

# “...THOSE WHO DID IT HAVE POWER...” MUSIC, HEALTH AND HEGEMONY IN TANZANIA IN THE CONTEXT OF HIV/AIDS

by

MATHAYO BERNARD NDOMONDO

**Abstract.** This article investigates the display of power relations in the production of health knowledge about HIV/AIDS through music that addresses the HIV/AIDS pandemic in Tanzania. It specifically looks at the intersection of the state and religion in both shaping culture and influencing decision-making in the production of health knowledge on HIV/AIDS. I argue that the study of HIV/AIDS and the creative process of music about HIV/AIDS is also the study of power relations at multiple levels. Using two recordings, *Mambo kwa socks* (Things with socks on) and *‘Uzione soo, sema naye’* (Do not feel shy, speak to him or her), which have been forbidden from public broadcast by the government of Tanzania as evidence, I suggest that musical performances that focus on HIV/AIDS involve the production of multiple, often dissonant and antagonistic interpretations among individuals because of the musical styles employed and because of the interpreters’ different ages, social positions, context, social and historical spaces.

## Introduction

On March 10, 2009, viewers (including myself) of the evening television news hour in Tanzania found themselves watching the public slapping of Alhaji Ali Hassan Mwinyi, former President of the United Republic of Tanzania, during an important Islamic event in Dar es Salaam. To many the incident was shocking, extraordinary, and historic. It was Maulid, a religious holiday in which Muslims in Tanzania and the world over were celebrating the birth of the Prophet Muhammad. The retired President, a Muslim himself, was invited to preside at the *Baraza* (Islamic gathering) on behalf of President Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete, also a Muslim. As Mwinyi was addressing the audience a young man emerged from the crowd, walked to the front and climbed onto the podium. To the surprise of the former President’s security detail, the young man slapped Mwinyi<sup>1</sup> in full view of the TV cameras and the members of the press covering the event.

The culprit was swiftly apprehended and was later sentenced to one year imprisonment. Among the things Mwinyi underscored in his speech was the fight against HIV/AIDS. The former president urged devout Muslims to take care of themselves against the scourge by strictly observing morals. For those who could not abstain from sex, he advised Muslim clerics to find a way for discussing the use of condoms to reduce the spread of the disease (*The African* March 12, 2009). The assailant

---

<sup>1</sup> See *The African* March 12, 2009 and *This Day* March 11, 2009. The slapping event can also be viewed at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DFzsCShW-Xg>

during his prosecution was quoted as saying that slapping the former president was meant to send a “powerful’ message” in protest over what Mwinyi was advising the Muslim community on condom use (*The African* March 12, 2009). The Islamic Council of Tanzania condemned the incident, but a section of hard-line Muslims hailed it, demanding that Mwinyi owed an apology to the entire Muslim community of Tanzania for encouraging them to use condoms.

This incident foremost illustrates a long standing tension between the state and religious institutions in Tanzania about handling the HIV/AIDS pandemic. It portrays the state’s precarious position in implementing HIV/AIDS education programs as it struggles to remain firm on its decisions while simultaneously confronting external pressures such as public opinion, religious ideologies, and local traditions which are opposed to public discussion of sexuality. On another level, this incident is reminiscent of two controversial musical scenarios in which the government of Tanzania banned the broadcasting of two recordings: “*Mambo kwa soksi*” by Ongala (1989) and the *bongo flava* music video of “*Usione soo sema naye*” (2004). Both of these songs address sex and condom use in the context of the fight against the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

The demonstration of power relations in the production of knowledge about HIV/AIDS through music is the focus of this article. I examine the intersection of the state and religion in shaping culture, especially music, and how negotiations between the two influence decision-making on HIV/AIDS health education in Tanzania. Through the two recordings mentioned above—“*Mambo kwa soksi*” (Things with socks on) and “*Usione soo, sema naye*” (Do not feel shy, speak to him or her)—banned by the government from public broadcast, I will demonstrate the controversy surrounding condom use and communication about sexuality in Tanzania. The two songs each aimed to create a dialogue about HIV/AIDS education, with the focus on “safer” sex through condom use.

Based on moves by the government to prohibit the performance of such musical works on moral grounds and then later to allow both foreign and local modes of expression in similar fashion, I will show that the dialectic between social forces and artistic productions in the context of HIV/AIDS in Tanzania needs to be viewed from two contexts within Tanzania: the context of internal sociopolitical hegemony and the context of problems associated with contradicting interpretations of the banned music recordings. Discussion of the context of global economic and political power relations in relation to Tanzania is not undertaken.

Various scholars (Stambach 2000, Kirkegaard 2004, Sanga 2006, Illife 2006, and Hillhorst 2009), have analyzed “*Mambo kwa soksi*” from different angles. However, none of them treated music and HIV/AIDS as the focal point of their studies. Save for Kirkegaard (2004), none of these studies attempt to offer a deeper analysis of the musical features embedded in the musical styles employed in “*Mambo kwa soksi*” or “*Usione soo, sema naye*” which hypothetically led to their ban. This article attempts to offer such an analysis. It should also be noted that, while “*Mambo kwa soksi*” has received significant scholarly attention, this article is the first to analyze “*Mambo kwa soksi*” in association with the question of music and HIV/AIDS in Tanzania.

I build on the various publications mentioned above, but have moved further to align my analysis with recent scholarship in medical ethnomusicology in East Africa (Barz 2006, Van Buren 2006, Barz and Cohen 2008) and beyond to publications on the relationship between music and HIV/AIDS education in the fight against the pandemic (Barz and Cohen 2008, McNeill and James 2011, McNeill 2014), and I have privileged the voices of various respondents I interviewed about this subject. As outlined below, I provide an in-depth analysis of how music, state agencies and religion impact one another in musical works that address the education and prevention of HIV/AIDS in Tanzania. This work is guided by the following questions: what types of relationships are forged between music, state agencies, and religion (especially the church) in the context of HIV/AIDS education and how do these relationships enhance or impede artistic work? What meanings are elicited by or attributed to musical works that address HIV/AIDS and how do these meanings create contestations of interpretations in society?

In addition, analysis for this article is supported by observations, interviews with musicians and other performing artists dealing with health issues including HIV/AIDS, a discussion with one selected member of the Tanzania Communication Regulatory Authority Content Committee, NGO personnel dealing with HIV/AIDS, some staff of the Tanzania HIV/AIDS Commission, health officers, and with selected church members and religious leaders. I have also consulted publications with a wide range of themes, including those dealing with Remmy Ongala's "*Mambo kwa soksi*" and other songs, HIV/AIDS-related discourses, theoretical issues on hegemony, cultural intimacy, Foucauldian discourse on technologies of the self, and ethnomusicological perspectives on music and meaning, and music and HIV/AIDS. But, first I present brief histories, stylistic features and the song texts of "*Mambo kwa soksi*" and "*Usione soo, sema naye*".

### **History and stylistic features of "*Mambo kwa soksi*"**

"*Mambo kwa soksi*" was composed in 1989 by the late Ramadhani Mtoro Ongala (also popularly known as Dr. Remmy Ongala), a Zairean-born musician who migrated to Tanzania in 1978 following a massive influx of Congolese musicians to Tanzania. Dr Remmy was a singer, guitarist and the leader of Orchestra Super Matimila Band which recorded the song "*Mambo kwa soksi*" six years after the first three cases of HIV/AIDS were reported in the country in 1983. Through his composition "*Mambo kwa soksi*", Ongala laments about the dangers of HIV/AIDS.

*Mambo kwa soksi* is rendered in the style of *muziki wa dansi*, a form of Tanzanian urban popular music that was introduced in Tanzania during colonialism. *Muziki wa dansi* is one of the musical genres which has survived to-date in the Tanzanian soundscape. It gained popularity in the urban areas of Tanzania, especially Tanga and Dar es Salaam as early as the 1930s (Donner 1980; Martin 1982; Askew 2002). Known also as "popular jazz band" and "orchestra music" especially in the 1970s and 1980s, *muziki wa dansi* is a fusion of a variety of indigenous African musical elements such as rhythms, melodies and lyrics and sometimes indigenous musical instruments and alien musical elements (such as instrumentations and harmony) and styles from other

non-African cultures such as Latin America, North America and Europe. Because of such syncretism, Martin Stephen (1982: 157) considers *muziki wa dansi* as a reflection of "...Tanzania's ability and desire to change, to be innovative, [and] to be part of the modern world".

Performed at a steady, fast pace throughout, "*Mambo kwa soksi*" comprises the vocal section accompanied by instrumental background featuring electric solo, second solo, and rhythm guitars, bass guitar, a percussion section featuring drum set, *tumba* (congas), and *clave*. *Chemka* moment, which in English means "boiling" moment or the musical climax, forms an integral part of the style and is characterized by the guitarists showing off their virtuosity followed by a metaphorically spoken dialogue between two male singers.

The song text of "*Mambo kwa soksi*" expounds on the changing nature of sexuality, from the perception of it as a source of pleasure to something that should be associated with danger.

Original Kiswahili Version

*Wote: Ukimwi ni hatari jamaa x3*

*Naogopa mambo, mambo mambo*

*Kiitikio: Kwa soksi*

*Kiongozi: Jamani soksi!*

*Kiitikio: Kwa soksi*

*Kiongozi: Mambo ya siku hizi*

*Kiitikio: Kwa soksi*

*Kiongozi: Mapenzi yetu*

*Kiitikio: Kwa soksi*

*Kiongozi: Yamebadilika*

*Kiitikio: Kwa soksi*

*Kiongozi: Mjomba na shangazi*

*Kiitikio: Kwa soksi*

*Kiongozi: Babu na Bibi*

*Kiitikio: Kwa soksi*

*Kiongozi: Nye kule vijijini*

*Kiongozi: Vaeni soksi (kicheko)*

*Kiongozi: Sukari yetu*

*Kiitikio: Kwa soksi*

*Kiongozi: Imeingia sumu*

*Kiitikio: Kwa soksi*

My English translation

All: AIDS is dangerous guys x 3

I am afraid of things

Chorus: With socks

Lead singer: Folks, things!

