in the words of a researcher who travelled there several times for her research. After two years in Sweden she travelled back to Dar es Salaam and was bewildered by the changes that had taken place. This is what she wrote in her diary.

> "Today I have worked up and down Samora Avenue. Just to observe and to inhale the atmosphere. Here it is certainly obvious that things have happened since I was last here, two years ago. The fruit and vegetable selling women in colourful *kitenge* clothes, the football playing street children, and the news-paper vendors are now crowding with young people dressed up in trendy business like outfits, hurrying (unusual in Tanzania where the life philosophy is *pole pole* (slowly, slowly) and "*haraka haraka haina baraka*" (haste is not a blessing) between shops selling CDs, sports clothes and mobile phones, and trendy fast food restaurants. Signs every hundred metres announce an internet café on almost every corner. These are many more than when I was last here, and they are not only frequented by *wazungu* (white/foreign people) which was mainly the case just two years ago. In the afternoons youth dressed in school uniforms are queuing up outside, waiting to get connected to the world […]more and more people at least here in the city carry a mobile phone. […] Sure the infrastructure and communication technology is 'developing'. For Tanzania as a country this leads to improved contacts with the rest of the world, and to improve possibility to participate in global economy, new opportunities and new ties . . . (Ylva Ekoström 2010: 126).

There are different reasons, although they are unproven, why youths and middle-aged adults flock to Dar es Salaam from rural areas. The foremost reason is that young people believe Dar es Salaam to be *ni jiji la maraha* (a city of entertainment) for everybody, despite their education. They believe that once somebody manages to arrive in Dar es Salaam, an enjoyable life is guaranteed (Sanga 2013: 70). Youths, particularly those from rural areas, equate Dar es Salaam with living in Europe or the United States and those who want to be perceived as successful must do everything they can to take the plunge in Dar es Salaam.[6] The myth that Dar es Salaam is the city of *maraha* that is manageable by everyone has led to what FACET (2004: n.p) calls,

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[6] The myth that Dar es Salaam is a city of success is clearly reflected in the song *Nitarejea* (I will come back) by Diamond Platinum https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xi2djjZhh4U

A wave of rural to urban migration into Dar es Salaam which involves not only labour-prospecting young adults but also school leavers, the semi-skilled or completely unskilled, and the educationally qualified or the illiterate poor.

Studies, however, have shown that living in Dar es Salaam is not as simple as many people think. One has to toil in order to make ends meet (Sanga 2013: 70, see also Ekström 2010) and this is particularly true of the youth who have received virtually no education that constantly exposes them to verbal, physical and sexual harassment in their places of work (Satz 2003: 304, ILO 2002).

The drastic outflow of youth from rural areas to Dar es Salaam appears to have a detrimental effect on Dar es Salaam. Although the number of people has rapidly increased, the infrastructure of the city has not kept pace, which means that it cannot accommodate such a stream of immigrants from all corners of Tanzania, as the city which was originally designed to accommodate five hundred thousand inhabitants (Leseth 2004:32) now accommodates 4.3 million of people, accounting for 10 percent of the total Tanzania Mainland population (Population Census 2012: 11). In addition, therefore, the city falls short in providing quality services like hospitals, education and roads. Long queues for everywhere including roads, banks and health services, and even economic opportunities are increasingly defining life in Dar es Salaam. However, young people are the ones who are increasingly becoming vulnerable in the economic opportunities queue. Since independence to date, youth are still in the queue waiting for the older generation to step back so that they can take over, but this in many cases does not happen since the older generation has not been primed to do so. As I cited above, the pension of retired people is too small and does not meet their basic needs (Spitzer *et al*., 2009: 31). Because of their lack of access to economic opportunities, young people turn to burglary, prostitution and armed robbery to make ends meet (Robertshaw *et al* 2007). However, this is not always the case. Some young people strive to look for alternative ways of surviving apart from illegal means. This study shows how young people in Dar es Salaam use ngoma to combat the plight of limited access to economic space.

The second reason why youth leave rural areas for Dar es Salaam city is because they think that Dar es Salaam is a hub capable of connecting the country to the global society (Ekström 2010:124). While globalization continues to build a borderless world, Dar es Salaam is envisaged to be the place in Tanzania where the exit door exists. This is because Dar es Salaam is where embassies, international organizations' offices, prestigious schools, reputable

universities, the central bank, main harbour and international airport are located – all of which are thought to increase the possibility of one travelling abroad in search of better living conditions (*ibid*).

The third reason is that Dar es Salaam is the place where affluent individuals like Rostam Azizi, Said Bahresa, Reginald Mengi, Edward Lowassa and Yusuph Manji live, as well as influential individuals such as the President of Tanzania, members of parliament and government ministers. This has led to the emergence of sayings such as Dar es Salaam is *Baba Lao* (father of all regions), Dar es Salaam is *kila kitu* (is everything), Dar es Salaam is *ndio jikoni* (is a kitchen) and many others of the same nature. Although Dodoma is officially the capital of Tanzania, and the Parliament and Prime Minister's Office, Regional Administration and Local Government (PMORALG) are housed there, all ministers and members of parliament still reside in Dar es Salaam and only travel to Dodoma when parliament is in session or when anything arises that is related to their work (Ekström 2010: 120). Therefore, although Dar es Salaam is not the capital it is certainly the commercial capital, where everyone wants to live. It might be argued that moving the capital city to Dodoma remains a dream owing to the fact that Dar es Salaam has been prepared to be the capital city for decades. Eström in her study "*We are chameleons: Changing media scapes, cultural identities and City Sisters in Dar es Salaam*" observed this fact. She proclaimed,

> "Historically Dar es Salaam is the city began to built by Sultan Seyyid Majid. When Germans took power in 1887, continued building the town that sultan had started, and three years later, Dar es Salaam became the capital city of Germans East Africa. When British took over the colony after World War I, the city remained the centre for colonial power until independence in 1961" (*ibid*).

This was also the case after independence. The city continued to have the status as the capital city until 1995, when president Mkapa was in power, when it was suggested that the capital be moved to Dodoma.

Ishumi (2011) in his study "*the Haven of peace: In Search of Ideas and Initiatives and change*" makes it obvious that Dar es Salaam is a cosmopolitan city accommodating people from within and outside Tanzania (See also Dar es Salaam City Profile 2004: 4). Dar es Salaam not only attracts local people within the country, but also tourists and refugees from different parts of Africa (Sommers 2001: 21). The everlasting peace and harmonious environment is one of the reasons why people want to reside in Dar es Salaam. The diverse nature of the population makes the city look heterogeneous, thereby capable of

accommodating individuals from different cultures. The city was selected to explore how such a fusion of cultures impacts Tanzanian ngoma performances, particularly those performed by young people.

The fourth reason for the influx of people is concerned with technological development. The huge number of internet cafés, mobile phones and computers of different kinds in Dar es Salaam points to the fact that that these things are considered vital. It is not uncommon for a youth in Dar es Salaam to own more than one mobile phone while at the same time being able to recharge their mobile phones, which is still not feasible for the youth in villages and small towns. However, in Dar es Salaam youths are able to buy their mobile phones at Kariakoo, the central market of Tanzania, which sells many commodities, and so businessmen and women from other regions travel to Dar es Salaam to buy what they need, such as TV sets, clothes, kitchen utensils, shoes and mobile phones. They then transport these things to be sold up-country, where the price of items is doubled or even tripled, which makes mobile phones unaffordable to up-country youth. Apart from that, poor technology and the lack of electricity exacerbate the problem in rural areas.

Figure 2: Kariakoo central market in Dar es Salaam

Extending the discussion on technological development, December 31st of 2012 was remarkable for inhabitants of Dar es Salaam. This was the day when the entire city for the first time went digital. However, the transformation from analogue to digital broadcasting did not come without a cost. Those residing in Dar es Salaam who wanted to continue watching TV programmes had to purchase a *King'amuzi* or decoder (Rweyemamu 2012: n.p).[7] The

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[7]Dar es Salaam was the first to begin using a decoder, followed by Singida and Tabora which went digital in March 2014 and then Musoma, Bukoba, Morogoro, Kahama, Iringa, Songea and Lindi was

reason for this change was because the global communication policy announced that by 2015 the Tanzanian populace must have moved from analogue to digital technology.

Indeed, while Kenya was the first to switch off fake mobile phones, Tanzania appears to be the first in Africa to realize the UN goal of the technological shift from analogue to digital devices (TCRA 2014: n.p). However, some poor families who did not manage to buy a decoder experienced information blackout, but for those who did, the cost of buying airtime for TV was another issue. The airtime cost is between 10,000 Tshs and above per month. As for Startimes decoder, the 30,000 Tshs package is the one containing children's and youth's favourite programmes. Surprisingly, despite complaints that the 30,000 Tshs package is too expensive, families with children and youth often buy it. This study explores how TV impacts young people's access to skills for ngoma. Similarly, young people's ownership, control and usage of mobile phones are explored to find out the extent to which they impact Tanzanian youth's access to basic skills for ngoma.

1.8.2 IRINGA

Iringa's name is derived from the Kihehe '*Lilinga*', which means 'fort' (Onyango 2009. n.p). The name is believed to be connected with the longstanding culture of the Wahehe of creating a strong defence against enemies in the course of battle.[8] Iringa region is growing, but not as fast as Dar es Salaam. The total population is 900,000 lower than the population of Dar es Salaam. The figure below illustrates the point.

District	Population
Iringa District Council	254,032
Mufindi District Council	265,829
Iringa Municipal Council	151,345
Kilolo District Council	281,130
Mafinga District Council	51,902
Total	941,238

Table 1: Iringa population by district, Source: Population sensor 2012

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expected to go digital in October 2014. For more go to:
https://groups.google.com/forum/#!topic/wanabidii/uNET7jp16dg
[8] Interview with Samuel Mwamuyinga residing in Kalenga village

Measuring the development of Iringa region in infrastructural terms, the region can be said to be booming. There have been enormous improvements in the roads. In the 1990s Iringa had only one university but today there are four (REDET 2007: n.p). Surprisingly, in spite of all these improvements, the region still lags behind economically. Because of this, the youth in Iringa lack economic opportunities, for some industries have closed down or moved to other regions like Dar es Salaam or other places where it is believed there is a higher circulation of currency (Don Bosco 2013: n.p). Limited economic opportunities mean that many youth remain jobless or underemployed. Statistics show that Iringa is leading in terms of the proportion of HIV cases in the country, as 9.1 percent of the population are living with HIV. A study conducted by USAID (2013) indicates that the youth are the ones mostly affected by HIV. The main factor contributing to the rapid spread of HIV is poverty and the lack of economic opportunities (Rebecca, interview 2012). The reason for the lack of access to economic opportunities, among other things, is that most economic opportunities in Iringa are still in the hands of the older generation. While male youth steal and rob to distribute resources from the older to the younger generation, young women engage in sexual relationships for the same ends. It is common for a young woman to have two male friends, one older and the other younger. The former is for *kuchunwa buzi (*literally means flaying a goat) for exploiting him financially, and the latter is for *ushikaji (*somebody to simply touch) for enjoying sexual life. *Mshikaji* is used by the youth to mean a very good friend. In a sexual relationship the word *mshikaji* stands for a girlfriend or boyfriend of the same age. The tradition of young women having more than one male partner is reflected in the USAID study carried out in Iringa (2013). USAID found that male partners are called *kindoo na kidumu* (big buckets and gallons). *Ndoo* is the main sexual partner while *kidumu* or plural *vidumu* signifies two or more partners whose role is to provide for material needs. To quote USAID;

> Many women have no way to earn money. So, they rely on sexual relationship with older men to fulfil their material needs such as toothbrush and soup. Women perceived economic necessity of having *ndoo na kidumu* (a big bucket and gallon container for carrying water). If the bucket falls, at least the gallon of water is still intact. In other words, a woman needs a main sexual partner to fulfil most of her material needs, as well as one or more addinatin partners to supplement these needs and provide a finacial safety net" (p.12). [9]

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[9] See also Ansel (2005: 119).

Iringa region was targeted due to the poor economic situation affecting young people there. The study aimed at examining how both young women and men in ngoma groups avail themselves of ngoma to overcome economic challenges.

In technological terms, Iringa region moved at a slower pace than Dar es Salaam. Whilst Dar es Salaam television broadcasting went digital in December 2012, Iringa was expected to go digital in October 2014 (Rweyemamu 2012). This meant that at the time this study was carried out the inhabitants of Iringa had been using the analogue system, with all the limitations of only having access to local channels and weak signals from antennas purchased from street vendors.

Parallel to TV sets, there are far fewer mobile phones in Iringa than in Dar es Salaam. As cited above, the cost of buying technological devices in Iringa is much higher than it is in Dar es Salaam. Because fewer inhabitants possess mobile phones, which can often access the internet, there is much less demand for internet access. This was clearly evident through observations made in internet cafés. Unlike Dar es Salaam where internet cafés were frequented by many users, internet cafés in Iringa were not busy in spite of being very few in number. Iringa was chosen to explore the extent to which limited access to technology safeguards *ngoma* from global influences as well as how limited access to the internet makes the transmission of ngoma performances from one generation to the other much smoother.

The Wahehe are well known for their culture of resistance since the colonial period. Going through the literature I came across a document written by Jerrad in (1936) when the British colonial rulers were in power. When Gerrad wrote this document he was an Assistant District Officer of Labour in Tanga province. It shows that labourers were getting sick because of eating unhealthy food. The document was written to suggest that different kinds of food should be eaten by the workers to stop them being ill, which would increase productivity. My concern was over the statement at the end of his suggestions.

> "Hehe people dislike intensity, going out to labour and refusing to be contracted. Only a few leave the district for that reason"

The quotation above shows that in the colonial period Wahehe people were insurgents, which appears to be the case today. Another piece of evidence is seen in Mlokozi's (1979: 1) play '*Mukwava va Uhehe*' or the 'Mkwawa of Hehe Ethnic Group'. The introduction provides a synopsis of the reality of Wahehe society. Mulokozi argues that when the German Colonial

Government ruled Tanganyika, Chief Mkwawa told traders who passed through Wahehe province to pay tax. This irritated the German Colonial Government. Governor Wieseman told chief Mkwawa to travel to Dar es Salaam to apologise for what he asked of the traders. Mkwawa fearlessly refused to do so. If this is not enough to show how resistant the Wahehe were, during the battle between Wahehe and the Germans Mkwawa realized that he was about to be defeated, but instead of being restrained, he committed suicide (Williams 2005: 332). After committing suicide his skull was transported to Bremen and brought back to Wahehe society in June 1954 (Malangalila 1987: 85). Malangalila (1989) therefore shows clearly that because Mkwawa was an insurgent he committed suicide.

Cementing the notion of insurgency in Wahehe society, my experience as the daughter of Muhehe (my mother) and thus being brought up by Muhehe and Mkinga (my father), I learned that the culture of resistance of the Wahehe is still being maintained. This is obvious through their saying *ndimugaya sida* (I have no problem). The statement is often used by the Wahehe to resist any oppression or pursuit they think may possibly lead to loss of dignity. Thus, *ndimugaya sida* is often utilized to maintain self-respect and pride as Wahehe, irrespective of one's economic condition (*Ibid,* p. 84). Drawing on Malangalila, who regards the Wahehe as individuals who tend to maintain their culture and customs inherited from their ancestors, I chose Iringa to explore the extent to which the culture of resistance protects ngoma from global influences.

Furthermore, Iringa was selected, for it is where I was born and brought up. I singled out Iringa, because it would be easier to collect data in a place where people know me than in a place where I have no understanding of the people and their culture. Indeed being familiar with people made my life as a researcher easy. While I was still in Bayreuth doing some early preparation for my first fieldwork, I just phoned friends and relatives to help me establish contacts with informants. Because of the early information that was sent to informants, in almost every group I went to meet them for interviews, the question was always *wewe ndio ambaye tuliambiwa utakuja?* Or are you the one we were told about? The question suggested that almost all the respondents had been informed beforehand about this research.

1.8.3 CHOICE OF NGOMA GROUPS

A total of nine dance groups were involved in this study from Dar es Salaam and four from Iringa. Lumumba, Hayahaya and Makumila were selected from Dar es Salaam. UMATI, Alamano and Hisia were selected from Iringa municipality and Livangala and Tanangozi were selected from Iringa rural. Each was selected for specific reasons.

1.8.3.1 Lumumba theatre group

Lumumba dance group is located in Ilala, Mnazi mmoja, Dar es Salaam. The group began in 1997 with 29 primary school children as members. Mwalimu Dyuto Komba was, and still is, the director of Lumumba group. Since its inception Lumumba group has imparted skills to children in Lumumba primary school. The reason for selecting it was because of its ability to continue since 1997 without falling apart. Experience shows that ngoma groups in Tanzania tend to disappear shortly after their establishment.

Moreover, the group was selected owing to the characteristics of its members, some of whom were the pioneers. They joined the group in 1997 when the group was under the management of Lumumba Primary School. Since then these few pioneers have remained members of the group. My interest in involving pioneers was based on exploring the input of primary education in the development of their career as dancers.

Another reason for involving this group is that it is inclined to juxtapose *ngoma* with musical instruments used by western bands, such as guitars, keyboards and other musical instruments. Therefore, the aim was to explore how the group fuses these musical instruments and the challenges the group faces as a result. Moreover, dancers in this group were eager to design costumes, props and dancing styles to establish the difference between their ngoma performances and those of the rest of the groups. Such creativity has opened up opportunities to perform worldwide. The group confirmed that they had been invited to perform in Germany, Denmark, India and Poland, as well as Kenya and Mozambique (Music Crossroad International 2007). The group that fuses musical instruments, dance styles and costumes from across the globe was involved so as to delve deeper into how youth use material from other cultures to enrich their own culture and, more importantly, how this fusion opens up opportunities to perform across the world.

1.8.3.2 Hayahaya Ngoma Group

Hayahaya Dance Group is another group from which data for this study was collected. The name Hayahaya came from the word *haya* which means hurry up in Kiswahili. At the time the

group started members of the group tended to tell one another *haya haya* which means hurry up for rehearsals. The interview with the group secretary explains this.

> *Tulipoanza kundi letu watu walikuwa wavivu. Walikuwa hawaamini kama tunaweza kufanikiwa kuanzisha kundi na likapata mafanikio. Ili kuhimizana basi tukawa tunatumia maneno haya haya. Kwa vile tulikuwa tukiishi jirani jirani, basi tulikuwa tukienda kila nyumba na kuambizana haya haya muda wa mazoezi twendeni. Baada ya muda tukawa tumelizoea sana neno hili. Basi hata mtu mwingine nje ya kundi letu akisema haya haya mtu anataka asimame ili aende mazoezini. Basi hivyo ndivyo ambavyo jina la kundi letu lilivyozaliwa*

> "When we started our group, people were lazy. They thought we would not make it. Because of this we used to tell one another, *haya haya* (hurry, hurry up) let's go for rehearsals. Because we lived close to one another, we used to go to each member's home and repeat the same words *haya haya haya*. Afterwards, we became used to the term. Once we heard *haya haya* even a person who was not a member, what came into our minds was going for rehearsals. This is how the name Hayahaya was born" (interview, 2012).

Hayahaya ngoma group is located in Dar es Salaam. Unlike Lumumba, which began in 1997, this group began in 2008 with 7 members. The group has its office at Mtoni Mtongani where most of the members live. Despite the fact that the group is only 5 years old, it has proved to have a clear vision and positive future expectations. Although the group began in 2008, it began to be officially recognized in 2009 when it was registered by the National Arts Council (BASATA). Unlike Lumumba that tends to borrow ingredients from cultures from around the world, Hayahaya tends to recreate ngoma using movements from other Tanzanian musical cultures. Their ngoma performances borrow heavily from Bongo Fleva, *Muziki wa dansi* and Taarab. My interest in this group was to hear their views on what motivated them to fuse ngoma with other Tanzanian musical genres.

One more interesting factor concerning this group was the basis on which it was established. It began with seven members and since then it has added only two members. Almost all the members were pioneers, while the two who joined later are treated as newcomers. My reason for involving this group was to find out why it has not grown. Indeed, by involving this group I soon realized that becoming a member of a ngoma group in the era of globalization is not easy. One has to go through various procedures until he/she becomes a member, some of which confront members who want to use ngoma to search for space in society. A discussion on how complicated the process is presented in chapter seven titled *global influences in ngoma performances*.

1.8.3.3 UMATI

UMATI is another group which took part in this study. The group began to function in 1985 under the umbrella of UMATI NGO. Even the name UMATI was derived from the NGO's name. UMATI as an NGO stands for *Chama cha Uzazi na Malezi Bora* or a union of reproductive health and care, which began to operate in 1959 before independence. After independence, UMATI continued with its role of providing young people and middle-aged adults with education on reproductive health and care. UMATI ngoma group was established for the purpose of supporting the NGO to disseminate reproductive health and care messages to the Tanzania community, particularly inhabitants of Iringa. During 1980/90, UMATI NGO withdrew its commitment to the community because its sponsors had ceased support. Until now, nobody knows whether or not the NGO exists, despite the fact that some workers are still seen going in and coming out of the office. Since the NGO terminated its service, UMATI ngoma group is hardly involved in disseminating health information. Instead the group has decided to stand on its own feet by struggling to find performance opportunities elsewhere, especially at social and political events. The group was involved in order to explore how their status as an NGO group impacts their endeavour to find space via ngoma.

1.8.3.4 Alamano

Similar to UMATI, Alamano ngoma group started in 2008 under the umbrella of Alamano NGO.[10] Alamano NGO was established in 2002 for the purpose of offering a second chance to people living with HIV/AIDS. Apart from helping people living with HIV, the NGO provides services to orphans and children from a difficult environment. Alamano as a group began with 10 members but now the group is estimated to have 19 members or more, whose ages range between 15 and 45. Like UMATI, the group is also involved in sensitizing people about the NGO's plans. The rationale for involving ALAMANO group was to find out the challenges that ngoma groups established by an NGO experience, as they endeavour to use ngoma to find space.

Being located in Iringa, Alamano group was selected to find out whether there is a difference in the influence on ngoma performed by youth in cities and small towns. Indeed, owing to technological differences and other cultural factors, the study revealed that ngoma performed

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[10] The name was drawn from the blessed Joseph Alamano, a founder of Consolata missionary sisters (Valentini 2012).

by the youth in Iringa are less influenced than those performed by the youth in Dar es Salaam. An in-depth discussion on global influences is presented in chapter six.

1.8.3.5 Tanangozi and Livangala ngoma groups

Tanangozi ngoma group is located in Iringa rural. The distance between Iringa urban and Tanangozi is 25 kilometres. The village is located along the main road to Malawi and Zambia, which means it is more exposed to different cultures than other villages. The Tanangozi group was involved in order to find out whether interacting with people from other cultures impacts ngoma performances in a rural area.

Another group, Livangala, comes from Ifunda in Iringa rural. The distance from Iringa urban to Ifunda is about 45 kilometres. The group is located in a remote area approximately 5 kilometres from Ifunda ward centre. The group was selected in order to explore whether remoteness protects ngoma from global influences.

Both Tanangozi and Livangala were involved due to the characteristics of their members. Both groups comprise adults and youths. A combination of adults and youth in a group was useful for studying the power relations between the two groups and how that impacts young people's struggle for space.

1.8.4 The Population Sample

A total of 142 respondents were involved in this study. The sample comprised young people in ngoma, adult dancers, Bongo Fleva musicians, audiences, education officers, cultural officers and theatre practitioners from Bagamoyo College of Arts and the University of Dar es Salaam.

Bongo Fleva artist Gsolo, the Honourable Joseph Mbilinyi (Sugu), Mbishi Real, Robert Mavoko and Nestory were involved. While young dancers were involved so as to explore how they use ngoma to find space, Bongo Fleva artists were important for finding out why they prefer Bongo Fleva to ngoma in their endeavour to find space.

Moreover, twenty people from the audience were involved in this study, ten males and ten females, in order to gain an understanding of their perceptions of hybrid ngoma performed by the youth. A detailed discussion on audiences' perceptions is provided in chapter seven.

In addition, two curriculum developers and one government official were involved in this study to explore the factors that led to the change in school curricula between 2000 and 2005. Of the three informants, two were males and one was female. The information provided by

these informants made it possible to set up a discussion on the education system and how it impacts youths' access to skills for ngoma.

Finally, twenty practitioners were involved in this study as experts. The purpose of involving experts was to find out their perceptions of ngoma performed by the youth. Their perceptions of global influences on ngoma were also sought. Below is a summary of the informants who took part in this study.

Serial Number	Sample	Area	Male	Female	Total
1	UMATI	Iringa Urban	12	3	16
2	Hayahaya	Dar-Kinondoni	6	3	9
3	Alamano	Iringa urban	7	12	19
4	Tanangozi	Iringa rural	19	1	20
5	Livangala	Iringa rural	12	3	15
6	Lumumba	Dar-Ilala	10	4	14
7	Practitioners	Dar es Salaam	10	10	20
9	Audience	Iringa and Dar	10	10	20
10	Bongo fleva	Dar es Salaam	6	0	6
11	Curriculum Developers	Dar es Salaam	2	1	2
12	Teachers	Mlangali Pr. School Iringa	5	5	10
13	Government officials	Iringa	1	0	1
Total					142

Table 1: A Summary of informants involved in the study, Source: Extracted from field data

1.8.5. DATA PROCESSING: TRANSCRIPTION, CODING AND ANALYSIS

Data obtained from the field passed through various stages before the process of writing was embarked on. Since I used a video and tape recorder to collect data from the interviews and four FGDs, the first thing I did was to transcribe the data into written form. The process however did not involve transcribing all the information because some of the informants

tended to stray from the main theme, particularly the rural informants. This happened because they mistook me for a government leader. In spite of stating very clearly that I was a researcher, some were confused by my presence. Being mistaken for a politician, rural inhabitants began to discuss issues relating to the problems they often encounter in the village to do with water, education and access to health services. Ochs (1979:44) comments that a more useful transcript is one that is selective.

After transcription, the next stage was translation because most of the interviews were done in Kiswahili, particularly those conducted with young dancers and members of the audience. Davidson perceives that it is a challenging task if the researcher needs a translator (2009:38). However, because I can speak both languages well, I translated all the FGDs and interviews myself. Data collected from the professionals needed no translation as the questionnaires were in English. Thereafter, I coded the data.

Data coding is a systematic way of condensing an extensive amount of data into a smaller analysable unit. Data coding means placing data into themes in a way that makes data analysis manageable (Sharon 2004:137). In this study, the data obtained through FGDs, interviews, questionnaires and normal conversations were grouped into themes. The next stage was to engage with the data to try to find out the story the data was trying to tell. Finally, what followed was organising the data into chapters.

1.8.6 Research Ethics

There are several issues which need to be considered by a researcher when collecting data. For example, the researcher needs to protect informants from physical, social and psychological harm (Laws 2003:234) and to obtain the consent of the informants with whom he/she is carrying out the study *(ibid)*. In accordance with the research ethics, I followed several procedures before I embarked on collecting data.

In choosing the methods for collecting data for this study I kept in mind the research ethics 'do not harm' (Laws *et al* 2003). Being aware that some informants were illiterate, the methods I chose did not require anyone to demonstrate any academic competence or skills like writing or reading. This is especially the case in the rural area where some informants, due to different circumstances, had not been to school. As regards obtaining the consent of the informants involved in this study, before embarking on the data collection process, first of all I provided them with information about who I was, why I had come to their area, the purpose

of conducting the study and the issues the study intended to discover. After clarification I asked them whether they were happy to take part in the study.

Furthermore, I told them that the data collected through the video camera, tape recorder and still camera would be treated as confidential and would only be used for the purpose of this study.[11] Uses beyond this study would need their consent.

1.9 THE DEFINITION AND DESCRIPTION OF KEY TERMS

This section brings into discussion the terms that appear throughout this study. The term 'youth,' 'tradition' and 'modernity,' and the term 'ngoma' are defined in this section. Defining key terms is pivotal, especially in the humanities where the terms are not static. They change as the situation changes. For this reason, they need to be defined and redefined to fit a particular purpose. This study is of the view that defining terms is not about duplicating or simply copying the existing meaning. In this study defining terms means redefining them in a way that provides a new understanding of them (Scholte 2005: 52), while reflecting the purpose of the study and the context in which it was carried out.

1.9.1 THE DEFINITION OF YOUTH

'Youth' as a term has been variously defined by many scholars from different fields of study, such as education, psychology and development studies, as well as by international and local organizations. In the field of psychology and biology, for instance, the definition of youth is based on a chronological interpretation, while in the field of development studies and sociology the definition of youth is based on social and cultural constructs. For instance, in some cultures, pre-adolescents are looked upon as youth while in others someone over 30 is placed in the adolescent group. The UN defines a youth as one aged 15 to 25, while the World Bank defines youth as anybody aged 12 to 24.

Moreover, the definition of a youth varies from one country to another. In Malaysia, for example, a person is treated as a youth who is aged between 15 and 34. In Botswana, the

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[11] With this thesis, I attach the DVD comprising songs and dances employed in the analysis. It should be noted however that young informants shared their songs with me in two ways; through ngoma performances and songs which were handed to me in a written form. The songs the informants shared with me via performances and which were used for analysis are incorporated in the DVD. However, the DVD incorporates a small number of songs which were not used for analysis. The rationale for this is to offer readers passionate about delving deeply into Tanzanian culture through songs or ngoma performances the opportunity to hear them. The songs in written form are not incorporated in this DVD. They are merely used for analysis.

National Youth Policy shows that a youth is anyone aged 12 to 29. According to the African Charter, in which Tanzanian youth are included, an individual is considered young when he/she is aged between 15 and 35. In Tanzania, the definition of a youth, adopted from the UN, is one who is aged between 15 and 25. However, this study does not agree with the definition as it does not consider the reality on the ground, such as prolonged schooling and life's challenges, which cause youth to be as young as 7 or older than 25.

Furthermore, the definition of youth diverges drastically from one scholar to another. Herrera (2006. 1427), for instance, argues that some ministries define somebody as a youth when their age exceeds 40. This is regarded as the expected age for marriage and economic independence, especially for youth in developing countries. If 40 is regarded as the expected age for marriage, those ministries may be excluding some youth who get married young. Maasai girls, for instance, are engaged while in their mothers' wombs and get married at the age of 7, and so such a definition clearly excludes them. Luhanga (1980: 17) defines a youth as someone aged 7 to 21. Despite the fact that her definition contradicts that of the WB and UN, at least it considers that a youth can be as young as 7. Her definition though has some problems. While on the one hand, she suggests that youthful age begins at 7, on the other, her definition becomes contradictory when she limits youth to the age of 21. Alatt (2001: 250-259) offers a fascinating definition of youth that it should begin at 5 years old and over.

Apart from the definition of youth focusing on age ranges, Tyyskä (2005: 4) suggests two approaches to defining youth, the conservative and critical approaches. From the conservative point of view, youth is defined in relation to the transition into adult life. Therefore, the youth stage is viewed as a longitudinal life circle, beginning at birth and continuing into adolescence. Being a youth, according to this approach, is a problem which needs an urgent solution. This problem is linked to their biological make-up and the hormonal changes they undergo on their way to adulthood. Similar to biologists who regard the youth stage as a foolish age, from the conservative perspective youth are considered individuals who cannot control their feelings and desires. The youthful stage is thought of as the time in life when an adolescent is controlled largely by his or her body rather than the mind. Therefore, institutions such as schools are anticipated to be the mechanism through which a youth's behaviour is strictly controlled. This approach is criticized for its belief that human life is a linear process and because it overlooks the circumstances young people encounter as they cross the

boundary into adulthood. Young people's behaviour, like that of other human beings, changes as the social, economic and political situation changes (Herrera 2006: 1426).

Unlike the conservative approach, the critical approach defines youth by looking at the realities and challenges young people come across in their lives. In this approach, youth is defined as a manifestation of a new rebellion and a stage when the dominant powers affecting their lives are uncovered and criticized (Jones and Wallace 1992; Tyyskä 2005). The emergence of youth sub-cultures is thought to be a product of a dominant system which does not give youth the opportunity to demonstrate their potential as human beings.[12] This study is not interested in the official definition of youth but would rather concentrate on how youth in Tanzania define who they are. Drawing from Tanzanian youth, the term youth can be defined as anybody who still lives with his or her family home in spite of age. Such a person does not have a wife or children of his or her own and still depends on parents as the main providers for his or her needs.

1.9.2 TRADITION AND MODERNITY

In the era of globalization, studying ngoma may be questioned as some are of the view that tradition hampers modernity (Ishemo 1995: 209, Njoh 2006, Rostow 1960, Inglehart 1997). Inglehart (1997:5), for instance, in his study *Modernization and Post-modernization, Culture, Economic and Political Change* alleges that if less developed countries are to break the vicious cycle of poverty and pave the way for modernity, they need to radically abandon traditional ways of living and adopt modern ways (See also Huntington 1971: 285). Bronner is against this sweeping statement as he states,

> "Few westerners find anything rational about African culture and traditional practice. Those bent on universalizing the capitalists' ideology believe that Africans cannot develop unless they have abandoned the so called 'Primitive' traditional practices and institutions. This is because such practices lack social change mechanism necessary for attaining contemporary development (1998:186).

Because some scholars and developmentalists are suspicious of tradition in the modern era, this section gives good reasons why it is important to carry out this study in the era of globalization. This is done by trying to show the connection between tradition and modernity

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[12] Konig and Bayat (2005) compare youth culture with counter-culture. They define youth culture not as an opponent of the dominant culture but rather as a kind of deconstruction of the dominant culture from inside and its purpose has something do with reforming other than revolting.

since pre-colonial times to date. While using the terms 'tradition' and 'modern' we are aware of the fact that these terms cannot be employed on the grounds that, in most cases, they are present in opposition, thereby sometimes creating a sort of contradiction (Fabian 1997: 25). In this work, the terms tradition and modern are not used for the purpose of showing their contradictory relationship but rather to show how they have been connected and depend on one other. As cited above, the purpose of bringing in the terms tradition and modernity is to justify the major reason for carrying out the study on ngoma in the era of globalization.

In Tanzania and elsewhere in Africa, tradition simply means something worth protecting and handed down from one generation to the next. Although some scholars believe that tradition prevents modernity from taking place, a good number have revealed that tradition and modernity go hand-in-hand (Kidd 1980: 21, see also Colleta 1980, Mlama 1991). In the end they came to accept that tradition and modernity are like two sides of the same coin; if one side is missing the whole coin loses its value.

Colleta (1980: 21) in her study *Tradition for Change: Indigenous Form as a Basis for Non-formal Education and Development* offers countless examples of the relationship between the two concepts. She points out that previously many development planners believed that peasants' knowledge was a stumbling block to improving farming activities, for it was not responsive to modernity. She cites 200 cases of village development programmes, which completely failed because the planners were unwilling to recognize indigenous knowledge.

In line with Colleta, Kidd (1980) offers remarkable examples of how countries like Brazil, Jamaica, Pakistan and Indonesia made use of traditional culture to bring about social, economic and political development. Kidd offers an insight into the contribution made by traditional culture to the development of Brazil. He revealed that traditional channels, such as songs, *ngoma* and storytelling, were chiefly responsible for modernizing Brazilian society. He appreciates the pivotal role played by traditional channels in Brazil in conveying messages to mature corporations and labour unions.

The significance of tradition in modernity is well-pronounced in the case of family planning in India explored by Kidd (1980). The family planning project was donor-driven and aimed at assisting Indian women in relation to their predicament of constantly bearing children and caring for them. This not only made it difficult for Indian women to participate in development activities, but it also exposed them to violence (Pearson 1996: 293). Although the donors' scheme was in favour of Indian women, the execution of it was disputed. For

example, the channels the donors used to disseminate family planning messages were not in harmony with the traditional channels the women were used to, which meant that the entire effort was in vain. The women used the traditional channels ignored by the donors to spread rumours about the project. Through songs and ngoma women urged fellow women to reject the use of family planning because the donors were encouraging the western method of family planning. All of a sudden, no woman was prepared to substitute family planning for their weaker methods. From this project, Kidd learned that it is donors who caused the project to fail because they failed to recognize the connection between tradition and modernity.

Moreover, the value of tradition in modernity was especially obvious during colonial times in Africa and elsewhere under colonialism. It is evident that the colonial administrators were aware of the value of tradition for modernizing societies, because of this they made many attempts to do away with traditional culture (Hussein 1975: 42, See also Mlama 2003). Although ngoma was not allowed, it seems that the few that managed to survive became useful for arousing a spirit of revolt and raising morale during the struggle for independence. Afterwards, ngoma continued to play a similar role of disseminating developmental messages to Tanzanians.

Policies such as *Ujamaa* (socialism), the Arusha Declaration and Education for Self-Reliance were all spread through traditional channels, including ngoma. Although modern media like radio was already in use, traditional channels were more convenient since not all Tanzanians owned a radio. Traditional channels were important due to the nature of the population. When Tanzania got its independence in 1961 the majority were uneducated (Msekwa and Maliyamkono 1987:24-25). Thus, they could not read policies by themselves. For this reason, traditional channels like ngoma were paramount in providing an understanding of what the policies being implemented were all about. Ngoma are currently useful for disseminating developmental information, not only in rural areas but also in towns and cities. The evidence from scholars who use ngoma in development projects provides a general picture of the significance of tradition in development (See Mlama 1991, Koch 2008, Lihamba 2004). Mlama (1991: 26) in her study "*Culture and Development*" makes it clear that any developmental projects which do not consider tradition have been seen to fail abysmally.

Gunderson (2010: 11-13), in his study *Sukuma Labour Songs from Western Tanzania: We Never Sleep, We Dream Farming,* uses ngoma to demonstrate the link between tradition and

modernity. He interviewed several informants who elucidated how tradition enables them to achieve social and economic development. Below are some of his informants' voices.

This music helps youth to work, so they are not just hanging around. Every individual has the desire to farm, to do his bit

When the music is here, one can finish four hectares, but if there is no *ngoma*, I will not farm, hardly at all

We work from six till noon, three days a week. We work for more than an hour at a time without resting, and it is the music that helps us get used to work

After working to music for some time, the person will not feel the weight of his hoe, nor will he feel how hard the earth is. He will just continue working until the song is finished.

 Music lulls the farmer's consciousness like rainwater.

When you hear the call of the drums, the heart knows only joy, you just go on farming, forgetting your worries, and you sing without doubt or fear.

The quotations above prove that there is a link between ngoma and development. Unlike in western society, where ngoma is seen on the stage, ngoma in Sukuma society is taken with them to the farm. The evidence of those who use ngoma shows that they dig hectares which could not be dug if it were not for ngoma. Ngoma unifies them so that they work together without being tired.

Owing to the importance of tradition in modernizing societies, Sen (2004:42) suggests that tradition should be used as the foundation for economic research to influence economic behaviour and in politics. In politics, Sen suggests that tradition should be exploited as a force for political participation and as a tool for encouraging solidarity among people.

It should be noted, however, that protecting tradition does not always imply that all traditions are relevant and useful for the modernization process. The study is aware of some traditions which do not deserve to survive because they defy modernization (Sanga 2013: 69). Among other things, the study is against Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), the large consumption of food at festivals, early marriages, the recruitment of children as soldiers and the coming-of-age ceremonies that tend to keep schoolchildren indoors for a long time, jeopardizing their right to education. The study is against all these practices, for Njoh (2006:186) says they 'go against human rights.'

In this study tradition means the socio-cultural and economic practices designed by people to improve their lives. They are not fixed but are subject to change in order to serve the needs and interests of the people in the contemporary world. Modernity, according to this study, is an evolutionary process that incorporates both modernity and tradition.

1.9.3 TRADITIONAL DANCE, MODERN DANCE OR NGOMA?

Traditional dance, contemporary dance or ngoma is the question that repeatedly came to mind as I began to think of an appropriate term to be used to define ngoma performed by the youth in this study. At first, I thought of using the term traditional dance. Going through the literature along with several presentations I made, I realized that the term was contradictory, ambiguous and even confusing and so it was improper to use it to represent ngoma performed by the younger generation. It became clear that the term traditional dance symbolizes performances which are local, outdated, primitive, static and divorced from reality. Because of this, I thought of abandoning the term and espousing the term modern dance instead. Likewise the concept of modern dance turned out not to be a good term since it is perceived as a western concept that considers the rest of dances unintelligible, pre-modern and obsolete, whereas western dances are global, dominant and superior.[13] Terms like creative, contemporary or concert dances were not used as this study envisaged them as being too narrow to capture the richness and diversity of ngoma performed by the youth. In the end, I thought of the term 'ngoma' as a more comprehensive term and thus suitable to be used. Below is a working definition of the concept of ngoma.

1.9.4 THE DEFINITION OF NGOMA

The term ngoma has different meanings in Kiswahili. Some scholars define ngoma by referring to it as a "drum", a universal accompaniment of ceremonial music (Madan 1903: 280). However, Madan's definition appears to exclude those ngoma performances that do not use a drum as part of their music. Kiduo ngoma is a clear example as it depends on hand clapping as the main source of its music.

Ngoma as a term also refers to a performance for exorcizing spirits or an activity with healing potential (Dependencies, Inter-Territorial Language Committee for the East African 1971: 336). Indeed, in Tanzania where this study was carried out, ngoma such as Rungu, Madogoli,

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[13] Interview with Professor Makoye, for example, showed clearly that he is not in favour of using the term modern to categorize Tanzanian ngoma performances because the term has connection with western dances

Kilinge, N'anga, Uyeye, Ugoyangi, Mbina ya Mabasa, Ruhani and many others are recognized as healing ngoma. Another meaning of ngoma is that of *Tambiko* or ritual, which exists for the purpose of being reconciled to and maintaining communication with the ancestors. In Tanzania, it is believed that ancestors are sometimes angered by human deeds. Thus, ritual ngoma are used to settle disputes that often happen between ancestors and humankind (Mwakalinga, interview 2012). In pre-colonial society incidences like floods, the birth of albinos and twins happened when ancestors were unhappy. Ngoma was then danced to please them and stop them from punishing members of society. In this kind of dance, movements, costumes and dancing were also designed to serve this end. In Makonde spiritual dance, for instance, the height of masquerades surpasses that of ordinary human beings.

