Beyond Socialism: Tanzanian Theatre, Neoliberalism and Foreign Aid Complexity

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Summary

Theatricality has been one of the major concepts to define theatre in Africa. Using theatricality as a point of departure seems to reduce the historical discrepancies of theatre as a concept. On that basis, it is important to link theatre and the culture in which theatre is being produced. By linking the two it gives grounds to analyse the national and international superstructures, which determine the socio-political and economic atmospheres. Since the 'global' trend leans on neoliberal policies, it is obvious that one cannot discuss theatre in the absence of neoliberalism, imperialism, capitalism, foreign aid and donor policies.

Currently most theatre projects are supported by foreign aid or foreign donors. These donors provide funding in order to facilitate theatre productions at various levels. This practice of pouring foreign aid and donor participation in theatre and development projects has developed a misconception of theatre being theatre only when funded by foreign donors. It is evident that the support provided plays a major role in power politics. This study therefore explores the influence of neoliberal policies, especially through foreign aid, on theatre in Tanzania. The study establishes the link between the produced theatre and the various dominant policies from nationalism to neoliberalism. Such link shows how difficult is for theatre to avoid the superstructure that produces it. This means that since neoliberal policies have shown symptoms of oppression, suppression and exploitation, it definitely reproduces oppressive, suppressive and exploitative theatre. In this study such theatre is defined as theatre (neo)liberalism, a kind of theatre that appears to be apolitical but in fact struggles to survive under neoliberal policies of free market and subsidy removal.

In understanding such link between theatre, aid and donors, the study concludes that regardless of the amount that donors contribute, they do not have the right to interfere in the sovereignty of any state or to try and impose new systems. Delinking from foreign and donors should be taken as a priority to allow theatre to develop fully and survive independently. There is a need to redefine the concept of people's theatre to mean theatre that has to do with people's initiatives and address their own issues at a particular time and place.

Zusammenfassung

Theatralität ist ein gängiges Konzept, um Theater in Afrika zu definieren. Wird dieses Konzept angewendet, so treten die historischen Unterschiede zwischen den verschiedenen Theaterformen in den Hintergrund. Deshalb ist es wichtig, Theater in einen kulturellen Kontext zu stellen, aus dem das Theater entsteht. Dadurch können nationale und internationale Suprastrukturen, die die sozialpolitische und wirtschaftliche Atmosphäre bestimmen, analysiert werden,. Da sich die aktuelle „globale“ Entwicklung auf neoliberale Grundsätze stützt, ist es offensichtlich, dass man Theater nicht diskutieren kann, ohne näher auf Neoliberalismus, Imperialismus, Kapitalismus, Entwicklungshilfe und Geberpolitik einzugehen.

Derzeit werden die meisten Theaterprojekte in Tansania durch die Entwicklungshilfe oder ausländische Geberorganisationen unterstützt. Diese Organisationen stellen finanzielle Mittel zur Verfügung, um Theaterproduktionen auf unterschiedlichem Niveau zu ermöglichen. Diese Spendenpraxis hat zu der Fehlannahme geführt, dass Theater nur dann ein Theater ist, wenn es durch ausländische Organisationen finanziert wird. Jedoch ist es offensichtlich, dass diese finanziellen Mittel eine große Rolle in der Machtpolitik spielen. Diese Studie untersucht deshalb die Frage: Welchen Einfluss hat die neoliberale Politik, insbesondere durch die Entwicklungshilfe, auf das Theater in Tansania? Die Arbeit deckt einmal die Verbindung zwischen dem produzieren Theater und den verschiedenen dominierenden politischen Richtungen – von Nationalismus bis Neoliberalismus – auf. Darüber hinaus wird gezeigt, dass diese Verbindungen es dem Theater erschweren, diese Suprastrukturen zu vermeiden, durch die es finanziert wird. Das bedeutet, dass die neoliberale Politik mit seinen Merkmalen von Einengung, Unterdrückung und Ausbeutung auch ein eingeengtes, unterdrücktes und ausbeuterisches Theater hervorbringt. Dieser Studie bezeichnet ein solches Theater als Theater (Neo-)Liberalismus. Es ist ein Theater, das apolitisch auftritt, aber tatsächlich unter der neoliberal Politik des freien Markts und der Subventionsstreichungen ums Überleben kämpft.