Chorus: With socks

Lead singer: Things of these days\*

Chorus: With socks

Lead singer: Our love affairs

Chorus: With socks

Lead singer: Have changed

Chorus: With socks

Lead singer: Uncle and aunt

Chorus: With socks

Lead singer: Grandpa and grandma

Chorus: With socks

Lead singer: You there in the village

Chorus:

Lead singer: Put on socks [laughter]

Lead singer: Our sugar

Chorus: With socks

Lead singer: Has been poisoned

Chorus: With socks

\*The phrase can be interpreted both as "things of these days" to mean today's "type of [exotic] sexuality," or "modernity" to denote HIV/AIDS as an outcome of modernity, as various scholars (for example, Setel 1999; Comaroff and Comaroff 2004) have suggested.

The phrase, "sugar has been poisoned," is a reiteration of the words spoken earlier by one of the first persons to be diagnosed with the HIV virus in Kagera Region, and who was at the time terminally ill. The interview with that person, filmed and disseminated throughout the country as part of educational campaign against the pandemic, aimed at giving people a personal testimony of the maladies of HIV/AIDS. "*Sumu imeingia*

*mahali patamu*” (a poison has entered the sweet place) was the catch phrase first heard spoken by this dying person. It denotes that poison has occupied a physical space, which is absolutely impossible to stay away from because of its sweetness. It was no wonder Ongala picked up the theme and played it loudly, warning people about the “poison” and how to avoid succumbing to it.

The second part of the song features three scenarios of a dialogue between two men about the strangeness of the *soksi* phenomenon and the context of its use. The three scenarios take place during *chemka* moment and are musically separated from one another by means of two sets of *chemka* moment. This is where the play of words and allusions by means of manipulation of the human voice and through the use of linguistic tools such as *kutia chumvi* or satire becomes manifest. In the first scenario, metaphorically spoken but with great humor, the *soksi* is unveiled, questioned, and visualized. By so doing, it could be suggested, the song served to make people aware of the materials from which it is made in terms of its shape, availability, convenience, and safety.

### First scenario

Original Kiswahili Version

*Mwimbaji wa kwanza:*

*Ee bwana ee*

*Mwimbaji wa pili:*

*Ndiyo*

*Mwimbaji wa kwanza:*

*Ah, unanishangaza mimi kweli siku hizi...*

*nasikia ukienda pale kwa soksi, ukirudi hivi*

*kwa soksi, ukitumia njia ya mkato kwa soksi.*

*Hivi soksi zenyewe za gunia? Za plastiki?*

*Mwimbaji wa pili:*

*Za plastiki*

*Mwimbaji wa kwanza:*

*[Akirudia swali kwa kunogeshia]*

*Mwimbaji wa pili:*

*[Naye akijibu kwa kunogeshia] Plastiki!*

*Mwimbaji wa kwanza:*

*Zinafanana na kitu gani?*

*Mwimbaji wa pili:*

*Zinafanana na nyonyo ya mtoto ya chupa.*

*Mwimbaji wa kwanza:*

*Na hiyo soksi zenyewe unanunua wapi?*

*Mwimbaji wa pili:*

*Kwenye duka la madawa au Muhimbili au hospitali yeyote. Zinagaiwa bure.*

*Mwimbaji wa kwanza:*

*Ah, hapana, siku hizi watu wanauza*

*hata kwenye mabaa, na kwenye magesti*

*zinapatikana.*

My English translation

First Singer:

Oh guys

Second Singer:

Yes.

First Singer:

You really surprise me. I am told that these days if you go to that place, ...with socks, and on your way back ...with socks. If you take another short cut, ...with socks. Tell me are the socks made from sack materials or plastic?

Second Singer:

Made from plastic

First Singer:

[Repeating the question with humor] Eeeh!

Second Singer:

[Also responding with humor] Plastic!

First Singer:

How do they look like?

Second Singer:

They resemble a nipple of the baby bottle.

First Singer:

Where do you buy it from?

Second Singer:

In drugstores, or in any other hospital where they are given free of charge...

First Singer:

No, these days [condoms] are sold...even in the liquor clubs and guesthouses they are available...

In the first scenario two major arguments concerning the ambiguity and dilemma on condom use are brought to the fore. First, it was felt that, condoms interfered with procreation of (infected) married couples. Second, not wearing it during sexual intercourse would lead to death. Today, most of these things have become normative themes in public discourse on sexuality and condoms with regard to HIV/AIDS. But, Ongala was, for the first time, “converting sex ... from a physical activity into a subject of discourse in African cultures” (Illife 2006: 87). Gender-based problems related to the unavailability of female condoms and the ambiguity and dilemma involved in whether use a condom or not are addressed in the second and third scenarios as shown in their song texts below.

### Second scenario

Original Kiswahili Version	English translation
<i>Mwimbaji wa kwanza:</i>	First Singer:
<i>Ee bwana eeh, sasa kuna timu gani hiyo inavaa soksi?</i>	Which team puts on the socks?
<i>Mwimbaji wa Pili:</i>	Second Singer:
<i>Timu baba</i>	Father's team [or male's team].
<i>Mwimbaji wa kwanza:</i>	First Singer:
<i>Ah, inacheza na timu gani?</i>	Which team does it play against?
<i>Mwimbaji wa Pili:</i>	Second Singer:
<i>Inacheza na timu mama.</i>	They play with mother's team.
<i>Mwimbaji wa kwanza:</i>	First Singer:
<i>Sasa timu baba inacheza na soksi ...</i>	The father's team plays with socks...
<i>Mwimbaji wa Pili:</i>	Second Singer:
<i>Timu mama inacheza pekupeku.</i>	Mother's team plays barefoot ...
<i>Mwimbaji wa kwanza:</i>	First Singer:
<i>Na uwanja gani wanacheza huo mpira wa pekupeku?</i>	And on which playing ground do they play this barefoot game?
<i>Mwimbaji wa Pili:</i>	Second singer:
<i>Uwanja wa fundi seremala.</i>	On the carpenter's playing ground ...
<i>Unataka kucheza pekupeku?</i>	Do you want to play barefoot?
<i>... Utakufa!</i>	... You will die!

### Third scenario of the second part of the song (after the third *chemka* moment)

Original Kiswahili Version	My English translation
<i>Mwimbaji wa kwanza:</i>	First Singer:
<i>Unajua madhara ya soksi?</i>	Do you know the impacts of [putting on] socks?
<i>Mwimbaji wa Pili:</i>	Second singer:
<i>Hapana!</i>	No!
<i>Mwimbaji wa kwanza:</i>	First Singer:
<i>Ukivaa soksi, huzai! Na mimi nimeoa juzi juzi.</i>	If you put on the socks you won't bear children, and I have just got married.

It is interesting to note that “*Mambo kwa soksi*” was composed as a result of various efforts by arts groups in Tanzania, in response to the government's call for a multi-sectoral approach to combating the HIV/AIDS pandemic after realizing that the pandemic was more than a biomedical problem.



### History and stylistic features of “*Usione soo, sema naye*”

This piece was originally released as a *bongo flava* music video in 2004. *Bongo flava* is also popularly referred to as *muziki wa kizazi kipya* (music of the new generation). *Bongo flava* is a Tanzanian version of hip hop adopted, indigenized, and combined with music traditions of various cultures of Tanzania. As has been the case with the variants of hip hop elsewhere the world over, *bongo flava* is the domain of young people, both male and female. Unlike the conventional view of hip hop as being composed of four elements; namely, graffiti (artistic writing), dj-ing (arrangement of the break beats, extension of the instrumental breaks), mcee-ing (rapping), and b-boying (break-dancing), which hip hop traditionalists considered to be core and true representative of the hip hop traditions (see for example Tricia Rose 1994), “*Usione soo, sema naye*” was modeled on a rap environment which comprises only emcee-ing and dj-ing substitute (sampling). Rappers in the Ishi Video simply execute both simple and elaborate hand and body movements accompanied by several back and forth steps in tune with the tempo of the background (sample) instrumental music.

“*Usione soo, sema naye*”<sup>2</sup> was produced as a *bongo flava* music video in 2004 in a collaboration between the Family Health International (FHI), the Benchmark Production Limited studio and a group of young musicians featuring some of the most celebrated figures in *bongo flava* music in Tanzania at the time. The group featured Solothang, Twisha Mrisho, Pauline Zongo, Mr Paul, Banana Zorro, Rah-P, DA TAZ, Benjamini, and Stara Thomas, to name only a few. The musicians were later known as “Ishi Stars (living stars), a reflection of the second phase of the Ishi Program, which aimed at educating young people on HIV/AIDS prevention.”<sup>3</sup>

“*Usione soo, sema naye*” aimed specifically at *kuvunja ukimya* (breaking the silence) about discussion on sexuality among youth and between parents and their children. This was a direct response to the call of the Tanzania’s Third Phase President, Benjamini Mkapa, which encouraged Tanzanians “*kuvunja ukimya*” (to break the silence). This presidential statement of *kuvunja ukimya* appears on the preface of both the Swahili and English versions of the National HIV/AIDS Policy of Tanzania of 2001 bearing the signature of the president himself. It states:

We must break the silence on HIV/AIDS. We must eschew inhibiting taboos and promote open discussion in our families, in village communities and in our workplaces on how to protect others and ourselves. We must seriously and openly discuss the social, cultural and economic environments that fuel the spread of HIV infection, and the challenges we face in preventing transmission through sexual relations ... (2001: x)

<sup>2</sup> “*Usione soo, sema naye*” was originally available in VHS format, but now can be accessed at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lwgfYjpDRis>.

<sup>3</sup> In fact, the use of the young “stars” *bongo flava* musicians who produced “*Usione soo, sema naye*” was possibly modelled on “We Are the World” by Michael Jackson and Lionel Richie (1985), which aimed at supporting drought and famine stricken African countries, especially Ethiopia, and brought together some of the top popular musicians in North America at the time.

Some of the central issues underpinned by the slogan of *kuvunja ukimya* permeate the song: frankness and boldness in discussing safer sex, abstinence, faithfulness, and or use of condoms. The following are selected verses of “*Usione soo, sema naye*”. Each verse is flanked by the name of the singer except for the chorus, which is collectively picked up.