The term ngoma is also used to refer to the coming-of-age or initiation ceremonies. (Drews 2000) who did her study on the Kunda, a matrilineal community in Zambia, reveals this fact. She argues that when a girl has her first menstrual period, she is told to stay indoors for a week, a month or even more. The exact time depends on the ethnic group and how the coming-of-age ceremony is organized. The process of organizing it is called ngoma (Engelke 2001: 147, Pels 2000). Drews (2000: 39-60) further argues that ngoma is a symbol of political power. This is particularly the case when men, through rites of passage, acquire leadership skills, which they often use in their later lives when they become leaders, for the leadership skills young people acquire in rites of passage are not confined to their wives, sisters, children and nephews but also to their clan, village and region (p.42).

From the gender point of view, Drews perceives ngoma as a status symbol for women. She claims that women's lives are controlled by men. In therapeutic and rites of passage ngoma, women play a leading role as in charge of all activities, including drumming, which, in community ngoma performances, is done by males. According to her, the dominant role that women assume in therapeutic and initiation ngoma corrects the imbalance in power. Thus, ngoma becomes a platform through which gender roles are negotiated, contested and redefined (*ibid*).

Pels in his study titled "*Kizungu Rhythm: Luguru Christianity as Ngoma*" brings to light the fact that ngoma in Waruguru society is not just a musical instrument or a rites of passage ceremony but it also involves a change in someone's rhythm of life from one phase to another (2000: 102). He was surprised to see that even the change of status from married life to widowhood was also called ngoma.

From the performance point of view, ngoma is widely recognized as a performance or tradition expressed through music, dancing, drumming and singing (Campbell and Eastman 1984: 467, see also Howard 2014), which is not done without purpose. Through this the history, values, teaching and identity are passed on from older members of the community to younger ones (*ibid*, p. 489).[14] Therefore, in order to acquire these values expected by society, among other things, the younger generation had to participate in dance. As stated elsewhere, through participating in ngoma, their future careers were determined. For example, some dances demanded that a dancer use a lot of energy, for a dancer who danced more energetically than others was thought likely to become a hunter or to pursue any career which needed stronger people. During the colonial period, ngoma performances were influenced by activities that took place at time. The interaction of people and culture made ngoma acquire a new outlook. Mganda dance is a fine example. Military costumes with ranks on the shoulders provide evidence that Mganda ngoma is an amalgamation of two cultures (Ranger 1975, Kerry 1990).

In the era of globalization, ngoma performances are repeatedly influenced by the media and the interaction of people from different cultures. Ngoma is moving from being a communal activity to being a lucrative one with the aim of making money (Songoyi 1986). It is becoming increasingly common to find movements from salsa, Indian and American dances in Tanzanian ngoma performances. An in-depth discussion on influence in dancing styles is found in chapter six, titled global influences on ngoma.

Turning to the main objective of this section of defining the term ngoma for the purpose of this study, it can be defined as a performance which gives artists the space to express their thoughts, emotions, pains and aspirations through dancing, drumming and singing. In so doing, they make their thoughts heard and considered in respect of the social, economic and political agenda of the nation. Such performances however are not static but undergo changes that reflect the social, economic and political realities of the society in question, in this case Tanzanian society (Sanga 2013: 69).

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[14] For an in-depth understanding of what ngoma is in Tanzania context see also the discussion above of tradition and modernity which shows how Tanzanian ngoma has undergone change from being a ritual activity to an economic pursuit

CHAPTER 2 THE CONCEPTUAL MODEL

Each concept represents a vantage point from which to look at human behaviour but no one concept comprises each and everything. We make the assumption that there is no complete concept[15]

(Corey *et al* 2006: 7)

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter engages in a discussion of the concepts utilized for analysing the findings. Because this study is multi-disciplinary in nature, the study employed various concepts to put the issues that emerged into perspective. The concept of 'globalization' was chosen to explore global influences on Tanzanian ngoma performances. The concept of 'gender' is employed to explore gender relations in ngoma performed by youth. Moreover, the concepts of 'space', 'participation', 'authenticity' and 'hybridity' are pertinent for enriching the meaning of cultural globalization, a term that is related to trans-culturalism as part of its endowment. The concepts of space and participation are used as a window to explore how young people avail themselves of ngoma to combat their lack of access to space, and the concepts of 'authenticity' and 'hybridity' are instrumental in investigating the hybrid nature of ngoma performances reinvented by the youth.

2.2 CONCEPTUALIZING GLOBALIZATION

Globalization is a very broad concept suitable for use in sociology, politics, economics, culture, education and inter-generational studies, to name just a few. The diverse nature of the concept is based on the fact that globalization is increasingly becoming an inevitable fact in our lives. Globalization affects our political, cultural, economic and recreational lives (Scholte 2005: 54). Before delving into the main part of the concept of globalization, it is vital to begin with a definition of globalization to give an idea of what it is in general and what it means for the purpose of this study.

Evidence from the literature shows that globalization has been defined and redefined by different scholars to serve different ends. Each definition seems to be influenced by scholars' locations, nationality and professions, the strength of their national economies and how globalization affects their lives at that moment in time. Being optimistic or sceptical about globalization is often influenced by the circumstances in which scholars find themselves. Jotia

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[15] Modified from Corey *et al* (2006: 7)

(2008: n.p), for instance, defines globalization positively as a panacea that seeks to achieve economic integration among states to better the lives of all. Similarly, Sobel (2009: 1) conceptualizes globalization optimistically as multiple processes by which people in one society become culturally, economically, politically, socially, informationally, strategically and epistemologically closer to people in other geographical areas. On the other hand, some scholars perceive globalization pessimistically. Scholars, whose literary studies focus mainly on East Africa, in particular Tanzania and Kenya, perceive globalization cynically as nothing other than a new model of domination, which masquerades itself as a new philosophy but in reality is an old one trying to slide into our consciousness without our knowledge (Adeleke 2005: n.p, see also Khamis 2006, Kezilahabi 1990). In this context Khamis equates globalization with global villainy or global pillage (2005: 69), a new form of exploitation emerged to promote the wellbeing of former imperial powers at the expense of the former colonized nations (Adeleke 2005: n.p).

Because globalization is a wide concept, for the purposes of this study three tributaries are going to be explored. These are the technology, the economy and culture. Bill Ashcroft *et al.* (1998: 111), for example, consider the essentials of globalization from a technological point of view. They claim that globalization simplifies the flow of information on markets that eventually benefits local communities. The economist, Friedman (2009), is optimistic about globalization based on the advantages of the internet in the lives of entrepreneurs. He makes clear that the internet is a fundamental part of technology, as it enables people interested in online business to go ahead, because it facilitates the sale of products across the world as well as, of course, a close relationship with customers through feedback and comments. James (2002: 16) is also positive about online business because of its power to operate 24 hours a day, seven days a week. He shows that individuals who have no time in the afternoon can use the night hours to do their shopping. It also reduces the costs of running a business as it is cheaper, for it does not need an interactive relationship between dealers and customers. Scholte (2005), however, considers this observation one dimensional, as it focuses on the benefits of globalization from the perspective of the developed world like Europe and America, where use of the internet is pervasive and within easy reach.

Doing business online needs both internet and computer skills, such as the ability to switch on the computer, to use the keyboard, upload and download material and so forth. Like others, dancers as business people need computer and internet skills in order to display their artistic

performances, which in turn will enable them to sell these worldwide. The study uses the concept of globalization to explore whether or not Tanzanian dancers' access to the market is impacted by the lack of computer skills.

Apart from computer skills, the language used to communicate via the internet appears to be another barrier to doing business online. Online statistics have demonstrated that until 2004 the languages dominating internet communication are English and Asian languages, which means that, according to Lieber and Weisberg (2002: 278), other languages do not have a rosy future. They note that if serious efforts are not made to rescue languages, virtually 90 percent of them might die out by the 21st century (See also Msanjila 1999: 297). Na'Allah (2011: 49) associates language bias with the act of othering other languages, which happens when one considers his or her language more important than the languages of others. Ngugi wa Thiongo (2014: 10) thinks this will happen when,

> *Baadhi ya watu wanapoamini kuwa kama kwamba lugha zao ni lugha takatifu, yaani ni lugha anazozungumza Mungu*
>
> Some people believe that their languages are holy languages which were used by Almighty God when he created the universe (my own translation).

The fact that some languages dominate other languages in internet communication appears to have unhappy consequences, predominantly for people who have not been exposed to the English language. Employing the concept of globalization, the study explores how the use of English has prevented Tanzanian dancers from selling their performances worldwide.

Broadening the matter of doing business online, Friedman (2009:199) claims that globalization enables people to travel from one place to another to sell their labour. Thus, he strongly recommends that countries transform their education system in a manner that will help them benefit from opportunities offered by globalization. He states that what is essential is flexibility and the readiness of individuals to move from one place to another and from one job to another. However, Bardhan (2006: 3) thinks this is realistic and feasible for a certain group of people, but not for all people particularly from the developing world. He proclaims that developed countries are increasingly initiating anti-migration policies, which prevent people from developing countries from crossing borders for business purposes. This makes the concept of creating a borderless world more possible for individuals from the developed world than for people in the developing world (*ibid*). In his study "*Unequal Access to Foreign Spaces: How States use Visa Restrictions to Regulate Mobility in Globalized World*" he

claims that although the universal human right (article 13) stipulates the right to enter and leave one's own country, surprisingly, this right appears to protect individuals from the global north more than it does to people from the global south. Observing this, he became conscious that the universal right protects inhabitants possessing a passport of rich countries (Salter 2003: 2). Neumeyer laments that when applying for a visa it is the nature of the passport one holds that matters rather than the activity the visa is applied for. Using the concept of globalization, the study examines whether or not Tanzanian dancers are also trapped in this vicious cycle of visa application.

Turning our attention to culture, scholars appear to have different perceptions of the impact of globalization on culture. Some scholars perceive globalization optimistically as a mechanism through which cultures from different places feed each other (Wijsen and Tanner 2002: 2, see also Swadizba 2011). Globalization is perceived to offer artists from different parts of the world a menu from which to choose (Cowen 2002:19), unlike in traditional society where artists depended only on the community from which to draw material for their ngoma performances (Welsh 2004). In turn, it gives each society power to become a rich source of creative energy, mainly by drawing on motion pictures, acrylic paints and electric guitars as they venture for creativity (Cowen 2002: 19). As a result, it enables them to come up with their own performances (Wijsen and Tanner 2002: 2). For Cowen, freedom to make something unique does not necessarily mean choosing different things that have not been chosen by others. It can mean choosing the same thing (p.129).

Some scholars are suspicious of globalization, claiming that it affects the cultures of the developing world. Western culture, for example, has for a long time set the standards of the world's culture through such things as the type of clothing, and the way of speaking, eating and dancing (Lieber & Weisberg 2002:276). Nicholls (1996: 42) considers this to be a dire situation, which needs an urgent solution seeing that it damages cultures that have been built over thousands of years by our fathers. As a result, it creates difficulties in forming norms and values which play a central role in shaping identities, manners and practice. Khamis (2007) regards this as polluting the cultures of countries in the developing world, which causes people from global south to be thought of as ignorant and unable to think for themselves. Since they are incapable of thinking, they need somebody who can think on their behalf and take control of their destiny (Nyasani 1997: 205).

Scholars have revealed different factors fostering the homogenization of culture. One of the reasons is that the developing countries themselves are obsessed with the culture of rich countries. Cowen (2002: 33) warns that reliance on the culture of rich countries not only limits creativity but also destroys the cultures of the developing world, which continue to feed into the broader cultural stream of rich countries. Khamis (2007: 5) perceives this as ignorance that cannot be compared with anything else.

Global media is another factor responsible for homogenizing cultures. It is claimed that most of the programmes on TV and the internet are produced by rich countries, while developing countries remain receivers of culture (Khamis 2007: 1, Scholte 2005, and Ekström 2010). Ekström (2010: 168) in her study *"We are like Chameleons: Changing Mediascapes and City Sisters in Dar es Salaam"* argues that in Tanzania 90 percent of TV programmes have been extracted from transnational television companies such as CCN, Sky News, BBC World or Deutsche Welle, whereas only 10 percent have been produced locally. Production costs, the production crew, materials and corruption appear to be the reasons for this. As a result, Tanzania has become more or less a data taker rather than a proactive data maker (Scholte 2005: 327). This study uses the concept of globalization to seek to understand how TV programmes extracted from transnational television stations affect changes in ngoma performances performed by the youth.

2.3 CONCEPTUALIZING GENDER IN THE STUDY OF NGOMA PERFORMANCE

The concept of gender is a historical one. Originally the term meant the biological differences between men and women. In recent years the concept has been criticized by American feminists, who claimed that it naturalizes socially constructed differences between men and women into biological traits. Based on this fact, Truong (2009) in Simunkova (2009: 5) observed that gender as a concept has been shaped and reshaped to reflect specific situations and concerns. In the 1970s, for instance, there was no difference between the terms gender and sex. In the course of the 1980s the two concepts began to be treated differently. While sex was categorized in the field of biology, gender was placed in the field of the social sciences. In the 1990s, the meaning was extended to intersect with the concept of race, sex, age and class so that the term reflects not only the relationship between men and women but also the broader spectrum, irrespective of race, sex, age and class (*ibid*).

Gender as a grammatical concept is widely known as a technique for classifying phenomena. As a grammatical term, gender is defined as a socially constructed method of distinguishing

between individuals rather than an objective distinction of inherent traits (Scott 1998:29). Gender as a psychological concept is described by Lucan in relation to the ego and the other. He argues that the ego is defined in terms of an imaginary register where the subject is positioned in relationship to the other. Lucan, whose thoughts are mostly influenced by Freud's earlier work, states that the other (the mother or parents) influences the subject, who often adopts the stance of the other. Swilla, whose study focused on Tanzania, explores parents' actions and how they influence children's behaviour. He argues that parents' words impact the way in which children treat one another according to their sex. Mwendamseke's (1989:70) study also focusing on Tanzania. She attempted to collect words which tend to reinforce gender. Due to the lack of space, only a few phrases will be used as an example. He revealed that words like *jikaze kiume,* or be strong like a man, and *acha legelege kama mwanamke,* or don't be weak like a woman, tend to be used by parents when trying to stop their boy children from crying. Although these words often focus on encouraging toughness of character in boy children, the study revealed that their application has had unhappy results, one of which is to reinforce the difference in gender of boy and girl children, which affects their childhood and future lives as complete and autonomous beings (Swilla 2004, Koda 2004, Hanna 1995).

To find a terminology that could best describe issues relating to gender and the participation of youth in ngoma performances, I chose Lorber's 1995 four aspects of the social construction of gender; gender as an institution, gender as a process, gender as a stratification system and gender as a structure, for I believe that these four concepts will allow me to delve deeper into issues raised in this study relating to gender. Lorber's (1995) four concepts of social construction are relevant for examining how social institutions, the structure of society and constructed hierarchies contribute to the construction of gender in society. The study uses these concepts to gain an understanding of how they impact young women and their endeavour to obtain space by means of ngoma. It is vital to provide a short explanation of what these concepts mean according to Lorber and other scholars who have already studied these concepts. To initiate the discussion, let us have a look at gender as an institution.

2.3.1 Gender as an Institution
Gender as an institution, according to Lorber, is a significant component around which human lives are organized. Society depends on the predictable division of labour, the designated allocation of scarce goods, and responsibilities being assigned to children and others who

cannot care for themselves. One way of choosing people for different tasks in society is based on their talents, motivation, competence and their demonstrated achievements. The other way of assigning responsibilities is on the basis of gender, age and ascribed membership (Lorber 1995: 31). Gender as an institution creates a social status that is distinguishable through the rights and responsibilities assigned. To legitimatize what was assigned to gender by the community, religious laws and the state are effectively used as a mechanism for implementation (Pearson 1992:294). In societies where patriarchy plays an important role in guiding people's manners, men pass on patriarchal values to the members. In a patriarchal society men are regarded as people who work outside and women stay inside. Therefore, women who work outside the home are regarded as rude and proud of themselves and in extreme cases as prostitutes and lawbreakers.

2.3.2 Gender as a Process

Gender as a process, according to Lorber, is an act of reproducing social differences, which in turn are used as criteria for defining a woman and man in society. Throughout their lives, individuals learn what is expected of them, and react in the expected way. Acting unexpectedly is regarded as a form of resistance to so-called 'social norms'.

In addition, gender as a process acquires additional layers of gendered sexuality, parenting and work behaviour in childhood, adolescence and adulthood. Expected norms are enforced through informal sanctions of peers and other members of society as a result of acting in unexpected ways and these vary from society to society, ranging from being verbally prohibited from doing something unexpected to being physically punished by authorized individuals such as parents, teachers and peers. Citing an example of how peers play a role in policing behaviour, Sanga (2013) in her study "*Social Structure and State of Female Dancers"* is a case in point. Since young men have been nurtured in a way that makes them feel more powerful and skilful than their counterpart young women, they use such an opportunity to exploit them. Having a feeling that they are more skilful than females, the study observed that roles which seem to demand extra skills are often done by male dancers. The drumming role, for instance, was been done by male members (Drews 2000: 41-42). Asked why this is so, young men claimed that young women cannot do the drumming. It is men who can do it best. To transform such biased thinking about female gender, Lucan suggests transforming the signification of the excluded and producing new forms of signification (Campbell 2002:4). To put it differently, Lucan suggests that parents as role

models of their children and members of society should stop forcing children to behave in accordance with their gender that makes boys and girls see each other as different. Changing behaviour means transforming the manner in which children and youth treat one another in the future.

2.3.3 Gender as a Stratification System

Stratification means the way in which rocks of various kinds are formed into levels or strata which make surface layers (Fulcher and Scott 2003:692). This term is often used in geology to describe how layers are formed on the earth's surface. In the field of gender, the term stratification began to be used recently to mean the process by which individuals are ranked into hierarchies of advantages and disadvantages (*Ibid*). Stratification means the process by which members of communities, families or social groups are ranked on a scale, some in higher and others in lower positions (Stavenhagen 1975:19). The act of one gender being pigeon-holed higher than the other, according to Lorber, did not originate in a vacuum. It has always been the product of society in which a few members are ascribed more power than the others. As a result, the few members at the top exploit others socially, economically and mentally for their own gain (Walter 1994:292). The power they possess as an outcome of education, economic status, nationality, family history and gender makes them develop a feeling of being more self-important than others in society. As long as the male gender is ascribed higher value, whatever is done by them is given higher value merely because it is men who have done it (Lorber 1995: 33, Omari 2004). What can be done by women is considered easy (Mencher 1988: 104). To give a clear picture of how men's work is valued, Lorber gives an example from the hunting and gathering society. She states that in this society, women's task was to collect nuts and grub in the bush whereas men specialized in hunting. When men's hunting was successful, it was an occasion on which society celebrated because it was the men who were successful. While men's success was celebrated, women's success was unacknowledged because they were the ones who had done it.

The custom of adding more value to duties performed by the male gender does not happen only in pastoral societies, but is also prevalent in different social groups. Citing the example of ngoma groups, men's role is treated as more special than that of female members (Sanga 2013). For example, the drumming role is done by men it is considered more special than the role of dancing in a show. In several cases, women lamented men having to demand additional payment and recognition for their role as drummers. Women who do well, instead

of being appreciated for their good performance their role is often equated with weakness. Sanga (2001) who studied choirs in Tanzania observed this fact. He revealed that men were given the role of chairman, secretary or teachers, while women were assigned the role of treasurer (p. 88). He observed that women assumed this responsibility vigilantly and successfully. Instead of acknowledging their good performance, male members associated their success with the fear women always have. Men perceived that it is the fear of stealing that makes women treasurers and that if the same role were given to men, they would steal and go because they are brave. The implication here is that although stealing is bad, it is phrased positively as the behaviour men display because of confidence and toughness.

2.3.4 Gender as a Structure

Structure according to Berner (2008: 1) implies something durable and immobile; it refers to the qualities of social life which are relatively stable and entirely predictable. Living by following a particular structure is regarded as vital for helping individuals from whatever level to plan and live an organized life (*ibid*). The advantage of structure, at the national level, among other things, is that it provides people with a clear plan for their lives.

For Lorber, gender as a structure legitimizes those in authority and organizes their sexuality and emotional life. When gender is a major component of structured inequality, the undervalued gender has less power, prestige and economic reward than the valued gender (Campbell 1995:184). The valued gender is paid better than the undervalued one. It is the structure that positions the valued gender in a dominant position of authority and leadership in all spheres of life, in government, culture, religion and sport. Mukhopadhyay and Meer argue against governments that place women at the margins in leadership, and so this kind of government must be written off as it is incomplete, undemocratic and unaccountable (2004:71).

Despite the efforts women make in politics, their access to political position is still limited by their so-called "lack creativity and innovativeness" (*ibid*). Tanzania, like many countries, has initiated the quota system to increase the number of women in leadership, but this does not seem to be a genuine solution to the scarce representation of women in the political arena. Statistics indicate that in Tanzania's parliament in 1991 they made up 11 percent of all the members. The constitution amendment of 2000 boosted the percentage from 11 to 20 percent. In 2005, it was expected to be 30 percent (Meena 2003: 3). Despite this gradual achievement, representation is still unequal, at the ratio of 30:70. Therefore, much work needs to be done to

make possible the equal representation of men and women, especially when we take into account that the population of women exceeds that of men. While males number 21,869,990, females number 23,058,993, a difference of 1,189,003 (see population census 2013: iii)

Focusing on ngoma groups, Sanga (2013: 100) in her study "*Social Structures and the State of Female Youth Dancers in Tanzania: a Practical Experience from Female Dancers*" reveals that in most ngoma groups, men occupy the leading positions of chairman, secretary and teachers, while only the role of treasurer was given to females. This implies that if male members could be trusted to assume this role, no women would be leaders. This study revealed that female members were given the chance to be the chairman or secretary on a temporary basis when male members were unavailable because of sickness and/or withdrawing from membership. Even in such a short period of time of being leaders, male members blamed female members for negligence, ineffectiveness and incompetence.

Gender as a structure places men at the fore and female at the margins. Throughout their lives men are given positions as public figures while women's domain is the kitchen. Women are treated as nothing other than sexual objects for the satisfaction of men. They are treated not as ends in their own right but as a means to an end, that of men (Nussbaum 2000: 220). In some societies in Tanzania a woman is not allowed to contribute when men speak because of the belief that women cannot have a point to contribute to the discussion. Their status is equated with that of children, but when they pluck up courage to speak, their voices go unheard due to the argument that they lack the ability to engage in independent thinking, and so have no original ideas to contribute to the conversation (Mukangala and Koda 1997: 38, see also Swilla 2004). Lack of voice at the family level has unhappy consequences for their lives as political beings. In this study some female youth did not want to be leaders, claiming that male members would not acknowledge them as their leaders.

In this thesis gender as a social institution is used to explore how institutions like the family and schools contribute to lowering the confidence of women to argue against various forms of exploitation in their career as dancers and how it affects their career choice as dancers.

Gender as a structure is used to explore the extent to which the social structure affects power relations between female and male dancers in a group and how this impacts female dancers struggling for space through ngoma. By referring to the groups I worked with during

fieldwork, the study argues that young women have to be given space to exercise their agency as political agents at the family level. This is where political interest can be nurtured.

History shows that gender is not only about the oppression of females by males but also about the oppression of men by men or males by females. The oppression of men by men can be traced back to the colonial period and the slave trade, although studies have shown that this is prevalent in the current era (Ntarangwi 2003). Thus, the concept of gender as a social construct is used to reveal different forms of oppression male dancers experience in their career as dancers and how these critics impact their endeavour to gain space by way of ngoma. Since the negative perception of male dancers is socially constructed, the study uses gender to explore possibilities for change.

2.4 THE CONCEPT OF PARTICIPATION

Participation is a very old notion. For a long time the term has been used by politicians to mean the situation of taking part in voting and decision making (Richardson 1983:1). He further argues that participation is the situation of being listened to or consulted concerning an activity, the end result of which is the redistribution of power. In the 1990s, the term gained prominence in development studies to mean the process whereby community members get involved in development projects. Despite the fact that some scholars believe participation means inclusion, scholars like Botes and Rensburg (2000) observe that it does not mean inclusion at all. They take the example of a project that has already been designed and then community members are told just to participate in it; to them, this is not participation. They consider it as the act of trying to convince the community about what is best for them (p. 43). In theatre studies, the notion of participation can be traced back to 1980 after the death of travelling theatres, which failed because they were regarded as amateurs, characterized by the partial involvement of community members from the grassroots level. [16]

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[16] Travelling theatre was organized in a way that amateurs prepared an unfinished play, which was then taken to the village ready for performance. Villagers were involved in the course of the performance to give their opinions on it. Later in the 1990s, some scholars thought that the involvement of community members was unsatisfactory, because of this, theatre for development came into being. Theatre for development is an activity in which members community get involved from the outset until the project comes to an end. Put differently, members of the community get involved in identifying a problem, collecting data, analysing the problem, searching for possible resolutions, creating a performance and post-performance discussion (See also Kerr 1995).

Turning our attention to this study, the participation of youth is a recent concept, dating back 15 years. It became part of the political agenda in the early 1990s after the United Nations introduced the Convention on the Rights of Children and Youth in 1989. This Convention emerged as a result of bad policies and practices that excluded youth from issues which directly affected their lives (Convention on Rights of Children and Youth 1989: 4). Notwithstanding the 1989 Convention, the involvement of youth in socio-economic and cultural issues is dwindling rather than improving. Being excluded from the national agenda, studies increasingly demonstrate how young people struggle to get involved in important issues of their society (Reustier-Jahn 2008, Englert 2008 and Perullo 2005). In this study, Hart's 1992 ladder of participation and Percy Smith's social learning model are used to explore how Tanzanian youth avail themselves of ngoma to take part in political matters of their country. Hart's ladder of youth participation has important components, which makes possible an extensive examination of the factors underpinning the participation of youth in politics.

Hart's Model of Youth Participation

Hart's ladder of participation has 8 rungs from the bottom up (the figure below is self-explanatory). The model indicates that the lower the rung the poorer the participation, but participation becomes meaningfully as the ladder goes up. He identifies the three bottom rungs as non-participation or undesirable participation, whereas the remaining five are considered desirable. The participation of youth characterized by the three lower rungs is considered non-participation because their participation is not initiated by them but rather by individuals from above. The participation of young people characterized by the upper rungs is considered positively as participation, which could lead those who experience it several times to demand true participation in the long run. Lower rung participation in Tanzania is prevalent in ngoma performances. Mlama (1991: 103) in her study titled "*Culture and Development*" provides an example of how dancers after independence were used as a mouthpiece for parroting government interests. She observed dancers chanting in support of government leaders, which ushered in propaganda performances, whose aim were to serve the interests of the leaders in power.
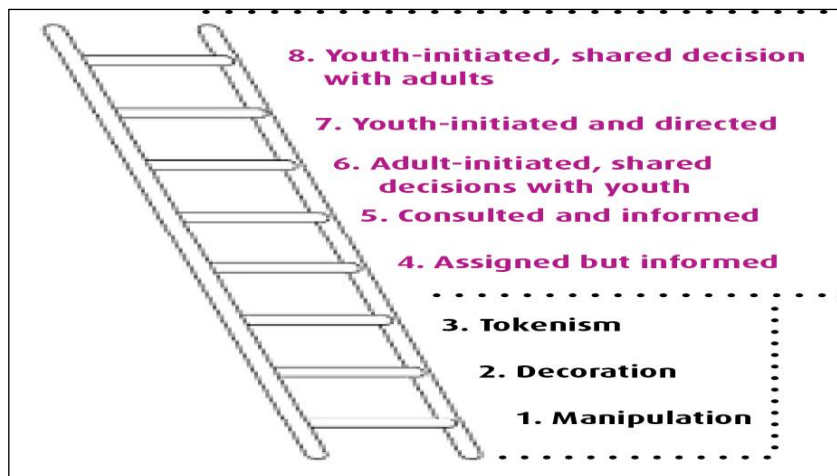
Figure **3**: Hart's Ladder of Youth Participation

Although this ladder is used for studying the political participation of youth, it has its critics. Bessant (2004) accuses it of being too linear. It does not consider the obstacles in between, which to a certain degree prevent youth from experiencing meaningful participation. The model is blamed for being linear because it overlooks the cultural aspect of people's lives and how it impacts participation. This is especially the case of youth who have been brought up in an environment where negotiation with the older generation is a taboo. In Tanzania, like elsewhere in Africa, young people have to submit to the generation above them. Bargaining with the older generation is, in many cases, regarded as misconduct or lack of respect (Jensen 2010: 10). This has been recognized globally, and so society is doing everything it can to make youth from all over the world experience meaningful participation. However, their attempt is still undermined by culture. The older generation consider young people too immature to assume political responsibilities.[17] In this sense, the model is criticized for not considering culture as an aspect which undermines young people's intention to participate meaningfully in politics.

Moreover, this study criticizes the model for not taking into account the educational aspect that is capable of making one experience either passive or active participation in political

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[17] For an in-depth discussion on youth in politics see chapter 3, the literature review

matters. Although the study believes that education is not the only factor that can make people experience meaningful participation, it gives them self-confidence, self-determination, the skills to argue, the ability to think widely and to take a position on issues that makes sense not only to their lives but also to the lives of many (Bellino 2014: 5).

Finally, this study criticizes the model for not taking into account the economic situation of the participants in question. This study has revealed that young people in abject poverty are more likely to be used as a mouthpiece of government leaders than those who are economically powerful. Because of the weakness of the model, the study chose Percy Smith's social learning model to complement Hart's model.

Percy Smith's Social Learning Model

Percy Smith in his (2006) model insists on the collaboration between the older and younger generation in the participation process. Through collaboration, young people's voices can be heard and accommodated and so positive participation may result. According to him, collaboration between the older and younger generation would lead to every member participating in the process being accountable to and responsible for one another. Collaboration enables them to be tolerant of one another, which can lead to greater understanding and removal of the preconceptions each generation has of the other.

Iyer (2000: 29), whose study was basically on observing how the older and younger generation perceive each other, revealed that the negative attitude they have, affects their relationship. Adults perceived youth as deviant, whereas the younger generation viewed the older generation as a barrier to their participation (See also Ervard 2009:21). Because of this, they look for different ways that will enable them to experience meaningful participation. Below is a summary of the perceptions.

According to adults, youth…	According to youth, adults are…
Lack commitment	Too demanding
Are self-absorbed	Unwilling to give personal space
Are under disciplined	Regitimentalists
Are uninterested in long term plans	Oblivious to know and hear reality
Are temperamental/ whimsical	Not interested in emotional aspect
Lack experience	Not ready to give chances
Only want to have fun	Straitjacketed and boring

Figure 3: A summary of partnership between youth and adults: Iyer (2000)

Several studies conducted in Tanzania show similar results. Chachage (2006) demonstrates that the older generation does not trust the younger generation to take on leadership roles, believing in the myth that "*vijana ni taifa la kesho*". The negative attitude of the older generation towards the younger generation is stated clearly in Phillip's (2010) study, which shows that the older generation stereotypes young people as being incapable of entering mainstream politics. Similarly, Sanga (2013) observed the relationship between the older and younger generation in ngoma groups. Through interviewing older and younger people she became conscious that older people are reluctant to share political power with young people, who are thought of as short-tempered, result oriented and unable to stay long in one activity without getting fed up (p. 76).

Both models are employed in this study to explore how young people make use of ngoma to combat their lack of political space and the obstacles that hinder them from participating by means of ngoma. Through Percy Smith's model, the study explores the relationship between the older and younger generation and whether it impacts young people's struggle for meaningful participation.

2.5 AUTHENTICITY VERSUS HYBRIDITY

Apart from participation, the study uses the concepts of authenticity and hybridity to analyse the hybrid nature of ngoma performances performed by the youth. While authenticity refers to the quality or condition of something being genuine, rather than a forgery (Cobuild Collin Birmingham University International Language Database 1994: 17), hybrid means anything combining heterogeneous parts or elements (Cassel 1999: 546). In using these concepts, we are aware of the fact that for a long time they have been the subject of intense debate. At one

time, something authentic was seen as precious to be kept for future generations to see. It is not uncommon to find that something with a hybrid nature is looked down on as contaminated, polluted or dirty, and in extreme cases as a fake version of the original (Bendix 1997: 147). The favouring of authenticity over hybrid did not begin overnight. To a large extent it is historical. Acheraïou (2012) who explored hybridity in Athens may be cited here as an example to substantiate how historical this debate is. In his study he explores hybridity from the biological point of view. He proclaims that blood from a similar origin was preferred to mixed blood. To avoid breaking the rules, individuals were compelled to be joined to others of the same origin. He makes clear that individuals who broke this law were punished severely, whilst others were even sentenced to death.

The stereotype of hybridity was prevalent not only in the issue of reproduction but also in an agrarian society. A plant with excessive growth was looked down on as abnormal. In order to become normal it had to be pruned. The same applied to scholarly works. Historically, research on hybridity was ignored because scholars were suspicious of it as they believed that focusing on this issue would be the same as appreciating the part that hybridity plays in spoiling cultures (Bendix 1997: 99). It is only recently that the notion of hybridity has gained a new perspective (Taylor 2007: 147). Despite plenty of studies on culture, the concept is still being hotly debated. It is still unclear what should or should not be considered authentic in societies with diverse cultures. In this study it is clear that the older generation wants their culture to be considered authentic. This study has revealed that the older generation wants the younger generation to regard the ngoma performed by them in the old days as authentic and pure. Kemal & Gaskell (1999: 3) consider this as dismal in the so called "plastic times" where a lot of changes have occurred as an offshoot of global contact. My endeavour in bringing in different perceptions from different fields is to try to establish the fact that the debate on authenticity and hybridity is not a recent phenomenon. It is historical and its roots can be traced back to early times.

Following the controversy over what should or should not be considered authentic; scholars have sought to establish the criteria. Grazian (2004: 31-47) and other scholars have tried to show some elements that audiences are likely to use in judging what is and what is not authentic.[18] Grazian considers these criteria not criteria as such but stereotypes. One of the

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[18] It should be noted that criteria of authenticity in this section have been collected from different scholars and merged to form criteria with a clear flow. Grazian is therefore, not the only source used.

elements of authenticity is age. Grazian calls this a "stereotype of authenticity in terms of age," by which he means that a performance presented by mature performers is likely to be perceived as authentic, unlike the one presented by performers whose level of maturity is still considered tender (See also Taylor 2007: 150 on the matter). In Dar es Salaam and Iringa, where this study was carried out, it is becoming increasingly normal to hear an audience asking whether performers are young or mature before declaring their participation. Whilst adult audiences prefer performances presented by mature performers, young audiences prefer younger performers in the belief that they are likely to offer a genuine performance, which accords with their interests and needs.

Another element likely to be considered by an audience as they make a judgment is the criterion of authenticity in terms of location. Grazian (2004: 32) calls this "a stereotype of authenticity in terms of location," and points out that a performance in a remote setting is likely to be regarded as more genuine than one in cosmopolitan cities. Sanga (2013) explored traditional dances in Iringa rural and discovered that performers there consider their performances are more authentic than those performed in urban areas.

Prolonging the discussion of authenticity in terms of location, Smith (1996) observed that a performance in a museum is often thought more genuine than those performed on the street. This is particularly true of tourist audiences. They often believe that to see a genuine performance of the people in question, they have to go to the museum or up-country (*ibid*). Such a belief has led many governments, including the government of Tanzania, to establish ngoma units in museums. In Dar es Salaam, for instance, in Makumbusho Village museum in Kinondoni, apart from historical stuff being displayed, ngoma performances are put on. Arguing against location as a criterion for authenticity, Peterson states that authenticity does not necessarily means whether the location is rural or urban, as that is subjective. Similar to beauty, authenticity exists in the eye of the beholder. According to him, authenticity is not about location but what people in their social milieu imagine authenticity to be (2004: 32).

The third type of measurement of authenticity likely to be considered by an audience is time. Taylor (2007: 147) observed that the performance that shows it was constructed a long time ago is likely to be regarded as authentic, unlike one constructed today, irrespective of the ingredients used in the construction process. Over time, they are judged to be authentic (Suriano 2007: 215, See also Omari n.d). Indeed, although Mganda dance is a syncretic dance formed by combining ingredients from colonial and local culture, the dance is perceived to be

authentic, unlike the dances reinvented by the youth nowadays. Because of this Bendix sees that the concept of authenticity is not just complicated but also unattainable (1997: 6).

This study discovered that in the era of TV and the internet, liveliness of the performance is used by the audience to measure its genuineness. Live performances are envisioned as more authentic than those presented on TV or the internet although they resemble them in almost every aspect. This belief causes individuals to be interested in live shows, despite the risks associated with participating in live shows, in particular those at night. The aforesaid criteria have been incorporated in the discussion, for they are used to analyse the perceptions of the audience of ngoma presented by the youth.

Although many individuals think that something authentic is best, some scholars perceive the act of performing authentically as being untrue to oneself. They perceive authenticity as the process of mimicking other people's lives in order to comply, which seems to contradict what life means to people (Taylor 1991, Prabhu 2007, Taylor 2007, Bhaba 1994). The statement that authenticity contradicts the real meaning of life is clearly articulated in Charles Taylor's study titled "*The Ethics of Authenticity*." To quote Taylor,

> "Each person has an original way of being human. Each person has his or her 'measure' is his way of putting it. I am called upon to live in this way and not to imitate anyone else's. But this gives a new importance to being true to myself. If I am not, I miss the point in life. I miss what being human is. I miss the contact with my inner nature which seems in danger of being lost, partly through the pressure to outwardly conform and so I need to take a deliberate stance. I may have lost the capacity to listen to this inner voice. Being true to myself means being true to my own originality, only I can articulate and discover this. In articulating it, I am also defining myself. I am realizing a potentiality that is my own property. This is the background to the modern ideal of authenticity. It is what gives sense to the idea of "doing your own thing", finding your own fulfilment" (1991: 28).

The quotation above shows that living an authentic life is unattainable unless external forces compel one to live in a certain way. Taylor insists on people being left alone to choose their lifestyle, which is in accord with their shifting reality rather than compelling them to emulate the previous generations and their performances. Authenticity is seen to be even more impractical in the era of globalization, whereby societies are increasingly experiencing different lives from those of the generation before them (Taylor 2007, Munoz and Marin 2006). Because of this, hybrid life and culture become authentic in their own way (Taylor 2007: 147).

Taylor and other scholars, who optimistically consent to the practice of hybridity, centre their argument on different dynamics, including the opportunities the subaltern gain in the production of culture (Prabhu 2007, Taylor 2007, Bhaba 1994, Yazdiha 2010, Meredith 1998, kuortti & Nyman 2007, Fuss 1991). Prabhu (2007: 1), for example, claims that hybridity provides a way out of binary thinking, and allows the inscription of agency of the subaltern. Hybrid, According to Prabhu, gives the subaltern the opportunity to destabilize power, which the subaltern could not been given if not for the hybrid culture. Bhaba and his concept of third space argues that the third space provides a spatial politics of inclusion. It initiates the new sign of innovativeness, collaboration and contestation (1994: 1). The third space according Bhaba is space where the oppressed and oppressor can come together, or free space through which the oppressed acquire freedom to exercise power.

Youth, for example, who for so long have been considered passive recipients of adults' culture (Marin and Munoz 2006: 130), the third space gives them access to transform their role from recipients of culture to active producers of community culture. Through the hybrid concept of culture, the idea that only adults are the producers of culture evaporates on the ground that hybridity enables youth to become producers similar to their counterpart adults. Fuss also concurs with the idea that hybridity provide space for the subaltern to realize their cultural potential, as he notes, "hybrid is an antidote to essentialism belief in invariable and fixed properties which define the 'whatness' of a given identity" (1991: xi). For him, hybrid provides a sort of counter narrative by which a marginalized group like 'youth', through participating in the production of culture, can reclaim the ownership of culture (Yazdiha 2010: 31). In chapter five I illustrate how young people, through producing their own creative performances, claim ownership of them.

In post-colonial society, where people fall short in terms of identity formation and hybridity, according to Kuortti & Nyman (2007: 7), it makes it possible for individuals to celebrate their identity and challenge the history that led to the existence of multiple identities. An example of this is being global and local at the same time. Hybridity seems to offer individuals possessing more than one identity the chance to use existing identities to form their own that have never been witnessed before, which can be used to define who they are (Bhaba 1994:211). Young people often do this by reinventing music, dance and clothing styles to form unique identities.

Similar to youth from elsewhere, Tanzanian youth, apart from using Bongo Fleva, use ngoma to form peculiar identities that never existed before (Nilan and Feixa 2006: 8). Such an attempt has made ngoma not only fit their identities but also their shifting realities. The new ngoma which are currently in place vary from Sindimba *modern,* Lingunjumu *modern*, Malivata *modern* and many others (in-depth discussion on how these ngoma have been reinvented is given in chapter seven of this thesis).

Ashcroft *et al.* (2000: 21) suggest that the act of hybridizing global and local cultures should not be overlooked, because in the era of globalization hybridity is an inescapable fact. Market forces, the media, trade, marriage alliances and war (Acheraïou 2012) all contribute to the emergence of hybrid cultures. Ashcroft *et al,* made their point by arguing that attacking hybrid cultures is the same as ignoring the fact that cultures change as conditions change (2007: 17). In one way or another, Nyerere, the first President of Tanzania, supported the concept of hybridity as he argued that cultures often learn from one another to make them suit current realities and to appeal to the user (1968:10). He further argued that the nation that refuses to learn from other cultures is nothing other than a nation of idiots and lunatics (see also Hussein1975 & Mbughuni 1974 on the matter).[19]

Ashcroft (2002. 21) strongly believes that the act of hybridizing culture is not really a problem. However, it becomes a problem and even offensive when the transfer of influence occurs but unevenly. This is especially true when the powerful and dominant culture impacts the less powerful and subjugated culture (Cowen 2002: 65). Indeed, by observing Tapfrica dance by Lumumba ngoma group one can agree with the fact that balancing elements in the production of ngoma is vital if the purpose is to produce a hybrid ngoma. Although Lumumba youth claimed that Tapfrica is the product of the unification of two cultures, the tap movements appear to surpass those of Lizombe. Therefore, it is safe to say that the act of hybridizing cultures has to be done vigilantly.[20]

I have chosen to use the twin concepts of authenticity and hybridity to explore how youth use the chances offered by globalization to create hybrid ngoma performances. I also use the

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[19] Edmondson (2007: 23) confirms that Nyerere himself in 1965 sent six girls and fourteen boys between the ages of nine and fifteen to China for acrobatic training. This is why today Tanzanian ngoma performances are hybrid involving acrobatic movements.