Indem diese Verbindungen zwischen Theater, Entwicklungshilfe und Geberorganisationen erläutert werden, kommt diese Forschung zu folgendem Ergebnis: Die Geberorganisationen haben kein Recht, unabhängig von der Höhe ihrer Spende, in die Souveränität eines Staates einzugreifen oder ein neues System einzuführen. Deshalb sollte die Loslösung von ausländischen Geberländern an erster Stelle stehen, damit sich das Theater ganz entwickeln und unabhängig überleben kann. Es ist deshalb notwendig, das Konzept des Volkstheaters neu zu definieren. Das Theater soll wieder mit den Initiativen von Menschen zu tun haben und ihre eigenen Themen in einem gewissen zeitlich und räumlichen Rahmen ansprechen.

Abbreviations

AIDS	Anti Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ASP	Afro Shiraz Party
BASATA	Baraza la Sanaa la Taifa (National Art Council)
BCA	Bagamoyo College of Arts
CCM	Chama cha Mapinduzi (Revolutionary Party)
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CIDA	Canada International Development Agency
CUSO	Canadian University Services Oversees
DFPA	Department of Fine and Performing Arts
EATI	Eastern Africa Theatre Initiative
ES	Executive Secretary
FBOs	Faith Based Organizations
FF	Ford Foundation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Countries
HIVOS	Humanist Institute for Development Cooperation
IFI	International Financial Institutions
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LEGCO	Legislative Council
LFA	Log Framework Analysis
LHRC	Legal and Human Right Center
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MKUKUTA	Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kupunguza Umaskini Tanzania (NSGRP)
MKURABITA	Mpango wa Kurasimisha Rasimali na Biashara za Wanyonge Tanzania
MKUZA	Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kupunguza Umaskini Zanzibar (NSGRP)
NAGs	National Art Groups
NEC	National Executive Committee
NGOs	Non Governmental Organizations
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NPES	National Poverty Eradication Strategy

NSGRP	National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty
OXFAM	Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
PCCB	Prevention and Combating of Corruption Bureau
PHDR	Poverty and Human Development Report
PoA	Plan of Action
PRGF	Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility
PRS	Poverty Reduction Strategy
PRSPs	Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
PSI	Population Service International
RTD	Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programs
SATI	Southern Africa Theatre Initiative
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
SOT	Singida One Theatre
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TaSUBa	Taasisi ya Sanaa na Utamaduni Bagamoyo (Bagamoyo Institute of Arts and Culture)
TfD	Theatre for Development
TIN	Taxpayers Identification Number
TOT	Tanzania One Theatre
TPDF	Tanzania People's Defence Force
TRA	Tanzania Revenue Authority
Tsh	Tanzanian shilling (1€ approx. 2,000 Tsh in 2010)
TzTC	Tanzania Theatre Center
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
UZIKWASA	Uzima kwa Sanaa (Arts for Life)
WB	World Bank

Introduction

> Neoliberal politics, thrust down the throats of African people, is a corollary of the economic policies of the SAPs [Structural Adjustment Programs], based on the Washington Consensus, mindlessly propagated and imposed by the World Bank and IMF [International Monetary Fund].
>
> Issa Shivji (2009a, p. 26)

The decision to conduct this study about theatre and neoliberal policies came about as a result of the pressure I experienced working as a performing artist. Working in theatre for nearly a decade prompted the challenge to reconsider the fate of theatre, especially when hearing terminologies such as 'donor fatigue' or 'aid fatigue' pop up. Almost every theatre project I participated in or worked on (not including academic projects), was supported by foreign aid or foreign donors. This situation is slightly different from other genres of performing arts such as film, radio and television 'drama', which appear to be almost self-sufficient due to what Auslander (1999, p. 7) refers to as "economic superiority of mediatised forms". The development partners (a euphemism for donors) provide funding in order to either facilitate the final theatre production (product) or to form the conception of the idea itself (process). This practice of pouring foreign aid and donor participation into theatre and development projects has created what Nyoni (2008, p. 170) refers to as the misconception of theatre constituting theatre only when funded by foreign donors. Analysing the origin of these donors, they all appear to come from a specific area, namely Euro-America. The support provided from this region seems to play a major role in power politics. Amin (2010) points out that there is a need to speak out or criticize "the central role of aid in the strategy of domination, pillage and exploitation by imperialist capital". Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman (2007, p. 38) argue:

> It is not possible to ignore the dynamics of '[s]he who calls the piper plays the tune' that are so evident in the development aid chain [...]. Some literatures emphasizes the power of funders over recipients, showing the inequality that is rooted in the direction of aid flows, while noting that the relationship of power and influence are not solely one-sided and individuals have the power to refuse to comply with agreements, or bend rules and adopt unruly practices (Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, 2007, p. 38).

The process of receiving donor funding creates multidimensional characteristics that require further investigation and analysis. Adujie (2009) argues that, "aid is never directed where the need is greatest. Foreign aid has a pattern of being directed at those who are connected; those with clouts and those with the requisite vehemence and cohesion to pepper donors with complaints when they are not offered aid". As Adujie explains, one critical aspect of this is that most of this financial support is not given for free. It is provided along with attachments and conditions. These conditions sometimes obstruct the whole process of theatre creation.

How and to what extent foreign aid and the conditions obstruct the process of theatre creation is the concern of this study. Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman (2007, p. 38) further argue:

> The power of donors is often mentioned, yet it is rarely central to the analysis of how development works and little attention is paid to the ways in which people negotiate the use of new practices and funding conditions, with a few important exceptions. Inequalities are acknowledged, then brushed aside or hidden through the use of language: the terms 'partner' and 'partnership' replace the concepts of donor-recipient or subcontractor (Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, 2007, p. 38).

In questioning the legitimacy of neoliberal policies in which donors and foreign aid are legitimised, it is important not only to see this as an economic challenge but also as a cultural threat harnessed through theatre. In this pervasiveness of neoliberal policies, Taylor (in Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, 2007, p. 41) argues:

> The dominant, competitive, market driven global paradigm dictates that the power is used to the advantage of those who have the advantage. The view of practitioners closer to the periphery is that those at the centre are about to take ownership, and thus control, of what is important to them. There is a deep fear that in order to effectively measure it, empowerment will be reduced to the level of becoming the next development deliverable or handout, provided by the more powerful through capacity building workshops, training programmes and participatory projects (Taylor in Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, 2007, p. 41).

To put this study in perspective, I will use theatricality as a point of departure. This implies that theatre, as a subject matter is not studied just as embodied aesthetics, but more as a combination of its cultural context. In order to fully explore this theatrical discourse, I will approach this study in three major dimensions. I will approach theatre first as a struggling entity in the execution of neoliberal policies, secondly, as a mechanism to question the freedom of creativity in theatre in the market-led superstructure, and thirdly, as a way to raise theatre as a scholarly discourse where theories of political economy are concerned. The general objective of this study is to explore the influence of neoliberal policies, particularly through foreign aid in theatre in Tanzania. The essence is to generate a discussion and see how financial support can facilitate or damage the development of theatre, and more importantly to see to which extent the inclination, mastery and sensitivity of theatre are being embodied and protected.

Apart from the general objective, the study aims at researching the relationship between the content of 'contemporary' theatre in relation to global economic transformations and local political change. The study analyzes theatre as a social, economic, artistic and performative entity from a historical perspective. This study takes a historical perspective due to the fact that "arguing from the past, it goes to the heart of the future", as stated by Andre Gunder

Frank (1975, p. 110). Furthermore both historical and political transformations are changes that affect theatre directly.

This study discusses the theories developed by Aristotle, Brecht, Freire and Boal in theatre and how they are applied in Tanzania and Africa in general. This is also based on the fact that the whole concept of utilitarian theatre is not peculiar to Tanzania or Africa, it has been widely employed in other parts of the world. This study also takes its departure from theories on theatricality developed by Joachim Fiebach, Amandina Lihamba, Penina Mlama, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, Wole Soyinka, Juma Bakari and Ghonche Materego. In discussing theatre and the state and how they are intertwined, I will refer to the studies by Kelly Askew and Siri Lange on theatre in Tanzania. For the general discussion on neoliberalism/imperialism I will refer to Issa Shivji, Chachage Chachage, Andre Gunder Frank and Walter Rodney among others, who have debated extensively the link between slavery, colonialism, capitalism and 'underdevelopment'. It is not my intention to conclude this discussion but rather show the contribution of theatre in the development of a state and perhaps lay a foundation for others who are interested to develop this discussion further.