Original Kiswahili Version

Benjamini:

*Yammaa, usione soo sema naye.*

*Ishi time.*

Mr Paul:

*(Akirap) Usione soo sema naye, subiri wewe na Yule umpendae. Tumia kondomu ukikutana naye. Kavukavu usidiriki, bora uachane naye.*

*Twisha Mrisho:*

*(akiimba) Hakuna kitu kizuri kama uaminifu Kwenye maisha yako.*

*Usiogo kusema Kusubiri, uaminifu, au Kondomu*

*KIBWAGIZO:*

*Usione soo sema naye, kuhusu kusubiri, Kuwa mwaminifu au kutumia kondom x2*

*RAH-P:*

*(akizungumza) Sema naye*

Mr Paul:

*(Akiimba) Washikaji tutambue sukari Imeingia shubiri,*

*Uwazi tuweke mbele*

*Banana Zorro:*

*(Akiimba) tuongee kuhusu subira*

*Mr Paul: washikaji tusione soo*

*Banana Zorro:*

*Tuongee kuhusu kinga*

*RAH-P:*

*(Akiimba na kurap) Naam usione soo sema naye,*

*Anayekupenda kuwa wazi, sema naye,*

*Kama hataki sema achana naye.*

*Kuwa mwaminifu ili uepuke balaa.*

*Wengi wamekuja na wengine wamekwenda,*

*Tuliobaki kazi kwetu kujiepusha,*

*Kondomu, subira, uaminifu*

*Usisingizie wako udhaifu.*

English translation

Benjamini:

Guys, don't feel shy, talk to your partner. It is Ishi time.

Mr Paul:

*(rapping) Don't feel shy. Talk to your partner. Wait, you and the one you love. Use condom when you meet [or make love with] your partner. Never meet your partner dry [without condom]. It is better to break up.*

*Twisha Mrisho:*

*(singing) There is nothing more important in life than being faithful.*

*Don't be afraid to say wait, be faithful or [use] condom!*

*CHORUS:*

*Don't feel shy, talk to your partner about waiting, being faithful, or use condom (x2)*

*Pauline Zongo:*

*(Speaking) Talk to your partner.*

Mr Paul:

*(singing) Hi guys, the “sugar” has become bitter*

*Let's put forward transparency. Don't feel shy!*

*Banana Zorro:*

*(singing): Let's talk about waiting ...*

*Friends Don't feel shy!*

*Banana Zorro:*

*Let's talk about protection!!*

*RAH-P:*

*(Singing and rapping) Yes, don't feel shy to talk to your partner*

*To the one who loves you be transparent, and talk to him/her.*

*If he/she doesn't like to talk then just stay away. Be faithful, so as to avoid the catastrophe.*

*Many have come and many other have gone.*

*For us remaining behind let's protect ourselves.*

*Condom, abstinence, faithfulness,*

*Don't use your weakness as an excuse!*



Original Kiswahili Version	English translation
Benjamini:	Benjamini:
<i>(Akirap) Janga hili ni letu sote</i>	(rapping) This pandemic is attacking all of us.
<i>Tunafanyaje tulitokomeze?</i>	What do we do to get rid of it?
<i>Kama unashindwa kutumia kinga</i>	If you cannot use protective gear,
<i>Ebu subiri kijana wewe.</i>	Then wait young man.
KIBWAGIZO	CHORUS
Pauline Zongo:	Pauline Zongo:
<i>(Akiimba) Siku zinavyokwenda mambo</i>	(Singing) The more days pass by the more
<i>yanaharibika,</i>	things get even worse,
<i>Vijana tunaangamia na gonjwa hilo hatari.</i>	We young people are perishing from that
	dangerous disease.
<i>Ukimwi unaua tumia kinga au kuwa mwaminifu.</i>	AIDS kills. Use protective gear or be faithful!
KIBWAGIZO	CHORUS
<i>Wote: ISHI (neni la mwisho linalotamkwa kwa</i>	All: ISHI - LIVE (a final emphasized spoken
<i>msisitizo)</i>	phrase)

Airplay of the song, which became another household phrase among not only young people, but also adults, was short-lived following its ban by the government three months after its release. This raises a question. Why, after the introduction in 2001 of the National HIV/AIDS Policy that forcefully called for an open discussion on HIV/AIDS in order to break the silence, did the government through its agencies decide to revert to its previous stance against open expression about the disease? Why prohibit the performance of “*Usione soo, sema naye*” fifteen years after the ban of “*Mambo kwa soksi*”? It is important to address this question from a much broader perspective that considers the context of its local social, cultural and political basis and the context of the problems associated with the contestations in the interpretation of musical meaning and attitudes of a section of people in society towards certain musical styles employed in the production of health knowledge about HIV/AIDS. What follows is a description of factors that account for the bans 15 years apart.

### **Music and regulatory mechanisms: sociocultural/political basis for banning**

The state's move to use its agencies to exercise surveillance over expressive arts is not uncommon in Tanzania; it predates the HIV/AIDS era.<sup>4</sup> It illustrates social, political and cultural history deeply rooted in the experience of Tanzanians during the post-independence era between the 1960s and 1990s, especially in regards to the relationship between the state and the arts. Government surveillance over the expressive arts echoes what Donna Buchannan (1995: 381) in regard to Bulgaria refers to as “the establishment of a hegemonic cultural administrative network”. According to Buchannan, through a hegemonic cultural administrative network which comprises different state agencies the government aims at setting standards by which cultural forms are not only aesthetically evaluated, but also evaluated for socially and politically acceptable content. Let me

<sup>4</sup> For more details about this subject in Tanzania read, Songoyi (1989) and Askew (2002).

contextualize this discussion of the government's hegemonic mechanism within the political and cultural contexts in Tanzania.

Politically, in the early 1960s, the newly emerging independent government abolished the multiparty system inherited from the pre-independence era (reintroduced thirty years later in the early 1990s). Although the abolition of the multiparty system in Tanzania, instigated by Julius Nyerere, the late first president of the nation of Tanzania, was intended to see a strong nation built on the basis of unity, respect, and equality of all human kind as Nyerere himself (1966), some politicians, and some scholars have claimed (see Kweka 1995); this kind of political system denied the people their right to self-expression, freedom of association, and freedom of the press (Martin 1974).

As Issa Shivji (2006: 18) tells us, even the very idea of going one-party was undemocratic as there was no consultation of the public and no public debate regarding the matter. It is important, however, to make it clear that the infringement by the rule of law of people's right to freedom of expression, freedom of association, and freedom of the press did not begin with the new independent Tanzania's government. Rather, as Robert Martin (1974) reports, it began with the colonial government. The main difference in terms of the motives behind the repression of people's freedom in the two types of governments was that, during the colonial period, violation of freedom was intended to serve the interest of colonialists while during independence, the aim was to serve the interest of the newly independent government "on behalf of the people". On another level, there were other reasons for the abolition and the resurrection of the multiparty system in Tanzania beyond than those given above. It must be looked at against the backdrop of Tanzania's adoption in 1960s of the Eastern Europe model of socialism and the fall of this political system in 1990s following the disintegration of the Soviet Union during the same period. The fact that socialism was in favor of a single party system, which is dictatorial so to say, should not be overstated here.

Culturally, the new independent government set out to consolidate the use of music and other cultural practices in order to enhance and strengthen the quest for national identity and national unity, as well as create a healthy nation. Thus, the establishment in 1962 of the ministry responsible for the development of culture and youth activities was intended to ensure that all the arts were "exploited to reach higher ideals and indeed a means of educating the masses" (Nyerere 1966: 18) to achieve such goals. As a result, all the arts were supposed to serve as the mouthpiece of the policies of the independent nation. Conversely, acting contrary to that purpose, and being critical of the government, would be considered betrayal and a hindrance to the development of the nation. The detention by the government of the traditional musician Ng'wana Mbagule, popularly known as Kalikali, in 1965 for criticizing the government on its ineffective agricultural policy, presents an excellent example of how speaking against power can have grave consequences (see Songoyi 1989). Following this trend, compulsory censorship and self-censorship of the arts has been a readily visible phenomenon in a country in which for decades the state seizes control of music and of the arts in general (Askew 2002, Kirkegaard 2004).

Thus, although this measure contradicts the ruling government's goal of using the arts "as a means of educating the masses" on issues that contribute to a healthy nation; as stated earlier, the banning of "*Mambo kwa soksi*" and "*Usione soo, sema naye*" effected decades later was not a new phenomenon in Tanzania. In fact, the two songs were intended to buttress the government's strategies of combating the HIV/AIDS pandemic in the country, rather than challenge the status quo on the political-state related agenda. I argue that this constitutes one of the major reasons for musical censorship in developing countries. The failure of the Tanzanian government to adhere to its own decision about "breaking the silence" with regard to discussing effective methods of combating the HIV/AIDS pandemic is indeed an attempt by the state to appropriate for its own purposes "the local idioms of morality" (Herzfeld 1997: 7). This process of appropriating the local idioms of morality is part of the properties of what Michael Herzfeld (1997) refers to as "cultural intimacy." Herzfeld defines the concept of cultural intimacy, with reference to Greece, as "the recognition of those aspects of a cultural identity that are considered *a source of external embarrassment* but that nevertheless provide insiders with their assurance of common sociality, the familiarity with the bases of power that may, at one moment, assure the disenfranchised degree of creative irreverence, and at the next moment reinforce the effective of intimidation" (1997: 3 emphasis mine). Thus, the banning of the two musical pieces was indeed, "a source of embarrassment" both for musicians whose works had been banished and also for the government itself and other stakeholders engaged in the fight against the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the country.