[20] For an in-depth discussion of Tapfrica and how the ngoma was produced take a look at chapter seven

concepts to delve deeper into the perceptions of theatre professionals and audiences of hybrid ngoma presented by the youth. Moreover, the concept of hybridity is used to examine how youth in ngoma groups use it to search for consumers across the world.

As cited previously, Tanzanian youth, similar to other youth around the world, are denied access to socio-economic, cultural and political space. Due to this, we use the hybridity concept to uncover how youth use hybrid culture to empower themselves.

2.6 THE CONCEPT OF SPACE

Besides the concepts of authenticity and hybridity, the study uses the concept of space as an analytical tool. In a general sense, space refers to the terrain in which basic social practices, consumption, enjoyment, tradition, self-identification, solidarity, social support and reproduction are lived out (Merrifield 1993:522). Foucault (1966) perceives space as the place where we live, which draws us out of ourselves, in which erosion occurs and a place where our time and history occurs. Space as a process refers to something unfinished, which is constantly being produced and its meaning is always bound up with time.

The concept of space as a terrain has attracted many scholars to carry out research on matters relating to space. The famous work of Lefebvre "*The Production of Space*" and Foucault "Of other Spaces" has attracted scholars to engage in investigating issues relating to space in different ways.

Before I embark on the concept of youth and space, which is the main focus of this study, it is essential to discuss the three types of space as discussed by Lefebvre (1992), a pioneer of studies on space. In his study *"The Production of Spaces"* reveals three concepts of space. These are representation of space, spaces of representation and spatial practice. By spatial practice or perceived space Lefebvre meant that these are socially organized spaces, which once established connect different locations through networks and pathways that facilitate the exchange of material things and information (p. 77). Spaces of representation are based on how people produce space by using language and culture through their experience, contestation and contemplation, and how the process is sanctioned by their environment. By representations of space or conceived space he means the abstract or dominant space of society conceptualized by planners, technocrats, politicians and those who wield power and authority, who dictate how the environment should look and function as well as the group of people who will use the space. In many cases it is the adult generation who are often given priority in using space.

Studies conducted on youth and space provide a clear image of the marginalized state of youth when it comes to the allocation of space. Most studies indicate that youth are among the members who are denied access to space. They are often reduced from being active participants to passive spectators (Havvey 1990:422). Despite city planners and politicians pronouncing that youth are a priority in planning public areas in cities, in practice they are excluded. White (1993) in his study titled "*Youth and the Conflict of Public Space*" can be cited here to illustrate the marginalized state of youth in terms of access to urban space. He argues that young people do not have access to commercial space, due to their consumption capacity (p.115). In places where malls, shops and luxurious building are built, young people are regarded as intruders and thus become the target for state intervention.

This situation is prevalent not only in developing countries where democracy is still in its infancy, but also in the developed world. Paulina and Haökli, (2011) in their study "*Young people's voiceless politics in the struggle over urban Space*" carried out in Finland shows clearly that even in the developed world young people are disregarded in issues relating to space. Let us have a quick look at Kiikeli Park that Paulina and Haökli gave as their example. Kiikeli Park had for a long time been used by the youth as a place to party, hang out with friends, chat, play and picnic. The park was also a hangout of not just homeless youth but also people who typically find little comfortable space in a commercial city (p. 64). Later, the government decided to build expensive apartments near the park. After people began to live in those apartments the youth were seen as a disturbance in the park because of the music, parties and picnics they organized there. Despite how important the park was for youth and other homeless members of society, rich people told the government to drive them out because they were disturbing their families. As the apartments provided government revenue, it decided to build a gate to give youth no access to the park. The situation in the developing world is even worse, Tanzania included. In Iringa, for instance, the region has only one theatre which was previously used by the youth for their performances and other social events. Although it was the only theatre, the government decided to give it to business persons capable of paying tax to the government.

Studies indicate that conflicts over space often arise when youth are not involved in planning at the grassroots level. Lubuva (2014: n.p) in his article "*Relocating Street Vendors in the City of Dar es Salaam: A Tale of Two Markets (Part ii) The Dar es Salaam Machinga Complex*" alleges that that inability to involve youth in planning has its potential risks, one of which is

the failure of the project in question (for an in-depth understanding of the issue follow this link)[21].

Following the lack of access to what Foucault (1986) calls `real spaces' youth often search for counter spaces to fulfil their socio-economic, political and cultural demands. Studies have been conducted to show how young people seek these spaces for both good and evil (Muhula 2007, White 1993, Lubuva 2014, Paulina & Haökli 2011). White (1993), for example, in his study argues that young people are denied access to commercial space, although they use every means possible to gain access. He proclaims that since they are denied access to commercial space, they use that owned by older people. While people with capital use commercial spaces from morning to evening for business, youth use the same places but at night. This includes committing all kinds of crime. He also observed that commercial spaces at night are transformed into homes. This is especially true of homeless youth. He reveals that boxes and clothes left over by business people are used by homeless youth for shelter and stretching out (p.113), and in the afternoon commercial space often changes into places where they get together to spend their time (if not money) with peers and friends.

While young men use commercial spaces owned by adults to commit crime, Foucault and Miskowiec (1986) observed how young women use commercial spaces such as bars, casinos, night clubs and brothels to resolve their plight of lack of access to commercial space. Foucault and Miskowiec call these alternative spaces heterotopias, by which they mean spaces of otherness where entry is often restricted unless one has performed a certain ritual. These places include brothels, prisons, asylums and holiday villages (see also Johnson 2006: 76). Saldanha in his study "*Music, Space, Identity: Geography of Youth Cultures in Bangalore*" explores how young artists use streets as their counter-space, where music not only exists "in" space but it is space in itself as it gives youth the opportunity to voice their concerns" (2002:348).

While Foucault and Miskowiec describe alternative spaces as heterotopia, Bhaba (1994) calls such spaces 'third space,' where the oppressor and oppressed can come together to contest and negotiate meaning. Playing such a role, third space becomes a fundamental mechanism for inclusion (p. 1). Rutherford (1990: 211) considers that third space is not merely a space

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[21] http://ledna.org/blog/relocating-street-vendors-city-dar-es-salaam-%E2%80%93-tale-two-markets-part-ii-dar-es-salaam-machinga

where negotiation can occur but it is also interruptive, interrogative and declarative. This happens because in the third space the oppressed also possess power that enables them to become vocal and critical.

Meredith (1998: 3) studied the third space from the point of view of culture, to which this study also pays attention. Meredith is of the opinion that third space is a new form of cultural meaning and production, blurring the limitations of existing boundaries and calling into question established categories of culture and identity. Some scholars call space where counter-narratives can take place as the space 'in-between,' imagined or metaphorical space characterized by tremendous openness (Egger 2013) and where subjectivity and unfairness can be explored (Braidotti 1994: 4).

Although the notion of space as metaphorical or imagined has been discussed by pioneers of space like Lefebvre and Foucault (space as spatial and unreal), many scholars have paid little attention to space as metaphorical. Most studies have focused on space as somewhat tangible and concrete, capable of being seen with the naked eye. On these lines this study strives to explore the notion of space from the symbolic point of view. However, the study engages in a discussion on space as physical by focusing mainly on theatres and rehearsal venues and the physical space used by youth in ngoma performances. Based on this argument, the social, political, cultural and economic are regarded as symbolic space.

2.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter was aimed at offering a discussion on conceptual approaches and how they are applied in this study. The chapter that follows is an attempt to provide an understanding of youth's participation in ngoma in Tanzania from pre-colonial times to the late 1980s. The discussion is essential as it provides an overview of their participation and the driving factors that motivated or undermined their participation from pre-colonial times to the post-independence period. The chapter is fundamental because it enables the reader to comprehend the findings presented in chapter 5.

CHAPTER 3

Ngoma contributes to integration of society. It is frequently part of rites of society integrating young people into adults' society

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter was an attempt to present several concepts to explore issues emerging from this study. This chapter provides a historical overview of youth's participation in ngoma and their motivation for participation. The discussion is vital for gaining an understanding of the sections in chapter 6 on the lack of access to ngoma skills and how that weakens young people's efforts to use ngoma to venture for denied space through ngoma.

3.2 Historical Overview of Youth's Participation in Ngoma

In Tanzania, the participation of youth in ngoma during pre-colonial times was complex but essential for building the personality of Tanzanian youth on the grounds that social values and dance were interconnected (Nicholls 1996:54, see also Sanga 2013).[22] To learn good morals upheld by the community and become good citizens of the future, among other things, one had to learn to dance. Ngoma was regarded as a microcosm of the worldview (Nicholls 1996:54). Due to this, the ability of the youth to dance was a symbol of their enculturation, the credit which was given not just to the family but the entire community. This is because child rearing was not only the role of parents but also of the community as a unit. It was possible because, at that time, a child was taken to be like a pumpkin plant that can be directed by everyone (Rwelamira 2003: 42). In other words, a child was regarded as belonging to everyone. This ethos seems to differ from the philosophy currently spreading, which goes *mtoto wa mwenzio ni wa mwenzio* (Somebody's child belongs to her or him), which makes caring for a child more stressful and even complicated (Dike 2004:81).

Unlike young people currently, most of whom lack skills for ngoma, young people of the pre-colonial era possessed these skills. Different factors contributed to young people's access to skills. Tanzanian children began to learn the skills even before they were born, when a

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[22] Most of the literature use the term African youth to stands for youth in their respective countries of the study (see for example, Nketia (1974) and Nyerere (1967). This study perceives this as a generalization of the term on the grounds that young people in Africa are not homogeneous. Dimensions like the country's economy, political situation and demography contribute to the variations. Because of this, in this study the term Tanzanian youth is used instead.

pregnant woman joined community dancing during her pregnancy. By dancing with a child in her womb, the child began to learn about its culture (Nketia 1974, Mapana 2008).

After birth a Tanzania child was exposed to community ngoma in two ways. The first was during infancy when the mother and other members of the family sang and danced for him or her (Nicholls 1996:55, see also Barz 2000). The second way was when a child was exposed to ngoma by accompanying her or his mother to community ngoma performances when the child was tied to the mother's back and she danced with the child at community events like weddings, funerals and rituals (Nketia 1963: 50, Njoh 2006). By the time a Tanzania child had reached the toddler stage he or she no longer danced while tied to the mother's back, but began to dance him or herself.

The tradition of exposing a child to ngoma did not end at the toddler stage, as a Tanzanian child continued to learn about ngoma. Wagogo society can be used as a case in point. Mapana (2011), in his study "*Musical Enculturation and Education of Wagogo*" offers an example of how parents can be role models to their children in nurturing their talents. He used his own example to elucidate the point. Although he acknowledged that his father never sat down to teach him to sing or dance, seeing him singing and drumming made him learn the skills, and this was complemented by his mother encouraging him to sing like his father, which contributed a great deal to building his talent today as a professional musician and dancer. This implies that parents have a role to play in nurturing their children's future career, including a career as dancers and drummers.

Apart from exposing African children through their parents' teaching, their gifts of whistles, drums, shakers, rattles and gourds were also used to whet their appetite to learn about their culture. In Wahehe society, it is normal for parents to give their children a locally made whistle, which is an essential musical instrument in Kiduo ngoma performances that is normally used when Kiduo ngoma reaches a climax.

By the time a Tanzania child reached adolescence, initiation rites were used to establish a close relationship with their culture. Rites of passage were organized to mark the transition from childhood to adulthood (Rasing 1995:34, Hussein 1975, Mlama 1981) and to communicate crucial knowledge to the novices to make the transition into adulthood much easier and integration in their community straightforward. In order to prepare a Tanzanian child for adulthood, ngoma, songs and mime were used to channel important information.

This enabled a Tanzania youth to learn about not only his or her responsibilities but also his or her culture.

In addition to rites of passage ceremonies, Tanzanian youth learned about ngoma through apprenticeship, whereby a learner stayed with an experienced singer or drummer for a certain period of time to acquire new skills. The amount of time was determined by different factors, including the ability of a learner to acquire new skills and how complicated the patterns were (Nketia 1974:59), but it usually lasted from one to three years (*ibid*). However, it should be noted that apprenticeship was not limited to younger artists alone. An experienced artist whose passion was to acquire new skills was free to go to other artists and learn new skills. It was not uncommon to see a drummer being sent to another drummer to enlarge his repertoire (p. 63). Money was never part of the training tradition as payment was always made in kind. When the new artist stayed in the house of an experienced drummer he was obliged to participate in the socio-economic activities of the family like other members of the family, such as farming, livestock keeping, fetching water and sweeping the compound. In pre-colonial society it was possible because young people were trained to be obedient to those above them. It might also be argued that in pre-colonial society ngoma were handed down smoothly because at that time there was no struggle for resources. All resources were communally owned.

3.3 The Arrival of Missionaries and Youth's Devotion to Ngoma

The coming of missionaries to Tanzania led to a massive transformation in ngoma training and practice in Tanzania. Missionaries viewed ngoma negatively as an activity propagating the manifestation of savage heathenism that is antagonistic to true faith (Lihamba 2004: 236 see also Shule 2010 & Welsh 2004). Participation in ngoma was associated with a lack of knowledge of almighty God. Thus, it was prohibited for causing difficulties in establishing Christian civilization (See also Mlama 2003).

The introduction of formal education made youth's participation in ngoma more complicated. Youth who had gained access to colonial education were prohibited from taking part in ngoma because the missionaries regarded it as barbaric and demonic (Mlama 2003: 187, Shule 2010). Mlama, who received secondary education at a missionary school, gives a fascinating example of how complicated it was for someone like her to participate in ngoma performances. In her study "*Maendeleo ya Sanaa za Maonyesho Tanzania* she claims that at the time they were pursuing secondary education, their teachers discouraged them not only

from participating in ngoma performances but also watching ngoma performed by others. This was particularly true at holiday time and so the missionary teachers, fearing that the pupils might take part in ngoma performances during the holidays, got them to remain at school for the holiday. Those who were keen to go home for the holiday were equipped by the missionary teachers with tools that would help them not to participate in ngoma, coupled with the threat that spies would report on their conduct during their stay in the village. Mlama commented,

> *"Nakumbuka jinsi walimu wetu wa missionari walivyotuketisha kila mwisho wa muhula kutuhubiria na kutusisitiza kuwa katika muda huo mfupi wa likizo tulikuwa tukienda mikononi mwa shetani akiwa katika hali ya ngoma, unyago, matambiko . . . Na kwamba ilitubidi tushikirie imani mpya tuliyopata shuleni na kuwashinda mashetani wote hawa. Na pia kuwaongoza wadogo zetu na ndugu zetu waliobaki nyumbani waepukane na mashetani hawa."*

> "I remember at the end of the term, missionary teachers used to sit with us and preach about how to carry on with our lives during the holiday. They used to tell us that in this short period of time, we will be in the hands of devils in the shape of traditional dances, rituals and rites of passage … and that we have to stand on our new beliefs learned at school in order to overcome these devils. On top of that we were to act as lights to our young sisters and brothers to help them run away from these devils (2003:189)."

For day school children the situation was almost the same although the amount of control varied significantly. Njoh (2006) describes how missionary teachers prevented them from participating in ngoma. One strategy was to build a very strong school fence. He reckoned that schools were fenced in this way not just to prevent pupils from coming into contact with ngoma but also to stop the noise of the drums penetrating the school environment and distracting the children from their studies. To physically control the pupils' coming and going, a guard was employed at the entrance gate (p. 131). Despite all the efforts to control the youth, it became complicated. During the ritual season the parents told their children to remain at home so that they could take part in ritual performances, which the parents believed had the power to connect their children with their past.

Despite parents' initiatives, children began to challenge the relevance of ritual practices (Fieldler (1996: 10). The more they were exposed to science subjects and taught about what causes what, the more critical they became of ritual performances, including the connection between hunger, floods, the birth of twins, diseases and ritual performances and how ritual

performances were used to get rid of problems (Njoh 2006: 42). Therefore, through exposure to education youths' trust in ritual performances began to dwindle and so did their interest in participating in ngoma.

3.4 Youth's Participation in ngoma under the British regime

When the Germans handed over power to the British under the League of Nations, the British colonial masters introduced their cultural aesthetics to the local population (Lihamba 2004: 236). The purpose was to replace ngoma performances which were perceived as uncivilized, demonic and offensive (Werner 1992: 253). Drama was introduced in schools to replace ngoma (Hussein 1975: 32, Lihamba 2004). The Development of Theatre in East Africa by Hussein (1973) is among the early studies on Tanzanian theatre. In his study he gives evidence of the earliest schools in Tanzania, then Tanganyika, which began to practise drama in 1922. He states that,

> "As early as 1922, the St Joseph Convent School in Dar es Salaam was already performing one-act plays. Plays like Gow's The Sheriffs Kitchen, Milne's The Ugly Duckling, and Francis' The Bird of Feather were yearly repeated[…]later spread to other schools and other towns of Tanganyika such as Tanga, Tabora and Mwanza etc. For example, Ndanda Mission was not only performing such plays, but was also translating them into Kiswahili" (1975:32).

To expedite the growth of drama in schools, the British Council introduced a schools drama competition in 1957. Judgment of the competition was based on fluency in English other than the mastery of the content. It did not matter whether or not Tanzanian young people understood what they were saying, as what really mattered to them was their ability to engage in English discourse in a manner that made them sound almost like native speakers of English, if not actual native speakers.

Tanzanian scholars have challenged and are still challenging the relevance of drama of colonial times (Shule 2010, Mlama 1991, Hatar 2001). Hatar (2001:8), for instance, in his study "*the State of Theatre Education in Tanzania"* uses the play *Romeo and Juliet* to argue against drama being taught to Tanzanian youth during the colonial period. Hatar uses the scene where Juliet is on the balcony looking for Romeo who is on the ground to show that at that time Tanganyikans had neither houses with balconies nor houses with towers. Therefore, the play made no sense to Tanzanian audiences.

Likewise, Hussein challenges the significance of arts during the colonial period from the fine arts point of view. In his study he raises the issue of Tanzanian children and youth during colonialism being told by their teachers to draw a bowl of flowers copied from a photograph instead of being told to paint from their own experience, dreams, hopes and fears (1975:36). As for him, it makes no sense.

3.5 Youth's Participation in Ngoma after Independence

After independence, one of the most important things Nyerere did in his time of governance was to ensure the renaissance of culture through the establishment of the Ministry of National Culture and Youth with young people in the frontline... To quote Nyerere,

> "I have set up a ministry an entirely new Ministry: the Ministry of National Culture and Youth. I have done this because I believe that culture is the essence and Spirit of any nation. A country which lacks its own culture is no more a collection of people without the spirit which makes them a nation.

The former President established this Ministry because those acutely affected by colonialism were the educated youth, especially those who received British colonial education. This is what he said,

> Some of us, particularly those of us who acquired a European type of Education, set ourselves out to prove to our colonial rulers that we had become, 'civilized' and by that we meant that we had abandoned everything connected with our own past and learnt only to imitate European ways. Our young men's ambition was not to become well educated Africans, but become black Europeans-! Indeed, at one time it was a compliment rather than an insult to call a man who imitated Europeans a Black European (1962:9).

In his speech Nyerere made clear the effect of colonialism on the youth and culture. He noted that African youth during colonialism were prohibited from practising their culture and ngoma while greater efforts were made to expose them to colonial culture. As a consequence, they were, on the one hand, ignorant of their own culture and on the other experts in European culture. Nyerere in his words,

> When we were at school we were taught to sing the songs of the Europeans. How many of us were taught the songs of the Wanyamwezi or of the Wahehe? Many of us have learnt to dance the rumba or the cha-cha, to rock and roll, and to twist, and even to dance the waltz and the foxtrot. But how many of us can or have even heard of the Gombe Sugu, the Mangala, the Konge, Nyang'umuni, Kiduo or Lelemama? Lots of us can play the guitar, the piano or other European musical instruments. How many Africans in Tanganyika, particularly

among the educated, can play the Nnanga or the Zeze or the Marimba, the Kilanzi Ligombo, or the Mangale? And even though we dance and play the piano, how often does that dancing - even if it is 'rock and roll' or 'twist' - really give us the thrill we get from dancing the Mangala or the Gombe Sugu - even though the music may be no more than the shaking of pebbles in a tin? It is hard for many men to get much real excitement from dances and music which are not in their blood (1962: 9-10).

Based on the above, the former President established three ngoma groups after independence in order to give youth the opportunity to learn ngoma. The criterion for joining a group was based mainly on the ethnic origins of the youth. For example, youth who were from the Wamakonde or Wangoni ethnic group were given priority because they were good at dancing (Edmondson 2007: 27).

Apart from establishing ngoma groups, Nyerere sent some youth to China to train in acrobatics and dancing – all of which made Tanzanian culture rich and fully-equipped in all dimensions; singing, dancing, drumming and acrobatics (*Ibid*: p. 23). On their return, they were all allocated to almost all the regions in Tanzania to teach other youth the new skills they had learned. This study seeks to explore the initiatives government leaders are currently taking to support the growth of ngoma and its dancers. However, it can be said that although Nyerere did much to bring about the renaissance of culture after independence, in one way or another he might have contributed to the death of some ngoma, for he deterred ethnic division and promoted solidarity, which could have stifled the growth of culture, including ngoma.

3.6 CONCLUSION

Chapter 3 was an attempt to offer a historical overview of youth's participation in ngoma. The chapter shows that youth's participation in ngoma during colonial times was part and parcel of a child's education and upbringing. It shows that culture including ngoma was handed down smoothly as there was no struggle because it was communally owned. The dilemma of participation began during colonial times when ngoma was regarded as a heathen and barbaric activity which prevented civilization from taking place. After independence ngoma was given priority during cultural renaissance. Nevertheless, the colonial legacy and lack of political will appeared to undermine this. The next chapter locates youth in the social, economic, political and cultural context. The chapter is important as it gives an overall understanding of youth in Tanzania and the problems they come across in their lives.

CHAPTER 4 SITUATING YOUTH IN THE BROADER CONTEXT: THE PREDICAMENT IN OCCUPYING SPACE

"The rapid growth of the labour force and the inability of the economy to create enough jobs for the youth is a time bomb which, if not diffused, could explode and shatter the peace the country has been enjoying since independence"

(IGP in Mjema 1999:8)

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter locates youth in the broader context to explore their social, political, cultural and economic condition. From the economic point of view, the chapter explores the education system in Tanzania and how it impacts youth's access to the labour market. Equally important, gendered education and the gendered labour market are explored concurrently to find out how they impact female youth's inclusion in the labour market. From the political point of view, youth's participation in politics is examined to gain an understanding of the overall situation of youth in Tanzanian politics. In cultural terms, how youth find their place in the production of Tanzania culture is explored. Situating youth in the broader social, economic, political and cultural context is pivotal for answering the question why Tanzanian youth have adopted ngoma to combat their denial of social, economic, political and cultural space.

4.1 TANZANIAN YOUTH IN THE LABOUR MARKET

The statement above sets the tone for a discussion of this section. Demographically, similar to elsewhere in Africa, the number of youth in Tanzania surpasses that of children and older people, as youth account for 60 percent of the whole population (Helgesson & Earnest 2008: 3, see also RD 2011). Globally, Tanzania is ranked 10th largest in terms of its youth population (*ibid*, p. 3). In Dar es Salaam and Iringa where this study was conducted, youth comprise 60 and 32 percent of the population, respectively (Don Bosco 2013: n.p). The rapid increase in the number of youth has caused a dissonance between population density and the distribution of economic opportunities (ACBF 2011: 26). The graph below illustrates the point.

Population by Age in Dar es Salaam City
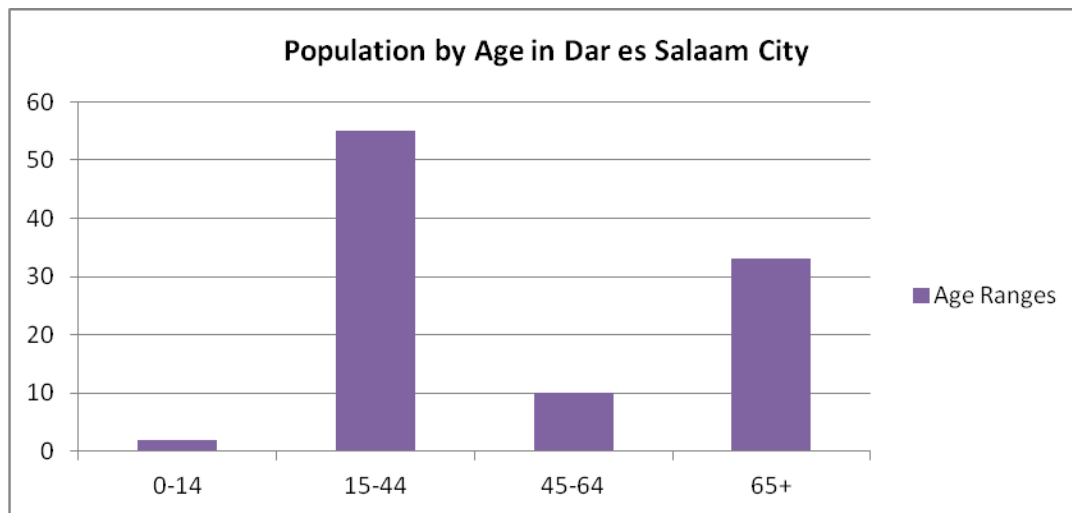
Figure 4: Extracted from Kinondoni city profile 2004

The increased number of youths in urban places in Tanzania has posed a dilemma in terms of employment. It is estimated that 60 percent of the labour force are youth. Unfortunately, only 3.4 percent of the labour force is employed in the civil service each year (Mjema 1999:3), while the remaining 56 percent have to look for jobs in private companies, both small and big. Youths employed in small companies owned by families work as housekeepers, dishwashers, drivers or babysitters. Big companies such as Airtel, Zantel, Tigo and Vodacom employ youths as sellers, technicians, receptionists, customer care personnel and airtime dealers. The problem with private companies is that some of them do not abide by the labour laws and so youths employed in private companies are prone to exploitation (WYR 2007:24).

Youths who choose to be self-employed also encounter diverse challenges. In urban areas, for instance, young people who endeavour to sell fruit, food or clothes or to be artists lack space to run their business. Most places are taken by economically powerful individuals, many of whom are older people (Harvey 1990:442, Lubuva 2014: n.p). In rural areas where youths are self-employed in the agricultural sector, the poor working conditions, insecurity and poor returns impact their commitment to the agricultural sector. Subsequently, they often resolve this by running away from being involved in agriculture (Mjema 1999: 25). Mjema suggests that the agricultural sector should be improved to attract more youths to join it. Agriculture in a country like Tanzania is capable of absorbing a huge number of youths because of its vast amount of land. Studies carried out by Koponen (1984: 46) revealed that Tanzania's land is equal to that of Germany and France put together.

WYR (2007: 177-178) gives reasons for the rapid increase in youth unemployment. One of the reasons is the huge increase in the youth population which does not go hand-in-hand with the opportunities available in the labour market. In Tanzania, where this study was carried out, the 2005 statistics indicate that the number of entrants from primary schools and colleges into the labour market was approximately 700,000 but only 30,000 or 3 percent secured jobs in the formal sector (S. Mwanjali *et al* 2005: n.p). This means that 97 percent of the entrants partly enter the informal sector and partly remain an inactive labour force (*ibid*).[23] According to the Ministry of Labour and Employment (2012), the number of entrants into the labour market has risen from 800,000 to 1,000,000 annually, while the government's ability to employ the new labour force is lessening. This shows the difference between employment during socialism and employment in the era of globalization.

Under socialism, for example, after school life, the state was responsible for providing employment for the youth. The aggregate demand for and supply of labour was consistently balanced (Burchet 1994:117). After they had successfully completed their studies they were ensured employment. Being employed was not a choice but the obligation and responsibility of every youth. According of WYR (2007. 172) to work was the right and responsibility of everybody rather than a privilege as it is now. Since education was free, it was mandatory for the youth who successfully finished their studies to work for the state for three to five years in return, before departing to the private sector if they wished to do so (Burchet 1994:117).

In the era of globalization the failure of the government to absorb the new labour force has caused a rapid increase in the number of unemployed educated and uneducated youth. Of those who claim to be employed, some of their jobs are characterized by what Martin calls "3 D jobs", difficult, dangerous and dirty (2009:22). Moreover, youths' jobs today are seasonal in nature, with contracts of between one month and three years or so (ILO 2012: 7). According to ILO, jobs of this nature are likely to keep youth in ether a permanent state of unemployment or under-employment throughout their service lives (*ibid*).

Studies have indicated that in an economic crisis, youth are more vulnerable. They are often the last in and first out (ILO 2012: 8). In other words, in an economic crisis youth are often

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[23] Inactive labour force comprises people who not in work, are available for work, have looked for a job in the last 4 weeks, are about to start in the next two weeks or are not actively seeking work (Barham 2002:69).

the last to be employed and the first to be fired. The economic crisis of the 1980s/1990s is a case in point as it put pressure on the Tanzanian government to privatize some of its parastatals, which affected young people much more than the older generation. The effect of economic crises on youth employment is clearly evident in the retrenchment executed by the government of Tanzania between 1993/1995. The table below is self-explanatory.

Category	1993	Jan.1994	Apr. 1994	June 1994	1995	Total
unspecified	827	64	154	536	86	1667
Over.56yrs	1	6	3	5	2	17
51-55 yrs	38	128	394	467	65	1094
46-50 yrs	197	691	2480	4082	1439	8889
36-45 yrs	274	1081	2146	5139	1677	10254
26-35 yrs	147	514	888	5233	1077	7859
16-25 yrs	147	514	888	5233	1077	7859
Total	1448	2450	6104	16034	4384	30460

Table 2: Retrenched Employees by age between 1993 and 1995, Source Kasati 1996

Out of 30,460 workers who were retrenched between 1993 and 1995, 25,972 were youth. This means that the number of youth retrenched exceeded three-quarters of the number of retrenched employees. WYR (2007: 175) states that the unexpected loss of jobs or the lack of unemployment of the youth is likely to cause permanent social, economic, psychological and health problems and a basis for violence, alcohol and drug abuse and crime.

4.2 YOUTH'S EDUCATION AND THE DILEMMA OF THE LABOUR MARKET

Several studies have indicated that the education provided in African countries is not responsive to contemporary local and global labour market demands (Senkoro and Lwaitama 2000, Mosha 2000). They show that the curriculum used in schools is still colonial based with very few amendments (Alidoi 2008:201). Although Tanzanian scholars have proposed that the curriculum should be changed to meet current labour market demands, no efforts have been made so far to do that (Rubanza 2000: 121). Despite the fact that the idea of Africanizing Tanzanian education began in 1964, very little has been accomplished since then. Although an attempt was made to change the language of instruction at secondary and university level, surprisingly, until now, Kiswahili has not been accepted as the medium of

instruction in both secondary and higher education. This could be potentially challenging not only for Tanzanian youth as individuals, but also for the future of Tanzania as a nation.

The article "*The Question of Medium of Instruction*" by Rubanza provides a vivid example of the uncertainty triggered by the Ministry of Education regarding the language of instruction. He links the massive failure of students to the lack of competence in English by both students and teachers. Rubanza claims that English as the medium of instruction will never work in Tanzania because a huge number of teachers have not successfully mastered it. As a result, subjects are badly taught and are therefore poorly understood by students (2000:122). Due to teachers' incompetence in English, their students are unable to construct even a simple sentence that is grammatically and semantically correct. This raises the question as to the kind of new labour force Tanzanian schools are able to produce.

Critics link poverty as a factor amongst others to Tanzania holding on English as a language of instruction since independence, because it is said that Tanzania has relied on foreign donations to meet its budget since independence. Since the country depends on foreign donors like Britain or the US, whose language of communication is English, the nation finds itself in a desperate need of English in order to maintain contact with them (Rubanza 2000: 129). However, this is not without cost. Since independence, what Tanzanian youth have done in school is not learning new skills important for their future work but struggling with the English language. Although they try hard, in the end they acquire neither the English language nor the skills that are needed for absorption into the labour market and for gaining knowledge of the new technology that is essential for Tanzania's industries. If this is the case, it is apt to argue that the language of instruction has trapped Tanzania in a vicious cycle of poverty in spite of abundant resources.

Indeed, a study carried out by UNESCO (2000) revealed that countries that have continued to maintain colonial languages in education continue to be among the poorest, more illiterate and the most poorly educated in the world (UNESCO 2000 in Orekan 2011: 27, see also Rubanza 2000). The outcome of poor education is an unskilled, uncreative and unqualified labour force that does not meet the demands of the global market or the domestic market.

The veracity of the UNESCO study is evident from the examination results of 2013. In 2013 the problem of the language of instruction was revealed in the national examination results, whereby almost 60 percent of the students failed. 240,903 out of 397,136 candidates scored division zero. This means that 126,847 scored between divisions one and four (Mwakyusa

2013).[24] Surprisingly, such a massive failure was not associated with the language policy. Instead, it was associated with youth's negligence, lack of commitment to their studies and, in some cases, the inability to master the subject matter. Language as an enormous obstacle was never mentioned.

The importance of transferring the language of instruction from English to Kiswahili is reflected in several studies carried out by different scholars from within and outside Tanzania (Rubanza 2000, Mosha 2000, Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir 2003). Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir (2003: 81) lament that the language policy of Tanzania can best be described as confusing, contradictory and ambiguous. They use the Constitution of Tanzania to exemplify the point. Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir state,

> "The language is no longer mentioned in the Constitution of Tanzania. Beginning from 1962 the Constitution mentioned specifically that Kiswahili and English were official languages. Since then there have been changes in Constitution 13 times. . . During which the issue of language has disappeared. The official language in education policy that is currently being followed in Tanzania is one laid down in Education and Training Policy (MOEC)" (p.81)

Rubanza (2000: 123), who did his study focusing on Tanzanian universities, highlights the fact that although the use of Kiswahili is restricted at university, the majority of youth only speak in English in lecture and seminar rooms. Although presentations are required to be done in English, Lubanza reveals that preparing for them is always done in Kiswahili, because students have better command of it. English is only used if a student in the group does not understand Kiswahili. The study revealed that the students' parliament, where English is obligatory, students find it difficult to argue their case (*Ibid*). Thus, they use the strategy of code switching and code mixing to voice their concerns (See also Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir 2003: 87). Summing up the discussion on the language of instruction and the challenges it poses in the labour market, Ngugi (2014) claims that *mkataa lugha yake ni mtumwa* (anyone who fails to appreciate his or her own language is a slave).[25]

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[24] See: Daily News http://www.dailynews.co.tz/index.php/local-news/14838-form-four-results-out
[25] It is a Kiswahili saying Prof. Dr. Ngugi wa Thiong'o added in his speech when he was invited for doctor award at Bayreuth University in the 5th. May, 2014 in his speech titled *Dereva Wangu wa Taksi* or My Tax Driver

4.3 VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND ABSORPTION IN LABOUR MARKET

Uncertainty of youth employment is evident through the vocational education offered to the youth in Tanzania. The ambiguity of what kind of vocational education is to be provided to Tanzanians can be dated back to 1922 when Tanganyika was under British colonial rule. During that period, youth were offered vocational courses in carpentry, tailoring, blacksmithing, masonry, house construction, typewriting and hospital dressings, which prepared them to work in different fields (Sifuna 1976:116). Although the purpose of colonial education was not to help Africans to better their lives (Nyerere 1967:68), at least it exposed them to a wide range of vocational courses, which enabled them to choose, from the options, the vocational skills they would like to acquire for their future.

Things turned awkward in 1923 when vocational training was narrowed down to agriculture. River-Smith, who was then the director, announced a shift in vocational education to agriculture because utilizing the land was the only way in which people could improve their standard of living. This is what he announced.

> "Agriculture shall be the keynote of our education programme; in the vast majority of cases, the African natural heritage is the land and it is therefore the first duty of the state to teach him to make the most use of that natural inheritance. It cannot be denied that educational schemes for Negro races in the past have had a tendency to encourage young men to forsake the hoe for the pen and land for the office stool" (Smith 1923: n.p)

The colonial masters used the top-down approach and so the people were not asked what they thought concerning this change of policy, which caused it to fail dismally. In 1964, Nyerere announced the Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) policy, which was to equip learners with practical skills relevant to their environment (Nyerere 2000: 70). Similar to River-Smith, Nyerere was of the view that agriculture was the only economic enterprise which would help a poor country like Tanzania to move out of poverty. Nyerere, in his words,

> "The truth is that our United Republic has at present a poor, underdeveloped and agricultural economy. We have very little capital to invest in factories or modern machines. We have a shortage of people with skills and experience. What we do have is land in abundance and people who are willing to work hard for their own

improvement […] we use these resources in the spirit of self-reliance"

(Nyerere 1967:71-72).

Implementation of ESR, as with earlier policies in Tanzania was unsuccessful. Some scholars associate the failure of ESR with the ambiguities of the policy (Omari and Mosha 1987). Omari and Mosha (1987: 65) claim that no clear guidance was given on how to implement it. Implementers were anxious and under pressure. They did not know how to go about implementing the policy. To quote them,

> The policy formulation style in Tanzania has been described as militant revolution. The call from Ex-President Mwalimu Julius Nyerere was "to run while others walk" . . . Most major policies pronouncements in Tanzania were associated with Mwalimu, who was supposed to be the source of wisdom and the one who gave the policy drive, blessings and legitimacy. It did not matter who initiated and moved the policy to the centre, the credit always went to Mwalimu- - and hopefully blame too. . . . The announcement of the policy came to the pubic with a great deal of political pressure and public drama which did not allow for debate and opposition. Included in the fanfare were orchestrated processions, acceptance and allegiance speeches and repeated radio recitations without any elaboration or correct interpretations. In this kind of situation, the implementers (technocrats), understandably in a state of high anxiety, examined the policies with fear as they might have been "swept away by the revolution" if seen not to be overtly supportive, since delay in implementing the policy direction may have been constructed as opposition to it (p.65).

Indeed, since the ESR policy was unclear, adding to the pressure of the implementers, teachers, together with their education officers, implemented the policy according to their understanding. Therefore, teachers set up big farms and induced children to participate in farming activities to inculcate in them the spirit of work. As a result, more time was spent on farming activities than on academic activities (Mushi 2010). Because of this, parents complained about the ESR policy and demanded that the curriculum be changed so that their children could concentrate on academic matters (Sanga 2012: 8, Sufina 1976). The parents' demands highlighted the need for a vocational curriculum that embraced everybody's interests (Mushi 2010.n.p).

As a consequence, between 2000 and 2005 Joseph Mungai, then the Minister of Education and Vocational Training, attempted to introduce the subject known as *stadi za kazi* (vocational skills) as an alternative to ESR. Although this subject is well-grounded, studies have revealed that it is hardly taught in schools. Bishop (n.d: 11), who did her study on pastoralists in Tanzania, revealed that despite the vocational skills subject being timetabled, it was not taught. Her interview with children shows that they were not even aware of '*stadi za*

kazi', for they never heard their teachers talking about it. While ngoma is part of the vocational skills subject, this study explores how it impacts youths' acquisition of basic skills for use in ngoma, which they need for their venture to acquire space.

4.5 FEMALE EDUCATION AND GENDERED LABOUR MARKET

It is hard to ignore the fact that virtually all labour markets in the world are gender biased, but it is even worse in the developing world which Tanzania is part of. Ellis *et al* (2007:4) whose study focuses on Tanzania reveals that female unemployment is higher than that of males. The number of males exceeds that of females in almost all sectors, as, for instance, females account for 48 percent and men 52 percent, despite the fact that there are more females than males in Tanzania. Males account for 76 percent of all the workers employed in the formal sector and only 24 percent are female. Most females employed in the informal sector are paid less than their male counterparts although their productivity for the same work appears to be higher than their counterparts (*Ibid:* p.31, Mung'ong'o 2003).

The reasons for this are numerous. The first and foremost reason is related to the culture. Employers prefer to employ males because they believe they are strong and energetic and do not make excuses at work like female workers. Arguing on the same lines, Garcia and Fares (2008) posit that employers' negative attitude to females is based on the hours that men and women spend at work. Their study revealed that males work more hours than females, which in some cases is true. However, Fox (1999:34-38) perceives that the negative judgment of females in the labour market is unfair, because females are involved with their family chores, which prevents them from gaining the same status as males. Having to do family chores is not a problem facing married women alone, but also young women who, despite having no children of their own, are also compelled to do family chores. This prevents them from going to their workplace early like their male counterparts. Fox laments the fact that family roles are not biological, but are socially constructed, and so are subject to change.

Besides the negative attitudes of employers to female workers, education is another challenge hindering women's equal absorption in the labour market. Although education is free and the right of every individual in Tanzania, the decision regarding who should or should not participate is sometimes determined by one's gender. Males are given priority over females, despite the efforts of international organizations that emphasise girls' education (Sutton 1998: 392). This happens because of the belief that sending a boy child to school is more beneficial than sending a girl child (Mbelle and Katabaro 2003: 14). It is also believed that by educating

a girl child you have enriched the family into which she is going to marry, whereas by educating a boy you have enriched the family the boy comes from (Sutton 1989: 393).   In rural areas where some of the findings for this study were collected, sending a girl to school means that her labour power in the home is diminished, thus creating opportunity costs (*ibid*). Rural people are of the opinion that when a female is at home she can do things like fetching water, taking care of siblings, cleaning the surroundings, collecting firewood, cooking, gardening, marketing, caring for the elderly and sick and many others (Illis *et al* 2003: 28). Thus, sending a girl to school creates an opportunity cost, which refers to the labour and income that are lost to the household when a girl child attends school (Sutton 1998: 393).