On the other hand, culturally, the banning of "*Mambo kwa soksi*" (which was considered to be too harsh in its frankness) was not completely unexpected. For one, although it is true that in many African societies music and dance, through highly organised ritual contexts, have operated as potential carriers of knowledge pertaining to other culturally sensitive issues including death, health and sexuality because of their capacity to provide a safe arena for communicating information that could be impossible to express in other spheres (see for example Merriam 1964, Nketia 1974, Barz 2006, Ntarangwi 2009, see also McNeill and James 2012: 198 among the Venda); it is also a truism that in the context of HIV/AIDS in many African countries public discourse of sexual practices, let alone condom use, was and still is considered unsuitable and taboo. Instead, as Kwesi Yankah (2001: 55, see also Obeng 2012) reminds us, the use of existing indigenous African self regulatory mechanisms such as "disguised text" or "indirection" on addressing such culturally and politically delicate unspeakable issues was and still is considered as part of appropriate and acceptable aesthetics of indigenous communication. Therefore, the attempt by "*Mambo kwa soksi*" to launch a public discourse about the use of condoms was considered to have overstepped acceptable practices of the indigenous cultures of Tanzania. This constitutes the reason of its ban on government-controlled broadcasting media.

At the time "*Mambo kwa soksi*" was prohibited on state-controlled broadcasting media, Tanzania was experiencing the monopoly of state-owned broadcasting houses

and Radio Tanzania was the only state-owned broadcasting house in Mainland Tanzania under the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. At the same time, Radio Tanzania was under close supervision of the caretaker committee of the ruling party Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) responsible for the mass media in the country. Radio Tanzania was multi-tasked by the government and the ruling party to exercise censorship of cultural productions prior to their broadcast and recording to ensure that first, they offered appropriate education that corresponded with the declared policy of creating a unified nation of Tanzania through socialism (Bender 1991); and second, that they abide by acceptable practices and ideals of the indigenous cultures of Tanzania (Nkamba n.d., Herman 1979). Private-owned FM radio stations came much later following the introduction in the mid-1990s of the free market economy policies in the country. The censorship committee at the then Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (now Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation) outlined the duty it performed under the censorship principles section number 7:

The music censorship committee has the duty to study all compositions of different forms of art that are brought by musicians when asking to record in our studios; to advise wherever there is a need to do so, and to meet with musicians from the concerned band wherever possible. At the same time, the committee has the power to reject any compositions if proved do not comply with the political and cultural values of the nation (S. Herman, 1979; translation from Kiswahili by author).

On conditions that had been expressed by the censorship committee, it is apparent that the musicians could not shield themselves from this surveillance system. In other words, by contravening censorship regulations that were set up by the government, Ongala was indeed “engage[ing] power directly, not evasively” in Martin Stokes’ interpretation of Herzfeld’s notion of intimacy (Stokes 2010: 33); and the consequences he encountered were a perfect demonstration of his “familiarity with the bases of power” (Herzfeld 1997: 3). It is important here to look, albeit briefly, at Stokes’ treatment of the concept of “cultural intimacy” from his book, *The Republic of Love: Cultural Intimacy and Turkish Popular Music* (2010), which has attracted considerable scholarly attention.

In his analysis of Elif Safak’s lamentation of “the absence of love” in the mundane life of the Turkish people, the absence of love in Turkey is demonstrated by ideological mechanisms of violence and coercion executed in the name of love and affection (Stokes 2010: 33). This clearly signals the diminution of love between the state and its citizens: “To observe at the most general level that love is in crisis in Turkey is to note a deterioration of the republic’s fundamental social contract, to hint at the political violence and authoritarianism that the culture of love has licensed ...” (Stokes 2010: 33). It is no wonder that Stokes notes that, “The failure of Turks to live up to their own ideals about love [has] truly [amounted into] a source of embarrassment ...” (Stokes 2010: 33). In similar manner, “the absence of love” in the context of the current discussion is demonstrated by the government of Tanzania’s exercise of its surveillance and power in control over musical meaning by means of its hegemonic administrative network. I now turn to discussion of how this research shows that, to a great extent, political and

cultural factors that shaped the content and sometimes even the form of the artistic productions remain forceful to date.

Earlier I mentioned how Yankah (2001) underscored the importance of the use of “hidden transcript” by the dominated, when addressing delicate issues in African societies. However, Yankah is quick to caution us that, such cryptic expressions may not always go undetected, and often times those found involved in such clandestine texts are banned from public media or their authors find themselves being victimized in numerous ways. The case of such popular musicians as Mkandawire of Malawi and his song about the bird who would not be stopped to sing about truth (Yankah 2001: 55); Thomas Mapfumo’s critical song “*Ngoma yarira*” (disaster, and rise up), on post-independence Zimbabwe; and in Tanzania, Ongala and his “*Kilio cha samaki*” (Tears of the fish), and many other examples, attest to lack of absolute communicative immunity. It is my opinion, therefore, that despite use of cryptic statements in the composition as an attempt to comply with the indigenous regulatory mechanism, “*Mambo kwa soksi*” as well as “*Usione soo, sema naye*” suffered from the lack of a complete communicative immunity. Coupled with the religious sentiments raised against the two songs, it was not completely unexpected that the public broadcasting of the two songs was stopped. It is the religious factor to which I now turn.

### **“Technologies of the self” and “confessional technologies”—the role of religion**

From the onset of HIV/AIDS in the early 1980s, the church’s ideological position considered this pandemic as a divine punishment. Consequently, Christian musical performances ever since approach the pandemic as a product of immorality, hence a punishment by God (see especially, Mbilinyi and Kaihula 2000; Mutembei 2001, on Tanzanian experience, and Barz 2006, on Ugandan experience). Therefore, it is advised to receive Jesus Christ as the only solution. Popular gospel songs which partially touch upon HIV/AIDS, such as “*Lamgambo Likilia*” (“When the trumpet resounds” by Cosmas Chidumule), “*Nipishe nipite*” (“Let Me Pass” by Rose Muhando), and those of which HIV/AIDS is the main focus, such as “*Yesu ni jibu*” (“Jesus is the Answer” by Kinondoni Revival Choir), *UKIMWI*, (“AIDS” by Flora Mbasha), “*Ukimwi ni gaidi*” (“AIDS is Terror” by Buza Lutheran Evangelist Choir), to name only the selected, have taken this direction. This moralistic perspective of Christian singers on the genesis and cure of the HIV/AIDS resulted mainly from the general Christian perspective that the sufferers are being punished by God and viewing the pandemic as punishment for sin. In Bukoba, for example, through the local newspapers owned by the Lutheran and the Roman Catholic Churches, poems about HIV/AIDS operated to highlight this perspective (Mutembei 2001: 60). As such, abstinence, marital faithfulness, and healing prayers have been considered by the church in Africa and beyond as remedies that are consistent with the scriptures (Becker and Geissler 2009; Dilger 2009).

However, while abstinence and faithfulness seem to be shared inter-denominationally, healing prayers for HIV/AIDS is considered an ideology embraced only by churches identifying themselves with the ideology of salvation, known as

Pentecostal (Becker and Geissler 2009; Dilger 2009; van Dijk 2009); this includes born-again adherents subscribing to the same ideology considered to be part of Evangelicals and Charismatics. Although anti-condom sentiments as a means of combating the transmission and spread of HIV/AIDS are shared by various religious denominations in both Islamic and Christian religions, it is the Roman Catholic and the Islamic *Ulamaa* are thought to have had an upper hand in the banning of the two songs. This is apparently because of their strong position in Tanzanian politics and their open and strong opposition to use of condoms (see Illife 2006; Hilhorst 2009, read also Bakwata's "Islam and AIDS, AIDS Policy Guide" 2007 and Bishop Mayala 2006).

Below I briefly illustrate some of the other notable issues that have shaped this kind of thinking regarding the strong position of the two religious institutions against anti-AIDS strategies. Although my focus is more on the experiences with the Roman Catholic Church, those from other Christian denominations will also be considered. In Dar es Salaam in 2008 a Roman Catholic-linked faith-based NGO, Human Life International (HLI), led a bold campaign to oppose condom use which illustrates the unwavering position of the Catholic Church. Human Life International erected an anti-condom billboard near a main road in Dar es Salaam portraying a grinning human skeleton on a red background with the message that read, "faithful condom user," thus sending a strong message that, "condom use could lead to death" (*The Citizen* 2008: 1–2). The erection of this anti-condom billboard with such a message, as *The Citizen* newspaper suggested, had "caused ripples in public health circles, with the government said to be contemplating on how to deal with HLI, whose local affiliate, HLI Tanzania, erected" it (*The Citizen* 2008: 1–2).

Responding to accusations from different stakeholders such as the Tanzania Commission for AIDS (TACAIDS), the United Nations Development Programme UNDP, United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), Family Health International (FHI), Population Services International (PSI), and several other NGOs involved in the fight against the scourge, the then Dar es Salaam Auxiliary Roman Catholic Church Bishop Methodius Kilaini was of the view that although HLI was an independent non-profit organization that practiced within its rights to express its own ideas concerning the matter, the organization's ideas were in line with the Catholic Church's position that "the only way to effectively fight HIV/AIDS was through abstinence and faithfulness" said Bishop Kilaini (*The Citizen* 2008). This is not the first time Bishop Kilaini expressed the official position of the Roman Catholic Church in Tanzania against the use of condoms. Bishop Kilaini was quoted in 2005 as saying that "condoms were not the answer to the HIV/AIDS scourge" because "condoms are used only for fornication, which is going against God's commandments" (Ntarangwi 2009: 96 as quoted from *The East African* 2005). Bishop Kilaini was reiterating the official declaration of the Tanzanian Catholic Church it made in 1987 during the Tanzania Episcopal Conference concerning the HIV/AIDS pandemic in general and the methods (labeled as "moral prevention against HIV/AIDS") of combating it. The declaration suggested two strategies (labeled as "two invitations from God"): "a call to a



life of chastity”; and, “an appeal to care for, respect and value human life in all medical activities” (Bishop Mayala 2006: 17). While the first “God’s invitation” advocated for a life devoid of “all adulterous and promiscuous behavior”, the second, called for an assurance of safety in the medical realm. The declaration highlighted that the use of condoms and abortions on HIV/AIDS victims were considered morally unacceptable (Bishop Mayala 2006: 17–18).

The official position of the Roman Church regarding the use of condoms is clearly reflected in the expressive arts patronized by the Catholic Church. In Bukoba, Tanzania, for example, the Roman Catholic Diocese under the programme known as ‘Catholic Church against AIDS’ has employed non-Christian dance music (*muziki wa dansi*) and other dramatic arts as some of its major means of fighting this pandemic through its musical group known as KAKAU Band. While largely adopting biomedical discourses, the expressive arts of KAKAU Band adhere to the ideological position of the Church. Since its establishment sixteen years ago, KAKAU Band has composed a number of songs about HIV/AIDS, six of which are very popular in Kagera region and beyond. These songs include “*Garuka*” (Come back); “*Omwana womwuru*” (Son of the servant); “*Naita*” (I call); “*Ensi egi olagimanya*” (Beware of this world) and “*Timpya tinsorora*” (Nothing will go wrong). All six musical compositions capitalize on the discourse of morality. Additionally, except for the third verse of “*Omwana womwuru*”, which mentions condoms briefly, the remaining verses of all six compositions are mute about this subject. This was also the case on the KAKAU Band’s performance on the World HIV/AIDS Day on December 1, 2008 in Bukoba District. The Band performed “*Timpya tinsorora*” and “*Naita*” and both capitalized on the discourse of morality. The discussion on condom use was kept at bay. Examples of song texts of KAKAU Band follow.

### Verse 3 of “*Omwana Womwuru*”: lead singer

Original Kiswahili Version	My English translation
<i>Dawa si nyingine sikilizeni, fuateni maadili ya Mungu</i>	Listen, there is no other remedy, Obey God’s teachings
<i>Tiini amri zake kikamilifu</i>	Obey carefully His commandments
<i>Dawa ndio hiyo vinginevyo tutakwisha</i>	That is the only medicine, otherwise we will perish
<i>Hakika kondomu siyo dawa mjihadhari na tamaa za kimwili</i>	Certainly condom is not a medicine, watch out, stay away from licentiousness
<i>Muache uhuni tena mjipende, msife kabla ya wakati</i>	Stay away from immorality; take care of yourself, lest you die prematurely
<i>Ninatubu mbele ya Mungu</i>	I confess before God
<i>Mungu nisamehe na hata wenzangu</i>	God forgive me and my friends
<i>Ili wajirudi, tukupende daima</i>	So that they change, and love you for ever

Explaining the reasons for not promoting condom use in their performances Andrew Kagya, Director of KAKAU Band had the following remarks:

For us KAKAU, the discussion on condom is not a priority. As a Catholic organization, we have not put effort to discuss it or encouraging people to use them. Absolutely No! But what

we do is giving people the opportunity to discuss questions at hand, and reach solutions that they think appropriately protect them from AIDS. We don't want to influence results. When it happens that the question of condom is raised during the discussion our work is to ensure that solutions come from them. Additionally, always during our activities we have an expert dealing with AIDS-related issues accompanying us. He/she talks to them about various ways considered appropriate in accordance with the health profession. But we as a Church cannot go there and encourage people to use condoms (A. Kagya pers. comm. 30 November 2008).

The above attitude is also found in Uganda and Kenya. In Uganda, religious communities are not only key players in determining the expressive responses associated with the disease in various spheres of daily Ugandan culture, they also "often guide a variety of direct cultural interventions specific to AIDS" to the extent that they "mix morals and safety" (Barz 2006: 152). According to Barz (2006: 151–152), such contradictory strategies resulted in "contradictory responses" and a "dilemma" such that President Yoweri Museveni had to publicly censure the local African religious institutions for playing a key role in the spread of AIDS in Uganda. In Kenya, likewise, the Catholic Church is reported to consolidate its position against the use of condom as a means of fighting against HIV/AIDS infections in favour of abstinence and traditional African practices that rewarded virgin-brides (Ntarangwi 2009: 96). Deliberating on the appropriate remedy for AIDS in Kenya in their letter titled "The Challenges of AIDS in Kenya" (1987: 11), the Catholic Bishops of Kenya questioned some western governments for advocating "the liberal use of condoms" whose efficacy was questionable and implicitly encouraging promiscuous living. They suggested instead "to go to the source of morality", that is, employing [African] attitude towards human relationships and how sexuality fits into that (the Catholic Bishops of Kenya 1987: 11).

As noted earlier, the anti-condom expressions as means of fighting the transmission and spread of HIV/AIDS are not only confined to the Catholic Church in Tanzania. Other Christian denominations and organizations have expressed similar views. For example, the Lutheran Church has, through the expressive arts, demonstrated its position and strategies against the pandemic by focusing on other themes. During a grand choir competition that focused on religion and HIV/AIDS held on February 28, 2009 at the Mbezi Beach Lutheran Church, in Kinondoni Municipality, which I attended, themes included the etiology and symptoms of HIV/AIDS, biomedical and religious preventative measures, coping mechanisms, openness about HIV/AIDS, voluntary testing, and care and support for those living with HIV/AIDS, faithfulness, sticking to one faithful partner, addressing spiritual stigma in the church towards people living with HIV/AIDS, and the prevention of mother to child transmission (PMTCT).

In an interview the day after the competition with Reverend Chediël Sendoro, Senior Pastor of Msasani Lutheran Church in Dar es Salaam and secretary to the Music Committee of the Eastern Diocese of the Lutheran Church of Tanzania, he noted that the Diocese had initiated the music competitions amongst the churches in order to address two important issues, among others: "first to raise awareness both among our Church leaders and Church members about the problem of stigma towards those affected by

the epidemic; and second, to create awareness about the problem of mother-to-child transmission of HIV. The Church realized that the view that AIDS was affecting only those outside the church was problematic because in reality the scourge was already affecting the church in numerous ways". Similar to KAKAU Band, the perceptions of the Lutheran Choirs about HIV/AIDS are informed by hybrid notions of disease and affliction based on spiritual-religious ideology and biomedical knowledge.

Similarly, guided by the ideology of "rupture", Pentecostal believers in Tanzania do not consider condom use as an appropriate strategy to mitigate the impact of HIV/AIDS. Instead they put emphasis on repentance and personal transformation of life. The notion of personal transformation among born-again people is associated with an emphasis on "instant experience", that is, instant salvation and instant healing. By the blood and name of Jesus Christ, born-again people are taught they are not only connected to the heavenly family, but they are also empowered and secured by the heavenly powers. They can cast out demons and rebuke diseases from the sick. During the early days of the breakout of HIV/AIDS in Tanzania, some born again Christians believed that newly born again Christians had nothing to fear about the pandemic even if in the past they did not observe abstinence, for as they were "in Christ" they had become a new "Creation" in reference to 2 Corinthians: 5: 17. That is, even their diseases, including HIV/AIDS, had been washed away by the blood of Jesus Christ.

This belief was demonstrated through preaching and some gospel songs. A case in point is the song "*La Mgambo likilia*" (When an oracle sounds) by Cosmas Chidumule, a popular born-again gospel music star in Tanzania. Spoken texts in the song remark that he (Chidumule) is no longer afraid of testing for HIV/AIDS, unlike non born-again people, because his blood has been washed by the blood of Jesus Christ. He calls for other people to follow him, to give their lives to Jesus.

### **"La mgambo likilia"**

Original Kiswahili Version

*Ukiniona bwege hiyo ni juu yako*

*Mbinguni ninakwenda*

*Sababu nina Yesu*

*Mukishavuta bangi mwajiona wajanja*

*TB yawangoja na ukimwi pembeni*

*Wewe hapo tukikuambia ukapimwe damu*

*Unaanza kujiuliza maswali ishirini ishirini. Si ndiyo?*

*Kama unabisha twende leo ukapimwe damu*

*Mimi sina wasiwasi, my blood is clean*

*Yesu amekwisha safisha mambo yote*

*Nacheka kwa sababu nina Yesu*

My English Translation

If you see me a worthless person it is up to you

Certainly to heaven I am going

Because I have Jesus

When You smoke marijuana you consider

yourself very craft

TB (Tuberculosis) is waiting for you, and HIV/

AIDS is on the side [waiting for you] ...

When we ask you to go for [HIV/AIDS] blood test

You start asking yourself many questions. Isn't that true?

If you disagree with what I am saying then let's

go today to have an HIV/AIDS blood test.

As for me I am not afraid. My blood is clean!

Jesus has cleaned up everything in me.

I am laughing because I have Jesus.

Such a perspective on automatic and immediate healing of the HIV positive status to negative after one becomes born again has currently changed somewhat. This may be because there are many people who are said to be born again but living positively with HIV/AIDS in the church today. Some of them have already died standing firm with their faith. There are reports of people who have not been healed of their seropositive status after they were prayed for, but there are also reports and testimonies about people whose HIV positive status changed to negative after they were prayed for. Hansjorg Dilger's (2009) study on neo-Pentecostalism in Dar es Salaam provides a remarkable example.

If we go back, the public slapping of the former-president of Tanzania, Alhaji Ali Hassan Mwinyi, attests to Islamic Religion's strong opposition to condom use. This is clearly reiterated in the official documents of Islamic religion designed to address the HIV/AIDS pandemic in accordance with the principles of the faith. In his Preface to the AIDS Policy Guide for the BAKWATA (The Muslim Council of Tanzania), the then Mufti of Tanzania, Sheikh Issa Bin Shaaban Simba, notes that the BAKWATA HIV/AIDS Policy commits itself "to take the responsibility to provide appropriate advice to the Muslim believers and to the community at large" (2007: iv) by providing a rational approach to the fight against HIV/AIDS according to the Muslim principles (2007: 4), rather than opting for the use of condom as one of the preventative measures. The policy states "wisdom based on both medical advice and Islamic principles" will be employed to handle cases related to the married couple who is HIV/AIDS positive (2007: 7). This position is also reflected in the "Guide to Reproductive Health and Gender to the Prevention of HIV and AIDS Through Islamic Perspective", n.d.).