Girls who have been blessed with the access to schooling often find themselves in the family chores trap. Boys are allowed to divide their after-school hours between homework and playing with peers, whereas girls do not have such an opportunity (Mwendamseke 1989: 70). Their time for leisure is often taken up with family chores and looking after siblings, which encroaches on the time for doing homework (Koda 2000: 249). As result, unlike their counterparts, girls fail abysmally in academics. A study carried out in 2002 illustrates the point.

		Female	Male	Total
Division	I	0 (0.0%)	11 (13.4%)	11 (10.2%)
	II	0 (0.0%)	11 (13.4%)	11 (10.2%)
	III	3 (11.5%)	10 (12.2%)	13 (12%)
	IV	21 (80%)	37 (45.1%)	15 (13.9%)
	0	2 (7.7%)	13 (15.9%)	15 (13.9%)
Total		26 (100%)	82 (100%)	108 (100%)

Table 3: 'O' Level results 2002, Source: Mbele and Katabaro (2003)

A quick scan of the 'O' level results above shows that girls' performance is pitiful. Out of 108 schools involved in the study, no female candidate scored division I or II. 11 percent scored division III while 80 percent of female candidates scored division IV. Following these results, it is safe to argue that young females' poor academic performance needs an urgent solution. It should be noted that the poor academic performance of female youth is not just a problem of

female candidates alone; it is a national crisis. Sutton (1998) shows the link between female education and national development. She alleges that women's education has an enormous impact on the lives of families. Children whose mothers are educated are likely to obtain better quality education, have better health and thus a brighter future than children whose mothers were less fortunate (*Ibid*, p.391). The impact of quality education is, *inter alia*, the breaking of the vicious cycle of poverty. It is in this context that the following saying was born - *ukimwelimisha mwanamke umeelimisha jamii* or when you have educated women you have educated the nation. The English form of this is even more radical, for it states that "educating a man you have educated him but educating a woman you have educated society."

Extending the discussion on factors contributing to the gendered labour market is the patriarchal culture. Studies have shown that husbands contribute to the persistence of the gendered labour market because they are not interested in seeing their partners go to work (Ellis et al 2007:3). Lange (1995: 95), whose study focused on Ngoma groups in Tanzania, revealed that males did not want their partners to work as dancers because of the risks involved. However, a further discussion with the males revealed that envy was the reason they were against their partners dancing, as they feared exposing them to other males.

The second factor contributing to the poor participation of females in the labour market is the empathy they have for their families. It is not uncommon to find a woman or young woman sacrificing her job or schooling so that other members of the family can fulfil their goals (Slaughter 2013). After such devotion, however, many of them often end up living dependent or miserable lives.

The third factor that pushes females out of employment is the economic situation of their partners. Studies have demonstrated that women or young women whose partners earn more are likely to choose home chores than those whose partners earn less or do not work at all (Wamuthenya 2010:61). Women who choose to stay at home because their husbands earn more become victims of verbal, psychological and physical violence. Concluding the discussion on female education and the labour market it needs to be said that Tanzanian society contributes to the poor absorption of females in the labour market. To redeem the situation, change is needed at the family and national level. In other words, a holistic approach is needed to create a labour market that is equal and fair to both genders. Given the fact that the majority of young people do not have access to economic opportunities, what follows is a discussion on how they survive unemployment.

4.6 HOW DO YOUNG PEOPLE SURVIVE UNEMPLOYMENT?

Tanzanian youth use different strategies to survive unemployment, which vary with gender and location. In Dar es Salaam, for instance, while some youth prolong schooling to survive unemployment, street youth and orphans, who have nobody to turn to, often survive unemployment by committing crimes (Robertshaw *et al* 2001, WYR 2007), such as stealing vehicle parts, robbery and burglary, which happens a lot in Dar es Salaam and is on the increase. The 1995 crime statistics are a clear example. The total number of crimes was 126,401, which is equal to 346 crimes reported daily and 14 crimes reported hourly (*Ibid*: 24).

While male youth survive unemployment by committing crimes, some female youth, particularly, from poor families, engage in prostitution (USAID 2013). USAID revealed that female youth use their sexual prowess to pay the rent, buy food and clothes and offer support to relatives in need (p.8). Earning a living through prostitution has potential challenges. Contracting STDs and HIV is the risk associated with working as a prostitute. Studies have revealed that over 70 percent of women with HIV are aged between 15 and 24 (AVERTing HIV and AIDS 2012).

It should be noted that not all women survive unemployment through prostitution as some ask for loans from money lenders while others use their artistic talents (Birgit 2008, Suriano 2007, Reuster-Jahn 2008, Reuster-Jahn and Herke 2011, Omari n.d, Omari 2011). This study sets out to reveal how young people survive unemployment by using their talents as dancers. Having shown the terrible situation of Tanzanian youth in the labour market and how they survive unemployment, the discussion that follows concerns Tanzanian youth's involvement in political matters.

4.7 TANZANIAN YOUTH IN THE POLITICAL CONTEXT

Tanzanian youth, similar to many youth in African countries, are recognized for the contribution they made during the struggle for independence. The former president of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, and his successors exemplify the point. Evidence shows that Nyerere began to be involved in the revolutionary struggle at the age of 20 when he was pursuing a degree at Makerere University. James Brennan reveals that even his idea of having Tanzania guided by the policy of socialism came to him when he was at Makerere University. To quote Brennan,

> "Nyerere, then a 21-year-old student at Makerere University, argued
> in 1943 [o] our population is mainly African and Africans being

naturally socialistic, economics in Africa should be based on socialist principles" (2010: 226).

Although Nyerere and his successors became leaders after independence, a large number of youth who were in the forefront during the struggle for independence continued to live desperate lives. Similar to youth from South Africa, Kenya, Uganda and others, Tanzanian youth experienced constant exclusion from the political arena (Muhula 2007, Richard Shaba 2010). Most political positions are still in the hands of the older generation, some whom are in their late sixties, but they hold on to political power under the banner of preparing youth for political positions in the future (Shaba 2007: 2, see also Chachage 2006). This seems to have had unhappy consequences. Political movements are escalating in Tanzania, some of which seem to be connected with eternal leaders, famously known as '*vigogo*' (dead wood). These have remained in power since independence and nobody dares to remove them (Philip 2010: 120). Chachage (2006) observed that several youth movements that took place in Dar es Salaam are initiated by the youth to criticize '*vigogo*' who have monopolized political seats since independence. The political monopoly is justified by the fact that *vijana ni taifa la kesho* (youth is the nation of tomorrow) instead of the nation of today. Chachage observed that the youth of today are not the same as those of previous generations. They use whatever opportunities they have to criticize these eternal leaders. He observed that as they challenge these leaders they tend to use Frank Fanon quotes to criticize them and demand for a place as political actors and to be left alone to take control of their destiny. One famous quotation which he observed youth using is "Each generation must, out of relative obscurity, discover its mission, fulfil it, or betray it." By this youth meant that young people must discover their mission and fulfil it themselves and not by the generation above them (p. 13).

The custom of excluding young people from assuming political responsibilities appears to have terrifying effects in the political realm. Shaba (2007), who witnessed the general election of 2005, disclosed that the political temperature of Tanzania is becoming unpleasant. The struggle between the younger and older generation is becoming increasingly critical and he warned that if this conflict is not well managed it may cause the party in power to fall apart. To quote Shaba,

> "A notable feature of the ruling party is the struggle between the older generation [represented by Yusuph Makamba] and the younger generation [represented by Nape Mnauye]. The struggle is so strong to the extent that it may break up the party. The old guards - some of

whom have been in power since independence. . . want to hang on
while the younger generation wants to push them out" (2007: 4).

The quotation shows that there are far fewer young people in politics than older ones. The tradition of the older generation dominating the political arena is not confined to Tanzanian politics, but it defines politics in many African countries such as Liberia, Sierra Leone, Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe, where most political positions are still in the hands of the older generation despite the contribution youth made during the struggle for independence. Youth in South African serve as an example. Although they were in the frontline in the struggle for the liberation of South Africa, their share is still in the hands of the older generation. Studies have demonstrated that, since then, South African youth are still asking for their share, but have had little or no response (Everett 2007, Muhula 2007).

A recent study conducted by Restless Development Report (2011: 9) in Tanzania revealed that Tanzanian youth feel they are being excluded from the political arena. If they attempt to participate in politics, they are often labelled dissidents, troublemakers, provocateurs and agitators instead of patriotic, talented, energetic and devoted enough to lend a hand in the political development of their country. Instead of being perceived as such, some government leaders are cynical of their desire to participate in politics, seeing it as an attempt to destabilize the peace and harmony of the country (Bellino 2014: 6).

Muhula (2007) revealed that youth in Africa, including Tanzania, do not get involved in politics for their own ends but rather for the benefit of others. He argues that politicians tend to use young people in their struggle for political seats. Thereafter, they tend to forget their contribution by preventing them from designing schemes that can better their lives, but of course, those who lose elections tend to mobilize young people to incite violent protests or armed resistance against their opponents. It shows that young people are often prone to being negatively involved due to their economic situation. Because politicians are aware of the poverty that young people endure, they use this to involve them in political acts – many of which jeopardize their lives. The African Centre for Strategic Studies (2012: 11) observed that it is abject poverty that fuels young people's desire to take part in whatever activity, whether for good or evil (See also Muhula 2007). Gore and Patten (2003: 1) warn those who tend to involve juveniles negatively in political affairs. They suggest that the political exploitation of youth is counter-productive. They cite the case of Nigerian youth to establish the point that the political exploitation of the youth may drive countries into a restless

condition, which in the end can make people refugees in their own country (my own emphasis).

Scholars who have carried out studies on youth and politics in Tanzania cited a number of factors that constantly prevent youth from taking part in politics. This study highlights three factors in this regard. These are the culture of silence, the political climate of Tanzania and the perception of leaders of the younger generation. To begin with the culture silence, Jensen (2010: 10) argues that youth's participation in politics in Tanzania is subverted by the environment in which Tanzanian youth have been brought up that does not allow them to bargain with older people. If they do, they are regarded as people but who have not been well brought up by their parents. Jansen said,

> "Tanzania is a very patriarchal society where youth must be respective of elders and not outspoken. Youth are not seen as eligible participants in decision making and are kept out of discussion and the political process. Even at family level youth does not have an influence. Being brought up in such an environment, they lack confidence, skills and space for them to express themselves in the public realm."

Jansen, whose research involved both urban and rural youth, brings to light the fact that for youth in rural areas their situation in politics is even worse. Apart from being nurtured to believe that older people are like gods, their lack of access to mobile phones, radio and television also hinders their participation. She argues that if rural youth had access to mobile phones they could be in touch with their peers in town. Jansen is of the view that urban youth are politically informed and so they could have been instrumental in updating their rural counterparts. However, because of their lack of access to information technology due to poverty, young people in rural areas have for a long time been the target of politicians, who often demand their votes in exchange for small gifts (*ibid*, p.12).

Ansel revealed similar results. She argues that the culture of silence excludes young people from the political arena although they make considerable efforts to be involved in politics. Despite these efforts they are constantly silenced by the older generation (2005: 22). Because of their submissiveness and respect for the older generation in power, they are increasingly nicknamed 'our silent others', our 'voiceless enfantes terribles,' our 'coming generation,' or our '*Taifa la kesho*' or 'leaders of the future', to name a few (De Boeck and Honwanna 2005: p. 1, see also Herrera 2006, Roche 1999, Chachage 2006). WYR (2005: 2) warns leaders who treat today's young people in the same way they treated previous generations because they are different that their behaviour is not static but is determined by how society treats them

(Herrera 2006:1426). This is why they are capable of playing dual roles, as creative or destructive actors, makers or breakers, pathologies or panaceas, innocent or guilty (Muhula 2007: 363). To be good or evil, therefore, is determined by society and the manner in which it handles them socially, economically and politically.

The second factor contributing to young people's exclusion from politics, as cited above, is the negative attitude of leaders to the younger generation. Sanga (2013: 76) observed that young people are seen by the older generation as short-tempered, results oriented, not in control of their feelings and intolerant, especially if the project they are involved in does not produce the expected results. She also observed that young people are regarded as individuals who cannot stay long in an activity without becoming fed up with it (See also Iyer 2002).

Similar to Sanga, Kristin Phillip (2010) in his study "*Pater Rules Best: Political Kinship and Party Politics in Tanzania's Presidential Elections*" revealed that youth in the political arena are seen to be in opposition to adults. In front of older people, young people, especially in election campaigns, are reduced to being a child to his father. Phillip uses the example of the honourable Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete and his bid for the presidency in 1995 to demonstrate the strained relationship between the younger and older generation in Tanzanian politics. Phillip argues that Kikwete's request was turned down by former President Julius Nyerere because he was thought to be too young to assume such a huge responsibility (p. 120). He was told to wait until he matures. As a result, the honourable Benjamin Mkapa became president instead. Taking a closer look at the Tanzania constitution, the idea that Kikwete was too young to be president contradicts the potential age declared in the constitution, which clearly states that at the age of 40 one has the right to run for the presidency (see Chapter two, section 39, Act 15 of 1984). At the time Kikwete was planning to contest the presidential position he was over 40, but was considered too young. Learning from this it can be argued that people in their 40s are considered grown up, but in politics they are considered immature. They are still looked down on as youth who need to wait until tomorrow before they can play a rightful role in mainstream politics (Muhula 2007:363). To put it differently, in Tanzania politics, at the age of 40 one is regarded as too young and so still needs to be under the control of older people.

President Kikwete was denied access to leadership because he was too young, but he also used the same approach to restrain his opponents. Political parties which began after the ruling party, CCM, were all considered too young, and so could never compete with such a mature party. During the electoral campaigns of 2005, he was heard insisting that the

inhabitants of Singida should choose a father rather than a teenager. By father he meant CCM and by teenager he meant other parties like Tanzania Labour Party (TLP), Civic United Front (CUF) and *Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo* (CHADEMA) which was challenging CCM's dominance in Tanzania mainland (See Philip 2010 for detailed information on this). The two examples above show that the notion of youth in Tanzanian politics has negative connotations. Youth are seen as a problem, incapable, terrible and non-standard rather than gifted, strong, energetic, patriotic and agents for change (Ansel 2005, Muhula 2007, De Boeck and Honwanna 2005, Linda Herrera 2006, WYR 2007). The African Centre for Security Studies (2013) makes it clear that by misusing the younger population many developing countries are not benefiting from their demographic bonus.

The third and last factor preventing youth from meaningfully participating in politics is the political climate of Tanzania. Englert (2008) comments that Tanzania is outstanding in terms of the way it has maintained peace and harmony, even during the struggle for independence and in the post-independence period. This is why the citizens, including the youth, do everything they can to maintain its reputation. Englert revealed that Tanzanian youth search for alternative space to enable them to participate in politics without disturbing the peace of the nation (Perullo 2005, Reustier-Jahn 2008). Likewise, Chachage (2006: 10-11) discovered that Tanzanian youth participate in politics in different ways such as making use of artistic performances to fulfil their political aspirations. Through the performing arts, Chachage revealed that young people select names depicting a certain political character they wish to be and use it to create their distinctive identity. He discovered some young people have nicknamed themselves Proud Niggers, Niggers with power, Nigger one, Rough Niggers, Gangsters with *matatizo, Weusi wagumu asilia* to indicate political power. Although one could argue that the names sound American, Chachage observed that youth named themselves after American musicians for the purpose of expressing their political aspirations and longing for power.

Besides artistic performances, studies have shown that some youth use non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to participate in politics. A study conducted by Student Partnership Worldwide (SPW) in (2011) shows clearly how youth used NGOs to exercise their agency as political actors. The study shows that through seminars, training and workshop prepared by the NGO, Tanzanian youth are taught how to participate in decision making that directly

affects their lives. Through the NGO, youth articulate their ideas, wishes, dreams and views, which often do not appear on the national agenda.

Vinken (2006) observed a new and innovative domain that young people take advantage of to participate in politics. He reveals this to be the consumption domain, ranging from football grounds, clothing styles and fashions to outings with friends. Through the consumption domain young people participate in two ways; first, by expressing their political interests through talking with their friends and by consuming commodities directly relating to their political interests (Jagger 2000: 46). This includes buying T-shirts and shoes and participating in matches which reflect their political interests. The photo below is a case in point.

Figure 5: Tanzanian youth in clothes expressing their political aspirations[26]

A habit of searching for an alternative way of participating has emerged from what (Ansel 2005:248) calls lack of interest in participating directly in political parties. Indeed, the political trend of Tanzanian youth shows clearly that they express their political interest in their own ways. While some use arenas like bars, sports, homes and gangs to engage in political discussion, some use groups they have formed for economic purposes. This study seeks to understand how young people use ngoma groups as a platform to engage in political matters. The study explores whether ngoma enables them to participate meaningfully in politics. Having looked at how young people are involved in Tanzanian politics, the next section focuses on Tanzanian youth in the context of Tanzanian culture.

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[26] Since CHADEMA began to operate cadet is perceived as, among other usages, a symbol of CHADEMA political party

4.8 TANZANIAN YOUTH IN THE CULTURAL CONTEXT

In cultural terms, youth similar to other youth in the rest of the world, are regarded as passive recipients of adults' culture (Munoz and Marin 2006: 130). The expectations of society have always been that young people learn their culture and transmit it to the next generation, and those who attempt to produce a culture of their own, which reflects their changing circumstances, are often regarded as obscene and rebelling against the existing culture (Falk and Falk 2005: 49). Sanga (2013) also revealed that any creativity introduced by combining local culture with other cultures from around the globe is regarded pessimistically as the corruption of culture rather than a process through which cultures enrich one another. Munoz and Marin (2006: 130) suggest going beyond cynically looking at youth culture as an activity that spoils culture to seeing it as a kind of creativity, whose purpose is to give them a sense of place in culture and enable them to become active producers of their own culture (see also De Boeck and Honwanna 2005).

Munoz and Marin (2006) go further to point out different dynamics contributing to the rapid rise of youth cultures. They use the Marxist point of view that argues that youth do not do it in self-selected circumstances but rather in circumstances which already exist, having been transmitted from the past. This includes the growing gap between the rich and the poor which often increases over time. Economic opportunities are in the hands of the few. The gap between the rich and the poor makes it difficult for youth to move from school to the labour market, along with marriage and the establishment of a family. Youth cultures are then used to fill such an economic gap.

Apart from this growing gap, this has contributed to the rapid rise of youth cultures, Munoz and Marin (2006) point out that identity formation is another factor. They argue that in the era of globalization the identities of youth are in crisis. Most youth who find themselves in a situation where they can neither be absorbed by the global culture nor by the local one but fit somewhere in the middle tend to resolve this by making use of existing cultures to come up with something that can help define who they are. They often do this by combining different sounds, images, rhythms, movements, songs and dances to construct something that not only assists in establishing their identities but also reflects their immediate cultural reality.

It is suggested that youth who are involved in creating a culture to resolve their cultural crisis should not be blamed for corrupting culture but rather should be appreciated and their

contribution to culture recognized and valued. This is due to the fact that they are just fighting with creativity and not with weapons (*ibid,* p.132). Konig and Bayat (2005: 60) suggest that youth culture should not be thought of negatively as a form of resistance to the dominant culture but rather it should be regarded as a deconstruction of culture from the inside rather than from outside and its purpose is more of reformation rather than revolution. In line with the scholars above, Suriano (2007), who did her study in Tanzania, argues that the negative perception of youth cultures in Tanzania began long ago. She uses *Muziki wa dansi* to suggest that even a culture which is now seen as traditional, like *Muziki wa dansi*, was once discouraged as a youth culture, whose purpose was to corrupt Tanzanian culture. Through several interviews she conducted with singers of *muziki wa dansi*, she claims that *muziki wa dansi,* which is perceived today as purely traditional, began as a street youth culture (See also Omari n.d and Siri Ranger 1975 on the homecoming of Mganda dance).

4.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter, as I cited above, explores the broader context of youth socially, economically, culturally and politically. From the body of literature it is evident that Tanzanian youth are denied access to social, economic, political and cultural space. From the political point of view, the chapter shows that Tanzanian youth are denied access to political space, which is occupied by older people under the banner of preparing youth for tomorrow. From the economic point of view, the chapter has shown that Tanzanian youth do not have access to economic opportunities. Worse still, they also suffer from economic crises, as they are the ones who are last in first out. In cultural terms, the chapter indicates that the role of youth is that of passive recipients of older people's culture and absorbers of global culture. The next chapter is where the analysis of findings begins. The chapter illustrates how young people utilize ngoma to combat the dilemma of denied space.

CHAPTER 5 IN SEARCH OF ALTENATIVE SPACE: NGOMA AS AN EMPOWERMENT PURSUIT

Ngoma is the only way to describe me. It is not just a way to live; it's every way to live

(James 2012)

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter showed that Tanzanian youth have for a long time been denied access to social, economic, cultural and political space. This chapter is therefore an attempt to demonstrate how young people use ngoma to combat this denial of space. To do this, I use primary data collected through focus group discussions, interviews and being a participant performer researcher. The overall argument of this chapter is that youth are denied social, economic, political and cultural space. Thus, they use ngoma to combat their denied space. Tanzanian youth use ngoma as a political, cultural and economic activity. The discussion below demonstrates how young people do this.

5.2 NGOMA AS POLITICAL SPACE

Presenting data on ngoma as political space, I divide the discussion into three subsections. In the first section I reveal how young people use ngoma to criticize their government and citizens who have been given responsibilities, which often leads to them becoming corrupt. In the second section I demonstrate how young people use ngoma to support their government in issues which directly affect their lives and which make sense to the entire population. In the third section I provide evidence on how young people take advantage of ngoma to participate directly in politics. This is especially the case when they join government leaders in their political rallies and when they use ngoma as a platform to engage in a debate about political matters concerning their country.

5.2.1 Ngoma as a space to criticize corrupt leaders

FGDs conducted with youth from Hayahaya group, UMATI and Makanya group show that they feel excluded from the political realm. They claim that the political space that should be occupied by young people is constantly being filled by older people, with little room left for them. When space is left for youth is mostly occupied by youth who are children of *vigogo* or dead wood. Although young people in ngoma groups raised the issue of all youth being excluded from the political arena, they felt that artists like them are the ones who are the most excluded from mainstream politics. Dynamics like lack of access to education and poverty were mentioned among the many reasons for their exclusion. Sadiki, for example, was of the

view that citizens are suspicious of artists as good representatives for educational reasons. Citizens are aware of the fact that most of the artists have not gone to school. They are not clever and so cannot represent them (Interview, 2012).

Undeniably, studies have proved the connection between education and the political skills of the youth. Hillygus (2005:27), for example, alleges that schools provide young people with the skills needed to understand the subject of politics, such as the skills to reason, question, argue and engage in political debates in a meaningful way. However, having engaged in discussions with young artists and got to know their ability to reason, this study argues that education is not the only factor which can enable one to become a good representative. Considering education as the only factor is to ignore the fact that individuals are born with intelligence, which enables them to engage meaningfully in whatever is being discussed, including politics. My deep engagement with youth in political debates led me to the conclusion that, in the same way that children are believed to be born with artistic talent (Robinson 2006), I argue that people are often born with political talent. The only problem is that the limited space does not enable them to prove their political aptitude.

Discussions with Hayahaya youth showed that, apart from the economic reason for establishing the group, politics was another reason for them to come together as a group. They complained that society does not give them space to display their political skills. For this reason groups serve as a means of participating in politics. It is better and safer for them to participate in political debates through ngoma groups because it enables them to be vocal without repercussions (Perullo 2005: 79). Hayahaya youth confirmed that they have been participating in political debates by composing songs full of antagonistic themes without imprisonment. The participation of youth in the debate on corruption could be used to illustrate the point.

Corruption of leaders was, and still is, a chronic problem in Tanzania. If this is not going too far, corruption in Tanzania dates back to 1985 when the former President of Tanzania, Nyerere, stepped down from power. Since then corruption has become a way of life despite legal reforms and the introduction of the PCB (Prevention of Corruption Bureau) to control corruption. The interviews with informants revealed that citizens are apparently becoming fed up with corruption and so they have decided to design their own ways of dealing with it, including refusing to pay government taxes and tariffs, because they think that government

revenue is enjoyed by a few people instead of being allocated to resolve the problems facing society. This entails infrastructure, health and education (Anton, interview 2012).

The interviews with Lumumba youth clearly demonstrated their awareness of corruption and the efforts they have been made so far to resolve the problem. At the time the data for this study was collected, young people claimed to have composed several songs whose purpose is to fight corruption. Engaging in a discussion on how young people use ngoma to criticize dishonest leaders, I analyse two songs, together with a discussion I had with youth about them. I analyse songs because DeNora (1999: 94) calls a thermometer and a metaphor of human agency (See also Melanie 2009). I use songs to study the political voice of youth, for this is how young people articulate what they deem to be a political quandary.[27]

Interviews with Lumumba youth, for example, demonstrated clearly that they are aware of corruption in society and thus they have already composed several songs to challenge it. Although they were optimistic that ngoma would resolve the problem of corruption in society, they realised that songs cannot change corrupt leaders overnight, but at least they can make them aware that their behaviour is known, which might make them gradually change it. Youth claimed that using songs is much safer than initiating political movements, because political movements are frequently regarded adversely by government officials as a social menace that provokes violence, delinquency and terrorist acts. Being cognizant of the repercussions of political movements, young people claimed to have composed several songs to challenge this, as according to them, songs seldom break the law but often break the silence. The song "*Matumbo Makubwa*" or "Big tummies" by Lumumba group exemplifies the point. Underneath is the complete song.

Kiswahili version	English Translation
1st *stanza* *Baba Ndinda*	Father Ndinda
Wenye matumbo makubwa	You who have big tummies
Kwa kweli mnatutesa	In fact you torture us
Sasa tumeshuka sie	We are now aware of your deeds
Mpaka kwenye magereza	Even those in jail
Sasa tumeshtuka sie	We are aware of your deeds
Mpaka kule mahakamani	Even those in court

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[27] In only two cases where movements are also analysed.

Sasa tumeshtuka sie	We are now aware of your deeds
Mpaka kule mama lishe	Working in cafeteria
Aaah itakwisha nchi	When will this behaviour come to an end
Tabia hii itakwisha nchi	The behaviour which is dangerous to the nation
Wenye matumbo makubwa	You who have big tummies
kwa kweli mnatutesa	You are torturing us
2nd stanza	
Mimi ni muuza mchicha	I am a vegetable vendor
Kutembea kwa miguu	Going all around on foot
Kutoka Tandika mpaka Feli	From Tandika up to the coastal area
Ili watoto wangu mie	So that my children
wapate kula	can have something to eat
3rd stanza	
Unataka leseni wakati mimi si dereva	Don't ask for my licence I am not a driver
Unataka kitambulisho	Don't ask for my identity card
wakati si mwanafunzi mie	For I am not a student
Mimi ni mtanzania	I am a Tanzanian

Through interviews with the youth from Lumumba group it became clear that the song *Makumbo Makubwa* (people with big tummies) was purposely composed to challenge corrupt leaders, who tend to take the lion's share while people from minority groups endure poverty. It was said that the song *Matumbo makubwa* is a metaphor rebuking these leaders. The title *Matumbo makubwa* means that government leaders use the share which is not theirs. Because of this, they have developed big tummies, which have made them look unattractive and ugly. A closer look at the title and application of terms like *leseni* or license and *kitambulisho* or ID card (which will be brought into play later) shows that young people make use of figurative language in their compositions. Asked why they did this, they claimed that they prefer using figurative language, because it is safer. It enables artists to send strong messages with little or no harmful outcome.

The Lumumba group, who own the rights to the song "*Matumbo Makubwa*", claimed that the song was composed to condemn corruption, which is currently spreading like a bushfire and nobody is taking serious action to resolve it. Because the leaders themselves are involved in corruption, it is difficult for them to challenge it. The group explained that they composed "*Matumbo Makubwa*" to question the corruption going on in schools and the law courts, on roads and every place where corruption has become the norm.

In a further discussion of the song "*Matumbo Makubwa*", Lumumba youth claimed that the 2nd stanza was composed to tell government officials and society at large about the effect of corruption in polarizing the nation into a nation of the haves and have-nots. While the haves earn money by receiving bribes, citizens in abject poverty move all over the city hawking spinach just to make ends meet. Notwithstanding their attempt to march to every corner of the city in search of customers, what they get is always hand-to-mouth money, which is too little to feed their families. The group said that they fashioned the 2nd stanza to bring to light the sufferings that vegetable hawkers encounter in their lives.

Lumumba youth claimed that the 1st stanza was structured to criticize teachers who claim carrots from parents in order to keep a vigilant eye on their slow-learning toddlers. Masafa said that voicing the injustice of teachers towards parents is important. Once they hear the song they will stop doing it, for they will understand that their corrupt behaviour is now known. The same stanza talks about injustice in prison. A discussion with the youth showed that they brought in the theme of injustice in prison to claim the rights of prisoners on their behalf, as they cannot speak for themselves. They claimed to use ngoma to put themselves in the prisoners' shoes to demand that justice be done to them.

While the song did not mention pregnant women and sick people, Lumumba youth claimed that their song was structured to bring to light the challenges that women and sick people face as they look for health services. It was said that their song points the finger at health service providers like doctors and nurses whose role is rescue the lives of people. But because of greed, they use their job as an opportunity for corruption. Lumumba youth added that they composed this song to condemn the behaviour of selling blood that should be offered for free, but health service providers want to provide it in exchange for cash. Patients who cannot pay the amount demanded are left to die, because they failed to buy blood. Through this song the youth claimed that the song vocalizes the deep frustrations of the devastated patients and pregnant women they come across.

The discussion about the song *Matumbo Makubwa* further revealed that young people use ngoma as a mouthpiece to voice the problems that the dancers themselves and their peers face in their lives. In the 3rd stanza, young people use the metaphor of *leseni* or driving licence and *kitambulisho* or student ID to claim their rights as citizens, in particular the right to hang out with friends without being questioned about who they are. It shows that they composed the 3rd stanza to condemn those people in power who tend to harass them with questions whose aim

is nothing but to discriminate against youth. They said that they composed the song to make these people stop asking loaded questions, which cause them to feel like immigrants or displaced persons in their own country.

An in-depth evaluation of movements shows a clear connection between them and the message portrayed in the song. This is particularly true when a dancer moves in three dimensions, turning in all directions and forming a circle by extending her arms to occupy a large space, suggesting that young people need their sovereignty as Tanzanians. The farming movement which follows cements the idea that they are not only Tanzanians, but they belong to the indigenous people, the peasants. For this reason, they are entitled to all their rights.

A further discussion on the complaint of being questioned about who they are showed that youth encounter such questions when they look for employment. It seems that both private companies and government employers tend to ask deep questions of which youth are suspicious. While youth believe in struggling for employment it is their skills that matter, and so they wondered why employers were interested in their kinship and where they come from. Young people wondered how kinship or the economic statuses of their parents are criteria for their selection. For this reason, the song was composed to condemn employers who have a habit of offering jobs on the basis of lineage rather than one's capabilities. It was claimed to be crucial to condemn employers of this nature because their behaviour opens up opportunities for young people from privileged families to become the endless beneficiaries of the available resources, while the children of "*walala hoi*" (poor people) remain in poverty, notwithstanding the initiatives they take.

Broadening the discussion of why the 3rd stanza was composed, Masafa added that it was to negotiate with the government regarding the rights of their fellow youth vendors who, because of unemployment, have decided to be self-employed as street vendors. Even though their businesses have only a small amount of capital, soldiers tend to chase them away from occupying even a small space in favour of big business persons. The young people argued that the 3rd stanza was composed to negotiate space for them so that they can enjoy carrying on their business, similar to those with a lot of capital. This is because street hawkers are also doing business. They are not stealing. Maneno added that the song also applies to youth who come to town in search of better living conditions, but because of lack of employment they stay in *vijiwe* (gangs) waiting for jobs to materialize. Maneno claimed the song was composed to stop solders beating them up because of mistaking unemployed youths for thieves.

The notion that young people are beaten up because they are thought to be thieves appears to have a long history in Tanzania. Research has shown that in 1972, Tanzania launched *operesheni kupe* (operation parasite), which focused mainly on the younger generation (Perullo 2005: 79). The purpose of the operation was to send jobless youths residing in Dar es Salaam to rural areas where they were forced to work on farms. In the 1980s, the Tanzanian government launched another operation titled *Kila mtu afanye kazi* (Everyone has to work). The purpose of this was to arrest all youths in gangs and they were asked to produce a work identity card. Those who were unable to do so for they had no job were beaten and later detained. Afterwards, they were transported to rural areas to work in the agricultural sector. Therefore, the tendency of chasing away youth in urban areas today is history repeating itself. Summing up the discussion of the song *Matumbo Makubwa*, the study argues that young people use songs to get the attention of people who will not listen to them (Reustier Jahn 2008: 43, Birgit 2008).

The second political song I want to share is the song called *Tumechoka Mambo Yenu* (we are tired of your deeds), the song that UMATI youth shared with me. UMATI youth composed this song during preparations for the 2005 general election. The purpose of composing it was said to be twofold; first, to criticize leaders who tend to make citizens lots of promises but, in the end, fulfil none of them. The second reason was to draw citizens' attention to the fact that, during election campaigns, they tend to be duped by dishonest leaders requesting their votes in exchange for small gifts. The youth discouraged citizens from electing such leaders, for their intent is not to bring development to the people but to seek a position in order to fill their tummies. Through this song, the youth claimed they urge citizens not to choose them. Moreover, they claimed to use this song to let dishonest leaders know that their demand for votes, in the second round, will be turned down. Energetic and patriotic leaders dedicated to the development of their country will be chosen instead. This is the song UMATI youth shared with me.

Kiswahili version	English translation
Viongozi waroho wa madaraka	Leaders with a hunger for leadership
Tuweni makini nao	Let's be careful of them
Watakuja na ahadi nyingi	They come with lots of promises
Maendeleo kuleta	That they will bring development
Nasi tunafarijika	Then we feel pleased

Tunawapa zetu kura	We give them our votes
Wakishazipata kura	Once we give them votes
Hawana wanalolifanya	They do nothing
Zaidi ni kula rushwa	Except receive bribes
Kujaza matumbo yao	To fill their tummies
Viongozi aina hii	Leaders of this kind
Nalia tusiwachague	I cry we should not choose them
Wakizipata kura	Once they get the vote
Waenda Dar	They travel to Dar es Salaam
Kurudi mpaka uchaguzi	They don't come back until the next election
Mwaka jana nilienda kijijini	Last year I went to my village
Kwa mama kumsalimu	To greet my mother
Nikapitia shule jirani	I went to the school nearby
Shule haina vitabu	The school had no books
Watoto wanacheza tu	Children are just playing
Hawana la kufanya	They have nothing to do
Hospitali hazina dawa	No medicine in the hospital
Watu wanakufa bila matumaini	People are dying hopelessly
Bajeti ya huduma hizi	The budget for these services
Wanazikwiba wakubwa wachache	Has been stolen by a few leaders
Viongozi aina hii	Leaders of this kind
Nalia ehee tusiwape kula	I cry we should not give our votes
Wanairudisha nyuma nchi yetu	They will weaken our country

Similar to Lumumba youth, UMATI youth alleged that corruption was another central theme characterizing their song. It was declared that they composed the song to condemn leaders for using their position to indulge in corruption. The song was composed as an attempt to demonstrate to the public how sick and tired they are of the so-called 'corrupt leaders.' They stressed that line eleven to thirteen were composed to put the matter into perspective.

Taking a closer look at the overall theme of corruption, their concern appears to be associated with the impact of corruption on the lives of the poor. This is especially the case when they claimed that poor people depend on government schools for the education of their children.

Therefore, stealing government funds means subjecting children of the poor to poor quality education.

Young people were not only concerned about education, but also about the health services for the poor. They lamented the fact that whilst poor people die of malaria due to lack of medication, children and wives of dishonest leaders travel to Europe or the US for a medical check-up, both of countries are thought to be magnificent in treating the sick. It was alleged that lines eleven to thirteen were composed to tell the public how they feel about the corruption going on in the government. The youth were of the opinion that, as long as corrupt leaders steal government funds with impunity, their song will act as a mechanism to penalize them.

Raising the question as to what they would do if they were leaders, Majaliwa made an interesting point. This is what he said.

> *Kama mimi ningekuwa kiongozi mkuu,nisingecheza nao hata kidogo. Ningewashtaki. Mashitaka yao yangekuwa kati ya kung'olewa madarakani, kufungwa jela au kunyongwa. Adhabu zao zingetofautiana kutokana na kiasi cha pesa walichokiiba. Kwa hakika naamini kama watafanywa namna hii kwa kipindi kifupi tu wangekuwa wameshaacha kuiba pesa za walipa kodi.*
>
> If I were somebody with a loud voice in the government, I would take action. I would have pressed charges. The charges I would have pressed could vary from being sacked, detained or sentenced to death, all of which depends on the amount of money they had stolen. If somebody were to do this to them, even for a short period of time, I believe they would have stopped stealing citizens' taxes (Interview, 2012).

In a further discussion about the song the youth commented that lines thirteen to fifteen were added to condemn leaders who, after being elected, tend to move from their respective regions to Dar es Salaam. They relocate not because of the responsibilities they assume, but due to the myth that Dar es Salaam is a hub that connects Tanzania to the rest of the world (Ekström 2010: 221). UMATI youth accused them of leaving their regions for Dar es Salaam, claiming it has a negative impact on the development of their regions. When they live far from their regions, they detach themselves from their people, land, customs and culture, which reduce the love they initially had when struggling for political position.

Majaliwa associated the inability of many leaders to fulfil the promises they often make during campaigns with their custom of relocating. The song *Tumechoka Mambo Yenu* was composed to challenge leaders tending to reside in Dar es Salaam and returning during

election campaigns, pretending that they were busy with official duties. Leaders of this kind were accused in this song and in the coming election they should not bother themselves campaigning again because their request will not be granted. The youth alleged that they used their song to urge these leaders not to waste their money on bribing them. If they did so, their money will be taken but not a single vote will be given in exchange for it.

Taking a quick look at the youth's statement above, it implies that young people believe they have the power to destroy untrustworthy leaders if they wish. This is why Herrera (2006: 1426) regards young people as experts in forging more stable, democratic and economically prosperous societies. However, when development goes awry, they can also represent forces of instability, radicalism and impoverishment (See also ILO 2012: 3).

Although young people showed the ability to take advantage of songs to demonstrate dissatisfaction, the study shows that the role of songs transcends this function. Songs appear to be a therapeutic device for the youth for dealing with the disappointments and problems they encounter in their daily lives. Mariga and his fellow youth are a case in point. They declared that the song '*Tumechoka Mambo Yenu'* once it is sung reduces the stress and anger over dishonest leaders. When they sing the song, they feel calmed and comforted, and their emotional reactions are controlled as well. Hanna (1973: 169) in her study *African Dance: Continuity of Change* reveals similar results of the role of songs in reducing the distress and pain in dancers' lives. If songs play this role, one could argue that they could be used, among other things, to manage political tensions and the radicalization of youth.

Not only do young people use ngoma to criticize their government, but also to support their government, particularly on issues that affects their lives. The discussion below shows how young people use ngoma songs to support their government.

5.2.2 Ngoma as a platform to support government policies

Plenty of studies have proved that young people can be agents of change, as well as creative, energetic and patriotic heroes, among others (Muhula 2007: 363, see also Herrera 2006, Honwana and De Boeck 2005, Ansel 2005, African Centre for Strategic Studies 2012). This study has similar results. Young people have made themselves ambassadors, whose role is to support their government in implementing policies fundamental to the country's development. This is especially true of policies they consider pivotal to their lives and the lives of many. Mdumange's song from Hayahaya youth group is a case in point.

Mdumange lyrics	Translation
Kibodi tulia	Kibodi keep cool
Tulia tucheze Mdumange	We are praying for peace
Twawaombea salama	All leaders of Tanzania
Tanzania viongozi wote	We are praying for peace
Kilimo chainua mgongo	Farming is the backbone of our nation
Nyerere alisisitiza tuinue kilimo	Nyerere insisted on this saying
Ardhi yetu ndio mali	*Our land is our wealth*
Tuimarishe kilimo	*Let's invest in farming*
Raisi Kikwete naye atusisitiza	*President Kikwete is also insisting on it*
Tuinue kilimo	*To boost farming*
Tutumie teknolojia	*Let's make use of technology*
Tuimarishe kilimo	*To boost farming*

The predominant theme of the song is agriculture. Taking a closer look at the song, combined with my own experience as a dancer, it can be seen that the song is not new. Hayahaya youth have added new lines to the song, in particular the last six lines (in italics). Asked about the rationale for adding new lines, Hayahaya youth asserted that they composed the song not just for the sake of it but for a specific purpose. One of the reasons pointed out was to make the song echo two agricultural policies; the agricultural policy of the former President of Tanzania, *Mwalimu* Nyerere, and the recent policy of *Kilimo Kwanza* (Agriculture first), which was introduced by President Kikwete. The youth claimed that the purpose of doing what they called 'two in one' was to strengthen the current policy of *Kilimo Kwanza*. Sadiki pointed out that people do not take the policy of *Kilimo Kwanza* seriously because of the failure of previous agricultural policies in the 1960s and 1970s, such as *Azimio la Arusha* (Arusha Declaration), *Siasa ni Kilimo* (politics is agriculture), *Kilimo cha Kula na Kupona* (Life and death efforts to improve agriculture), *Vijiji vya Ujamaa* (villagization), *chakula ni uhai* (food is health) and *Ukulima wa Kisasa* (modern agriculture). Sadiki proclaimed that the agricultural policies of the period of Mwalimu Nyerere failed due to poor technology, as people were still using the hand hoe. As a result, the policies did not deliver the intended results. Sadiki further claimed that two policies were mingled in one song in order to call Tanzanians to take the policy of *Kilimo Kwanza* seriously. He was of the view that because

Tanzania has a vast amount of land, investing in agriculture can help the country move out of poverty.

Young people's tendency of supporting government policies, which make sense in their lives, is true of young people not only in urban settings but also in rural ones. Young people from Tanangozi group with their song *Tuiheshimu Misitu* (let's take care of our forests) is a classic example. Interviews with the rural youth about this song indicate that it was composed to be sung on forest day. Although the song was composed for forest day, which happened three years ago, it is still being sung because of the message it carries. It warns people against misusing forests. Chesko Mwinuka claimed that the message of the song was essential for rural dwellers like them who are immediate users of forests. Mwinuka alleged that the group continues to sing the song for the purpose of drawing the attention of rural people to the significance of taking care of forests. Mwinuka emphasized that they sing the song to lend a hand to the government's policy of *Misitu ni Uhai* (Forests are life).

The image of urban youth making efforts to support the *Kilimo kwanza* policy, on the one hand, and on the other the image of youth in rural areas doing everything they could to support the government policy of *Misitu ni Uhai,* caused me to come to the conclusion that young people are good ambassadors and patriotic political actors. The challenge for the government is to create space for youth to exercise their agency as political actors (African Centre for Strategic Studies 2012: 11).

5.2.3 Ngoma as an arena for participating in political campaigns

A thorough discussion with Hayahaya youth indicated that the ngoma group gives them the space to participate in politics. By taking part in political campaigns, young people challenge power structures and influence citizens' choices. Almost all the groups involved in this study declared that they had participated in political campaigns at least twice. Hamad disclosed the feeling of belonging that young people have when they are involved in political campaigns. He proclaimed that young people develop a feeling of being treasured, accepted and of making a contribution to the political matters of their country (Interview 2012). Bellino (2014: 4) revealed that no matter how tricky the mode of participation is, taking part in politics makes youth feel that they have regained a sense of control over their lives. By participating in politics, they view themselves as important and efficacious members of society (*ibid*), because young people often seek a sense of purpose and meaning in their lives (African Centre for Strategic Studies 2012: 11).

Figure 6: A typical photo of Tanzanian youth dancing in political campaigns

5.2.4 Ngoma as an arena for interactive discussion about politics

Research indicates that democracy is impossible without political parties (Shayo 2005: vii) and this statement is gradually being transformed by young people as they increasingly search for alternative ways of sharing their political thoughts outside mainstream politics. Civic and citizenship education research has revealed that young people now have much less trust in national governments, political parties and people in general (Bellino 2014: 5). As an outcome, they use their leisure time as an outlet to express their political desires (WYR 2007). This study brings to light the fact that young people in ngoma take advantage of ngoma groups to share political thoughts with their peers, which has made them aware of political trends in the country. Interestingly, the political discussions taking place in ngoma groups have had impact not just on male dancers but also female dancers. After listening to debates, most of which were initiated by male members, female youth who had no passion for politics began to pay attention. Tausi and Kibena from Hayahaya group are a case in point. They honestly declared that before joining the group they felt they were cut off from politics. After participating in debates, they are on the frontline in demanding change. Tausi for, example, said that her intention of composing *kutaka mabadiliko* or vote for change in 2010 was inspired largely by a heated discussion that took place during preparations for the General Election of 2010.[28] Drawing on several examples above regarding the role of ngoma in the political lives of the youth, it is safe to claim that ngoma groups offer youth the opportunity to express their political desires in a way that does not disrupt the peace.

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[28] Vote for change is the slogan coined recently by the youth to mean vote for sound policies and not for political parties.

5.3 NGOMA AS SOCIAL SPACE

Tanzania is among the patriarchal societies in Africa. At family level, men control the affairs of the entire family including young people (Jansen 2010: 10). Chigunta (2002: 6) revealed that young people, no matter their gender, feel alienated in mainstream society and so they tend to go for street life where they create their own social world. In a situation where kinship is worked out, young people socialize in accordance with what their parents and extended families want. Diallo (2004: 60) observed that it is common to see young people engage in relationships without affection just to make others, especially parents, feel contented. Abdullah (1998) argues against this kind of socialization as it tends to oppress youth and has caused some youth to become agents of their own socialization. Research has revealed the emergence of youth culture, in this case, ngoma groups, as a result of the alienation of youth in mainstream society (Chigunta 2002: 17). This study reveals similar results. Young people are denied access to social space and so they use ngoma to combat their plight. This sub-section seeks to demonstrate how young people use ngoma as social space through which to challenge social norms and how ngoma groups are used as space in which to discuss their private matters. The discussion further shows how young people use ngoma groups to get partners and as a place where bodily exercises can be done. Moreover, how young people use ngoma as an alternative to health and social care is discussed in this section, as well as using ngoma as an alternative to knowledge and psychological satisfaction, which starts by looking at how young people use ngoma to challenge social norms.

5.3.1 Ngoma as space for challenging social norms

To begin this discussion, I would like to think back to the time I was in the field when I met Hayahaya group for the first time. I encountered a lady there chatting to somebody on her mobile phone, who introduced herself as Tausi. She confirmed that she was part of the Hayahaya group. When I introduced myself as their guest, she took to me to the secretary of the group, a very welcoming person, who shared a great deal of issues. The group had had nine members, but one member, the star dancer, left the group because her parents wanted her to get married because they feared she might become pregnant, a shame they did not want to experience. But she was not given the opportunity to marry somebody she loves as her parents had already chosen somebody for her. Although the group advised her to negotiate with her parents, she said it was unfeasible; as such an approach would never work with parents like hers. In the end she got married and went to live with her husband, and that was the end of her being celebrated as a star dancer.

During the conversation, the Secretary said that there was no point in wasting time talking with parents who have no ears to hear. What they did was to use the medium of ngoma to tell not only the parents of the star but all parents. They composed a means of dialogue with parents about forced marriage and its impact in the era of HIV and STDs. The Secretary added that, if parents continue with their habit of forced marriage, the struggle to make HIV history will never be realized, because women will continue to search for real love by committing adultery. Below is the song the Secretary shared with me.

Managua song	Translation
Niacheni wazazi wangu niacheni	Leave me my parents
Msinilazimishe	Don't coerce me
Nalia niacheni mie	I cry, leave me
Wakati ukifika nitachangua chaguo langu	At the time I want to marry I will make the right choice
Ninayempenda nitamchangua	I will choose the one I love
Maisha ni safari ndefu	Life is a long adventure
Nipeni haki nimchague mwenyewe	Give me the right to choose the one I love
Nimchague ninayempenda	Somebody I love profoundly
Nikimchagua	If I make my own choice
Nitampenda kwa moyo wote	I will love him with my all heart

The overall theme of the song concerns a young woman who cried for freedom to choose. The background to the song is that she was forced to marry before she planned to do so. Being cognizant of her parents' interest, she asked for more time so that she can make the right choice. She promises to love her husband in return if her parents will grant her the chance to choose.

During the interview, Hayahaya youth said that they composed the song for two reasons - to inspire youth who are scared of making their own decisions about whom to marry because of pressure from their parents, and to urge parents who tend to choose partners for their children to stop doing so. Instead, they should give their daughters the freedom to make decisions about their future including the freedom to choose whom they should marry. Indeed, the issue of parents selecting partners for their youth seems to have unhappy consequences. Research has revealed the effect of coercion on young women who marry husbands older than them.

The wide age gap intensifies young brides' lower status and lack of power, which increases the likelihood that they will experience violence and health risks, including HIV (Mganga 2009). Therefore, apart from ngoma, a special programme is required to give parents a better understanding of the impact of forced marriages on the lives of their youth (WYR 2007).

5.3.2 Ngoma as space for discussion about private lives

In Tanzania a range of topics is regarded as taboo by parents, one of which is talking about love affairs. In the interviews with the youth they said that young people use ngoma groups to engage in discourses relating to love affairs. These range from broken relationships, new relationships, sexual status and sexual desire, to family planning and health-related issues, which they could not share with others. Subira from UMATI, who at that time had a child of three months, said that when she discovered she was pregnant she did not want anyone in her family to know about it. Because her father had warned her about engaging in sexual relationships, she knew that once he knew her status it would be a serious problem. Therefore, she thought the ngoma group was the only space in which to share her predicament. Friends in the group kept her secret and did everything they could to assist her. All the pregnancy challenges she experienced she shared with friends in the ngoma group. Later on, her mother discovered her situation and insisted that she must not think of having an abortion for fear of her father. This is how her pregnancy became known and accepted by her family. Otherwise, Subira said she could not imagine surviving pregnancy challenges without the support of her friends.

Likewise, in Bhoke's family, children are forbidden to talk about love affairs in their parents' presence. Bhoke was told by her father not to think about engaging in relationships with men. If he discovered she had, Bhoke would have to find a place to live as he would drive her out of his house. In spite of her father's strictness, Bhoke said she attempted to exercise her agency by finding a lover. The issue became horrendous when she had a serious conflict with her boyfriend that nearly threatened her life. Bhoke said she was in severe pain and wanted to share this to get relief, as she believed in the saying that a problem shared is a problem halved. But who she should share with was her dilemma. Later on, she thought about going to share with friends in the ngoma group. While she was thinking of sharing with somebody merely to get relief, the group members went beyond what she thought they could do. Looking at the pain she had, members of the group asked her permission to go to her boyfriend's house to negotiate with him on her behalf. She allowed them to do this while

wondering at the courage the members had. They went to negotiate. Everything went well and her boyfriend agreed to continue being with her. This happened two years before collecting data for this study.

Subira and Bhoke are not the only cases as the youth in the group shared many stories about their love affairs and how ngoma groups assist in searching for possible solutions. However, some of the issues which young people shared with friends were serious enough to jeopardize their lives. Being aware of the serious issues youth come across, it is wise to argue that apart from ngoma groups where they can discuss their love affairs, Tanzanian youth require more space at family level. This is especially true in relation to issues that seem to put their lives at risk.[29] Denying them the chance to share their affection plight ignores the fact that young people nowadays are different from those of former times. They are growing up in a world that is rapidly advancing technologically and they are maturing earlier, thereby becoming sexually active at a younger age (WYR 2007).

5.3.3 Ngoma as space for getting partners

As well as using ngoma as space for sharing issues relating to love affairs, it is also used as a venue for searching for partners. Youth in ngoma groups claimed that while those who are fortunate enough to go to university choose partners there, those who did not have such as an opportunity choose partners through ngoma. Indeed, it was observed that the majority of young men and women had boyfriends or girlfriends in the ngoma group. Those who did not said that they got their partners during ngoma shows. They claimed that their dancing prowess often attracts men to think of having a partner whose career is ngoma. To quote Kibena,

> *Kusema kweli baadhi ya wanaume wanadata na mauno.[30] Wakishaona mwanamke anakata mauno kisawasawa jukwaani basi wanaamini huyu sasa ndo mwanamke hasa.*
>
> To be honest with you, some men are fascinated by the hip-swaying movement. When men see a woman dancer majestically swaying her hips, they believe that she is the perfect woman to marry (Interview 2012).

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[29] Youth raised the issue of lack of space to share their sexually related health status including STDs. They said that they are scared of the reaction of their parents to their health problems, which has always been negative.

[30] *Kudata is* slang referring to a situation of being attracted to something. In the text above, the word is used to refer to a situation of being sexually invited.

Lange (1995: 12) in his study *"From Nation Building to Popular Culture: The Modernization of Performances in Tanzania"* revealed virtually similar results. He revealed that when men see female dancers dancing erotically they are attracted to them.

5.3.4 Ngoma, a space for shelter and affection

A further discussion with youth informants showed that ngoma groups are not only places where young people gain access to partners but they are also a home to some of the youth due to the death of their parents or to moving from rural to urban areas. Orphans and relocated youth acknowledged obtaining love, care and affection from the ngoma group. The Hayahaya group can be cited here as an example. As stated in chapter one, the Hayahaya group lives like a family, treating one another like children of the same family and preparing food and eating together is a group tradition. When some members are not around during lunch time, their food is kept for them until they come back. Such affection was much appreciated by the majority of the youth, especially those who had no parents or relatives to care for them. For instance, Philip had moved from Rukwa to Dar es Salaam, where he had no parents or relatives. He declared that the care and affection members give one another means a lot to him as it gave him the confidence to stay in Dar es Salaam without which he would have gone back to Rukwa.

Likewise, the interview with Kibena whose parents died over 15 years ago demonstrated similar results. At the age of six, both her parents died. Thereafter, she was taken to her grandmother to be taken care of but the grandmother was too old, and in fact Kibena found herself having to take care of her grandmother despite her tender age. She had to cook, fetch water, do the cleaning, wash clothes and collect firewood. Being involved in family chores at the age of six, Kibena felt she never enjoyed her childhood. However, she acknowledged that since she joined the group she began to witness somebody cooking for her, washing dishes and the like. Kibena candidly acknowledged that, among other things, it is the family relationship that attracts her the most.

A further discussion with the youth indicated that ngoma groups provide youth with a place to sleep. For example, before travelling to Dar es Salaam, Philip had saved some money to pay rent as he searched for employment. Life in Dar es Salaam became so complex that his earnings as a dancer were not enough to facilitate his stay and so he found another job that of assisting house constructors by fetching water, carrying bricks and mixing and carrying cement. One day Philip was very unfortunate. When he was carrying bricks which were

indeed heavy, he had a serious accident, which paralysed his left hand, and so Philip is now disabled because he can only use one hand. Because of his disability, he depends on ngoma alone as his main employment. He cannot join other groups in their performances to boost his income as other youths often do. As a result, he only gets a little money and so he can no longer manage to rent a room of his own. At the time this study was carried out, Philip claimed to be living with the chairman of the group until a permanent solution is found.

This was not the only case. Youth in Iringa claimed to accommodate one another if one had a problem with shelter. Situations which made youth accommodate one another varied from being homeless to being chased away from home because of a crime or the use of marijuana. In some cases, accommodation was offered because of the problem of going home late when parents refused to open the door to them. In such situations, young people in Iringa claimed to accommodate one another.

5.3.5 Ngoma as an aerobics studio

A fitness centre is most commonly referred to as a gymnasium, where people go to exercise, swim or do sporting activities. The benefit of fitness centres, *inter alia*, is to lose weight. While in Europe the history of fitness centres can be traced back to 1847 (Buck Josh 1999), in Tanzania it is a recent phenomenon, thought to be a ramification of globalization, but the demand for them is high. In the interview, youth dancers acknowledged that fitness centres are vital for shaping their bodies and making them look beautiful or handsome. It was said however that fitness centres are too expensive for people like them as the cost varied between 5,000 and 10,000 Tshs a day. However, they acknowledged that ngoma has the same role as fitness centres, such as making them strong and healthy and burning calories, which in turn makes them look beautiful. Bhoke said,

> *Ukicheza ngoma huna haja tena ya kuhangaika na hayo mazoezi ya kulipia. Kwanza ni aghali sana. Ngoma inatoa fursa sawa na ile ya jim. Aliyefanya mazoezi jim na mimi niliyefanya mazoezi yangu kwenye ngoma urembo wetu hautotofautiana* (Interview 2012)

> When you dance ngoma you don't need to bother yourself with fitness centres which you have to pay for. First of all, it is so expensive. Ngoma provides an opportunity similar to the one offered by the gym. There is no difference between me who used ngoma and the one who used gym for exercises. Our beauty cannot differ. Both of us will look pretty.

Bhoke was not the only case. The majority of female youth were of a similar view that ngoma assists in losing weight, and looking attractive and lovely. However, it is important to see how

the concept of beauty is defined by the youth, which appears to be associated with slimness. Matiza (2013: 64) revealed that in the era of globalization beauty is regarded by Europeans as relating to slimness, tallness and lightness (see also Asante 1998). He laments the new ways of measuring beauty. He claims that at present beauty is judged by the outward appearance, which seems to contradict the African way of measuring beauty. For Matiza, African beauty is measured by looking at both the inward and outward character (Ntarangwi 2003: 130). Outwardly, African beauty is measured by black skin, large body and big buttocks and inward character by truthfulness, humility, love, sympathy, self-discipline, shyness, patience and courage along with hard work (Gelfand 1982: 7). Matisa claims measuring beauty by how slim, light and tall ignores specificity and the differences between different types of bodies (Crossley 2006: 24). According to him, judgment of this kind is an outcome of imperialism which tends to homogenize bodies based on the standards of the ruling class. As an offshoot, people across the world do everything they can to meet those standards (Matisa 2013:64, See also Otiso 2013). Uncontrollable moral erosion, which is now on the increase in Tanzania, appears, among other reasons, to be connected with focusing not on inward beauty but on outward beauty. Judging beauty on the basis of lightness has caused youth to bleach their skin with chemicals, some of which may cause skin cancer. Therefore, it is appropriate to argue that before young people plunge into copying other cultures, they need to think about the effects.

Similarly, the male dancers considered ngoma as a venue for exercising their bodies so that they look tougher and stronger. Acrobatic movements, holding one another up and drumming were pointed out by young men as being among the exercises that build up their muscles. The photo below illustrates the point.

Figure 7: Photo of acrobatic posture

Men's notion that muscles are vital is not confined to the youth in ngoma groups as the majority of youth in the urban environment think the same. Television and the internet appear to influence their behaviour. Similar to the female dancers, the ideal concept of a handsome young man influences their demand for muscles. However, the interviews with young men in the ngoma group show that they build up muscles to differentiate themselves from female dancers because most of the costumes resemble each other.

Ngoma as an alternative to health care

As argued elsewhere, young people are denied access to health care. While older people use health insurance or the money they accumulated during their employment to gain access to health services, young people, due to unemployment and poverty, do not have such access (USAID 2013). Heath services are offered to young people in exchange for cash. The interviews with youth showed that, apart from using mosquito nets, they claimed to make use of ngoma to combat malaria. In Dar es Salaam where malaria is a huge challenge, the youth reported staying even a year or so without being sick from malaria. They associated their good health with daily exercises and rehearsals. Bhoke, a female youth dancer from the Hayahaya group in Dar es Salaam, is a case in point. Before she joined the ngoma group she proclaimed that she suffered from malaria at least four times a year. After joining the group, she avowed staying even a year or two without getting malaria. Being aware of the contribution of ngoma to her health, she claimed feeling uncomfortable when she does not go to rehearsals.

While young people in Dar es Salaam appreciated ngoma for helping them to stay for over a year without getting malaria, youth in Iringa said that malaria is now history. Physical

exercise, combined with the weather which is always cold, has made them forget that there is such a thing as malaria. The fact that ngoma helps prevent youth from becoming sick due to malaria is difficult to prove because until now no study has been carried out to show the relationship between the two variables. What is known about the role of exercises is that they enable the body to remain active, strong and healthy.

Moreover, some youths use ngoma as a mechanism for abstaining from sex. It was said that taking part in ngoma group makes them tired and preoccupied, leaving them no time to think about sex. Unquestionably, research has proved the role of ngoma in changing people's attitude to making healthy lifestyle choices (Berton 2010:12, See also Bupa 2011).

Ngoma as a device for bridging the gap between young women and men

According to Tanzanian culturally values, premarital sexual relations are taboo (Lilijeström *et al* 1998). Parents do everything possible to protect their youth, especially girls, from engaging in the practice. Different strategies are often used by parents to protect girls, one of which is to prohibit them from interacting with boys. However, the language that parents use can best be described as ambiguous, contradictory and confusing. Instead of giving girls clear reasons for not interacting with boys, they tend to lie. It is common to hear girls being told not to play with boys because they will make them pregnant. This gives girls the wrong information about their sexual health. The interviews with young female dancers revealed that ngoma plays the role of bridging the gap. To quote Tabu,

> *Nilipokuwa nakaribia kuwa kijana, mama yangu alinieleza nijitahidi sana kuweka umbali na wanaume. Kwa sababu wanaume wanaweza kunisababishia ujauzito. Taarifa hizi zilinishtua mno. Zaidi ya kuweka umbali, mama yangu alinisisitiza nisiongee na wanaume bila sababu. Hilo pia si jambo zuri kwani laweza kunipelekea kupata ujauzito. Hivyo akanisisitiza niwe mwangalifu sana pale ninapoongea nao. Kuanzia nilipopata taarifa hiyo, ndipo nilianza kuwachukia wanaume. Nikafanya ajizi la kuwa kila watakapotaka kuongea nami, mimi nitakuwa nawakimbia.Mambo yakaja kuwa magumu nilipoamua kuishi maisha ya kujitegemea; maisha ya kujiajiri kama msanii katika kikundi cha ngoma. Niligundua kwamba kundi nililokuwa napigania kujiunga nalo, lilikuwa na wanaume wengi. Kuona hivyo hofu ya kupata mimba ikanipamba mara. Baada ya kuliangalia kundi kwa umakini, nikagundua kuwa kuna kina dada pia, tena kama mimi. Basi nikafanya maamuzi ya kujiunga wakati huohuo nikijitahidi kuweka umbali. Ajabu! Kadiri nilipokuwa nikikaa na kufanya nao shughuli mbalimbali ikiwemo kucheza ngoma sikuona jambo lolote baya likinitokea. Basi ndipo nikagundua kwamba mama yangu alikuwa akinidanganya.*

When I was about to mature, I was so scared of men. My mother told me to stay away from men because they will make me pregnant. This information really shocked me. She also warned me against talking to men frequently as another risk that can make one become pregnant. She encouraged me to be careful as I interact with men. After receiving this information, I began to hate men. I decided that when they want to talk to me, I would run away. Things turned awkward when I decided to live an independent life; that is earning a living by joining the ngoma group. I came to realize that in the group I was fighting to join, the majority of members were men. Seeing men in the group, I began to regard it as a stumbling block. However, as I studied the group, I realized that there were also female dancers. This gave me courage that I would also manage to survive in a group as those young women did. Although I had such courage, I still kept my distance. However, the more I stayed with them, taking trips and dancing, the more I got to know them. Then I became conscious that my mother was lying (Interview 2012).

The quotation above gives a clear picture of the vague information that parents give their girls, fearing that providing them with the 'facts of life' (sex education) will expose them to early pregnancy. Parents' thinking about sexual knowledge appears to contradict the various studies undertaken on the subject of sex education for girls, which have revealed that it lowers the risk of early pregnancies and contracting STDs and HIV (IYD - Institute for Youth Development 2008: n.p, USAID 2013). The scientific studies above show that it is vital to be transparent when talking with the youth on the subject of health rather than using the old-fashioned tactic of telling lies. Clear sex education would not only equip girls with skills to interact with the opposite sex but it will also protect them from contracting HIV and STDs, thereby increasing their chances of survival.

5.3.6 Ngoma as an alternative to academic knowledge

The literature review indicates that the education of youth, especially those from low-income families, is constrained by the cost of uniforms, low quality education, inadequate infrastructure, a hostile school environment, hunger, high drop-out rates, and the death of parents, to name a few (UNICEF 2001: 51). Dancers are among those denied access to education. This study has revealed that young dancers take advantage of ngoma to acquire education and different kinds of knowledge important for their lives. They gain education by participating in seminars and workshops planned by them and by NGOs. Hayahaya youth, for example, proclaimed that they often request experts from different fields to come to their group and share knowledge they think is important for them. Some of the youth in Hayahaya confirmed that they learned how to write project proposals through the ngoma group. The

knowledge now enables them to work with big companies like Coca-Cola, Airtel, star-times and get paid.

Apart from gaining knowledge of writing proposals, young people from UMATI group established that messages contained in songs are another source by which they gain knowledge. It was claimed that some songs give comprehensive messages which provide them with knowledge about their society. The interview with Paulo is used to illustrate the point. He proclaimed that although he was born in Iringa, he was unaware of how rich the region is. Nor did he know about its geography. He claimed that he found out all that information after he was taught an ngoma song composed by one of the primary school teachers to praise Iringa region. Through this, he became aware of the prosperity of Iringa region. Thus, he began to feel fortunate to be born a Tanzanian.[31] Below is one of the songs Paulo shared with me.

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[31] He said that, before knowing about his region he agreed with young people and their saying *afadhali kuishi ulaya kama paka kuliko kuishi Tanzania kama binadamu* (it is better to be born in Europe as a cat rather than being born in Tanzania or elsewhere in Africa as a human being). Taking a closer look at the life span of a cat, which is between 6 and 15 years, it implies that some youth feel it better to live a short but enjoyable life rather than seventy or eighty years in abject poverty and with problems. This notion seems to be in the minds of many youth and even children living in severe poverty, as the gap between the rich and poor increases. It shows that a growing number of children decide to cross boundaries to go to Europe or the US in search of better living conditions (for detailed information on the matter see Mail online at http://www.wnd.com/2014/07/children-crossing-border-obama-will-take-care-of-us/ published by Jerome Corse 2014). However, some Tanzanians see that it is time to change this mentality and stand up and determine their own destiny. It is time to decide their own future because the future is on their own terms.

The song	Translation
Tunaimba kuusifia mkoa wetu	We are singing to praise our region
Ni mkoa maarufu sana	It is a famous region
Ukifika nyanda za juu	Once you visit the southern part of Tanzania
utauona	You will definitely see it
Hali yake ya kuvutia	The weather is admirable
Iringa yasifika popote	Iringa is appreciated everywhere
Tanzania Afrika na duniani	Tanzania, Africa and across the world
Wilaya zake zipo saba nazo ndizo	The region has seven districts
Makete,Rudewa, Iringa Vijijini, Manispaa,	Makete,Rudewa, Iringa vijijini, manicipal,
Njombe, Kilolo na Mufindi	Njombe, kilolo and Mufindi
Viwanda vyetu karatasi, maji,	Our industries includes paper, water,
matunda, majani ya chai	food processing and tea
Kwa usafiri barabara pia reli	In terms of transport we have roads,
Angani tunasafiri na maji tunatumia	We also travel by railway and water
Mazao yetu tumbaku, chai,pamba, maharage, mahindi, mpunga na karanga	We grow tobacco, tea, cotton, beans, corn, rice and groundnuts

Apart from songs, the interview with Mzuri and other youth from Hayahaya group indicates that seminars and workshops have become a source of knowledge that is relevant to their lives and the country as a whole. It was said that organizations tend to mobilize youth in ngoma groups to participate in seminars and workshops on gender issues, the performing arts, environmental education and HIV. An anonymous youth whose health status is HIV positive alleged that participating in HIV seminars has helped her to know about her condition better and accept it as a reality she has to face.

Ngoma as space for psychological satisfaction

Several studies on youth have demonstrated clearly that, despite limited resources, Tanzanian youth search for alternative ways to contribute to society. This entails being self-employed as street vendors, as artists or working as house constructors. The results show that, despite their efforts, some youth are increasingly being labelled violent, hostile to government rules, disruptive and hooligans (Reuster-Jahn 2008, Suriano 2006, Suriano 2007, Remes 1999, Omari n.d, Perullo 2005, Case *et al* 2004). Ngoma seems to offer youth space for them to be

appreciated and their contribution identified and accepted. This is especially true through the performances they continue to give to their audiences. Evidence from the youth shows clearly that the appreciation they repeatedly receive from their audiences builds their self-esteem and confidence, which transcends their stage lives. Commenting on this, Subira declared,

> *Nikiwa stejini na watu wakianza kunishangilia, kwa ujumla mimi inanifanya nijisikie vyema sana. Pale inapotokea wanaongeza kushangilia huwa najikuta napata nguvu na kujiamini. Huwa nami naanza kujiona kwamba kumbe naweza kufanya jambo na jamii ikalikubali.*

> "When I am on stage and the audience appreciates my prowess, it boosts my self-esteem and confidence. I begin to feel like I am doing something meaningful enough to be accepted by many" (Interview 2012).

The same comments were made by youth from the *Jivunie* group during the Bagamoyo Festival that took place in October 2013. There were two shows; one in the morning and the other in the evening. I participated in both ngoma shows. Later on there was a discussion on the ngoma performance. Amina, a young lady of about 18 years old, proclaimed candidly that the morning's show was one of the worst performances the group had given. When asked why she thought so, she linked the problem to the fact that the audience did not support the group with clapping or ululation, which affected their performance. Indeed, studies carried out on dance therapy have shown that the applause and smiles of the audience are good for building dancers' sense of worth and personal character or ego (Institute for Career Research 2010: 19, See also Norstralinia 1999).

Figure 8: Jivunie Group on the stage, Bagamoyo Festival of 2013, source; field photo by Daines Sanga

Figure 9: Audience dancing with *Jivunie* group as way to acknowledge performance.

5.3.7 Ngoma as space to express concerns about dancing career

The challenges encountered by youth, whether in their careers or ordinary lives, often go unnoticed. In many cases, their challenges are associated with negligence, carelessness and lack of commitment to the pursuits they engage in (Sanga 2013: 16). Therefore, youth in ngoma groups appear to take advantage of ngoma to share the challenges they encounter in their careers. *Safari yetu,* a song composed by Lumumba, elucidates the point.

Safari yetu song	Translation
Razaro namtafuta	I am looking for Razaro
kaniibia chupa yangu ya mafuta	He has stolen my bottle of oil
Safari yetu mama	Our journey
Sijui lini tutafika	We don't know when we will reach where we want
Safari yane	Our Journey
Mikene Mbwane	You have pinched yourself
Kabana mwenyewe	You have pinched yourself
Safari yetu wacha kuchilo	Our journey children of Kuchilo
Kila nyumba twaingia	We enter every house
Tunahangaika sana mama	We are struggling
Sijui lini tutafika	We don't know when we will reach where we want to
Tunateseka sisi	We are tortured
Sijui lini tutafika	But we don't know
tutafika Lumumba	when we will reach where we want Lumumba
Pilikapilika haziishi katika dunia hii	We are always busy on this planet
Wa huku kaenda kule	The one who is here goes there
Wa kule kaja huku	And who is there comes here
Huu ubinadamu na maisha haya	This is humanity and this is life

Taking a closer look at this song, young people use both rhetorical and non-rhetorical language to express their feelings. The title of the song "*safari yetu lini tutafika*" is a metaphor, representing their lives as artists and the challenges they encounter until they reach the level they want. "*Kila nyumba twaingia*" (no household has been left unvisited) and *wa huku kaenda kule na wa kule kaja huku"* (one has gone there and another here) are all metaphors depicting the struggle youth in ngoma groups have in their lives as artists.

According to Masafa the song was composed to express the challenges Lumumba's group encountered in their early days. Betrayal was an enormous problem which threatened the survival of the group. The song *safari yetu* was then composed to express the problem the group encountered in those days. Masafa added that when the group was beginning people

thought it would die due to infidelity, because the members did not stay longer than a week or a month in the group. Only a few members showed tolerance. Worse still, those who withdrew joined other groups, to which they revealed the secrets, plans and programmes of the group they had left. According to Masafa, the song was composed to reveal the challenges Lumumba's group encountered.

Although the interview with Masafa indicated that the song had been composed to express the challenges that Lumumba came across in the ngoma group, one youth, during the *Sauti za Busara* festival in 2013, proclaimed that the song was not limited to Lumumba's group as it also referred to the challenges young people face as they try to earn a living. Asked about what he really meant when he said the song is not confined to Lumumba, he explained that many youth encounter lots of problems as they struggle in their lives. Thus, the metaphor *kuingia kila nyumba* means that as youth foray for space they often leave no stone unturned. Some of them wake up very early in the morning but still end up with nothing. He added that the song *safari yetu* represents them.

To fully understand the theme of *safari yetu*, I attempted to explore the ngoma movements accompanying the song. They started slowly and ended up fast. The dancer begins with a slow walking movement as if she has a problem walking. The more the dancer dances, the greater the difficulties she experiences. In the end the dancer falls down. Thereafter, the dancer wakes up and begins to dance the walking movement going to another location where the dancer changes speed from walking to faster dance movements, with the left hand moving simultaneously with the right leg and vice versa in such a way that both arms and legs occupy a vast amount of space. Observing the dance movements, it can definitely be argued that they are congruent with the song. At first, the dancer is struggling to move but falls, which can refer to the challenges the Lumumba group or anybody encounters in the first stages of their venture. The dancer dancing from left to right can mean the trails youth often make until they get something to do and the transition from slow to fast movements in the new location probably means the upward movement or triumph of people after a long struggle. The movements of arms and legs filling a large space after changing location may symbolize the relief that the young person or anybody feels after successfully achieving his or her goals.

5.3.8 Ngoma as an antidote to social encounters

Studies carried out on youth living in difficult circumstances have shown that they live unhappy lives, as they are prone to mistreatment and exploitation (Lugalla and Kazen 1999: 329, See also McAlpine *et al* 2009). Among other things, abject poverty, the lack of parental protection and love, inadequate food and unreliable shelter contribute to their unhappiness (Lugalla and Kazen 1999: 332).

This study reveals the contribution ngoma makes to helping youth deal with their grievances. Youth from difficult environments acknowledged that ngoma gave them space to forget their problems, no matter how long they had had them. One youth from UMATI group and her family problems exemplify the point. At the time this study was carried out, she was going through difficulties as a ramification of her parents' separation. She made it clear that since her parents separated it was common for them to leave home without taking tea. Since the parents live away from each other her siblings go to school without pocket money. While paying school fees was not a big issue, currently it has become a major challenge.

Starvation is another worry which caused her unhappiness. Food was not a big problem before their father left home. Everyone was free to eat anything at any time because food was available. At the time she was narrating this story the family appeared to eat once a day. When a heavy meal is eaten in the afternoon, it simply means there would be no dinner. A drastic shift from a life of abundance to scarcity shocked her. She showed her sense of despair, abandonment and hopelessness. The problem was seen to be partly because their father had remarried. As she continued to tell her story she lamented *nikikumbuka magumu tunayopitia roho yangu inauma sana* (when I think about the difficulties our family is going through, I feel pain in my heart). Despite her sufferings, she acknowledged that ngoma had helped deaden her pain through the friends she had made in the group and rehearsing together. However, the pain comes back when rehearsals end. Despite the fact that the relief she experienced lasted for only a short time, she admitted that it helps.

The positive impact of ngoma is evident not only on the youth living with their families but also on those who do not have a place to stay. The interviews with the Makumila ngoma group are an example as most of them live on the street. However, when they dance they claimed they forget about their lives as street youth. Giurchescui (2010: 110) supports the fact that ngoma has the power to take dancers out of themselves and transport them into an

imaginary world of time and space. By so doing, it makes a dancer forget about the problems they face in their lives. Commenting on the power of ngoma, Matias said,

> *Maisha yangu mimi ni shida. Kila kukicha sijui nitakula nini. Hata usiku ukifika, huwa hata sijui nitalala wapi. Mavazi siwezi kuyaongelea kwani kwangu mimi ni kama anasa. Kuna wakati huwa naona kama dunia inanielemea kwa matatizo. Pamoja na matatizo mengi haya niliyonayo, cha ajabu, nikiingia kucheza ngoma sikumbuki tena. Najisikia mtu mwenye furaha kuliko yeyote. Najiona kama naelea mawinguni. Kwa ujumla sina neno la kueleza ninavyojisikia nikiwa nacheza ngoma.*

> Every moment of my life is surrounded by problems. I don't always know what to eat and where to sleep. I can't talk about clothes. As for me, clothes are a luxury. Sometimes I feel the world is crushing me. Surprisingly, when I dance, I feel I am the happiest person in the world. I feel I am floating on air. I have no words to describe how I feel when I dance. (Matias, Interview 2013)

A further interview with street youth revealed that ngoma enables them to enjoy life as marijuana does. It was reported that when performing and rehearsing with others in groups they tend to forget about smoking marijuana for fear of disappointing other dancers but also for being fascinated with dancing. Staying without smoking during rehearsals and performances, youth observed a change in terms of smoking marijuana. If this is the case it could be argued that ngoma to some degree has the same role as marijuana. One youth who requested anonymity elucidates the point,

> *Tukiwa katika onyesho kuna wakati najikuta namna gani vipi nataka kuvuta. Lakini mwanangu mwenyewe inakuwa ngumu. Siwezi toka halafu masela wangu waanze kuhangaika mtu wa kukaba nafasi yangu au vipi sis? Nikiona namna gani vipi naamua kubinya nipige dili kwanza nisubiri baadae. Si unajua tena sista wangu ngoma nayo kama ulabu. Ukicheza moja unataka ucheze na nyingine na nyingine. Mwisho wa siku unajikuta umecheza ngoma zote. Basi ndo hivo tena nafasi ya mtungi inakuwa imenabwa kiroho mbaya. Baba yake kwa mtindo huo unajikuta umepiga mtungi mara moja daili. [32]*

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[32] The quotation above is not perfect Kiswahili. It is the slang employed by youth on the streets, particularly those using marijuana. While ordinary youth speak like other Swahili speakers, street youth use slang words – many of which are known only to them. To understand them one must be exceedingly attentive.

Sometimes I feel like smoking marijuana in the middle of a performance but I can't do that and leave my friends thinking about how they can fill the gap. For this reason, I often decide to wait until the performance comes to an end. As you know my sister ngoma is sometimes like marijuana. Once you do one performance, you feel like taking part in another and another. In the end, you may wonder whether you have participated in them all. This is how we have no time to smoke. Since I began to dance, it is now normal for me to smoke only once a day.

Extending the discussion on ngoma as a pleasurable activity, the interview with Philip about this illustrates the point. Philip said that ngoma brought back good memories of the past, where he was born and brought up. When the group performs ngoma it reminds him of his friends, parents, relatives and many of the things he used to do in those days and that made him happy. Supporting Philip, Subira declared that when ngoma is performed it makes her lose control and she often begins to dance irrespective of who is watching her. This is particularly the case of the ngoma with which she has fallen in love.

Male drummers specialized in drumming linked their enjoyment of ngoma to their drumming role. It was stated that when the drums are properly dried they make an appealing sound, which causes them to move with the ngoma and forget other things in their lives. Despite ngoma having a role in providing relief, Nosratinia (1999) argues that it should not be overstated. This is because it deadens the pain for a while but then it comes back again. She acknowledges, however, that the few minutes during which dancers are released from their pain does a lot for their health.

Figure 10: Masafa testing drums after being dried out

5.3.9 Ngoma, space for making friends

Studies have revealed that one of the most important things young people need to give value to their lives, apart from family members, is a network of friends (Granovetter 1973, Mulliford *et al* 1998, Ferrer & Fugate 2014). The majority of youth perceive a network of friends as pivotal in inspiring them to make positive changes in their lives. Masafa said that through ngoma he has made friends within and outside Tanzania. Having them he feels protected, satisfied and happy. The photo below shows Masafa with his friend.

Figure 11: Source Facebook photo, produced by courtesy of Masafa Mwalimu

Through the interviews it became evident that friends have a place in young people's lives and some saw them as part of their family. Others considered friends as a source of happiness and triumph in their careers. Tikatika from Makanya group is quoted below to illustrate this point,

> *Mimi rafiki zangu nawaona kama familia. Kuna baadhi ya marafiki ukipata shida wanakujali. Wanakusaidia kutatutua matatizo ambayo kwa kawaida usingeweza kuyatatua wewe mwenyewe. Binadamu hajitoshelezi. Siku zote kila mtu anamuhitaji mwenzake. Kuna matatizo unaona kabisa kuwa kama serikali ingepaswa kunitatulia ningepata ahueni kubwa. Mara nyingi matatizo kama hayo marafiki wanajitolea kukusaidia.*

> Friends to me are like family. Some friends really care. They can resolve problems which you cannot. Nobody is complete under the sun. We need one other. There are some problems you feel that your government should help you with. Because the government does not care about youths' problems, apart from relatives, it is friends who are often there to help.

The quotation above embodies the fact that friends mean more to them than the government for they resolve problems which should be resolved by the government. This is why Foster (1938) in Archard (1995) commented that, if he had to choose between betraying his country and betraying his friends, he hoped he should have the guts to betray his country. Chachage (2006) argues that young people rise up to demonstrate now and then because they lack connection with their leaders and do not trust them (see Bellino 2014). To conclude the discussion on the importance of friends, during my fieldwork I witnessed youth in ngoma groups having a lot of friends from different fields, including film makers, producers, DJs and journalists, to name a few (see also Reustier-Jahn and Hacke 2011 on Tanzanian artists' investment in friendship). Even I as researcher was classified in their network as a friend. Long (2003: 76) points out that irrespective of the time and material sacrifices needed to invest in friendship, it is worth doing. Through friends, we extend our activities and self-knowledge that are important for our lives.

Figure 12: Journalists from ITV chatting with the secretary of Hayahaya ngoma group, Source: field photo by Daines Sanga, Makumbusho Museum – Dar es Salaam

5.4 NGOMA AS CULTURAL SPACE

As stated elsewhere in this study youth are increasingly placed at the margins in the production of culture (Honwana and De Boeck 2005: 1). In many cases, youth are regarded as receivers of adult culture rather than active participants in and producers of society's culture (Munoz and Marin 2006:130). This part is an attempt to demonstrate how young people use ngoma groups to combat this by revealing the strategies they employ to regain their status as producers of culture. The first strategy I came across is called inventive borrowing and the second is the organization of seminars and workshops, which help them gain such a status. Parallel to this, I show how young people use their drumming skills to penetrate higher

learning institutions as producers of culture, which establishes in them a sense of self-esteem and belonging in their own society.

To begin with how youth reclaim their cultural space by reinventing ngoma, the study has revealed the proliferation of creative ngoma performances. Of the six groups involved in this study, none declared having never reconstructed their own ngoma by borrowing from diverse sources. Each group had produced at least three or more creative ngoma. Tanzanian ngoma performances were then fused with dancing styles from diverse sources within and outside the country. The interviews with the youth from the Lumumba group demonstrated a unique strategy. While others concentrated on creating ngoma that appeal to their own senses, the Lumumba group's creativity was focused on capturing the attention of the audience irrespective of age. In order to investigate this, I downloaded Lumumba's creative ngoma from the internet, which certainly supported their claim. Sangula's creative ngoma, for instance, was reconstructed so that it fuses with *Zilipedwa's* ngoma,[33] which appears to have been done for the sake of older people. Kiduku's style seems to have been designed to capture the interest of children and youth. For an in-depth exploration of Sangula's creative performance, this link can be used.[34]

Apart from dancing styles, young people hope that musical instruments will demonstrate their creative potential. Taking a closer look at musical instruments, it is evident that they are another essential part. While musical instruments like ngoma continue to dominate the musical side, modern musical instruments such as the guitar and keyboard are also employed. The purpose of using a keyboard has always been to capture the interest of the younger generation, especially those who have grown up with media technology. (An in-depth discussion on musical instruments is presented in chapter 6 that deals with global influences).