The strong stance of religious institutions against condom use stems from their commitment to restoring order in the face of confusion. Their role is to preach and oversee behavioral change among the congregations (Becker and Geissler 2009: 5). Drawing on the Tanzanian experience it can be argued that the position of religious institutions not to promote condom use as a means of combating HIV/AIDS is in line with the declared position of the Third National Multisectoral Strategic Framework for HIV/AIDS 2013/14- 2017/18, which categorically assigns the faith-based organizations (FBOs) "to reach out with the right messages, in line with their moral and ethical commitment". The Third National Multisectoral Strategic Framework for HIV/AIDS 2013/14- 2017/18 slightly softens its position regarding its directives and attitudes to religious institutions on what kind of preventative measures should be adopted in combating the scourge. This development is in stark contrast with the previous year's National Multisectoral Strategic Frameworks in which religious organizations are cited as not cooperative enough in the fight against the HIV and AIDS because of their "disabling" values, including "fairly strong views on commercial sex activities, condom promotion and other prevention activities" (subsection 6.15.6, 2008-2012 National Multisectoral Strategic Framework for HIV/AIDS, p.105).

Furthermore, the imposition of religiously motivated self-restraint in the fight against the HIV/AIDS pandemic is nothing but what Michael Foucault referred to as "technologies of the self". These are forms of discipline, self examination of conscience,

and bodily practices employed by individuals to shape themselves in conformity with prevailing social and cultural codes. According to Foucault, technologies of the self are practices that “permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thought, and conduct, and way of being” aimed at transforming the self towards “happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection or immortality” (1998: 18). The use of technologies of the self by religious institutions as a means of combating HIV/AIDS is, in a way, antithetical to practices that Vinh-Kim Nguyen labels as “confessional technologies” (2010 after Hunt 1997).

According to Nguyen (2010: 59), confessional technologies—the testimonials and practices of disclosure—are powerful techniques capable of transforming individuals and others living with HIV/AIDS into active selves in not only giving a face to the epidemic but also in fostering acceptance in society. Confessional technologies are employed to get “individuals to talk about themselves and to get others to talk about themselves” in the context of their illness and personal experiences related to HIV/AIDS (Nguyen 2010: 8). The confessional technologies, in this sense, operate in the same manner. As shown earlier, “*kuvunja ukimya*” aimed at encouraging transparency and boldness in discussing matters related to the etiology of and potential strategies against the HIV/AIDS epidemic, including the use of condoms.<sup>5</sup> “*Mambo kwa soksi*” and “*Usione soo, sema naye*” served as a form of confessional technologies aimed at getting people to talk openly about the woes of the HIV/AIDS and ways of combating it. Thus, their ban for religiously motivated reasons presents us with a conundrum—that of the clash of technologies—each considered effective on its own terms to combat the same crisis. Having looked at the internal sociopolitical forces that surrounded the banning of the two banned musical pieces, let us now turn to problems associated with contradicting interpretations.

### **The interpretational crisis**

Misunderstandings associated with issues of musical meaning and interpretations constitute yet another central factor in the ban of the two musical pieces. As we are aware, meaning does not reside in the arts, but people make meanings. As such, meaning is assigned by various interpreters in contact with a particular performance, and thus, result in multiple meanings as well as discord and contestation in society (Rice 2001: 34). I use the phrase “interpretational crisis” to mean contestations of interpretations arising among individuals who, because of different determinants - including interpreters’ age and social positions, context, social and historical spaces, and multifaceted nature of music—assign multiple meanings to the same work of art. Thomas Turino (1999) and Timothy Rice (2001), define the multifaceted nature of music as the constitution of music by numerous musical elements such as melody, rhythm, timbre, loudness, dynamics and texture whose simultaneous occurrences may constitute multiple and

<sup>5</sup> Similar efforts by artists could be cited in other parts of Africa (see for example McNeil 2014, an edited volume by Barz and Cohen 2011, Barz and Cohen 2008; Van Buren 2006; Barz 2006).

shifting meanings. However, my analysis of the current discussion does not focus on these musical elements. Instead, in the case of the two musical pieces in question, components such as musical style and geosocial and cultural origin of the musical style, lyrics of the songs, and some linguistic tools are additional determinants that have, at varying degrees, played an important role in creating multiple meanings as well as discord and contestation in society.

### ***Muziki wa dansi* as a mark of hooliganism**

Over the years, secular popular music and musicians have occupied a complex and ambiguous position in Tanzania. Popular music genres of different sorts, including *muziki wa dansi* and *muziki wa kizazi kipya*, have been associated with *uhuni* (hooliganism), and thus accorded low status. As a result, musicians who perform these styles have been held in low esteem because they have been identified as *wahuni* (hooligans). The dominance and popularity of *muziki wa dansi* in Dar es Salaam and other major cities in Tanzania and other neighbouring countries in Eastern Africa is uncontested. It is also very well known that because of its wide popularity *muziki wa dansi* was employed as a strategy to serve as a cover to political organizations during the struggle for independence in Tanganyika and Zanzibar (Askew 2002: 93-94; see also Perullo 2011: 55). It is similarly true that even during the post independence era *muziki wa dansi* continued to serve as one of the powerful cultural arenas through which the government propagated its policies. That, however, does not negate the fact that because of its foreignness and its association with night clubs hence supposedly reflecting the values of those “clubs”, including personalized sexuality, *muziki wa dansi* was viewed with suspicion (Perullo 2011: 55, Assen 2011: 33). As Alex Perullo (2011: 55) puts it: “Even though [*muziki wa*] *dansi* and taarab musicians assisted in the independence effort by drawing audiences to hear nationalist speeches and attend meetings, many people considered these genres of music foreign, and therefore potentially not acceptable in post independence reconstruction.”

Perullo’s insight into some people’s (including some politicians) negative attitudes towards *muziki wa dansi* restates similar remarks underscored earlier by Werner Graebner (1989: 243) regarding the complex and ambiguous position of music and musicians in Tanzania: “In Tanzania musicians are commonly considered to be *wahuni*, i.e. vagabonds, drunkards, drug takers, while their music is enjoyed by the same people who call these names.” Musicians themselves are quite aware of this phenomenon, and that tells us why Ongala in his composition, “*Muziki asili yake wapi?*” (Where are the roots of music), eloquently questions this double-standard of the people of Tanzania about the value of music.

As pointed out earlier, *muziki wa dansi* is alleged to have profound effect of sexual arousal. As Kirkegaard (2004: 67) argues in reference to the controversial music of Ongala, “[dance] music is dangerous because of its relation to the body—it can be arousing or calming, but it clearly moves the body in a most profound way. This is often—perhaps mostly for moral reasons—interpreted as leading eroticism and invoking obscenity”. In similar manner Askew (2002: 92) quotes John Iliffe (1979: 392) describing *muziki wa*



*dansi* as “the individualistic ballroom dancing whose personalized sexuality shocked the elderly”. The sharpest explanation regarding the association of *muziki wa dansi* and personalized sexuality that formed the genesis of some people’s negative attitude towards it during the 1940s, and which still persists today, is given by Nils von der Assen:

One of the sensitive issues brought by ballroom dancing was that it involved dancing in male-female pairs. It implied close contact between a man and a woman, with the woman usually wearing relatively short western-inspired dresses (*magauni*). The physical contact between the young dancers, the explicit allusions made through the lyrics and the revealing dresses meant a serious upset to long-standing moral standards regarding gender relations and notions of romantic love” (2011: 33–34).

Similar negative sentiments among parents of the young Christians and Muslims who got involved in this urban musical genre have been noted by Suriano (2011: 397, 399).

Moreover, Ongala’s use of linguistic tools such as satire (*utani*) and exaggeration (*kutia chumvi* or “adding salt”) in combination with euphemism to unveil the *soksi* compounded the crisis. Such linguistic tools usually appear in the form of expression of feelings of excitement, happiness or unhappiness depending on the intended goal. They may appear as faked-crying, expression of agonies, jeering, shout of approval or disapproval, questioning tone, or even laughter. These linguistic tools are employed in normal speech, and richly in songs. In speech, they are used as normal statements while in songs they can appear in a form of normal statements or they can be sung. Although these tools were aimed both at increasing musical pleasure in the song and drawing more of listeners’ attention to the subject matter, some people considered them as a way of arousing and encouraging sexual desire among the listeners. Thus, Ongala’s attempt to use *muziki wa dansi* to launch public talk about safer sex as a way of combating HIV/AIDS was considered suspect.

### ***Muziki wa kizazi kipya (Bongo flava), social decay and generational conflict***

As with *muziki wa dansi*, the genesis in the 1990s of *muziki wa kizazi kipya* (also known as *bongo flava*) in which “*Usione soo, sema naye*” is rendered was considered problematic in the Tanzanian soundscape in the eyes of a larger section of society, especially the older generation. For one, this musical genre was considered a product of foreign influence, thus a form of social decay and disrespect for ‘African’ traditions (Remes 1999; Haas and Gesthethuizen 2000; Perullo 2005, 2007; Ntarangwi 2009:). In view of this, the urban youth involved in this music genre were held in low esteem and *muziki wa kizazi kipya* was condemned as unfit to convincingly communicate “serious social issues” such as HIV/AIDS (Remes 1999; Englert 2003). As a result, the song “*Usione soo, sema naye*” rendered in the style of *muziki wa kizazi kipya* was alleged to contribute in the transmission and increase of HIV/AIDS among young people in the country.

The negative image of youth involved in *muziki wa kizazi kipya* was not uniquely a Tanzanian phenomenon in the Eastern African region. Mwenda Ntarangwi reports similar development among hip hop artists in Kenya in which people often perceived

such “youth as vagabonds, misfits, and lazy persons” (2009: 6) despite the fact that hip hop in Kenya has played an important role in addressing various serious social, cultural, and political issues including breaking the silence surrounding sex and sexuality in an era of HIV/AIDS (2009: 94).

It is important to note that, in spite of the general negative reception of *muziki wa kizazi kipya* by a section of the Tanzanian society during the early days of its inception in the country, this music genre has continued to become increasingly popular both among the youth and young adult alike. Many scholars (for example Remes 1999; Englert 2003; Perullo 2005; 2007; Sanga 2006; and Ntarangwi 2009, to name only the selected) have written about this positive development of hip hop in East Africa, and Tanzania in particular, and have especially questioned the one-sidedness of criticisms levelled against this musical genre.