Apart from incorporating musical instruments from diverse cultures, how youth utilize them substantiates their status as contributors to culture. The style of blowing a bamboo flute by Lumumba youth for Sangula's dance is a typical example. Lumumba youth have established their exceptional style by which the bamboo flute is blown through the nostrils. The photo below clearly shows this.

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[33] Zilipendwa is a term used in Tanzania to refer to Jazz music which came into view in the 1970s, 1980s

[34] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JfH_yZukiS0

Figure 13: Young artists from Lumumba blowing the Bamboo flute through the nostrils, field photo by Daines Sanga

Kauzeni who played the flute on the stage proclaimed that he was happy when his group discovered such a unique style, which has made their group's sound unique. Studies on youth cultures have indicated that to the youth creative style is a metaphor for their agency (DeNora 1999: 54). It serves as a reference point for groups developing both personal and group identities. Lumumba youth, for example, claimed ownership of the style of blowing the flute through the nostrils, thereby insisting that those who want to reproduce this style must obtain the consent of the group. The implication here is that even the older generation, whose status is the producers and owners of culture, must do the same. If this is true, creativity can best be described as youth's own space, which offers the possibility of power being distributed from adults to them (WYR 2005: 81). Laughey (2006: 22-29) alleges that creativity, which he calls "self-making", should be considered a site that gives young people meaning to their subordinate lives. This includes the transition of cultural life from young people as the receivers of adult culture to them having full control over their culture.

Seminars and workshops as space for cultural agency

Apart from the exceptional use of musical instruments, seminars and workshops have turned out to be sites at which young people can reclaim their status as creators of culture. This is especially the case when groups perceive themselves as experts in the field of performance. THT (Tanzania House of Talent) group is a case in point. The group identified itself as a non-profit group that was launched for the purpose of nurturing young talent. Inkya as a founder among many proclaimed that since the group began to operate it has trained a good number of

young artists, some of whom have become celebrities.[35] Despite being frustrated by the scarcity of resources, Inkya claimed that the group does everything it can to integrate young talent in the world of performing arts. This commitment of THT nevertheless gives the impression of being motivated by the quest to demonstrate their potential as cultural actors. This is revealed in Inkya's statement that he and his followers feel proud tutoring artists who afterwards achieve a leading status in society.

Masafa from the Lumumba group is another example. Because of his prowess as a drummer, he was and still is invited to the University of Dar es Salaam to fill the gap that often appears in the drumming section as well as strengthening the group. This invitation, therefore, has become a means of gaining self-esteem and a sense of worth (Bloustien and Peters 2011: 227).

5.6 NGOMA AS ECONOMIC SPACE

Ngoma as an economic activity can be dated back to the 1980s during the economic crisis (Songoyi 1998: 28). During this period ngoma was transformed into a product that can be traded like any other product. The economic crisis is the main reason why ngoma was turned into a commodity. Young people in ngoma groups proved that ngoma as an economic activity could help them realize their goals in life. Mzuri can be used to explain this. Mzuri said that one of the things he wanted when he grew up was to establish a family of his own. Mzuri claimed that his friends discouraged him because of his economic situation as he had no job. He tried out many things without success. After struggling for a long time without success, he attempted to join the ngoma group. A year later, one of the Indian Companies in Dar es Salaam announced an audition for dancers. Six dancers from Tanzania were needed, who after a successful audition were obliged to travel to Kenya where they had to spend three weeks rehearsing, after which the dancers had to give live ngoma performances in certain areas in Kenya. Mzuri was selected for the project and he travelled with the other dancers to Kenya where he spent almost four weeks. Having his goal in mind he tried to save as much as he could. After the project had finished, Mzuri travelled back to Tanzania where, without delay, he began to arrange his marriage. This included paying the bride price and other important marriage costs. With the small amount of money remaining he decided to use it for a family-sized wedding. Although Mzuri was scared to begin having children, he declared that ngoma

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[35] Mwasiti Ally and Lina Sanga, now at the peak in both the music and film industry, are believed to have gained their artistic skills at THT

had helped him live his dream. He said candidly that he would not have managed doing all this if it were not for ngoma.

Reflecting Mzuri's case above, research has indicated that human beings tend to look for a sense of purpose for their lives (ACFSS – African Centre for Strategic Studies 2012: 11, Bellino 2011), which varies greatly from one individual to another. For some their sense of purpose may be connected to their career, politics, faith or finance, while others' goals may be connected to their personal lives including establishing families of their own. Taking the example of Mzuri, he had a sense of purpose, despite being young, and was focused on setting goals to achieve want he wanted. In his struggle to achieve his purpose in life, ngoma played a major role. It can be argued that ngoma, similar to any other career, is capable of providing youth with meaning and purpose in their lives.

Another interesting finding is that the ngoma group is used by the youth to establish a strong financial safety-net through the *Vikoba* scheme, which enabled them to save and borrow money similar to credit institutions. Youths, especially those who were not able to open a bank account of their own appeared to benefit from this scheme, because to open a bank account they needed a birth certificate, a national or work identity card, a referee's letter and cash of between 20,000 and 50,000 Tshs, which they did not have. The issue of age is another stumbling block that appeared to hamper them from opening a bank account, as those under 18 cannot have a bank account of their own by law (Mjema 1996: 26). Because of this, youth discovered *Vikoba* as their saving scheme that enables them to gain access to bank-related services. It should be noted that saving money through ngoma groups does not happen in all of them. Alamano is the only group the researcher came across practising this. The remaining groups have their own way of saving. How these groups organize their savings is discussed a little later. To explain how Alamano operates the self-help scheme, the interview with the supervisor of the scheme illustrates the point. He said that the group launched their financial safety-net, known as *Vikoba,* in 2010. Vikoba comes from the word *mkoba* referring to a handbag that is often used to keep money in. *Vikoba* operates for nine months with members of the group being required to buy *hisa* (stocks) of not less than 3,000 Tshs per week. Those who feel like buying more are not prevented from doing so but can buy as many as they want. During these nine months of buying *hisa*, members are allowed to borrow money on the condition that they repay it with interest. After the nine months is over, everybody is obliged to repay the money together with the interest.

A further discussion with the supervisor, known as *mwalimu wa hisa*[36] indicated that *Vikoba* has turned out to be the means of freeing artists. This is especially true of the youth who cannot access banking services, although before *Vikoba* they used to borrow money from private lenders. The problem however was that the interest charged by them was very high. In most cases it was 25% per week and so on a loan of 100,000 Tshs, after 4 weeks they had to repay twice that amount. As a result, it created a lot of pressure when it came to repaying the money and frustrated their struggle to attain upward economic mobility through a loan. *Vikoba* is appreciated for resolving this. *Mwalimu wa hisa* said a dancer who is a member of *Viboka* can borrow 100,000 Tshs for a month and the interest is only 30,000. Another benefit of *Vikoba* is that the money paid as interest is given back to the members at the end of the nine months. Before beginning another nine months, all the money collected throughout the period is dispersed among the group. For instance, after nine months of *Vikoba,* a member is likely to receive 50,000 to 100,000 Tshs from interest alone, excluding the 3,000 Tshs paid by each member, each week for nine months. The money they receive from investing for nine months in *Vikoba* was acknowledged to be not a little.

Female dancers taking part in *Vikoba* proved that it was beneficial to them as the money they receive helps them to stand on their own feet. It enables young women to buy things, eat and enjoy doing what they feel like doing with their money. One of things they claimed to do with their money is to open a business of their own. Young women in their 20s, prone to sexual promiscuity, appreciated the role of money from *Vikoba* in helping them stay away from using their bodies as a source of income. Mariana said,

> *Ngoma inanisaidia kusimama kwa miguu yangu. Japokuwa sipati kipato kikubwa sana, lakini mimi nikanisaidia kutatua matatizo yangu. Hivyo sina sababu ya kujiingiza katika mapenzi kwa sababu ya kutaka pesa. Kinachotakiwa ni kuridhika kwani binadamu hatosheki.*
>
> Ngoma helps me to stand on my own feet. Although what I am getting is not that much, I am still satisfied, for it helps me resolve my problems. I don't need to be involved in prostitution for the purpose of earning a living. What is important is to appreciate the little amount that I receive. This is because human beings can never be satisfied.

(Interview 2012)

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[36] Mwalimu wa hisa means a teacher who teaches the group about how to save money by buying stocks, how to borrow and repay together with the interest rate

A further discussion with female dancers showed that the money they receive from *Vikoba* not only protects them from sexual promiscuity but it has also released them from unnecessary harassment. A study has proved that although economic independence does not free females from violence outright in Tanzania, economic independence appears to mitigate the situation (Pearson 1992: 293).

Apart from Alamano and their *Vikoba* scheme, other groups have their own kind of self-help scheme. Kingoni group could be used an example. Its members often divide themselves into groups of five to ten people. Each Saturday every member is obliged to come with 5,000 Tshs. If there are five members, this means that a member would expect to receive 25,000 Tshs. The process is repeated until the entire group receives the money. The rule is that a member is never allowed to withdraw from the group until he or she finishes the round. This kind of contribution is known as *mchezo*, which means game in English. The interview with members indicated that *Mchezo* is beneficial as it has introduced a culture of saving because each member is compelled to save so as to contribute at the end of the week. *Mchezo* was declared useful when one receives the 25,000 Tshs. It was claimed that it enable them to resolve problems varying from paying school fees for their siblings to buying food and clothes. Sometimes the money was sent to parents and relatives living up-country to resolve family problems through services like M-PESA, Tigo-pesa, AIRTEL money and other services of the same nature.

5.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter sought to demonstrate how young people use ngoma to combat their problems of political, economic, cultural and social space. Reflecting on the findings above, ngoma to the youth is more than dancing. To the youth ngoma is life. Through the discussion above it is clear that ngoma can be interpreted as young people's own space through which their hopes, fears, grievances, financial challenges, social problems, expectations and success are clearly articulated, celebrated or resolved. The next chapter seeks to demonstrate the challenges that young people encounter as they avail themselves of ngoma to combat their problems of space.

CHAPTER 6 THE CONUNDRUM OF DANCING FOR ALTERNATIVE SPACE

Look, look closely behind you. That man . . . surviving in the midst of lack of appreciation but he appreciates everything and everyone around him. The government neglects him but he creatively devises a survival strategy. He would not beg but he needs support. He creates and recreates the environment you live in. He helps ease the tension you find yourself in. Now he looks useless and hopeless. You think he is a lawyer, doctor or engineer, but no! He is a dancer.

(Orifade in Hussein 2005, p.293)

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 5 was an attempt to present data on how young people use ngoma as a means of survival, and as a means to resolve their social, political and cultural dilemma. This chapter sets out to identify the challenges that young people come across as they avail themselves of ngoma to venture for space. To make the discussion clear, the chapter is divided into two parts. The first part presents the challenges relating to the status of a dancer in society, donors, the marketing of ngoma, poverty, the use of intoxicating substances, gendered participation and the dilemma relating to theatrical infrastructure. I call these "socio-cultural challenges." The second part of the chapter focuses primarily on inadequate skills as a challenge upsetting young people's struggle for space. To explore this, dynamics such as social events, change in lifestyles and the education system of Tanzania are explored to find out how they intersect to produce a generation whose skills for ngoma are limited. The challenges in part two are named structural challenges.

6.2 PART 1: THE SOCIO-CULTURAL CHALLENGES

As I cited above, this part focuses on social-cultural challenges. The discussion begins with the status of a dancer in society and how it impacts young people's struggle for space via ngoma.

6.2.1 The social status of a dancer

If this is not going too far, history shows that a 'dancer' had a high status in pre-colonial society. A dancer was projected as a person who has been bestowed power to connect the world of the living with that of the dead (Raccio 2001: 134, see also Welsh 2004). In the religious way of thinking, the dancer was regarded as an ancestor who came from the world of the dead. Thus, he was imagined not to be a human being but rather a spirit (Dosunmu 2005: 137, Yerima 2005). Raccio whose study focused on the Makonde mask dance in coastal Tanzania gives a clear explanation of the status of the dancer.

>Makonde masked dancers represent the spirits and express the
>solidarity of the ancestors . . . They bring together the living and
>the dead. When traditional dancers dance they become the
>spirit/ancestor (2001: 134).

Similar to elsewhere in Africa, the status of a dancer in Tanzania began to decline during colonialism. This was when a dancer began to be perceived critically as a depraved person who, due to ignorance, engages in turbulent and barbaric practices. Yerima (2005) paints a larger picture of the status of a dancer in colonial times,

>As a representative of a group celebrating a backward culture . . . a
>naked dancer who had nothing to give in terms of cultural interactions
>as he was already set in his ways. His costume smells, his naked body
>and that of his female counterpart need to be covered up. His idea of
>make-up was heavy white chalk, and the symbols were unintelligible.
>His dance has no pattern, just loud music (p. 28).

It was expected that after independence, the status of a dancer would change in Tanzania. This is because at the time of independence culture was placed at the forefront. Thus, the dancer was expected to be placed at the forefront along with the revival of culture. However, that was not the case. Similar to colonial times, little attention was paid to the dancer. Edmondson (2007: 36) observed that dancers who were employed as dancers after independence lost their jobs during the economic crisis and their groups were dismantled. Others were sent to Bagamoyo College of Arts to train younger artists while others were simply retrenched.

This study reveals a similar trend. Young people who work as dancers are looked down on as individuals who have failed in the academic world. Now they are trying out ngoma to overcome their failure. Interviews with young people in ngoma groups elucidate the point. Subira, for example, lamented that they are labelled *wacheza kibisa*[37] or *wakata mauno* (hip-swaying dancers) who earn a living by shaking their buttocks in public. Their failure in the academic world has led them to do this. Subira protested against these shallow statements and argued that they intimidate dancers. As a consequence, they become frustrated, which leads them to withdraw from their career and sit down to wait for what society considers a 'decent job.' Kibena further added that youth who wait for a job and do not find one often decide to engage in robbery or sexual promiscuity, which are not only dangerous for their health but

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[37] *Kibisa* is the name of *Zilipendwa* Band which is now termed old-fashioned music. Being referred to as wacheza Kibisa may mean that they are people who are involved in dancing old-fashioned dances.

also for society as a whole. She further urged that it is time for society to consider ngoma performances as employment similar to others as long as it enables them to survive. It was also claimed that ngoma is also a career which needs people; if everybody wants to be a doctor, who will be a dancer? Indeed, Becker and Murphy (1994: 302) argue that no task is better than another. All careers are difficult and have some degree of interdependence. A doctor needs a dancer to ease the tension he or she finds him/herself in and vice versa (Hussein 2005: 293).

A further discussion on the status of a dancer in society indicates that dancers are not respected by clients. Clients do not regard them as professionals who need good treatment in order to feel comfortable with their career. UMATI group is a case in point. The group raised the issue of the delay in payment and how it reduces their commitment to their career. It shows that if a group has not made an agreement with a client regarding how the payment should be processed, being paid becomes an issue (Sanga 2013: 78). The group often suffers before getting paid. This includes going back and forth several times to effect payment. If the group does not do that it is often takes ages before they are paid and sometimes they are not paid at all. Subira lamented that this kind of practice makes working as a dancer tiring (Interview, 2012).

A further discussion about treatment by clients indicates that they recognize them before going on to the stage. Thereafter, they forget their presence. Kibena from Hayahaya group, who raised this issue, said that before the performance begins, clients are often busy obtaining drinks, food and a place to sit if there are not enough seats, and if the group have not made arrangements as planned, the clients phone them to know the reason.

The low status of a dancer not only affected the Hayahaya group, but UMATI group also complained about this. They shared their story about the invitation they received to perform at a school opening event and how they were treated afterwards. It was in a remote area approximately three hours by car from town. Since they are used to travelling long distances, three hours did not bother them. So they travelled by minibus up to the place of the event. After being dropped off, the group was surprised to see the driver driving back. Although this worried them a bit, the group decided to focus on their performance to be in the right mood for it. As if they knew what would happen to them, after the event ended, no bus was seen coming to pick them up. Nor did they hear the client bothering himself about it. All the participants who came to the event were transported back to their residences except the

dancers who had no transport. While wondering how they would get back home, they heard their client telling them to choose between remaining in the village until tomorrow when the minibus would pick them up or taking the tractor which was available. Because of the fear of spending the night away from home without any information, the entire group decided to go for the latter, travelling by tractor from the place of the performance to their residences.

Problems relating to the transport of dancers were also observed in Makanya group in the course of my fieldwork. The group was invited to perform in a nearby village. The distance from the place of the performance to the rehearsing place was almost two hours by car. Their client told the group to be ready tomorrow when the car would pick them up at 10 o'clock am. Being aware of this trip I asked the group if they would allow me join them. Without questioning why, the group granted my request. In the morning, all of us were outside waiting for the vehicle to come and pick us up. As we were outside waiting for the vehicle, we wondered whether we were going to travel in a minibus or a bus. I was surprised when I saw the car which came, which is shown below.

Figure 14: Dancers commuting for the performance in a pick-up: Source Field photo by Elizabeth Sanga 2012

Taking a closer look at the car, it looked as if it was used for taking meat from the slaughterhouse to the butcher and so there were no ladders to enable us to climb aboard. Nor were there any seats for us to sit on. It was also risky as some of the artists had to sit with their legs hanging outside the vehicle in order to make room for the drums. When I interviewed the Makanya youth next day, they stated clearly that they were irritated by the transport as it was bad and smelly. When asked what if they had refused to take the transport

and demand something better, they said that it is very bad to bargain with clients. If clients perceive the group as too demanding, next time they may decide to abandon the group and opt for another. Yerima (2005: 295) associates the mistreatment of dancers with the negative attitude of society to the ngoma career. He argues that society is reluctant to recognize ngoma as a career. It considers ngoma as a social activity that can be done by anyone. Thus, there is nothing to wonder about.

6.2.2 Donor challenges

To set the tone for a discussion on donor challenges, let me paint the scene of my first day at one of the NGOs in Iringa.[38] Before I began to work with the ngoma group, I was told by my host, who had connected me to the Ngoma group, to go and meet the administrative staff before I carried out the interviews. I agreed with her idea. Thereafter, my host and I went outside to wait for a meeting with the administrative staff. As we are waiting outside, my host told me she had some other responsibilities. Therefore, she would leave me but would come back when the administrative staff called me. As I cited in chapter one, the ngoma group exists under the umbrella of the NGO, which deals with providing care and treatment to people living with HIV. As I was left outside waiting to meet the administrative staff, right in front of me I saw a long queue of patients waiting for the service. In the queue, I was fortunate to see some patients I knew. We greeted each other and began to talk about different issues including why I was at that NGO. I told them that I wanted to work with the Ngoma group. Immediately I finished saying this, the women I was talking began looking at one another in surprise. In fact, I was astonished by their reaction, which caused me to ask whether there was anything wrong in working with the group. One of them said there was nothing wrong but "*tunakushauri utafute kundi jingine kama unapenda kufanya kazi tena kwa amani*" (we suggest that you find another group rather than this one if you really want to work and work contentedly). I was surprised and curious to know what was going on beneath the surface. One patient, whose name I did not jot down because of the circumstances in which we met, said "if you opt to work with this group expect to be stigmatized by the community. In no time at all people will begin discriminating against you because this group tend to reveal their health status as the performance unfolds on the stage". Revealing their health status has caused the entire group to be labelled victims. From this discussion, I learned that the health

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[38] The name of the NGO is anonymous, for it was requested to be so.

status of an individual is private and does not need to be revealed to others except for special reasons.

Still in conversation with patients in the queue, I heard my host telling me to hurry up as the administrative member of staff was waiting for me. I ended the conversation and went to meet the sister of the centre. We talked a little and then she directed me to her colleague who asked questions about the purpose of visiting the group, the information I wanted and why, which I tried to answer clearly. Being clear to them I was then permitted to carry on with my research the following day but with some conditions. One of the conditions was that given that my research involved singing and dancing, I was told to begin my research in the afternoon when the centre's duties were over. I happily agreed with the condition. Afterwards, I was introduced to the *mwalimu wa kikundi* (the group's teacher). The teacher and I sat down to draw up a schedule that would guide us the next day, which is shown below.

SCHEDULE	
Introduction	Guests, workers and group members
Song	Ngoma Group
Ngoma	Ngoma group
Song	Ngoma group
Focus Group Discussion	the group and me
Ngoma	Ngoma group

The following day my informants and I began the timetable with an introduction. Because I had been born in the same place, I did not need much time to introduce myself. Most of the informants claimed to know me. Only a few of them and the administrators did not know me. After the introduction what followed was the song. The theme of the song was praising the NGO for what it was doing among the people. This includes saving the lives of hundreds who were losing hope because of their ill-health. Each of us was happy with this stanza as there was plenty of evidence of the contribution of the NGO to the lives of the people. However, I was surprised about some of the verses in this song and wondered how the singers would attempt to sing them, particularly one stanza which was sung by a female singer. After the

entire group had finished singing the main stanza, I saw her step out in front of the others and form her own line. There she began to chant these verses, narrating her personal story about her health status being HIV positive. The song, particularly the verses she chanted in bold, is shown below.

Kiswahili version	Translation
Hii NGO ni chuo kikuu	This NGO is a university
Watu wanadharau NGO hii haina dili	People despise this NGO as it does nothing
Njoni mjifunze mengi	Come and learn a great deal
Tukumbuke tulikotoka mbarikiwe	Remember where you came from
Kumbukeni NGO hii ni kweli jamani	Remember this NGO for its contribution
Tunao wahudumu wala hawatunyanyapai	Workers are kind, we are not discriminated
Ni zaidi ya ndugu zetu	against
Kazi yenu sio bure	They are more than brothers
Mtalipwa na Mungu Baba	Your service will never be in vain
Tunaowaombea maisha marefu	You shall be rewarded by God
Nikikumbuka nilivyofika	We pray that you live longer
Nilikuwa nimechoka	**When I came**
Nilikuwa nina kilo 40	**I was in a terrible condition**
Sasa hivi nina kilo 70	**I weighed 40 kilograms**
Sioni aibu kumwambia mtu	**Now, I weigh 70 kilograms**
Kwamba ninaishi na virusi vya Ukimwi	**I am not scared to tell anyone**
Na kwanza wengi huwa hawaamini	**that I am HIV positive**
Kwa sababu afya yangu ni nzuri	**After all, the majority do not believe it**
	Because I look so healthy
Kama serikali	If the government of Tanzania
ingechukua jukumu	Had taken this responsibility
Ingeokoa maisha ya wengi	It would have saved dozens of lives

The point that the solo singer was trying to tell the audience was that she would not have survived if it had not been for the NGO. Being suspicious of this stanza, in my second fieldwork I attempted to interview the solo singer and one of the NGO employees to find out why the group members reveal their health status. The NGO employer said that it was the

performers who decided to reveal their status. They did not want to keep it hidden and spread the virus to others. I did not want to accept this as true. During my interview with this young woman she said that it was her decision to reveal her health status. I was suspicious that she might have been used by the NGO as a mouthpiece to demonstrate the contribution it is making to the lives of people so that it will continue to be funded by its donors. Keengwe *et al.* (2007: 19) observed that NGOs are always under pressure to produce results for donors or they are blamed for being incompetent or untrustworthy. Because of this, that might be why the young woman revealed her health status. Shule (2010: 208), who studied NGOs from the theatrical point of view, revealed that they are not there to help artists excel but to use them in whatever way to fulfil their mission. This is why Shivji (2007: 36) labelled NGOs 'act now, think later', implying that they are more concerned with fulfilling their objectives than thinking about the repercussions of their decisions. As in the case of the solo singer, the stigma that would result was not considered. The most important thing was the survival of the NGO. Through this song I understood the point that the women in the queue were trying to make.

6.2.3 Theatrical infrastructure and youth's struggle for space through ngoma

Since young people are using ngoma to search for cultural and economic space, it would be expected that they would have been provided with theatrical infrastructure by their government to help them in their creative endeavour. Theatrical infrastructure, such as a proscenium theatre, makes such a difference to a performance through its lighting, sound effects and arrangement of seats, which can arouse audiences' interest in attending their ngoma performances.

Despite the importance of theatrical infrastructure and the rapid increase in the number of youths who join the performance industry to overcome their unemployment plight, in a country like Tanzania, instead of building theatres for them to use in their performances, surprisingly even those available in the country, similar to cinemas, are turned into pubs, fast-food restaurants, shopping malls and business offices to maximize government revenue (Mwakalinga 2010: 111, see also Plastow 1996). In Iringa, where this study was carried out, there is only one theatre. However, in the late 1990s, when second-hand clothes known as *mitumba* arrived in Tanzania, the theatre was turned into a restaurant and the area around it began to be used by vendors to sell their *mitumba*.

This was not the only case, as in Mkwawa ward, there is a building known as *shule ya vidudu* (kindergarten), which was made of iron sheets during the colonial period. After independence, the building began to be used as a kindergarten in the morning and in the evening the building was devoted to young people to use for their rehearsals and mini-performances. Although the venue was made of iron sheets, it contributed a great deal to the nurturing of young talent. As one born in Mkwawa area, it is fair to argue that the venue contributed to who I am today in terms of nurturing my talent as a dancer.

Despite the contribution of this venue to young artists, in the middle of the 1990s it was given to the DANIDA water project, the international project that dealt with supplying water both in Iringa urban and rural. DANIDA then turned the venue into a store and the big building nearby into offices. Since this building has been taken over, the children and youth in Mkwawa have nowhere to hold their rehearsals, nor do they have a theatre for their shows. When collecting data for this study, the young people were using a school as a substitute for theatrical infrastructure. The photo below exemplifies the point.

Figure 15: UMATI group rehearsing in a classroom, Source: Field photo, September 2012, Iringa urban

During the interviews with UMATI youth it turned out that there are dozens of challenges using classrooms to rehearse in. One of the challenges mentioned was their size. It was said they are too small to rehearse in. As a result, ngoma which need a lot of space are often not rehearsed. Apart from limited space, another challenge of using classrooms was that the group needs to fit into the school timetable, which means waiting until the end of the school day and rehearsing in the evening. However, this time is not enough for rehearsals because every time they are in the middle of rehearsing, it starts getting dark and so they have to stop. Only during the school vacation can the young people enjoy using the school for their rehearsals.

Not having venues whenever they were needed appeared to frustrate some of their programmes, such as when they need to rehearse for an important performance. Having no specific place of their own, they have to use remote areas as an alternative in spite of the thorns, glass and snake-related risks. This was true of Iringa.

The situation of theatrical infrastructure in Dar es Salaam was even worse. Apart from theatres being turned into bars and hotels, this study has revealed that the theatres designed to be used by performers or actors are used in another way for the benefit of those in power. The Makumbusho ya Taifa Proscenium theatre can be cited here to illustrate the point. In the general election of 2010, the President of Tanzania, the honourable Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete, promised jobs to thousands of Tanzanian youth, which meant that he won their votes. To execute his plan, he promised to build a modern proscenium theatre for young artists so that they could raise an income through their performances. Indeed, after he won the election, the proscenium theatre was built. This was possible through the collaboration between the Swedish government and the government of Tanzania. The proscenium theatre that was built is capable of accommodating three thousand people. The photo below is self-explanatory.

Figure 16: Proscenium theatre at *Jumba la Makumbusho ya Taifa*, Field photo by Daines Sanga, 2014. The first photo is the stage and the second photo is audience seats

Although all the evidence shows that the proscenium theatre was built to honour young people, the cost of hiring it appears to be unaffordable to young artists. To hire the proscenium one needs to pay 1.7 million Tshs. The Lumumba Group, for instance, were aware that the theatre was built for them, and so they were eager to use it. However, they were devastated by the price. The interview with Habiba, a member of Lumumba group, shows this clearly. Habiba proclaimed that in 2011 the group wanted to use the proscenium theatre. Government employees responsible for hiring the venue told them to pay 1.7 million.

Although the price was high, the group obtained the money from friends, relatives and parents in order to cover the costs in the expectation that enough money would be generated to repay the loans and to distribute to the members. The group did everything it could to encourage people to come and watch their production. Despite all the strategies they employed to mobilize spectators, what they received from the performance was only 500,000 Tshs. The loss they sustained made them conclude that the theatre was a political gesture. It had not been built for them. If it had been, the price would have been affordable.

This study revealed that at the time the proscenium theatre was built two other small theatres were built alongside it. The interview with the supervisor of the venue, who did not want his name to be mentioned, claimed that the two small theatres were built for mini performances. One was designed so that it could be used not just by theatre performers but also by fine artists to display their artistic work. The photos below exemplify the point.

Figure 17: The open air theatre and mini theatre hall at Jumba la Makumbusho ya Taifa Dar es Salaam, photographer Daines Sanga, 2014

To the left is the open air theatre capable of accommodating three hundred people. On the right hand side is the theatre capable of accommodating seven hundred people. The cost of hiring the open air theatre is 250,000 to 300,000 Tshs whereas the small venue can be hired for 700,000. The interview with the young people indicated that these prices are still unaffordable, because every time they organize a performance, they collect between 100,000 and 300,000 Tshs, sometimes even less. If they use any of the venues, they will make a loss or will only receive enough money to cover the cost of hiring the venue, which they equated with illiteracy. They argued that there is no point in using a stylish venue if there is no profit. This is why young people choose to perform on the street instead of using what they called problem-filled political theatres.

Apart from the proscenium theatre, the study revealed that a dance studio has also been built. The dance studio has mirrors; a smooth floor and a bathroom to be used by artists after rehearsals (see the photo below).

Figure 18: On the left is the studio and to the right is the bathroom, field photo, photographer Daines Sanga

Astonishingly, even the studio which I thought would be offered for free could only be hired. The cost of hiring the studio ranges from 80,000 to 100,000 Tshs a day. This implies that it would cost 3,000,000 Tshs for dancers who want to hire the studio for a month. An interview with an anonymous respondent revealed that because dancers were unable to use the studio, it has been turned into a fitness centre for some employees of Makumbusho ya Taifa. This raises the question as to the kind of nation Tanzania is trying to build.

6.2.4 Marketing Ngoma and Youth's venture for space

Marketing has strong overtones not only in relation to products but also to sales (O' Sullivan and O' Sullivan 2003: 3). Arguing for the importance of marketing, Vitali (2003: X), who studied marketing from the fine artists' point of view, asserts that when a product is marketed in an exhibition gallery its value doubles due to the apparent prestige that comes with having a colour monograph. From the theatrical point of view, advertising through digital media enables a performance to extend its horizon.

Despite the importance of digital advertisements, this study revealed that dancers still depend on posters and word-of-mouth to advertise their performances. Interviews with Hayahaya youth revealed that advertising ngoma through digital media like TV is not easy. This was underlined by Sadiki. He provided the example of several attempts the group have made to advertise through the digital media but their sponsors have turned down their request. The

reason they give is that the fans are mostly *wazee* (elderly people), most of whom are not interested in digital media.

Although DJs do not want to advertise ngoma on air because they only appeal to *wazee*, UMATI youth revealed that sometimes DJs refuse to promote ngoma performances without giving logical reasons. UMATI youth claimed that they once recorded an advertisement on a DVD at their own cost and took it to one of the DJs. The DJ rejected it just by looking at the cover. DJ pointed out that he cannot air an advert which has been recorded in a poor quality studio. Therefore, he insisted that the group go back and record the same advert but in a reputable studio. The point that UMATI's DVD was of poor quality raises the question as to what really matters to the DJs. Is it the quality of the studio or the quality of the advert?

While UMATI complained about DJs rejecting adverts for no valid reason, Hayahaya raised the issue of corruption as a barrier preventing their advertisement from being aired. Hayahaya group shared with me the full-length performance they had recorded for being played on TV. Having their record with them, they approached one of the DJs in Dar es Salaam. The DJ asked for a bribe to air the advert. The group decided to find another DJ. The situation was the same. Due to competition in the performing arts market and the power the digital media has to market the work, the group decided to bribe one DJ. A few days after bribing the DJ their performance was aired for about one month but that was all, as it was never aired again. Seeing that they had bribed the DJ and their performance was no longer being aired, the group requested the secretary to remind the DJ to keep on airing their performance. When the secretary went there, the DJ told him that he had already aired the performance for a month and if he wanted the performance to continue being aired he should give him another bribe. The group wondered how they would manage to bribe the DJ each month for a whole year. Thompson (2008: 37), who carried out her study in Tanzania, revealed similar results. She revealed that DJs tend to demand a carrot before they air artists' performances.

6.2.5 Apolitical stance, poverty and struggle for space

Although participation in ngoma performances gives youth the opportunity to engage in political debates and criticize their government, poverty is one of the factors causing youth to fail to use ngoma to exercise their agency as political actors. This study has revealed that groups which tend to be used by politicians in political rallies are more likely to become apolitical in their performances than those which are not. Hayahaya ngoma group could be cited to illustrate the point. In the 2010 election, the group was sponsored by the ruling party

to participate in the general election campaign, which meant that the group was required to compose songs in praise of the ruling party. The purpose was to portray a positive image of the party, thereby increasing its chances of winning the election. Hayahaya youth claimed that some of the songs were composed to react to the issues for which the party in power was blamed. The song below is an example of a song that illustrates this.

Swahili version	Translation
Chama cha CCM kidumu	Continue to reign CCM
Viongozi wake wadumu	Leaders should continue to stay in power
Enyi vyama vya upinzani	Other opposition parties
Mbona mnatapatapa	Why are you thrashing about
Mnasema CCM tunaiba kula	You said CCM are stealing the votes
Kula tuliiba wapi	When did we steal the votes
Mlikuwa wapi tukiiba	Where were you when we were stealing
Ama kweli mfa maji	It's true that a drowning person
haachi kutapatapa	Does not stop thrashing about
Lakini mwapaswa kujua	But you have to understand
Sikio kamwe halizidi kichwa	The ear can never be bigger than the head

Through the interview with the youth in the group it became clear that they composed songs of this nature not because they wanted to. It was their bread and butter. Hayahaya youth frankly asserted that if they are asked about when the group often makes money, without doubt each of them would mention the period of election campaigns. Because of this they call this period *kipindi cha neema* or the season of blessing.

Despite earning good money, Hayahaya youth raised the issue of the challenges they often encounter when they sing something that society does not agree with. The interview with Tausi, who shared the above song with me, said that when the group sang that song most people in the audience were angry. The group was told to stop chanting nonsensical songs and was reprimanded by the audience. Drawing on the discussion above, it can be argued that the economic situation of the youth is one of the dynamics pulling groups into an apolitical state. This is why Sanga (2013) in her study *Traditional Dances and Bongo Fleva: a Case Study of youth in ngoma groups* alleges that political freedom can never be achieved without economic freedom.

6.2.6 Use of intoxicating substances

In presenting the data on intoxicating substances and how it undermines youths' struggle for space, let me provide a general picture of when I participated in the 2013 Bagamoyo Festival. One of the groups which gave a ngoma performance indicated that they had not prepared well for it. Despite this, some of them were over-confident. As I continued watching their performance I became conscious of the fact that the dancers, especially those who were over-confident, made many mistakes, although I did not know why.

Before and after the festival, I was doing the work of collecting data from Hayahaya group. The first day we met after the festival, the dominating story was about the festival and what happened in the course of it. As I was thinking about asking the group concerning the things I saw that I did not comprehend, Tausi was the first to ask the question. She was asking about the same performance about which I was perplexed. She associated the dire performance and over-confidence of some dancers with the use of intoxicating substances. She said that marijuana spoiled their performance instead of helping them to tackle anxiety as intended (see also Laughey 2006: 18 on the issue).

A similar case was found in Iringa. During the interview with the youth some confessed to using intoxicating substances to combat performance anxiety. Itika, a member of Makanya group, asserted using such substances for the same ends. The reason he used marijuana was because he often performed better when he was in a drugged state than when he was not as he was much more liable to remember all the movements and songs. The claim that intoxicating substances sharpen artists' ability to remember seems to go against studies on alcohol and its effects on the brain. Diclemente *et al.* (1996: 294), for instance, claim that intoxicating substances reduce the ability to remember if a person is in a drunken state.

Interviews with the youth revealed that the majority of them were against using intoxicating substances in their performances, citing the bad performance in Bagamoyo festival, which gives other groups a bad name. In addition, the few people who do not take their performance seriously can cause the entire group to be perceived as unwise. It was therefore insisted on that young people must differentiate between their career and leisure. Once they become aware of this, they will stop their nonsense. Young people who are against using intoxicating substances complained that due to the misconduct of this nature, young people who dance are generalized as *wavuta bangi* or *wahuni* (smokers of marijuana or hooligans), which hinders their venture for space via ngoma.

WYR (2003: 151) associated the early use of intoxicating substances not with the youth themselves but with their parents. The study reveals that parents who depended on alcohol or other substances increase the risk of young people developing a substance-abuse problem. Parents who tend to use alcohol to tackle anxiety find that their children are likely to use the same technique once they grow up. The study also revealed that children and youth who reported buying alcohol said that they began to feel more important through using it than those who did not. It is estimated that 20 percent of people who use alcohol globally began using it before the age of 10 (Ansel 2005: 121). Taylor (2014. n.p) believes that intoxicating substances are used due to the lack of rehearsals. For this reason, he suggests that there should be more rehearsals to overcome stage fright.

6.2.7 Gendered participation

Gendered participation is another challenge the study came across that hinders young people in their struggle for space via ngoma. The challenge appears to be connected to the socially constructed notion of male and female. For example, society considers that a woman should get married and establish a family with her husband. Doing otherwise, she is likely to be considered incomplete and immature. Female dancers interviewed for this study alleged that they are often warned to stop their career, for it jeopardizes their chances of getting married. This is because men are not attracted to marrying women who expose themselves in public, for they believe that such women come into contact with lots of men. Thus, they are likely to be tempted to engage in multiple relationships.

To triangulate the information provided by female dancers, several interviews were conducted with male members of the audience to find out their perception of marrying a dancer. Their perceptions varied greatly. Some were sceptical while others were not. One man, who identified himself as Malando, was of the view that ngoma is a career similar to any other career. Thus, there is nothing wrong with marrying a dancer. He perceived that marrying a woman with a career was a good thing since she would be able to resolve her problems, enabling her to live a free and independent life.

However, other males associated a career in ngoma with prostitution. Swaying hips in front of a male audience was perceived to be intolerable and they would be disgusted at the thought of marrying a dancer. One man equated swaying hips with having sex with the audience, which he claimed he would never want his wife to do. Nussbaum (2007: 220), who conducted a good number of studies on gender, associates the problem with society itself. Societies have

moulded men to perceive women as sexual objects rather than individuals who deserve respect and dignity (see also Mwendamseke 1989).

Indeed, Subira can be cited to illustrate the point concerning women being sexual objects. At the time this study was carried out, Subira was in relationship with a young man working in a garage. Subira lamented that her fiancé is jealous, which makes her career as a dancer difficult. This is especially the case when she has an evening performance and comes back home late. She always finds him in a panic thinking that he must have been betrayed. To be sure that he has not been betrayed, Subira claimed that she has to remove all her clothes so that he can thoroughly check her body to make sure that nothing wrong has happened. Subira, in her own words, said the following.

> *Yaani jamani mimi nikitoka kwenda onyesho la usiku, nikirudi lazima nikaguliwe. Huwa ananipekua ili ahakikishe kama nimefanya mapenzi na wanaume wengine. Kila anaponikagua hajawahi kunikuta na shida yoyote. Zaidi anachokikuta ni jasho na uchovu. Mwanzo nilikuwa ninachukia sana nikatamani hata niache kazi hii.*

> Once I arrive home from night performances, I am often in trouble. I am inspected to find out if I have had sexual affairs with other men. He has never found anything. What he always finds is sweat and fatigue. At first, I was so angry. I was even thinking of giving up my career (Interview, 2012).

The notion that a woman is a sexual object was also obvious when I conducted interviews with female dancers who had partners in ngoma groups. A female dancer from Tanangozi rural claimed that she joined the group with four other female dancers. At the time they joined the group all of them were single. A few years later, one after another got married including herself. She was fortunate enough to marry a dancer while the rest got partners outside the ngoma group. She claimed that when her colleagues got married the problem of working as dancers began. Their partners did not want them to remain in the career. They forced them by beating them and threatening divorce, which made one woman after another give up their career. At the time this study was carried out she was alone in the group. She associated her staying in the ngoma group with her partner who is also a dancer. Being together in all the rehearsals and performances makes him feel much safer.

Indeed, the interviews with male dancers who had girlfriends in ngoma groups had similar results. They said they have no problem with their partners working as dancers. After all nobody would dare to approach them in their presence. Drawing on the above experiences

made me conclude that women who have fiancés in the career are more likely to carry on with their career than those who do not. Doi (2002: 63) gives a clear reason for this as she states,

> If the husband is a musician (dancer in this case), then he is always with his wife when she is working or travelling. Nobody can criticize a female dancer or her husband. Nobody can gainsay the husband's authority to allow his wife to perform, nor could anyone accuse her of immoral conduct while working or travelling because she would always be under his watchful eye.

Echoing Doi's words, it is appropriate to argue that women are not treated as independent beings. Slaughter (2013) suggests that women should be treated as human beings in their own right. In order to transform society change must come from within women (Ntarangwi 2008). Women, including performers, who have access to public space, are urged to use it to catalyse change concerning this challenge since the performance has power to accelerate change. It is capable of shaping society and society shaping it, for they tend to reinforce each other. Ntarangwi suggests that women should take advantage of theatrical performances to reclaim their place as complete human beings in society.