The new dawn for *muziki wa kizazi kipya* ushered in the late 1990s when this musical genre started to garner popular acceptance by Tanzanian society thanks to the increased number of privately owned FM radio stations and television, which broadcast this music, while a number of popular newspapers, known in Tanzania as *magazeti ya udaku* (“gossip newspapers” as opposed to mainstream newspapers) and journals prominently featured artists of *muziki wa kizazi kipya*. Recognition of it in 2001 by BASATA (the Tanzanian Arts Council) as an official genre within Tanzania’s pop culture and its placement as one of the categories at the first national music awards in 2002 helped catapult the popularity of *muziki wa kizazi kipya* in Tanzania (Englert 2001: 82; 2003: 78). At this time, the Tanzanian society started to regard *muziki wa kizazi kipya* not only as a viable communication vehicle for young people to air their views, but also a potential medium which could be exploited to channel serious and socially, politically, and economically committed information. Various organizations began to employ rap artists to convey information to their targeted audiences as a result of this recognition. Consequently, various artists of *muziki wa kizazi kipya*, with and without financial support from NGOs or government, compose musical pieces that address health issues, especially the HIV/AIDS pandemic. One of the most popular rap numbers on HIV/AIDS to date is “*Starehe*”, a music video composed by Ferooz Athumani.<sup>6</sup> Composition of “*Usione soo, sema naye*” in 2004 was an example of this new progressive dawn. I want to emphasize, however, that despite this positive development of *muziki wa kizazi kipya* during the later years in Tanzania and East Africa in general as shown above, this does not deny the fact that the genesis of this musical genre was not turbulent free.

Cross-generational interpretation compounded the controversy associated with the banning of “*Usione soo, sema naye*”. The view was that the older generation, including politicians and religious leaders, were caught in their tendency to generalize their own perceptions by imposing judgments or interpretations on the younger generation’s artistic work. Herbert Makoye, former member of the Tanzania Communication

<sup>6</sup> It is unfortunate that despite its popularity amongst the majority of Tanzanian people, “*Starehe*” was criticized for “promoting stigma” associated with HIV/AIDS.

Regulatory Authority Content Committee that issued the political statement leading to the ban of “*Usione soo, sema naye*”, explains the interpretational crisis associated with the ban of the song:

People came up with their interpretation of the song saying that the expression, “don’t feel shy, talk to your partner” meant as a sexual encouragement. That is, telling people don’t feel shy making sexual advances because there is condom. Just let’s go on with life and only be cautious ....that is how they said it in the Parliament (H. Makoye pers. comm. 25 April 2009).

The above view is diametrically in conflict with the views of the musicians who were involved in the production of “*Usione soo, sema naye*”: As Banana Zorro, one of the musicians, explained to me during my interview with him:

“... that “word” [musical piece] became very popular. The “word” asked people, “*usione soo kusema naye*” (Don’t feel shy to speak to her/him) implying that don’t feel shy to talk to anybody about AIDS. But after three months, we were told the work was no more. We just heard that the former president [President Benjamin Mkapa] mentioned something about the song...that the song meant we should not feel shy about AIDS.<sup>7</sup> I think he didn’t understand this ...” (B. Zorro pers. comm. 25 May 2009).

Restating the views of Banana Zorro as quoted above about the subject matter, Stara Thomas, a female independent recording musician who also participated in the production of “*Usione soo, sema naye*”, asserted that:

“*Usione Soo* aimed at saving young people from HIV/AIDS. The discovery by the government that young people were the most affected<sup>8</sup> group was at the center of the launching of a youth-led campaign against HIV/AIDS. *Bongo flava* was therefore considered the best way to reach young people because it was the sort of music genre that so much appealed to young people in Tanzania” (S. Thomas pers. comm. 5 May 2009).

When I asked Makoye again about his personal views of the song he said:

I had a different interpretation because even the image that accompanied the TV spot for the *usione soo, sema naye* program stated that: ‘Say whatever you feel. If you mean I don’t like it, it means you don’t like it. And if [the issue is] ‘let’s use condom,’ then let’s use it. In fact, it went further suggesting that, there is no need to feel shy expressing one’s feelings [for or against sex] because the situation is not good [regarding HIV/AIDS]. Be open! It also suggested that, you have all the alternatives [at hand] either to say no, or let’s use protective gear, or to say let’s wait. That is what my interpretation was (H. Makoye pers. comm. 14 May. 2009).

<sup>7</sup> According to the official daily proceedings of the parliament dated November 8, 2004 available online in Kiswahili, the Minister of State in the Prime Minister’s Office Hon. William H. Lukuvi was quoted as saying (and here I paraphrase) the President had recommended replacing the phrase *Usione soo* (Don’t feel shy) with *Uone soo*, that is, “feel shy,” and the minister promised that the government would be thinking of using the president’s “wise words” (emphasis mine) when deliberating on adjusting the *Usione soo* advertisement. The Minister’s statement was a response to an earlier question by one of the Members of the Parliament who wanted to know, among others, steps the government had taken to reduce the impact of the sexualization of *Usione soo, sema naye* TV advertisement and the open use of the word condom.

<sup>8</sup> According to the 2001 National HIV/AIDS Policy, by 1999 youth accounted for an estimated 15% of the total population (about 2 million) infected with HIV.

Sadly, the older generation did not recognize the fact that the lexicon and expressions that young people employ in their discourse on HIV/AIDS could be one of the effective ways in combating the pandemic. Moreover, the older generation ignored the fact that *muziki wa kizazi kipya* was strategically selected as the medium of communication because it was considered the best way to reach young people as it was the music genre that was so much related to young people in Tanzania and beyond. The interpretational crisis demonstrated above not only shows the existing tension between the older and the young generations, but it also points to the existing tension between the state and artists in the country regarding the production of musical meaning (see Songoyi 1989; Askew 2002). Simply put, it demystifies the question of who controls [musical] meaning in society. It specifically, shows how the state, through its agencies, “attempts” to control meaning (Mbembe 1992; Buchannan 1995; Rice 2001). It is no wonder that Stara Thomas could not help but say in dismay that, “Those who did it have power”; implying that those who banned “*Usione soo, sema naye*” do possess immense power. Scholars such as Foucault (1990) and Bourdieu (1990) have invariably viewed such a move as the state’s attempt to perpetuate its hegemony by means of relentlessly reproducing dominant interpretation of social reality as cultural truth.

It should be further noted from the foregoing that, the question of generational conflicts between the young and members of the older generations in African societies is not a recent phenomenon. It can be traced back to before the advent of European missionaries and colonialists in Africa. Musical innovations by young people result from ongoing re-interpretation and re-cycling of older traditions combined with foreign musical elements from other cultures so as to serve as cultural markers of the young people’s time and desire (Collins 2002: 60).

## Conclusion

Through the two musical pieces discussed I have attempted to show that musical performances, be it live or recorded, can serve as avenues upon which a comprehensive understanding about the complex relationship of the HIV/AIDS pandemic to wider social-cultural and political issues can be attained. This is done by looking at how the intersection of the state, religious and local traditions shape artistic practices on HIV/AIDS health knowledge and further; how in turn, these artistic practices—both as political acts and metaphor for action—can serve as a means of understanding and changing society. This has been attested to by the turn of events years after the release and then the ban of the two musical pieces. *Mambo kwa soksi* pioneered initiatives for local opinions and advocacy for public talk about sexuality and safer sex in Tanzania. The term *soksi* (socks) is a common expression today used metaphorically to publicly refer to condom use as one of the preventive measures (see also Mutembei et al. 2002), while the phrase *usione soo* is popularly used by people of all ages to encourage communication about safer sex. Additionally, public discourse of sexuality in relation to HIV/AIDS forms part of various media today, including artistic productions such as television and radio serial dramas, TV advertisements, and other public avenues where health education is offered.

Finally, this narrative is not simply about the display of the interface of power relations between cultural practices on the one hand, and the state and religious institutions, on the other. Instead, it is the demystification of the often veiled reality about how power from below, in this context music, can engender change in society, albeit gradually and covertly.

## References

- Askew, Kelly M.  
 2002 *Performing the Nation: Swahili Music and Cultural Politics in Tanzania*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Assen, Nils von der  
 2012 "Resonation: *Muziki wa Dansi* In Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania." MA Thesis African Languages & Cultures, Leiden University/African Studies Centre.
- Barz, Gregory  
 2006 *HIV/AIDS and Music in Uganda*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Barz, Gregory and Judah Cohen  
 2008 "Music and HIV/AIDS in Africa." In *The Garland Handbook of African Music*, Second Edition, Ruth M. Stone, ed. 148–159. New York and London: Routledge.
- Barz, Gregory and Judah Cohen  
 2011 "Introduction: The Culture of AIDS: Hope and Healing Through the Arts in Africa." In *The Culture of AIDS in Africa: Hope and Healing Through the Arts*, Gregory Barz and Judah Cohen, eds. 3–19. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Barnett, Tony, and Alan Whiteside  
 2006. *AIDS in the Twenty-First-Century: Disease and Globalization*. 2nd Edition. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Becker, Felicitas, and Wenzel Geissler  
 2009 "Introduction: Searching for Pathways in a Landscape of Death: Religion and AIDS in Africa." In *Aids and Religious Practice in Africa*, Felicitas Becker and Wenzel Geissler, eds. 1–25. Boston: Brill.
- Bender, Wolfgang  
 1991 *Sweet Mother, Modern African Music*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre  
 1990 *In Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology*, translated by Matthew Adamson. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

- Buchanan, Donna A.  
1995 "Metaphors of Power, Metaphors of Truth: The Politics of Music Professionalism in Bulgarian Folk Orchestras." *Ethnomusicology* 39(3): 381–416.
- Collins, John  
2002 "The Generational Factor in Ghanaian Music: Concert Parties, Highlife, Simpa, Kpanogo, Gospel and local Techno-Pop." In *Playing with Identities in Contemporary African Music*, Mai Palmberg and Annemette Kirkegaard, eds. 60–74. Uppsala: Nordiska-Afrika Institutet.
- Comaroff, Jean, and John Comaroff  
2004 "Notes on Afromodernity and the Neo World Order: an afterword." In *Producing African Futures: Ritual and Reproduction in a Neoliberal Age*, Brad Weiss, ed. 329–348. Boston: Brill.
- Dilger, Honsjorg  
2009 "Healing the Wounds of Modernity: Salvation, Community and Care in a Neo-Pentecostal Church in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania." In *Aids and Religious Practice in Africa*, Felicitas Becker and Wenzel Geissler, eds. 255–282. Boston: Brill.
- Donner, Philip  
1980 "Music Forms in Tanzania and their socioeconomic base." In *Jipe Moyo: Transactions of the Finnish Anthropological Society No. 9*, Philip Donner, ed. 88–98. Helsinki: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies.
- Englert, Birgit  
2001 "Africa Raps Back: Reflections on Hip Hop from Tanzania and South Africa." In *Crossing Borders. Interdisciplinary Approaches to Africa*, Schröder Anne, ed. 77–98. New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers.  
2003 "Bongo Flava (Still) Hidden "Underground": Rap from Morogoro, Tanzania." *Stichproben* 5/3: 73–92.
- Foucault, Michel  
1998 "Technologies of the Self." In *Technologies of the Self*, Luther Martin, Huck Gutman and Patrick H. Hutton, eds. 19–49. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Graebner, Werner  
1989 "Whose Music? The Songs of Remmy Ongala and Orchestra Super Matimila." *Popular Music* 8 (4): 243–258.  
2007 "The Ngoma Impulse: From Club to Nightclub in Dar Es Salaam." In *Dar Es Salaam: Histories from an Emerging African Metropolis*, James R. Brennan, Andrew Burton and Yusuf Lawi, eds. 177–197. Nairobi: The British Institute in Eastern Africa.



- Haas, Peter Jan, and Thomas Gesthuizen  
 2000 "Ndani ya Bongo: Kiswahili Rap Keeping it Real." In *Mashindano! Competitive Music Performance in East Africa*, Frank Gunderson and Gregory Barz, eds. 278–294. Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota.
- Herman, Shadrack M.  
 1979 "Radio Tanzania: Kamati ya Uchambuzi wa Muziki kwa Matumizi ya RTD": 1–4.
- Herzfeld, Michael  
 1997 *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the Nation-State*. New York: Routledge.
- Hilhorst, Sean  
 2009 "Remmy Ongala: Capitalist Transition and Popular Music in Tanzania." *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 21(2): 105–126.
- Iliffe, John  
 2006 *The African AIDS Epidemic: A History*. Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Katunzi, Peregia A.  
 2002 *Sukari Yenye Sumu*. Bukoba: Educational Publisher Limited.
- Kirkegaard, Annemette  
 2004 "Remmy Ongala—Moderating Through Music." In *Sounds of Change—Social and Political Features of Music in Africa*, Stig-Magnus Thorsen, ed. 57–69. Stockholm: Sidastudies.
- Kweka, A. N.  
 1995 "One Party Democracy and Multi-Party State." In *Mwalimu: The Influence of Nyerere*, Colin Legum and Geoffrey Mmari, eds. 61–79. Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota.
- Martin, Robert  
 1974 *Personal Freedom and the Law in Tanzania: A Study of Socialist State Administration*. Dar es Salaam, Lusaka and Addis Ababa: Oxford University Press.
- Martin, Stephen  
 1982 "Music in Urban East Africa: Five Genres in Dar es Salaam." *Journal of African Studies* 9(3): 155–63.
- Maxwell, David  
 2005 "The Durawall of Faith: Pentecostal Spirituality in Neo-Liberal Zimbabwe." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 35(1): 4–32.
- Mbilinyi, Marjorie, and Naomi Kaihula  
 2000 *AIDS, Sexuality and Gender in Africa: Collective Strategies and Struggles in Zambia*, Carolyn Baylies and Janet Bujra, eds. 76–95. London: Routledge

- McNeill, Fraser G. and Deborah James  
 2011 "Singing Songs of AIDS in Venda, South Africa." In *The Culture of AIDS in Africa: Hope and Healing Through the Arts*, Gregory Barz and Judah Cohen, eds. 193–212. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- McNeill, Fraser G.  
 2014 *AIDS, Politics, and Music in South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mutembei, A.K, M.A.C. Emmelin, J.L.P Lugalla, and L.G. Dahlgren  
 2002 "Communication about AIDS—Changes in Understanding and Coping with Help of Language in Urban Kagera, Tanzania." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 37(1): 1–16.
- Ndomondo, Mathayo Bernard  
 2008 "Music and Politics in Tanzania." In *Power and Nationalism in Modern Africa*, Toyin Falola and Salah M. Hassan, eds. 341–359. Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press.
- Nguyen, Vinh-Kim  
 2010 *The Republic of Therapy: Triage and Sovereignty in West Africa's Times of AIDS*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Nkamba, Suleiman Seif  
 n.d. "Muundo na Majukumu ya Kamati ya Uchambuzi wa Muziki RTD": 1–3.  
 n.d. "Nyimbo kwa Matumizi ya Radio Tanzania": 1–2.
- Ntarangwi, Mwenda  
 2009 *East African Hip Hop: Youth culture and Globalization*. Urban and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Nyerere, Julius Kambarage  
 1969 *Freedom and Unity*. Oxford University Press, Dar es Salaam.
- Obeng, Samuel Gyasi  
 2012 "Speaking the Unspeakable Through Hiplife: A Discursive Construction of Ghanaian Political Discourse." In *Music, Performance and African Identities*, Toyin Falola and Tyler Fleming, eds. 296–315. New York and London: Routledge.
- Perullo, Alex  
 2005 "Hooligans and Heroes: Youth Identity and Hip Hop in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania." *Africa Today* 51/4: 75–101.  
 2007 "'Here's a Little Something Local': An Early history of hip hop in Dar es Salaam 1984–1997." In *Dar Es Salaam: Histories from an Emerging African Metropolis*, James R. Brennan, Andrew Burton and Yusuf Lawi eds. 250–272. Nairobi: The British Institute in Eastern Africa.  
 2011 *Live from Dar es Salaam: Popular Music and Tanzania's Music Economy*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

- Putzel, James  
2003 "Institutionalizing an Emergency Response: HIV/AIDS and Governance in Uganda and Senegal." A Report Submitted to the Department for International Development.
- Remes, Pieter  
1999 "Global Popular Musics and Changing Awareness of Urban Tanzanian Youth." *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 31: 1–26.
- Rice, Timothy  
2001 "Reflections on Music and Meaning: Metaphor, Signification and Control in the Bulgarian Case." *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 10(1): 19–38.
- Rose, Tricia  
1994 *Black Noise*. Hanover: Wesleyan University Press.
- Sadgrove, Jo  
2009 "Keeping Up Appearances': Sex and Religion amongst University Students in Uganda". In *Aids and Religious Practice in Africa*, Felicitas Becker and Wenzel Geissler, eds. Pp. 223–254. Boston: Brill.
- Sanga, Imani  
2006 "*Muziki Wa Injili: The Temporal and Spatial Aesthetics of Popular Church Music in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania (1980s–2005)*". PhD Thesis, University of Kwazulu Natal.
- Setel, Philip W  
1999 *A Plague of Paradoxes: AIDS, Culture, and Demography in Northern Tanzania*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Shivji, Issa G  
2006 *Let the People Speak: Tanzania down the Road to Neo-Liberalism*. Dakar: CODESRIA.
- Songoyi, Elias. M  
1989 "The Artist and the State in Tanzania; a Study of Two Singers—Kalikali and Mwinamila." MA Thesis: University of Dar es Salaam.
- Stambach, Amy  
2000 *Lessons from Kilimanjaro: Schooling, community, and gender in east Africa*. New York: Routledge.
- Stokes, Martin  
2010 *The Republic of Love: Cultural Intimacy in Turkish Popular Music*. Illinois and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Suriano, Maria  
2007 "Making the Modern: Contestations over *Muziki wa Dansi* in Tanganyika, ca. 1945–1961". *African Studies* 70 (3): 393–414.

Svensson, Jonas

- 2009 “Muslims Have Instructions:” HIV/AIDS, Modernity and Islamic Religious Education in Kisumu, Kenya. In *AIDS and Religious Practice in Africa*, Felicitas Becker and Wenzel Geissler, eds. 189–219. Boston: Brill.

*The African*

- 2009 “Government to find out Why Mwinyi was Slapped,” March 12.

*The Citizen*

- 2008 “Government and Church in New Condom Controversy,” March 25.

The Muslim Council of Tanzania

- 2007 AIDS Policy Guide for the BAKWATA.

The United Republic of Tanzania

- 2001 *National Policy on HIV/AIDS*.  
 2002 *National Multi-Sectoral Strategic Framework on HIV/AIDS 2003–2007*.  
 2007 *The Second National Multi-Sectoral Strategic Framework on HIV/AIDS 2008–2012*.  
 2012 *The Third National Multi-Sectoral Strategic Framework on HIV/AIDS 2013/14–2017/18*.

*This Day*

- 2009 “Mwinyi Assault Attributed to ‘Security lapse.’” March 11.

Turino, Thomas

- 1999 “Signs of Imagination, Identity, and Experience: A Peircian Semiotic Theory for Music.” *Ethnomusicology* 43(2): 221–255.

Van Buren, Kathleen

- 2006 “Stealing Elephants, Creating Futures: Exploring Uses of Music and other Arts for Community Education in Nairobi, Kenya.” PhD dissertation: University of California, Los Angeles.

Yankah, Kwesi

- 2001 “Nana Ampadu, the Sung-Tale Metaphor, and Protest Discourse in Contemporary Ghana.” In *African Words, African Voices: Critical Practices in Oral History*, Luise White, Stephen Miescher and David William Cohen, eds. 54–73. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

## Discography

Chidumule, Cosmas

- 1998 *Yesu ni Bwana*, La Mgambo Likilia: F.M. Music Bank (Compact Cassette).

## Filmography

Healthscope Tanzania

- 2004 *Ishi Phase II: Kuhusu kusubiri, kuwa waaminifu au kutumia kondom:* (VHS). Online: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IwgfYjpDRis>

**Personal communication with author**

Kagya, Andrew. 30 November 2008.

Makoye, Herbert. 14 May 2009.

Thomas, Stara. 5 May 2009.

Zorro, Banana. 25 May 2009.

Sendoro, Chediell. 23 May 2009.