Female dancer can never be a drummer

Collecting data for this study I was fortunate enough to participate in cultural events and festivals. In most of the performances in which I managed to take part the drummers were all men. Through in-depth interviews with male drummers it became clear that men believe that drumming is for men as it needs a lot of energy. Women cannot do it because they do not have the energy. Further interviews showed that the lack of energy of female dancers has no an answer, partly because it is a biological characteristic. The perception that female dancers lack energy appeared to influence the casting of roles.[39] In most of the groups males were chosen to occupy the drumming section while females were given the role of dancing. This division of roles however had unhappy consequences, particularly for the female dancers. Due to their drumming skills, male dancers had more opportunities to make money than female dancers. This was possible because they were members of several groups. Drummers reported that they join several groups sometimes not because they want to but because they are asked to. This is possible, because groups rearrange their rehearsal schedule to accommodate them. Paulo, a drummer from Iringa, could be used to illustrate the point. Apart from being a

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[39] Casting refers to the process of selecting artists who can dance, drum, mime, guide dancers, and so forth.

member of the UMATI group, he was also a member of Alamano and Hisia. In all the groups he was shown respect as a full member with all the rights. When I was interviewing the Alamano group, Paulo was part of the drumming team. In UMATI he was considered the vanguard member of the group - without him no performance is possible. The photos below exemplify the point.

Figure 19: On the left Paulo drumming at UMATI, on the right in Alamano, Source: Field photo by Daines Sanga, August 2012

Drummers' multiple memberships were prevalent not just in Iringa but also in Dar es Salaam. While Madobe is known to be a member of Hayahaya group, during the Bagamoyo festival of 2013, he was seen drumming for *Juvunie* group. He claimed to be paid better than the dancers.

Figure 20: Madobe (in the centre) drumming for Jivunie Group at Bagamoyo Festival

In the in-depth interviews with male members regarding female members' lack of access to drumming, they associated this with their dress code. Salum, for example, was of the view that females cannot be used for drumming due to their dresses, which do not cover their legs. He proclaimed feeling annoyed when he sees a woman pulling up her dress in order to hold the drum tightly between her thighs. He felt that was very provocative. Because of this, he suggested that drumming should remain a male's role.

Not only does lack of access to drumming affect young women financially but it also impacts their career as autonomous artists. Young women who wanted to manage a project alone without the support of male members failed due to their lack of drumming skills. The interview with Zena illustrates the point. She was offered an opportunity to teach children in an international school how to dance, but she failed because of her lack of drumming skills. To make the project possible, she had to ask the school to allow her to work with a colleague.

Zeinabu's case reminded me of the challenge I experienced when I joined Butimba College for a two-year theatre training course. Like Zena, I did not have drumming skills because throughout my life as a dancer I had not learnt how to drum nor had I come across a woman drumming. Therefore, I perceived that drumming is for men whereas dancing is for women, which is society's norm. At the time I enrolled in Butimba College is when I realized that it was not a societal norm but a crisis. This was obvious when I pursued the dance course. It was divided into two parts; theory and practice. The problem concerned the practical side of the course when each student was required to teach a full-length ngoma complete with drumming. Because of being exposed to dancing alone, it was difficult for me to do this. The only option for me was to choose ngoma like Kiduo ngoma which did not involve complicated musical patterns. Despite knowing many dances I had to go for Kiduo since the music in Kiduo dance is only hand clapping. Realizing my dilemma, I made up my mind to put more effort into drumming so that I could become an autonomous dancer.

Drawing on the discussion above, it might fair to argue that women not just in ngoma but also in normal lives lag behind because of the restrictions they experience in their lives. The study agrees with Ntarangwi (2003), who insists on change from within. Since public space in not available to everyone (Bloustien and Peters 2011: 5), women who have access to public space have to take part in bringing about change.

6.3 MALE DANCERS' SPECIFIC CHALLENGES

Working as dancer is not a challenge that is encountered by females alone, as male dancers also encounter their own challenges. This section strives to share the changes that male dancers reported they come across, which challenge them to use ngoma to combat their plight of space. One of the challenges that male dancers reported was that of the dancing career being labelled a career suitable for ladies.

6.3.1 Ngoma is a Ladies' Thing

Interviews with some male dancers indicated they face opposition from friends and relatives who say that the career they are involved in is a woman's career. Those challenging them focus their argument on hip swaying. Sadiki, who is criticized by his friend, lamented that his friend often tells him to search for another job, for it is shame for a man to sway his hips in front of other men and women. This is shallow because not all Tanzanian ngoma performances involve hip swaying. Equating Tanzanian ngoma performances with hip swaying ignores the diversity and richness of ngoma performances in Tanzania. It is unfair to underrate somebody's career due to one's own bias, particularly in the era of globalization and employment crisis. People should be free to have a career they feel comfortable with and which enables them to survive.

Another challenge the male dancers brought to light was that of the income they make from ngoma performances, which is too small for men to live on. Worse still, the income is seasonal and unstable as it depends on the demands of clients at a particular time. Since men are the breadwinners, they need to have secure and stable employment. Income from ngoma was seen suitable for women, for their income is always supplemented by their partner's income. This is what Erick said.

> *Mwanaume anapaswa apate kazi ambayo ina uhakika wa kupata pesa angalau kila mwezi au kila wiki. Kwa sababu mtoto wa kiume ana majukumu ya kuitunza familia. Kazi ya ngoma ni ya msimu tu. Msimu akiwa hata kazi ataitunzaje familia?*
>
> A man needs stable employment or a job from which he is sure of receiving money each week or each month. A man is responsible for taking care of his family. Dancing is a seasonal job. If there are no opportunities to perform, how can a man who dances feed the family? (Interview, 2012)

It the era of globalization the man is not the only breadwinner as some families are headed by women. Maria Slaughter (2013) suggests a change in the perception of the breadwinning role. By so doing, men could be comfortable working in any job in spite of how low the income is.

Furthermore, male dancers claimed they face challenges in working as dancers due to the softness of the career. It was said that a serious man in life would never choose to work as a dancer. Women are soft and so is ngoma. However, this point is disputed by studies conducted on the ngoma career (ICR 2010: 21, Morris 2001). Morris (2001:245) criticizes the notion that dancing is a woman's career. It is regarded so because people have decided to feminize the career (Burt 1995: 12). Since dancing has been feminized, everybody who dances is seen to be womanish. Given that the division of labour is socially constructed, Lorber (1995) sees the possibility of negotiation and modification. Theatrical performances, ngoma in this case, can be used as a public space through which such discrimination could be debated, contested and later modified (Ntarangwi 2000: 56, Fair 2000).

6.3.2 Ngoma and impotence

Another issue raised against ngoma for men is the issue of impotence. It was said that ngoma causes infertility in men. When males place the drum between their legs, it creates a noise which often disturbs the scrotum which produces the sperm (Anonymous, interview, 2012). This allegation is difficult to prove since no dancer has provided medical proof of his impotence as a result of ngoma. In this regard, the young people raised the issue of their colleague who was accused of impregnating several girls pretending that he will marry them. Apart from that, young women whose fiancés were also dancers rebuffed the claim that drumming causes impotence. They pointed out that they are still in a relationship because their fiancés are sexually active. If not, the relationship would have ended long ago.

Ngoma and same sex relationship

Finally, male dancers were challenged about working as a dancer, for ngoma is associated with homosexuality, a behaviour which is abhorred by Tanzania society as it goes against Swahili etiquette (Ntarangwi 2000: 63). Informants against ngoma for men argued that male dancers are more likely to be homosexual. An anonymous respondent claimed,

> *Mwanaume anayekata mauno anaweza kushawishiwa kuwa na mahusiano na mwanaume mwenzie kuliko yule ambaye hachezi ngoma. Na anaweza kukubali kwani mauno anakuwa ameshayazoea.*
>
> A man dancing by swinging his hips could be engaging in homosexual pursuits, and he may possibly agree as he is used to the pelvic dancing style (Interview 2013).

Again, this is difficult to prove that men who dance are homosexual since no male dancer is currently involved in a homosexual relationship. However, a study carried out on homosexuality proved that ngoma is a career in which homosexuals feel free to work (Morris 2001). Morris who interviewed homosexual couples proved that, apart from the freedom, homosexuals enjoy working as dancers because it helps them establish their identity, which defines who they are.

6.4 PART II: STRUCTURAL CHALLENGES

This part presents data relating to skills for ngoma and how they impact young people's struggle for space by means of ngoma. The study is of the view that having ngoma skills is pivotal to youths' struggle for space. In order to fuse ngoma with other cultures to form ngoma performances of their own, they need the skills for that. This part explores how the education system of Tanzania impacts youths' access to skills for ngoma. Moreover, social events such as marriages, funerals and festivals are explored to serve this end. Finally, the change in lifestyle is explored to find out how it impacts young people's access to ngoma skills. In exploring lifestyles, the impact of technology on a child's upbringing and the lives of youth is examined. To initiate the discussion, let us begin with the education system of Tanzania and its impact on young people's access to skills for ngoma.

6.4.1 The education structure of Tanzania

The education system of Tanzania has undergone changes to reflect global demands. Some of the changes appear to affect the development of indigenous cultures, including ngoma. Theatre, including ngoma, as an extracurricular activity was introduced in Tanzania after independence under the programme of Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) (Mlama 1991). Although it was not taught as a subject, it was an extracurricular activity giving young people the opportunity to learn about ngoma performances from different ethnic cultures. The change that took place in the education system in Tanzania caused ESR to be turned into *stadi za kazi* or vocational skills. This change was made by the Minister of Education and Vocational

Training as a counterclaim to the perception that ESR had been misunderstood by educational stakeholders (Mushi 2010: n.p).

The fact that ESR had been misinterpreted is also reflected in several studies on the history of education in Tanzania. Omari and Mosha (1987: 64) cite different cases in an attempt to describe how unclear the ESR policy was. They allege that it was announced on the radio and in speeches but no clear elaboration was provided for its implementation. As a result, implementers were anxious and had no idea about how to go about implementing the policy. This resulted in the policy being implemented inconsistently, as everyone implemented it according to his or her understanding. Teachers in schools set up rudimentary farms where each child was estimated to have two hectares. Omari and Mosha reveal that if two hectares per child had been put into practice, implementation would have needed more land than the entire area of Tanzania (*ibid*: p. 66). Because the policy was misinterpreted, much of the children's time was used in farming activities and gardening.

The failure of the ESR policy caused the Minister of Education and Vocational training, then the honourable Joseph Mungai, to make changes to the ESR curriculum. The ESR policy was transformed into *stadi za kazi* or vocational skills, whereby important life skills were combined to form one subject known as *stadi za kazi*. Ngoma was made part of the theatre topic. The vocational skills curriculum below elucidates the point.

STANDARD SIX VOCATIONAL SKILLS TOPICS
Art of Pictures, Printing and Decoration
The Art of Figures
Weaving
Tailoring
Shoe and Bag Sewing
Theatre Arts
Music Education
Sports Education
Agriculture and Livestock Keeping
Cookery
Laundry and neatness

House Construction and Refurbishing
Watch manufacturing and repair
Photography
Radio manufacturing and Repair
Electronics renovation

Table 4: Grade six *Stadi za Kazi* syllabus

A conversation with teachers shows that the subject is hardly taught. Among other things, the organization of the topics was claimed to make the teaching of the subject complicated. Science and arts topics are put together, which made teaching problematic as no teacher is competent in both arts and science subjects. The only possibility was team teaching, which did not work, for each had his or her own workload. It shows that the burden of teaching subjects combined with large classes caused team teaching to be unattainable (Mwalimu Kutika, 2012). Given that ngoma is part of this subject, it implies that it was also not taught.

A further investigation of *stadi za kazi* was done by examining the main timetable of Mlangali Primary school. The arrangement of subjects in the timetable showed clearly that *stadi za kazi* was given least importance. On Monday the timetable was dominated by subjects like Mathematics, English, Kiswahili and science. The interview with Mwalimu Kutika revealed that Monday is considered the day that children's brains are fresh. This is why timetable planners place all important subjects on Monday. Through this interview I learned that vocational subjects, of which ngoma is one, are not considered important and so they were scheduled for an hour on Tuesday and Thursday, with many more hours on Friday, which most teachers treat as a holiday. The graph below substantiates the point.
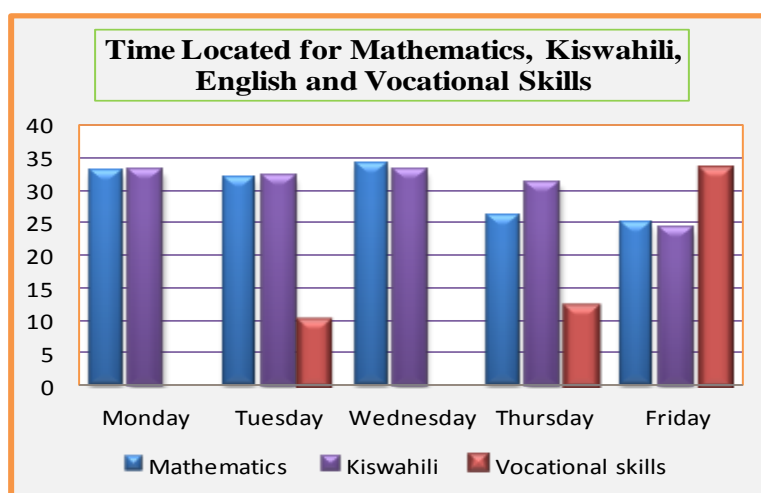
Figure 21: A graph to indicate time located for vocational subject: Source Extracted from Field data

The anonymous education stakeholder associated the failure of putting the subject into practice with the way in which it was introduced. The subject was politically introduced to fulfil a political agenda, such as providing a positive image to society in order to win elections in the future and to increase the possibility of leaders using government funds corruptly for their own ends. It was also claimed that the implementation failed and will continue to fail because teachers and learners were hardly involved in the process. Nyirenda and Ishumi (2002) insist on the involvement of teachers and children in the development of the curriculum if the purpose is to come up with a curriculum that reflects participants' demands, needs and interests.

To explore whether ngoma was available in the school system, the investigation did not end with examining the timetable, but a thorough examination of UMITASHMTA (*Umoja wa Michezo na Taaluma Shule za Msingi Tanzania)*[40] was done. UMITASHUMTA was explored in the belief that this was another way in which young people through inter-class, inter-school, district and national competitions acquired skills for ngoma. The interviews with teachers revealed that in 1997 President Benjamin Mkapa banned school competitions because they interfered with academic subjects. Parents were concerned about the conditions pupils had to travel in and the type of accommodation they stayed in during competitions and they complained that the funds they contributed for competitions were being misused (Saria 2008, Mushi 2010).

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[40] UMITASHUMTA is the name which was coined to mean sports, academic and competitions organized at primary school level.

A few years later, citizens associated the downfall of Tanzania's football teams and athletes with the banning of UMITASHUMTA competitions as many believed that at primary school level the foundation is built. Complaints from citizens led the government of Tanzania to restore school competitions in the education system in 2009. Evidence from parliamentary minutes of 2012, however, shows clearly that the competitions focused only on athletes and ball-related sports. The quotation below is a self-explanatory.

> Kwa miaka miwili mfululizo tumeendelea kuratibu uendeshaji wa mashindano ya michezo ya Shule za Msingi (UMITASHUMTA). . . Mchezo iliyoshindaniwa ni riadha, mpira wa miguu, mpira wa mikono, mpira wa pete, mpira wa wavu, bao, meza, mpira wa kikapu. Aidha, kulikuwepo mashindano ya taaluma na ubunifu kwa shule za msingi

> For two years now we have been organizing UMITASHUMTA competitions. The competitions focus more on athletics, football, handball, basketball, table tennis, volleyball, and rubber ring. As well as the aforementioned sports, there are academic and creative competitions for primary schools.

As the quotation shows, ngoma performance competitions, which were recognized as part of *fani za ndani* or in-house competitions and were combined with academic and creative competitions, were not revived. Until now no clear reason has been given as to why ngoma has not been revived along with other competitions. In the light of this, it can be argued that the primary education structure does not offer young people a fertile environment in which to learn skills for ngoma, thereby contributing to the lack of skills for ngoma of Tanzanian youth.

6.4.2 Dilemma of English language

Youths' struggle for space is delayed by their lack of competence in English. This was evident through several interviews carried out with young people in ngoma groups, in particular those who work in the tourist sector. The Hayahaya group is a case in point. They reported experiencing serious problems due to their lack of competence in English. This is especially true when they meet clients who do not understand Kiswahili. In this situation they reported feeling scared and ashamed of speaking to a client. Kibena said,

> Akija mgeni asiyejua Kiswahili, utaona kila mmoja anamsukumia mwenzake ndio aongee kwa niaba yetu sote. Na hapo kila mmoja huogopa kwani mtu mara nyingi wanaposhindwa kumuelewana matokeo yake mkalimani anaishia kutoa tafsiri ambayo haiendani na maudhui yenyewe.

> When a guest who cannot speak Kiswahili wants to talk to us everyone tends to avoid talking to him or her. Instead, everyone forces the other to speak on their behalf. People avoid this because, in many cases, when they don't understand one another, in the end, a translator ends up by providing a wrong translation which does not reflect the theme.

Hayahaya youth reported several cases where their lack of English ruined their chances of using ngoma to make money and create a strong network. Interacting with them I became conscious of the fact that the group had a keen interest in creating a strong network with friends from within and outside the country. However, they were disappointed due to their incompetence in speaking English. Sadiki provided a moving story about a friend the group managed to make but later the group lost that friend because of their lack of English. It was reported that the friend the group made was as a result of a member who join their group. He joined it as he waited for his examination results. Hayahaya youth said that when this member joined the group communication with clients was easy. The member linked the group very well to clients by translating the information provided by them into Kiswahili.

Sadiki made it obvious that this was the time when the group managed to make a friend whose nationality was Swedish. Having established the friendship, the group continued to stay in touch with their friend through emails and mobile phone calls – all of which were done by the competent member. Later, the Swedish friend invited the group to perform in Sweden. At the time the group was preparing for the trip to Sweden, the competent member left for further studies. It was a sad reality that their colleague left before all the procedures had been finalized. Lacking skills in the language, the group agreed to continue communicating with their friend by going together to read emails in the confidence that it would enable them to understand the message. Indeed, after their colleague left, the entire group began to go to the internet café.

The first day the group went to read the email, nobody could understand the message. In the end they hoped that that their friend was only sending them greetings and nothing more. The same situation happened the second and third time. None of them had a clue as to what the email was all about. Because of this the group gave up, for they thought they were wasting time and money for nothing, Sadiki concluded (Interview 2012).

Tanzanian youths' incompetence in English seems to be connected to the education system of Tanzania. Since independence, Kiswahili has been used as an official language and language

of communication. At primary school level, English is taught as a subject while Kiswahili is used as the medium of instruction (Cultural Policy 1997: 3). The Cultural Policy states clearly that English which is taught as a subject should enable a primary school graduate to speak English (*ibid*). Although the policy is very clear, the problem is in its implementation. The task of teaching English as a subject is mainly the teachers'. As I state elsewhere, most teachers selected to teach English as a subject cannot express themselves in English (Rubagumya 2000: 112, Brock-Utner and Holmardottir 2003). Worse still, this is increasingly becoming a major problem for children and youth from low-income families, including youth in ngoma groups.

As a consequence of the English language dilemma, in the course of my fieldwork I found young people using different techniques to reach clients with whom they have no language in common. I realized that the Hayahaya group was borrowing songs with Kiswahili terms well known to the tourists in order to establish meaningful communication with clients. One of the songs the youth borrowed is *Jambo bwana* from Kenya. In this song young people added words like *hakuna shida, hakuna tatizo, hakuna noma* while the main part of the song remained as it was originally. Below is the song.

Kiswahili version	English Translation
Jambo	Hallo
Jambo bwana	Hello sir
Habari gani, nzuri sana	How are you, good
Wageni mwakaribishwa	Our guests you are welcome
Tanzania yetu hakunaga shida	Tanzania is peaceful
Hakuna matata	There is no trouble
Hatunaga noma	There is no headache
Hakuna matata	There is no mess
Hakunaga shida	There is no doubt
Hakuna matata	There is no dispute
Hakuna tatizo	There is no worry

Asked about why they recomposed the song, Tausi said that it was to facilitate communication with their clients who could not speak Kiswahili. It was said that although the song is in Kiswahili they know the tourists will understand it. They changed the song in the

belief that tourists travelling to Tanzania would learn a few Kiswahili words like *jambo, habari gani, nzuri* and so forth. Because young people struggle to use their Kiswahili to get in touch with their clients, Meerkotter (2003:35) in his study "*Markets, Language in Education and Social-Economic stratification*" suggests that quality education should be provided which can facilitate young people's search for economic opportunities, irrespective of their economic background.

6.4.3 Social events, youth and skills for ngoma

Social events such as funerals, weddings and initiation ceremonies used to play a major role in providing young people with cultural skills, including ngoma. Through participating in social events children and youth learned the skills of singing, dancing and playing different musical instruments (Nketia 1974, Lebethe 2003). Several interviews carried out with informants proved that social events had declined in both the rural and urban environment. To explore how this has affected young people's access to skills for ngoma, I explored the three social events mentioned above, namely weddings, cultural festivals and funerals. Funerals are explored first.

Interviews with informants revealed that funerals have undergone changes which have affected young people's access to skills for ngoma. Funerals used to last three days or more but now they only last a day or half a day. Factors like economic hardship and the self-centred behaviour of some individuals have caused this change. It was said that before globalization, funerals belonged to the community. Neighbours such as *watani* were directly responsible for collecting food for the funeral (Tsuruta 2006: 106), as well as firewood and water.[41] The aid community members gave one another made the funeral manageable for everyone in spite of the economic conditions. It was stated that the reduction in the number of days for the funeral not only affected the transmission of ngoma performances from one generation to the next but also their preservation. Mbayaya ngoma from Wahehe society exemplifies the point. Mbayaya ngoma was performed in the evening after the burial. Since the funeral has increasingly become a half-day event, Mbayaya ngoma is currently disappearing because it was designed to be performed at funerals only.

Interviews with elderly people, who acknowledged learning ngoma skills through funerals, asserted that the vanishing of Mbayaya ngoma contributes to youths' lack of access to skills

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[41] *Watani* are people who make jokes. The singular of it is *mtani*

for ngoma. Mzee Kalinga from Tanangozi rural gave a clear example of how Mbayaya ngoma helped him and his friends to acquire drumming skills. The unprecedented way of keeping the instruments was used to argue his point. He claimed that at the time Mbayaya ngoma was performed at funerals, there was no specific place in which to keep musical instruments. They were kept by the family of the deceased until another funeral happened. This gave him and his friends plenty of time to learn how to play them. Since Mbayaya ngoma has stopped being performed at every funeral, the musical instruments have disappeared from the community. In addition, young people do not know how to perform this ngoma as it is hardly ever done. Drawing on this discussion it is appropriate to argue that the current organization of funerals does not give the younger generation the opportunity to learn ngoma skills fundamental to the struggle for space.

Similar results were found when marriages were examined. They appear to have been affected by financial hardship. Historically, marriages used to follow several procedures before the wedding ceremony (Meekers 1992: 61). Each procedure was a full-scale procedure accompanied by dancing and singing, which led to the acquisition of ngoma skills. Children and youth who participated in these procedures got the opportunity to learn ngoma not only from their own ethnic group but also from the ethnic groups of their neighbours. The ngoma song *Iligimilo ni nyego* (Your hoe and machete), originally from Wabena ethnic group, could be cited as a case in point. At each wedding of Wahehe, this song was always sung. As a result, even a 4–year-old was capable of not only chanting it but chanting it well. Beneath is the song.

Kibena version	English Version
Iligimilo ni nyego	The hoe and machete
Ye dado nu nyoko	That should be your father and mother
Kangalake ulimake	Work very hard in the field
Ulalya kumwaka	You will eat the food the next year
Ihodi hodi mufikaye	Knocking on people's doors
Twivelye twilema	We really hate such a manner
Kangalake ulimake	Make all the efforts you can in the farm
Ulalya kumwaka	So you can have food to eat in the next year

The point I am trying to make here is that access to learning skills through marriages gave young people in those days competence to perform ngoma, which was essential for their daily

lives. Entering into the discussion on current marriage ceremonies, informants were of the view that in the era of globalization they are on the decline. Several dynamics were pointed out as contributing to the dwindling number of marriage ceremonies, which affects young people's access to skills for ngoma. The dynamics mentioned by informants were as follows.

First is the autonomy individuals have in the global era. Individuals are free to choose the kind of life they would like to live. Unlike in the pre-globalization era when marriage was indispensable and a significant indicator of adulthood, in the global era people have been granted freedom to choose whether or not to marry (BleDsoe 2000:120).

Second, the younger generation's fear of marriage has contributed to a reduction in the number of marriage ceremonies. Youth informants who were of marriageable age but were not thinking of getting married raised the issue of providing for wives as a stumbling block. They claimed that taking care of a wife in the era of unemployment and cash-flow crisis is distressful. As a result, they claimed that they expect to prolong the time of being unmarried until their economy stabilizes. They also said that when their parents ask them about marriage their answer is always *bado tupo tupo kwanza* meaning that they are waiting for the economy to improve.[42] The slogan *bado wapo wapo kwanza* seems to cause young people to waste much of their time waiting for the economy to improve while it does not.

Finally, the sudden increase in the number of single parents is another factor contributing to the dwindling in the number of marriage ceremonies. It was mentioned that women who are economically stable and feel they can manage their lives without the support of a husband tend to go for single parenthood. Giddens (2006: 226) observed that well-off women and those who demand freedom, privacy and career advancement often opt for single parenthood (Garfinkel and McLanahan, 1986, BleDsoe 2000). Indeed, a survey on household matters brings to light the dramatic increase in the number of female-headed families in the era of globalization. All this limits young people's access to ngoma skills.

Cultural festivals, which also appear to be on the decline, were also explored. Lebethe (2003: 4) observed that the political and economic state of countries does not allow cultural festivals to grow. Due to economic hardship festivals have been turned into ways of generating

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[42] *Bado tupo tupo kwanza* is a youth slang derived from the Bongo Fleva song titled *Bado nipo nipo kwanza* to mean I am still waiting

income, which affect young artists' participation in them. The interview carried out with Masafa Mwalimu, whose group often participates in *Sauti za Busara* Festival, demonstrated that festivals in the global era enable experienced artists to participate more than the inexperienced. The transformation from being culturally oriented to being lucrative has caused organizers to be careful to screen artists who will attract audiences from around the world to participate in festivals. The photo below shows how international Tanzania festivals are in the era of globalization.

Figure 22: Audiences in *Sauti za Busara* festival in Zanzibar

A further interview with Masafa shows that artists who want to participate in the festival need to prove to festival organizers that they are talented and the organizers will then decide who can participate.[43]

To find out why festival organizers screen young artists, an interview with one of the Bagamoyo festival organizers was carried out. The festival organizer confirmed that the best artists are selected to comply with the demands of the sponsors. Sponsors believe that the best artists have the power to attract audiences from across the world, which would enable them to sell their products globally. The festival organizer further argued that in 2013 the festival did

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[43] Cultural festivals of the global era vary greatly from those organized during the period before globalization. Flowin Nyoni (1998) who observed Wamatengo traditional festival in rural Songea argues that in Wamatengo festival all artists had the equal right to participate in the festival. The groups wanting to participate in the festival had to provide information prior to the festival. This was demanded so that the organizers would have a rough idea how many were expecting to take part in the festival. The information provided by participants was used to estimate the food and shelter needed for the people expected to take part in the festival.

not have a sponsor and so no conditions were imposed. That was when they had the opportunity to invite young artists to take part in the festival. *Jivunie* group was one of the groups that participated in the festival for the first time. Drawing on the scenarios above, it can be argued that transforming the festival from being culturally oriented to money oriented limits younger artists' acquisition of ngoma skills, which this study perceives to be fundamental in their struggle for space by way of ngoma.

6.4.4 Media, parents and children's Upbringing

Traditionally, mothers and members of the family employed traditional songs and games to sooth children (Nketia 1974: 50). Songs were chanted to convey good wishes and pray for their future life and happiness. Jan (1990), who observed Swahili Speaking Societies for 34 years, claims that baby songs not only helped children to learn about their culture but they also taught them about moral and religious laws, as well as charity and the custom of mutual aid in their society. The song below exemplifies the point.

Kiswahili	English Translation
Hidaya ehee Hidaya	Hidaya ehee Hidaya
Hidaya ehee Hidaya	Hidaya ehee Hidaya
Nalikuomba mchuzi kidogo ukanijazia upawa	I requested a little soup and you gave me a full spoonful.

He also observed that songs were carefully selected according to the stage a child was at. When a child was still an infant simple songs were sung to introduce them to the world, and to calm and cheer them. The older they became, the more the content of the songs changed from being simple to complex, exposing them to societal responsibilities. The song below is self-explanatory.

Kiswahili	English Translation
Kuwa kuwa mwanangu Amina	Grow up my daughter Amina
Kuwa nikutume	Grow up so that I send you
Majani ya chai	To buy me tea leaves
Na sukari yake	and sugar

Kirsh (2010: 6) observed that the arrival of technology aggressively replaced the old system of soothing children with new ones. He proclaims that cartoons, recorded music and games

have become what he calls "a readily available babysitter" on which parents in the global era depend (*ibid*). This study revealed a similar trend. Mothers increasingly replace the previous method of singing traditional songs with DVDs, CDs, cassettes and games. Mothers who utilized the media to calm their children claimed that it makes their parenting role undemanding and manageable (see the photo below)

Figure 23: A child playing a game, field photo photographer Kapwela 2013

Parents with a decoder confirmed they buy 40,000 Tshs of airtime for their TV instead of a cheap package of 10,000 Tshs. Those who bought the 40,000 package said they preferred it because it contains games and their children's favourite cartoon programmes, and which they appreciated because they kept the children occupied, allowing them to have time for themselves, family chores and other stuff. A study carried out by the UN revealed similar results. It revealed a higher proportion of satellite usage by families with children than those without children. Therefore it follows that the media is increasingly influencing the style of bringing up children, which affects children's acquisition of skills important for their immediate environment. Educating parents on the importance of traditional ngoma and songs is vital so that parents use both traditional and modern ways of bringing up their children.

6.4.5 Youth, media and ngoma: a conflicting relationship

Studies on youth and the media have shown that the media has become part and parcel of young people's lives especially in cosmopolitan cities (Vahnberg 2010, Bourdieu 1984, Johnson 1993) like Dar es Salaam. While TV is accessible to the majority of youth, TV games and smart phones are accessible to the youth from better-off families who spend much of their time on the internet sending messages, uploading photos, making comments and the like

(Vahnberg 2010: 10). Kirsh (2010: 14) observed how young people now use the media, whereby one youth can play games, watch TV, chat with friends and listen to music all at the same time. The cartoon below illustrates the point.

Figure 24: Source, thewickedblog[44]

Studies on the media have focused on the way in which it destroys society's morals and encourages sexual promiscuity, and how it affect the academic development of young people (Kweli 2008, Henzey 2011). This study has revealed the impact of the media on young people's access to skills for ngoma. The TV appears to be the main source from which young people obtain materials for their ngoma. This has resulted in them being blamed for being uncultured and ignorant of their culture. Being treated as such, Hayahaya youth, for example, claimed to have made a lot effort, such as requesting people who have experienced ngoma first-hand to teach the group. Their efforts however have been devastated by economic conditions, competition in the market, and lack of cooperation between and within groups. It was said that their fellow youth acquainted with skills in a particular ngoma are unwilling to share their skills for fear of competition. They also complained that the government does not give them the required support to enable them to become autonomous dancers.

Lack of Internet skills, a stumbling block to trading ngoma internationally

It should be noted, however, that skills to upload, download and chat with friends are all activities performed mainly by the educated youth. Youth in ngoma groups still have the

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[44] http://thewickedblog1234.blogspot.de/2009_10_01_archive.html

challenge of connecting themselves to the world via the internet. Dynamics like the lack of computer skills and poverty undermine this. It was observed that the majority of young people in ngoma groups did not have smart phones, tablets or computers to enable them to perform these functions. When asked whether they use the internet to engage in online business, the majority proclaimed to have no skills. Nor did they have knowledge of the English language. Asked about You-tube, the majority said that they had no idea that You-tube exists or how to use it for business purposes. Emails and Facebook are another way of doing business online, but many of the youth stated that they have no email or Facebook account. Of the nine groups I came across as I collected data, I was astonished to find that only one youth declared using Skype and Facebook for business purposes. Kibena from Hayahaya declared candidly that she often hears her peers talking about Facebook but she did not know what it is all about. This raises the question as to whether the internet enables all youth across the globe to benefit from searching for customers from around the world.

6.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter sought to explore the conundrum of using ngoma as an alternative space. The chapter revealed several challenges undermining young people's search for space through ngoma. It shows how theatrical infrastructure, gender, language, donors and others hinder young people's search for space via ngoma. The second part of the chapter revealed how the education system of Tanzania, the diminishing number of social events and a change in lifestyle have limited young people's access to skills for ngoma. The next chapter discusses the global influences on ngoma. It gives detailed information on the influence on musical instruments, songs, costumes, movements, make-up, props and the organization of ngoma groups.

CHAPTER 7 GLOBAL INFLUENCES ON TANZANIAN NGOMA PERFORMANCES

Some ngoma performances which are envisioned today came into being as a result of the contact of cultures

(Ranger 1975)

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Tanzania has undergone far-reaching changes since the colonial period, many of which have had an influence on ngoma performances. Global influences on Tanzania's (formerly Tanganyika) ngoma performances can be traced back to the 8th century when coastal communities like Kilwa Masoko, Kilwa Visiwani, Zanzibar and Bagamoyo traded with merchants from the Persian Gulf, western India and Arab countries. Apart from trade, the movement of people from within and outside Tanzania, the quest for creativity, technological development, the mode of production and environmental changes have had an enormous impact on Tanzania's ngoma performances. This chapter discusses these global influences. It should be noted however that the global influences discussed in this chapter are those affecting ngoma performed by the youth. Audiences' perceptions of these global influences on ngoma performed by youth are also considered in the analysis. The chapter takes into account the advantages and disadvantages of global culture in terms of its effect on Tanzanian ngoma performances. The main argument of this chapter is that different aspects of Tanzanian ngoma performances have been influenced by global culture. To give a clear picture of how ngoma performances have been influenced, components such as costumes, musical instruments, songs, make-up, movements and organization of ngoma groups are systematically used to put the claim into perspective. The magnitude of influences on ngoma between rural and urban areas is also explored in this chapter.

7.2 Musical Instruments

In Tanzania, musical instruments can be divided into five main categories; Membranophones, idiophones, aerophones, chordophones and electrophones (Otiso 2013: 208). To give a short description of these, membranophones are percussive instruments that make a sound when struck, such as a drum. Idiophones are percussive instruments which make a sound when beaten, scraped or shaken, such as bells, xylophones, shakers and gourds filled with stones or seeds. Xylophones are called *Marimba* in Kiswahili. Apart from these musical instruments, from the Tanzania point of view, body parts, such as clapping hands, snapping fingers,

stamping feet and tapping cheeks, are considered musical instruments when they are used in some ngoma as a source of sound along with other musical instruments such as bells, shakers or drums. The Kiduo ngoma from Iringa, which is explored in this study, is a good example of a Tanzanian ngoma performance that uses hands and feet to produce the music of ngoma.

However, due to global influences many ngoma groups, especially those performed by the youth, have borrowed western musical instruments in their performance. Modern musical instruments found in many youth groups are guitars, keyboards, trumpets and cymbals. While some ngoma groups use these musical instruments, others strive to use the knowledge derived from western musical instruments to create their own musical instruments. The study revealed that they did this to create musical instruments that suit their context while seeking to be modern and original. Hayahaya and Parapanda ngoma groups are cited here as examples to explicate the point.

While Parapanda ngoma group was found to be using western musical instruments as they are, the Hayahaya ngoma group adapted the cymbal to make it their own. The interview with the secretary of the group showed that the group had a dream of buying a cymbal but they found out that other youth ngoma groups use it. Since the group was not interested in copying other groups, they decided to make it different by adapting it. The Hayahaya youth proclaimed they liked their cymbal because it is quite different from the western cymbal, mainly because of the materials used. The secretary of the group claimed it was made from a metal sheet and iron bar by local iron smiths who are Tanzanians. All the instructions for making it came from members of the group. Now their cymbal has replaced the *bati* (a kind of shaker) because it used to be made from tins containing cooking oil known as Korie. It is thought that because of technological development and the fear of tetanus associated with the utilization of tin, Korie is currently sold in plastic containers. This is why secretary of the group lamented it was no longer possible to make the *bati*.

In support of the cymbal as a modified instrument, the Hayahaya youth claimed that the cymbal they invented, when combined with drums and other traditional instruments, adds a new taste to the music. It makes the music more appealing to the listeners. This is especially true of the younger generation who have grown up in the era of digital technology.

Figure 25: Cymbal made by the youth: Source filed photo

Interviews with audiences about adapting musical instruments to suit the local context were more positive. It was said that doing this is better than copying musical instruments as they are. Audiences argued that it is a good practice as it enriches culture because there is no culture that does not learn from another (Nyerere 1962: 10, Ashcroft *et al.,* 1996). Audiences appeared to be against youth who tend to copy western musical instruments as they are and they called that practice *ulimbukeni* (showing of). It was also added that copying western musical instruments in ngoma ignores the fact that Tanzanian musical instruments have a contribution to make to the global music culture.

Figure 26: Parapanda Band Music Instrument, Photographer Johnson Johnson, Dar es Salaam, January 2014

Moreover, the study revealed that youths' live ngoma performances use music they recorded in a studio beforehand. Arguing for recorded music in ngoma, young people said that it reduces running costs, because recorded music enables a solo or dual performance to take place on the stage without the drumming team.[45] As a ramification of this, the money collected from the performance is divided between one or two artists, which contributes to their economic development. From the mutual help perspective, this thinking must be written off as imperialist thinking driven by egoism, greed and individualistic behaviour.

Moreover, audiences who demonstrated no interest in recorded music judged the superficiality of recorded music in relation to the principles of a live performance. It was said that recorded music creates a boundary between the audience and the performers, particularly the drummers. Therefore, when youth use recorded music, their performance should not be considered live but dead, because it prevents performers and the audience from coming together at the same time and in the same place. Thus it breaks the theatre principle of immediacy (Barker 2003: 21). The shallowness of recorded music was also associated with the lack of temporality of the performance. It was claimed that recorded music does not allow the performance to die when it comes to an end and live when it is performed again. Thus it breaks the principle of ephemerality (*ibid*).[46] Concluding the discussion on recorded music in

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[45] A solo performance is a performance that is performed by a single dancer and dual is performed by two performers.

[46] Ephemeral is one of the principles of theatre which insists on the short life of the theatrical performance. The short-lived characteristic of theatre differentiates it from other performances as it

ngoma, Bahn (2001: n.p) discourages its use on the grounds that it disconnects ngoma from its cultural environment, performers and the music (Green 1996: 14). To put it simply, Bahn is against recorded music because it is incompatible with the cultural environment in which the ngoma was constructed. Recorded music is also incompatible with the music originally made for the ngoma, and so recorded music distances the dancers from their culture.

7.3 Ngoma songs

In the historical sense, songs in pre-colonial society were an important aspect of the ngoma performance (Hanna 1973: 167). Songs were equated with the mass media through which important messages were channelled from one individual to another. Whilst in pre-colonial society it was uncommon to come into contact with an ngoma which did not involve a song, in the era of globalization it is quite normal to see ngoma performed without a song. The Alamano group located in Iringa exemplifies this point. The group has several ngoma which do not have songs. Asked why this is so, Douglas, the teacher of the group, gave a clear reason. He connected his reason with the current demand of their audiences. Through interviewing him it became obvious that audiences nowadays are not interested in messages. They are more interested in watching ngoma with attractive movements, which can relieve them of their stress and sufferings.

The interview with Douglas shows that the group began to construct ngoma without songs after observing its audience for several years and coming to the conclusion that its interest was no longer in singing but movements. The group found this to be true several times in ngoma, especially during the singing part. The group discovered that in the course of singing audiences used to take a kind of break from watching the performance. Instead of listening to the message of the songs, audiences tended to use the time to talk about their own issues. Some of them spoke so loudly that it devastated the mood of the performers. What surprised the group was that when the ngoma performance reached its climax when no more singing was involved, the spectators stopped talking and began to pay attention to ngoma as if

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allows the performance to live when it is performed on the stage and to die once the performance comes to an end. This suggests that every theatre performance is new. Focusing on the ngoma performance, although the audience and location may be the same, factors like the relationship between the audience and performers when the ngoma is performed, mood and emotions can all influence the newness of the ngoma.

somebody had told them to stop talking and begin watching the performance. Being aware of such a shift in interest, the group decided to begin constructing plenty of ngoma with attractive movements while paying less attention to designing ngoma whose purpose was to send a message.

Studies carried out on ngoma and their audiences in Tanzania have observed the dwindling status of songs (Makoye 1996, Songoyi 1988). Songoyi (1998: 33) observed several reasons contributing to audiences' loss of interest in songs. One reason Songoyi points out is the stressful working environment they are exposed to, which causes audiences to demand ngoma performances that can easily release their tension. WYR (2005: 83) associates the general dwindling of interest in the old forms of socialization including ngoma songs with the leap in internet technology. The study argues that the media increasingly offers people options through which to access information. Thus, it reduces dependence on the mass media as the only means through which to gain access to information important to their lives.

It should be noted, however, that songs are increasingly losing their popularity in cosmopolitan cities. In up-country areas like Tanangozi and Ifunda, where some of the findings were collected, songs maintain their significance as a vehicle through which important messages are channelled to the members of society (Hanna 1973, Makoye 1996). The aspect which the study revealed has undergone change in rural ngoma performances is the aspect of movements. Below is a discussion on the reason for this.

7.4 Ngoma Movements

Historically, ngoma drew materials from the movements of trees and animals, and human activities such as cooking, fetching water, sweeping and farming, to name a few (Hanna 1973, Welsh 2004). In the era of globalization it is not uncommon for ngoma to use movements from different sources and change them to suit the new context. This study has revealed that ngoma performed by the youth tend to fuse movements from distinctive sources such as Taarab, Bongo Fleva, Hip-hop, Reggae, Zouk, tap dance, Congolese and creative movements. The study also revealed that ngoma fuses dancing styles from across the world. Once they fuse those movements their names tend to be modified. Terms like modern and remix are often added for the purpose of establishing a distinction between the original versions of ngoma and the new ones. In other words, if it is Sindimba which has fused the movements, the name will change to either Sindimba *modern* or Sindimba *Remix*. For example, the

Sindimba *remix* produced by youth from UMATI group in Iringa appeared to juxtapose movements from miscellaneous sources, including Sindimba itself, *Kiduku* and *Kibega* derived from Bongo Fleva music, Ikasimbo from Wahaya ethinic group and the Taarab movement that originated from Arabic culture.[47] Below is a snapshot of how movements from diverse sources were fused to create one dance.

Step 1	2	3	4	5	6
Sindimba	Ikasimbo	Kiduku	Kibega	Taarab	Sindimba

Table 5: Hybridized movements: Source Extracted from Sindimba *modern* from UMATI group

Interviews with the youth gave several reasons why young people fuse movements in their ngoma with those from diverse sources. One of the reasons was to attract the interest of particular groups of people. *Kiduku* and *Kibega,* for example, were claimed to be juxtaposed to capture the interest of children and youth. Movements from Ikasimbo ngoma appeared to be fused in ngoma to attract the attention of the older generation, particularly those from northern Tanzania. Taarab was claimed by the youth to be added to attract the attention of women (See the photo below).

Kibena from Hayahaya ngoma group had a different perception of their practice of fusing ngoma with other sources. For her the fusion of movements from different sources was important for adding flavour to ngoma. This is what she said,

> *Siku hizi bwana ili ngoma inoge lazima iwekewe chumvi. Na chumvi yenyewe sasa ni kama hiyo hapo. Ni muhimu kuchanganya miondoko ya aina mbalimbali kutoka sehemu mbalimbali na kuifanya ngoma ipendeze na ivutie. La sivyo ngoma inaweza kukosa watazamaji.*

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[47] *Kiduku* is dance movement where dancers kneel down and their hands move against one another to and fro. Kibega is a dance movement that is performed in a way whereby the dancer wipes dust off his or her shoulders (See also Sanga 2013 for more clarification of the issue). Taarab was started by Sultan Seyyid Birgash bin Said between 1870 and1888 in Zanzibar which later spread all over the lake regions. Although Taarab began a long time ago, it has begun to be used by the youth recently as a result of massive growth of the genre coupled with access to television.

> These days in order to come up with ngoma which appeals to many senses, adding new styles from diverse sources is pivotal. If choreographers are not creative, it is possible that their ngoma will not be interesting to onlookers.

A further interview with the youth indicates that ngoma is fused with other dance styles for the purpose of establishing unity and a sense of belonging in groups. The Lumumba group is a case in point. They designed their ngoma known as Tapfrica to serve this end.

Tapfrica ngoma was designed by merging two cultures; Lizombe from the Wangoni ethic group from southern Tanzania and tap dance from America. Below is a snapshot of the sequence of the dance.

Pattern 1 Entrance	Pattern 2	Pattern 3	Pattern 4	Pattern 5	Pattern 6 Exit
Tap	Tap	Lizombe	Tap	Tap	Lizombe

Table 6: Tapfrica dance movements

Tapfrica begins with two tap movements. In between, the Lizombe movement comes in. Thereafter, two tap movements follow. The ngoma ends with a vigorous movement from the Lizombe ngoma.

Interviews with Masafa Mwalimu show that in 2010 the group received a new member from the US whose name was Noela. Before attempting to travel to Tanzania, Noela was working as a dancer in a company known as Foundation. Although Noela had no problem dancing what she saw the group dancing, the group saw the need to redesign ngoma to unite their cultural backgrounds. For this reason Tapfrica ngoma came to be performed. To explore the Taprica ngoma, follow this link.[48]

The tradition of using movements from diverse sources in Tanzanian ngoma performances has been received differently by different age groups. While young people consider the fusion of ngoma movements positively as a way of enriching culture and adding flavour to ngoma, interviews with the older generation indicate that they are suspicious of the practice. Rebecca and Mama Salehe from Iringa equated the tradition of fusing ngoma to alien movements

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[48] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=avyfoBvFjqo

corrupting culture. They argued that young people do this because of their lack of knowledge of ngoma, for they have no full understanding of Tanzanian ngoma. This is why they fuse ngoma with movements such as Bongo Fleva and Taarab (Rebecca 2010). To prevent ngoma performances being spoilt, they suggested that the government should establish strategies for the preservation of ngoma movements, including preventing youth from unnecessarily redesigning them.

The conflicting views regarding the fusion of ngoma with other movements raises the question of the inter-generational struggle over authentic culture. While the older generation wants their culture to remain a blueprint, young people struggle to produce a culture that reflects their changing realities. Falk and Falk (2005: 51) argue that the lack of a consensus between the two generations has led the older generation to consider the creativity introduced by the youth as a form of rebellion, the corruption of culture, brutality, ugliness and a misfortune to listen to (See also Muniz and Munoz 2006, Sanga 2013). This study agrees with Taylor (2007: 147), who suggests that hybridity should be considered a new form of authenticity. It also agrees with Taylor (1991: 28) who alleges that people should be granted freedom to have their original ways of being human, because for him, being human is not about listening to voices from external sources. For him being human is listening to the inner senses and being true to oneself. This includes practising what you want without being coerced by pressure from outside emphasizing conformity.

Figure 27: Taarab Movement in Sindimba modern dance, photographer Daines Sanga, December 2012

Having been fortunate to collect some data in rural areas, it is important to bring to light the fact that ngoma performed by youth in rural settings have not been influenced by other cultures, unlike those in inner cities. Factors like lack of access to the media and the power of the older over the younger generation appear to have had an effect on the maintenance of ngoma. An interview with Mzee Fabian Kalinga from Tanangozi group from Iringa shows the power that the older generation has over the younger generation. He proclaimed that in Tanangozi group, where he is also a member, young people are not given room to inflict changes in ngoma. Indeed, the youth claimed that older people encourage them to dance like them. If they fail to do so, they are considered unskilled and thus excluded from taking part in public performances until they get the steps right. Following the discussion above, we argue that the lack of access to the media and the power of the older generation over the youth at least control the influence of global culture on ngoma.

7.5 The influence of language on the construction of songs

Historically, the languages used to compose ngoma songs were largely ethnic ones. Recently Kiswahili has gained footing as an official language in the East African Community. Moreover, Kiswahili has gained status as one of the official languages of the African union (Kanana 2013: 24). Such achievements have made it a hot potato. As a result, members of the East African Community feel they have a responsibility to learn it. This study revealed that this recognition of Kiswahili as an official language has meant that vernacular languages originally used for composing ngoma songs have been replaced by Kiswahili. As a result, numerous songs have been translated from ethnic languages into Kiswahili; one reason being that it gives rural people the chance and confidence to learn Kiswahili, especially elderly people whose competency in Kiswahili is still lacking. Translated songs have turned out to be of help in learning Kiswahili. Fabian Mwakalinga from Tanangozi group revealed this in an interview. He said that songs are used as an alternative to Kiswahili classes for they enable them to learn new phrases, which stick in their minds. His claim was associated with the nature of the language they normally use in their daily discourse, which is Kihehe. For this reason, translated songs for people like him were paramount for learning Kiswahili (Interview, 2012).

Apart from this new status of Kiswahili in terms of songs in the vernacular being translated into Kiswahili, commoditization of ngoma appears to be another factor. Songs which were sung in vernacular languages had to be translated into Kiswahili to reach a wider audience.

The Tanangozi group alleged to have translated several ngoma songs for business ends. Factors like being invited to perform in schools and in big cities, where vernacular languages are not spoken, compelled the group to translate their songs. The interview with Chesco Mwinuka shows that the translation that the group did for the first time in 1985 was for business purposes as the group had been invited to Dar es Salaam to perform at a political event. Being cognizant of the language mostly used by inhabitants in Dar es Salaam, several songs were translated into Kiswahili so that urban audiences got the message (Fabian Mwakalinga, interview 2012).

Global influences on songs are not just on the language but also the themes of songs. If this is not going too far, in pre-colonial society ngoma songs were statements about life (Peggy 1967). For this reason, the subject matter of the songs echoed what was happening in society, including hunger, poverty, infidelity, puberty, religion and so forth (Hanna 1973, Raccio 2007). At present, the themes of songs appear to have been extended to echo issues happening across the globe. Themes appear to evolve around HIV, gender, children's rights and environmental matters. This study came across a good number of songs whose themes have changed entirely. Surprisingly, such a transformation is not only a phenomenon defining songs in cosmopolitan cities but also in the countryside. Kiduo's song *Ukumela lilili* (Why are you giving me such an uncivilized husband) performed by the youth in Iringa rural is a case in point. Originally, the song mirrored the social problems people encountered in society. With globalization, the theme has changed from addressing social problems to tackling environmental matters. Below is the song and the manner in which it has changed.

Original version	Translation
1st stanza	
Mukumela lilili	Why are you giving me such a man
Lye Lisabika manusa na mumachoro	who soaks his beard in local beer
Nige nene swela hela	There won't be a fight over this
Hilyo baho ndivaleche	I have decided to leave him
2nd stanza	
Ndimuwene munyasala	I have seen a man whose watch is ticking
Ikwigonga ikwiyandika	The watch writes and is ticking itself
Ndige nene swela hela	There won't be a fight over this

Na yi shule nguyileka	I will drop out of school

The first stanza of *ukumela lilili* was originally designed to reflect the negative effects of a forced marriage, where parents use their power to choose a partner for their daughter. The daughter is then complaining to her parents for choosing an uncivilized husband. Instead of soaking his beard in water in order to make himself clean, he soaks his beard in local beer. Because of this she tells her parents she has already divorced her husband and is living on her own without him.

In the second stanza of the song, the theme revolves around the girl wanting to drop out of school in order to marry a man. The reason for dropping out is grounded on the man's watch that made her admire him. At that time a girl running away to marry a man merely because she admired his motorbike, watch or hat was common. The song was composed to address the plight which was considered a recurring one. The purpose was basically to warn girls against marrying men for material wealth rather than for love.

In the era of globalization the song *ukumela lilili* has changed to *tuiheshimu misitu* (let's take care of our forests) to address environmental matters. Although the rhythm is the same the theme has changed completely.

Kiswahili version	Translation
Tuiheshimu misitu	Let's take care of our environment
Tusikate miti hovyo	Let's not cut down trees without reason
Tuheshimu vyanzo vyote	Let's take care of all natural resources
Hiyo ni mali ya taifa	They are national assets

While prior to globalization environmental matters were not an issue, nowadays the problem of air and water pollution, global warming, land degradation, loss of natural species and overpopulation is becoming enormous. Ngoma is among the strategies used to send messages to society. Being among the channels providing information, themes are repeatedly changing to reflect the dilemma. Although the idea is good, the perception of audiences concerning the change in themes was altogether negative. It was said that when the theme changes the song is

likely to lose its original flavour, because the rhythm into which the new theme is inserted was not made for that.

Another example of the ngoma song that the study noted had changed its theme is that titled *Lung'ulye* (Things are becoming inextricable) from Kiduo ngoma. Originally, the song was composed specifically to portray gender-related issues. The theme has changed to portray children's right to education, in particular girls' right. Below is the song.

Original version	Translation
Uwifu mwiko mukomi gu mutela	Don't envy your husband
Sangilu vako wiyawule	Invest your energy in cuisine
Haa haa lung'ulye	To avoid things getting worse
lung'ulye mama *lung'ulye*	Things are getting worse in my side
Pendimawana ndi mudodo lung'ulye	Depite being so young
The current version	**Translation**
Niache baba nisome mimi	Father I want to go to school
Mimi shule napenda nisome	I like schooling
Haa haa nisome	I like school
Kuolewa mimi sitaki	I want education
Mimi shule nataka nisome	I don't want to get married
	I want to go to school

The theme of *Lung'ulye*, is patriarchal power. The woman is told to stop criticising her husband's behaviour and concentrate on cooking. She is urged that it is only cooking that will make her husband focus on her. Recently, the song has been changed to address gender disparity in education reflecting the third millennium goal of promoting gender equality and the empowerment of women.[49]

Tanzania used to be a socialist country where *Undugu* (brotherhood) and the building of an egalitarian society featuring love, peace and unity was the main motto of Tanzanian society. Transformation from socialism to capitalism has reduced the concern people had for one another. Corruption, egocentricity and greed define some members of society. The study has revealed that the themes of songs are changing to challenge this new behaviour. A good

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[49] For all millennium goals, see this link http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/

example of a song I came across in the course of fieldwork is the one titled *Nunza* (I will take care). Below is the song.

Nunza	Translation
Nunza vana iva nene nunza *si vandema*	I will take care of these children I will take care I will never fail
Aivava mwi?	Where do I feel pain?
Aivava mwileme	I feel pain in my stomach
Vashemeji mpokite vana msinzile mama	My brother-in-law why have you grabbed all of my children
Mlawona pe ndivemba	If you see me crying
nda ndiwona mutima gwivava	Because I feel pain in my heart
Ye mwifwala na gi mienda gya malihemu vangu	You wear my husband's clothes
Avana vatige waoo baba yuyo akusa	My children embrace you by mistaking you for their father
Wao wao baba	They say waoo waoo dad

Initially, the song had only four verses as shown above. The song was sung at funerals to strengthen individuals whose partners had passed away. The main point of the song was to tell the one remaining that life is possible even after the death of their beloved. However, a new habit of the relatives of the dead grabbing the wealth from the widows of the dead called for the theme to be extended to cover this new bad habit. As the song shows, seven lines have been added to challenge this behaviour. The theme focuses on a woman lamenting that her husband's relative has grabbed all the wealth and left her with nothing. Even the clothes of her husband have all been taken. As a result, her children mistake him for their father when he wears her husband's clothes. Mistaken identity and the cry of the woman are used as a metaphor to show how painful the behaviour is for the widow and children facing this problem.

7.6 Ngoma costumes

Costumes by definition refer to the clothes that are put on for the performance. To gain a better understanding of the global influence on costumes, knowing the historical background of costumes is vital in order to understand how they have been transformed. In Tanzania, as

elsewhere, the costumes used by artists prior to colonialism were made from the bark of trees and animal skins (Otiso 2013: 131). Research gives a clear reason for this. Harold (1981: 11), for instance, offers two reasons why artists in early societies preferred to use costumes derived from natural resources. The first was accessibility. Harold alleges that trees and animal skins were preferred, for they were the only materials available at that particular time. The second reason is based on the power that trees and animals were believed to possess, in that they were able to provide air, fuel, food and medicine.[50] Having such a belief, Harold claims that artists in early societies opted for costumes made from natural resources to obtain power from them.

With globalization, costumes from natural resources seem to be employed not for the purpose of gaining power but rather as a symbol. This is especially the case of the youth who work in the tourism sector. They claimed that using costumes from natural resources gives tourists the impression of what traditional costumes in those days looked like.

Figure 28: Sad boy in his costume made out of grass

The industrial revolution of the 19th century is another factor that contributed to the transformation of costumes made from trees and animal skins into costumes made out of fabric. Industries like Mwatex and Sunguratex, which came about as a result of the industrial revolution, had an impact on Tanzanian costumes, in that the kanga became part of them.

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[50] Jenkins (2012) has discovered the power of trees for calming the body, mind and spirit.

In addition, the arrival of the free market economy in Tanzania caused the transformation of costumes. The current trend shows that artists, especially youth, prefer to use imported costumes. Factors like low cost and demanding less energy are the factors driving young artists to opt for ready-made costumes, including T-shirts, skirts and dresses. The experience of Mabuga, a costume designer of Hayahaya, indicates that preparing traditional costumes is not an easy task. Many hours need to be spent, depending on the nature of the costume. Because of this, imported costumes or costumes made by tailors have become the easiest way for the group to go (Interview 2010). A further interview with Mabuga revealed the influence of cultural contact on costumes. Mabuga said that to be creative she gets inspiration from fashion shows, beauty pageants and dancers from across the world for designing costumes for the group. Television and fashion magazines are also sources from which she learns different designs.

Another aspect that has been influenced by globalization is the colour of the costumes, which seems to be different from that in previous eras. For the Wahehe, for example, colours have their own meaning. The interview with Mzee Mduda from Iringa rural indicates that red in Wahehe society stands for struggle, sacrifice and mourning, blue for harmony, love and peace and white for ghosts and ancestral spirits (see also Grieg 2002: 44-45). Mzee Mduda claimed however that currently artists and the community as a whole do not pay attention to colours. As a result, their meanings are disappearing. Worse still, young people who need to tell the coming generation are not familiar with the meaning of colours (interview, 2013). Indeed, the issue that Mzee Mduda raised became obvious during the interview with youth in ngoma groups. The majority of them have no idea what the colours stand for according to their ethnic group. It shows that the colour of costumes is chosen for reasons like preference and passion and according to the colour of the year, which became known through city designers like Kidoti fashion designer in Dar es Salaam and through television.[51]

Moreover, costume colours that were originally used appear to have been affected by the need for artists to establish their own identity in the era of what Erickson (1975) calls the identity crisis. While Tanzania is struggling to design national cloth without success (Otiso 2013: 139, Edmondson 2007), artists are also struggling in their own way to produce costumes that

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[51] Kidoti is a company in Dar es Salaam that was launched by a celebrity known as Joketi. She is regarded as a fashion role model.

distinguish them from the rest of artists in the world. One tool that appears to be employed by the youth is to select the colours used in the Tanzania flag, or those related to it. Apart from that, fabric depicting wild animals and certain colours mostly used by the Maasai has been shown to have had an impact on their costumes. These colours are red, blue and purple – all of which are used to form their identity.

Figure 29: Tanzanian dancer in a costume reflecting the Tanzanian flag, source Journal of Arts and Culture

Drawing on the discussion above, it is appropriate to argue that costumes in the era of globalization have undergone changes as a result of globalization. Parameters like the demand for identity, the need to follow fashion; free trade and low cost have influenced the change in costumes. On top of that global laws concerning the rights of animals appear to have had an impact on costume development. It is unfeasible for artists in the era of globalization to kill animals to make costumes as before. Killing animals for the sake of costumes is at present illegal and could sentence one to jail (Njewele, interview 2014).

7.7 Influence on ngoma make-up

Make-up is an essential part of the ngoma performance. Historically, Tanzanian ngoma used make-up made up of clay of different hues. Apart from clay, tattooing was used as facial decoration, especially by the Wamakonde. Like costumes, make-up was employed for specific purposes. It was a vehicle through which strong cultural meanings were portrayed. Through make-up, audiences were able to get to know dancers' emotions. Red, for example, stood for fatal or deadly, green for grace, blue for peace, black for enemies and white for

health or purity. The interview with Mama Sesi paints the larger picture of how make-up colours were used by the Wahehe. She argued that black make-up was used in ngoma to celebrate a child's arrival. A new-born and the mother needed to have a black dot put on their faces. A black dot was believed to possess the power to drive out enemies whose intention for the child was bad. Red and white make-up was used in healing performances where red stood for fatality and white for health. White was also used in initiation rituals as a symbol of purity, cleanness and innocence of the novices.

An in-depth discussion with informants about make-up colours and their uses indicated that in the era of globalization their meanings are disappearing. Instead of carrying cultural meanings as they did in the past they are used merely for beauty. When Kibena, who was the make-up expert of Hayahaya group, was asked about make-up and its uses, she failed to provide a good reason for its application. Instead, she associated the application of make-up with the creation of artistic beauty. Asked about the meaning of colours, again, Kibena was unable to give a meaning of the make-up colours she was applying. Her failure to reply raises the question of make-up symbols in Tanzanian ngoma performances in the future.

An in-depth exploration of make-up reveals that artists apply new industrially made make-up, such as powder, make-up sets and water colours for their performances. Dancers who tended to use water colours associated their importance with tolerance and their ability to make the dancer lighter and more beautiful. A further exploration shows that what is called beauty seems to attract a large number of young women to employ industrially made make-up, not just in the ngoma context but also in their daily lives. Challenging the application of industrial make-up, I was surprised to see middle-aged and even older women supporting the use of industrial make-up. This was obvious in a kitchen party I attended during fieldwork. I heard Makungwi (educators) telling the bride-to-be that *mwamake urembo, uzee mwisho* Chalinze *bibi ehee*, Dar es Salaam *hakuna mzee*. *Ukizubaa utaachwa kwenye mataa* (Being a woman means beauty. Nobody is old in Dar es Salaam. Being old ends in Chalinze. If you do not care about your beauty, you will be left on the shelf). The implication here is that the massive turning from locally made to industrially made make-up is powered by the new perception of make-up in daily lives. To change this perception requires a holistic approach.

It should be noted however that, despite the positive perception of industrially made make-up among many youth and women, the audiences interviewed immediately after youth ngoma

performances insisted on the importance of going back to locally made make-up for the purpose of maintaining history and culture as well as health.

A discussion on make-up cannot be concluded without raising the issue of make-up patterns. Historically, make-up patterns were drawn not without reason, but for communicating important messages to audiences. It shows that through make-up painted on the face of the dancer, audiences were informed about various issues, including the dancer's age, level of maturity and status, and whether single, widowed or married. Among other ethnic groups, patterns of this kind are mostly prevalent in the Maasai (Otiso 2013).

Several interviews carried out with the youth have shown that the patterns they draw on the faces of one another stand for nothing other than beauty. Throughout my fieldwork Kibena used to draw nice patterns on her face (See her photo below). But during the interview she proclaimed honestly that her patterns were only about beauty and in many cases are determined by the colours she has at hand. The more colours she had the better the patterns would be. Drawing on the discussion above, it is appropriate to point out that, despite this study arguing for hybridity, the application of make-up should be done vigilantly. Make-up which is likely to obliterate original meaning and which damages artists' health should be avoided.

Figure 30: Kibena in white and black make-up, photographer Daines Sanga, December 2013

The Props

The term prop refers to the objects used by performers on the stage as the performance unfolds. Props are vital on the stage as they quicken spectators' imagination (Sofer 2003: iv). Props are of two kinds, those which are often held by performers and those positioned on the stage for the purpose of generating a sense of time and space. In the ngoma context, props are employed according to the nature of the ngoma. While Ukala uses props such as a winnowing fan, spear and machete, Mganda uses animal tails. In the era of globalization, the winnowing fan has been replaced by plates in some contexts, while animal tails have been replaced by handkerchiefs. Accessibility and cost seem to influence the change in props used in ngoma (Songoyi 1998).

7.8 Organization of groups

While before globalization the dance group belonged to the community and everyone was free to join the group, this is no longer true. In the era of globalization groups belong to individuals, who are free to open them except that they obliged to register their groups. BASATA (the National Arts Council) is responsible for registering groups. Lihamba (2004) observed that the system of registering groups was adopted from the German colonial government. At the time Germany governed Tanganyika, no group was allowed to operate without registration. Registration was used to control the emergence of groups which would overthrow the government. After independence, the Tanzanian government adopted the same system.

While before globalization being a member was easy, it is no longer the case at present. Several procedures need to be followed before one is accepted as a full member with all rights. The study discovered that young people do this for economic reasons, which is to deny others access so that only a few people will enjoy the benefits of being members. The interview with Mzuri, who decided to move from the group he was in originally to Hayahaya, can be used as a case in point. He expressed his grievances regarding the way in which he was treated when he was waiting to become a full member. Since he was not yet a member, he was not allowed to participate in group meetings, nor was he allowed to question how the proceeds were distributed to members. When travelling for the second fieldwork I was told that Mzuri was no longer a member of the group. Given that I had his mobile phone number I decided to call him. Mzuri explained that he was tired of being excluded. He left because of the unfairness leaders showed to new members. They use the energy of new members but

when it comes to cash they are not allowed to question or even know about it. The interviews with other members had similar results. Philip, for instance, also lamented the fact that leaders exercise power over other members and so new members feel powerless.

Complaints from members caused me to interview the secretary of the group, but he protected himself by pointing the finger at the dancers. He claimed that not all members who asked to join the group did so. Some pretend that they want to join the group but in reality they do not. What they want is to destroy the group and go. Because of this, the group has introduced the policy of three months' probation. During this time, a new member is entitled to nothing. He added that before he is accepted, the member is obliged to fill in a form supported by three referees, so that when something wrong happens, the form will simply show where to find him or her. The long and complicated procedures make becoming a member difficult and tiresome.

7.9 The magnitude of influences on ngoma performed by youth in urban and rural areas

Ngoma performed in cities have been influenced by other cultures unlike those performed in rural areas. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to argue that in rural areas ngoma have not been influenced by other cultures. This is because technology in the era of globalization is spreading, which reduces the gap between rural and urban areas (Englert 2008:5).

This study shows that ngoma performances in urban centres are more influenced by global cultures than those in the hinterland. In terms of musical instruments, for example, urban dancers combine traditional and modern musical instruments. Accessibility is one of the reasons why urban ngoma performances are more likely to use modern musical instruments in their ngoma than groups in rural areas. Because of accessibility, it is easy for ngoma groups in Dar es Salaam to buy modern musical instruments, such as a piano, guitar and trumpet, and use them in their performances. The central market in Kariakoo makes it possible to buy new modern musical instruments in Dar es Salaam, and the availability of second-hand musical instrument shops means that urban ngoma groups can employ modern musical instruments in their ngoma performances.

The circulation of currency in Dar es Salaam is another issue that enables ngoma groups in Dar es Salaam to purchase modern musical instruments. While ngoma groups in Dar es Salaam employ modern musical instruments, in rural areas such as Tanangozi and Ifunda

where this study was carried out, no group was found owning modern musical instruments. Tanangozi group did not even have a traditional musical instrument of their own, for they claimed it was too expensive. Having no traditional musical instruments of their own, they depend on hiring. While ngoma groups in rural areas cannot buy their own traditional musical instruments, in urban areas most of the groups had both traditional and modern musical instruments.

Another aspect that has been influenced by global culture is singing. This is particularly true of the groups in urban areas. While rural groups were struggling to sing as before, urban groups were enthusiastically modifying their voices to make them sound like they were using a microphone. The interview with Kibena illuminates the point. Kibena argued that in inner cities one has to adjust his or her voice to sound like a microphone was being used in order to reach a big audience. It was proclaimed that once the voice is modified it diminishes the need to use a microphone. Although this is true, this study revealed that the so-called 'microphone style' is mystifying. Instead of amplifying voices, it turns the singing into a loud noise.

In terms of dancing styles, both rural and urban groups have been exposed to external influences. As I stated above, new dancing styles like Kiduku and Kibega and mauno movement from Taarab are increasingly influencing ngoma in urban. Kibega style is danced in a way that the dancer removes dust from his or her shoulders while keenly looking at them. I noted that this style was also adopted by youth in rural areas. Kiduo was originally danced by stamping his or her feet vigorously while looking at his or her dancing partner. The boys dancing Kiduo in rural areas would stamp their feet while looking at their shoulders similar to Kibega, while the female dancers would dance Kiduo looking at their buttocks, which I think was adopted from Taarab. Urban styles like kiduku, kibega and mauno from Taarab are not uncommon. As I state above, youth in urban areas prefer these styles because they add flavour to the ngoma.

7.9 CONCLUSION

Chapter seven was an attempt to show the influence of global culture on ngoma performed by the youth. Through the aforementioned components, it can be agreed that ngoma performed by the youth are influenced by external factors. It has also indicated that the influence on ngoma is on a large scale. Now that the world is like a global village, it would be unrealistic to argue that ngoma can be safeguarded from global influences. The study suggests that ngoma performances should be recorded to give a first-hand picture in the original context.

These ngoma could then be used as historical and theatrical materials for future generations. The next chapter concludes the study by underscoring the main findings of the study.

CHAPTER 8 FINAL CONCLUSION

"Despite the disappointments and intimidation to which we are exposed, we will never stop working as dancers, for it is an activity that helps define who we are"

(Sibira, 2012)

This study was an attempt to explore how youth use ngoma to search for social, economic, political and cultural space. Through interviews, focus group discussions, participant performer research and key informant interviews, the study found out that Tanzanian youth use ngoma to address the problem of limited space without disturbing the longstanding peace of the nation. The general findings of this study can be divided into three categories; ngoma and globalization, ngoma as a social activity and ngoma as economic and political space. Studying how youth use ngoma to resolve the plight of denied space, the study has revealed both positive and some negative outcomes of ngoma performances. The section below begins with the more positive ones.

This study has revealed that youth use ngoma to employ themselves, thereby overcoming the problem of limited economic opportunities. Despite the fact that ngoma is not in great demand, unlike Bongo Fleva music, youth do everything they can to create a demand for ngoma by fashioning ngoma performances in a manner that attracts customers. The strategies they use vary from one group to another depending on their experience, artistic skills and the training that some members have undergone. The study has revealed that experienced artists with the ability to write project proposals take advantage of their skills to design project proposals which are in line with particular companies' missions and visions, which they distribute to these companies. Although the companies benefit more, the youth benefit in three ways; first, through the cash given during project implementation. Second, working with big companies creates good image for the group. Third, youth feel that by working with big companies they are being complimented.

Whilst youth with skills create a demand by writing proposals, the study has revealed that young people with limited skills have their own way of creating a demand for their performances by, *inter alia,* organizing performances in public places where the audience can easily pass by and tip them (*tunza*) or by participating in political and social events without being invited, expecting the event organizers to fund their performance. The study discovered that artists with limited skills seek to change from stealing and drug trafficking as a means of survival to earning a living through acceptable ways.

Expanding on the positive side of ngoma, this study has revealed that youth use ngoma to boost one another economically. Through the *Vikoba* scheme, members can save and borrow money at a low rate of interest in a similar way in which the National Bank of Commerce, National Microfinance Bank or Cooperative Rural Development Bank and other credit institutions operate. Borrowing in groups is even better because, unlike banks which use interest for the purpose of making a profit, the interest paid by members of the *Vikoba* scheme is often returned to the members themselves. This is especially true when nine months have ended and before beginning another nine months all the money collected by members along with the interest is given back to them on an equal basis, regardless of whether or not the member borrowed money. The study has shown that the *Vikoba* project has helped members meet their basic needs. Through the *Vikoba* project some members have attempted to open businesses apart from ngoma, thus having more than one source of income. Such businesses have raised the standard of living of many artists, thereby enabling them to live better lives.

The tradition of women depending on men for social and economic support often makes them prone to social, psychological and verbal abuse. The study has shown that *Vikoba* assists young women whose lives were in distress as a result of financial dependence. Through Vikoba they have managed to stand on their own feet as the dividends received from the *Vikoba* project increasingly enable them to manage their own lives without being dependent on their male counterparts, thereby reducing their vulnerability to social, physical, and psychological violence.

The habit of youth making use of ngoma to educate themselves is another finding that this study considers positive. The study discovered that, due to poverty, the lack of gender-sensitive education, an unconducive learning environment, hunger and dropping out of school, most youth did not get a proper education, and so they now use ngoma to resolve the problem of lack of knowledge. They take advantage of the seminars, workshops and lectures offered by different individuals to obtain an education. For instance, the youth make use of ngoma to gain a practical understanding of geography, especially when they organize trips within Tanzania, Africa or European countries, such as Germany, Sweden, Norway, Holland and Poland, which has extended their geographical knowledge.

The study also discovered that youth take advantage of songs with strong messages to enlarge their understanding of issues such as health, the environment and culture, which they know little about. The study proved that the environmental and geographical knowledge the youth

acquire through their songs enables them to know about their environment, which in turn gives them a deep sense of pride and affection not only for their region but also for their country as a whole.

Another interesting finding is that youth take advantage of ngoma groups to reconstruct culture. They often borrow techniques used by popular artists in other countries and then fuse them with their own techniques, thereby creating ngoma performances that suit their changing circumstances. In their quest for newness and originality youth fuse genres in order to come up with a performance they have never attempted before. By so doing youth proclaim that culture should be understood as fluid, on-going, dynamic and subject to change as the situation dictates.

An additional positive finding this study has revealed is that youth use ngoma to overcome the problem of political exclusion by engaging in political discourses and establishing their own political standpoint. Ngoma offers youth space to articulate their political preferences and interests and to stimulate one another to participate in politics in special ways. While it is common for young women to have no interest in politics, being in ngoma groups they are now motivated to use the power of the ballot box to influence the kind of Tanzania they would like to have in the future. This paradigm shift was discovered through interviews conducted with young women.

Furthermore, through ngoma, youth get to participate in politics directly through politicians asking for the support of ngoma groups. Many politicians believe that songs speak louder than words, which is why youth get invited to lend a hand in election campaigns. Therefore, irrespective of how the youth participate in the campaigning process, they develop a sense of being treasured and respected, and more importantly, a sense of making a contribution to political matters affecting their country. Groups not being sponsored by the government use ngoma to uncover political ills, including greed, dishonesty, fraud and selfishness, and to overtly criticize the misconduct of leaders through songs and movements. Through ngoma, youth demand their rights as Tanzanians, including their right to hang out with their friends without being questioned about who they are.

One more genuine finding of this study was that youth use ngoma as a mouthpiece for minorities with limited power. These comprise children, parents, older people, prisoners and all those with no access to public space. The study revealed that youth use ngoma to demand justice for all, in spite of their religion, ethnicity, age, gender, education and economic

background. It is evident that, through ngoma with its steadfastness, dynamism and vitality, those who otherwise are marginalized are given some form of political representation.

The custom of loving one another and caring about each other is another irrefutable positive finding this study came across in the course of fieldwork. Although there is competition between different ngoma groups, this does not always mean they hate one another. The tendency of loving one another contributes to making the groups much stronger. The study observed that the custom of loving and caring about each other in spite of religion, ethnic group, economic or educational background is special in the era of globalization, with societies becoming increasingly fragmented as a result of the quest for political positions and material resources.

Another important result of this study is that of youth using ngoma as a fortress in a time of adversity. The study discovered that youth use ngoma as a shield to secure protection during hardship, uncertainty and economic downturns. In problems like the death of relatives, scarcity, transgression and sickness, they assist one another financially, materially, emotionally, ethically and even morally.[52] The custom of assisting each other in times of hardship has an impact on their lives as human beings who, similar to adults, require love and care when they encounter challenges. The empathy that youth have for one another in times of suffering drove away fear and gave them positive feelings about themselves, their lives and the world in which they live.

Moreover, youth use ngoma positively to fight against traditions and customs that apparently put the younger generation at risk. A case in point is the custom of forced marriage. The rebellion of youth against this is based on the effect it has in the lives of the youth, such as infidelity, fatality, divorce, girls having to find refuge or commit suicide, all of which happen as a result of forced marriage. Youth take advantage of ngoma to urge the older generation to give youth the right to decide their own destiny and be responsible for the outcome.

To emphasize the point, ngoma for the youth has multiple meanings. It means security, unity, development, love, care, assistance, political involvement, economic sharing, education, good

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[52] Makanya group, for instance, when Paulo's mother died, was there to support their fellow member throughout the funeral. In the evening the group offered an interesting performance which changed the mood of the funeral participants from solemn to more upbeat as shown on the faces of many.

prospects, equality and justice. Ngoma is used to cure the pains of the past and replace those pains with hopes and victory. Ngoma is the be-all and end-all - in fact ngoma means life.

Having mentioned the positive findings this study observed, the study observed negative aspects as well. The study found out that youth sometimes use intoxicating substances to take away performance anxiety. Using marijuana or alcohol to combat anxiety has proved to cause grave problems, especially as regards communication between performers during the performance. Dancers of this kind lose the ability to communicate meaningfully, with the result that they spoil the performance which lowers its quality. Because of this, some dancers are regarded as hooligans (*vikundi vya wahuni*). Intoxicating substances are not good for their health.

The study has revealed that some costumes worn by young dancers in ngoma go against Tanzanian customs and values. Although this study calls for hybridity as a new form of authenticity, it insists on keeping intact the customs and values of the nation, which constitute important elements for maintaining socio-cultural cohesion and a sense of communal dignity.

Moreover, the study revealed a massive increase in the number of second-rate ngoma, which undermine youths' desire to realize their potential as cultural actors. The study revealed different reasons for this in the era of globalization, such as the lack of exposure to ngoma performances due to the fewer number of funerals, weddings and initiation ceremonies, where recorded music is preferred to ngoma. The transition from initiation rites to kitchen parties is another factor causing youth to lack ngoma skills.

Besides the problem posed by kitchen parties, the education system in Tanzania does not provide youth with the opportunity to learn ngoma skills. This is due to the growing belief that people with ngoma skills can by no means compete in the global market, unlike those skilled in mathematics, geography, history and science, which is why the Minister of Education and Vocational Training around in early 2000's banned UMITASHUMTA and extra-curricular activities in schools which were then revived in 2009. The subject *stadi za kazi* or vocational skills was introduced to replace ESR, which ngoma was part of, it contains topics which are totally unconnected. As a result, youth who complete primary school often graduated with little or no knowledge of ngoma.

Apart from the dilemma of education being insensitive to culture, the mushrooming in the number of second-rate ngoma is another negative finding the study came across. Second-rate

ngoma is caused by youths' desire to quickly make money or what is known in Kiswahili as *tamaa ya kupata pesa za haraka* and the saying *hakiachwi kitu hapa* (no coin that crosses our zone should be allowed to leave). The study revealed that second-rate ngoma, which are now on the increase; spoil the reputation of youth in their use of ngoma to look for alternative space.

The study also discovered the impact of the patriarchal culture on young women's struggle for space. Since women's domain is thought to be the kitchen, those who dance in public to challenge their indoor status are seen as prostitutes, who have not been properly educated by their parents. This impedes young women's resolve to carry on with the fight; this is why the number of male dancers in all ngoma groups outstrips that of female dancers.

In addition, the study found that the low status of young dancers in society discouraged youths from striving for space. A dancer, whether female or male, is regarded as one who has failed in life and is attempting to use ngoma to overcome this failure. Despite inadequate employment opportunities and youths' creativity in seeking to earn a living in an open-minded way, they are looked down on as *wacheza kibisa* or hip-swaying dancers who deserve no respect. Because of the low status society has ascribed to young dancers they suffer in their job. The study discovered that when dancers are invited to perform without prior arrangements regarding how their payment should be processed, after the performance they often suffer to get paid. It was also confirmed that even the vehicles which are used to take dancers to and from the performance are of pitiable quality. Worse still, heartless customers tend to abandon dancers at the performance venue while their counterpart Bongo Fleva artists are handled smartly in vehicles of considerable quality. This is especially true when transport arrangements have not been made prior to the performance.

Topping the discussion on the devastating findings is the situation of theatrical infrastructure, which is not being made available to the youth, due to, *inter alia,* the selfishness and greed of some government officials. The study brought to light the fact that the proscenium theatre, which was built by the government to be used by the youth, is rarely used by them due to the unaffordable cost of hiring it. As a result, the theatre is hired for official meetings, wedding ceremonies, conferences and other social gatherings. Thus, the proscenium theatre is seen as one of the sources of government revenue. A study on the corruption and dishonesty of leaders in Tanzania has shown that the revenue collected by the government is utilized by them for their own ends. Evidence shows that some of the theatres have been turned into bars

and hotels to increase the number of business people capable of paying taxes and tariffs to the government (Plastow 1997, Mona Mwakalinga 2010).

Backing up the point of the lack of theatrical infrastructure, indigenous people tend to set up places where they can carry on with their ngoma performances. Mikole trees were, and still are, among the places indigenous people use to carry out not only ngoma performances but also their rituals and sacrifices, which help resolve their problems and keep them going. Although these Mikole trees were highly respected and people were forbidden to use them for other purposes, currently they are being grabbed from indigenous people and given to investors who then replace them with telephone masts. Despite this, nobody bothers to think about an alternative space in which ngoma performances can take place.

GLOSSARY OF KISWAHILI TERMS

The following is the sequence of Swahili terms. The terms included in this glossary are those which are repeated many times in the text as a rough guide to their meaning to assist readers. The glossary also shows readers how to pronounce Swahili terms. There are differences between the pronunciation of vowels in English and Kiswahili. The Swahili vowels are short and not diphthongized like English vowels. It should be noted that the words are pronounced phonetically, with the accent being on the second last syllable.

Baba wa Taifa (n). Father of the nation, referring to Julius Nyerere, the first President of Tanzania. He is regarded as the father of the nation for his special contribution at the time of independence. This includes liberating the nation from the hands of colonial masters

Bangi (n) Swahili term referring to alcoholic substance

Bibi (n). The term of address for an old woman or a grandmother

Boma (n). Village

Kanga (n). Piece of cloth worn by women around their waist or upper part of their body

Kikundi; pl. Vikundi (n) means groups

Malaya (n). Prostitute

Mama (n). Mother

Mauno (n). Swahili slang used to depict the erotic style of dancing

Mbayaya (n). Musical instrument used in funeral dance of Wahehe ethnic group

Mcheza kibisa (n). Youth slang, a term used by some young people to abuse youth who work as dancers.

Mchezo (n) a Kiswahili term referring to a form of self-help scheme, of helping one another economically. The programme is smaller than Vikoba. It lasts between a week and a month, unlike Vikoba which lasts from several months to one year or more

Mhuni (n) a Kiswahili term referring to a hooligan

Mipasho (n). Telling things bluntly and openly

Mlugaluga (n). Swahili slang referring to an outdated person

Mshamba; pl. Washamba (n). Outdated person

Mtumba; pl. Mitumba (n). Used cloth or clothes

Muhuni; *pl*. Wahuni (n). Hooligan, referring to both young men and women

Mwalimu (n). Teacher

Mzee (n). The term of address for an old man or a grandfather

Ngoma (n). Dance, it also means a drum

Sanaa (n). Art

Sauti za Busara (n). Voice of wisdom

Stadi za kazi (n). Subject introduced around 2000 and 2005 in Tanzania. The subject was introduced to replace Education for Self-Reliance

Tunza (n) a Kiswahili term to mean tipping or giving somebody a gift particularly in the course of a performance

Unyago (n). Initiation rites

Vikoba (n) Kiswahili term referring to self-help scheme initiated by members of ngoma groups to boost one another economically.

Wahehe (n). Ethnic group based in Iringa region, in the southern part of Tanzania

Wamatengo (n). Ethnic group based in Ruvuma region, in the southern part of Tanzania

Zilipendwa (n) a Kiswahili term referring to songs that used to be popular. In some cases it is used to refer to old-fashioned songs

Zingua (adv). Youth slang referring to confusion

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