This study also addresses the necessity of placing any study within a governing and definable standpoint. The standpoint acts as a guide through arguments and discussions. The proponents of standpoint methodologies such as Eagle, Hayes, & Sibanda (Eagle, Hayes, & Sibanda, 1999) argue that there is no "value free" research study and "research always carries vested power interests". Essentially research is made to "perpetuate dominant frameworks of thinking" (Eagle, Hayes, & Sibanda, 1999, p. 439). In other words, it is dangerous for an individual to conduct research under the pretence of being neutral or to make an effort to ignore power relations to ensure that the research is seen as balanced and not biased (Eagle, Hayes, & Sibanda, 1999, p. 440). Providing a standpoint enables the reader to better understand the dimensions and magnitude of the argument. At this point, critical theorists such as Dougherty (2009) remind us that there is no research that is free from race, class or gender biases.

There are several standpoints, such as Marxist, feminist and black scholarship. This study in particular employs the black scholarship standpoint. Black scholarship is the research standpoint that aims at promoting and developing African norms and values. It is also reposed on acknowledging the non-unitary nature of culture and defining the different proponents of what culture is (Eagle, Hayes, & Sibanda, 1999, p. 448). The black scholarship

standpoint brings greater sense to this study and provides the opportunity to be more insistent in terms of the arguments. This is due to the fact that conducting a study about theatre has a direct relationship to people, their culture, their identity and more importantly to their collective being as a society. Black scholarship therefore gives more room for findings with social relevance. The analysis of this study will perhaps be different to a situation whereby the researcher has taken another standpoint, and decided to study theatre, neoliberalism and its relation to foreign aid and support.

Apart from the arguments in this study being based mainly on black scholarship, they are also influenced by three major factors – being an artist, academic and 'activist'. These positions sometimes contradict or complement each other. As an artist, I have worked as an actor and scriptwriter for film, radio, theatre, and even for television drama series. I have been a director for theatre, film, radio and television plays. This position sometimes pulls me to write in favour of art or in favour of being an artist and using artistic license and creativity. This tendency is not only seen through the performances presented in this study but also in the choice of language, which is to some extent 'sarcastic'.

The second position is that of being an academic. Teaching at the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania has enabled me to understand various issues from an academic perspective. These issues are not only limited to theatre but also include politics and economics, which shape theatre to be the way it is today. Arguing from an academic point of view has its own 'joys and sorrows' when combined with art. While art emphasizes creativity and practical presentation, the academic approach dwells in theory/body of theories, and the contribution of the study to the academic world. The norm shows that academic work should be written about in books and journals or it should be in the form of a paper presented at international conferences and symposiums. This approach appears to be a stumbling block for theatre scholars who do not have the opportunity to follow this standard. Weber (2004, p. ix) points out a similar challenge. He states that:

> Unlike the director, stage designer, or actors, the dramaturge, like the academics, is primarily concerned with texts. Whereas the academic tends to be guided by a notion of a long-lasting, if not eternal *truth*, however, the good of a theatrical production is far more ephemeral, more localized, and more singular (Weber, 2004, p. ix).

Here it is possible to see clearly that whilst theatre attracts one to perform, to present something practically, the academic approach emphasizes sitting down to debate and write

theories, and this is what I refer to as the joys and sorrows if not the 'pain' of being an artist and an academic.

The third position that competes with these two positions is that of being an activist. Most of the time activism is an activity – a militant one – to achieve a certain goal. The goals set are not necessarily personal but most of the time they focus on bringing efficiency to the society in which one lives. Activism forces one to see the possibilities of supporting disadvantaged and marginalized groups such as the poor, children, young people, women and frail men. As an activist, one is tempted to investigate the causality of a society that lacks a 'good life' or a 'better life than yesterday', which is a result of failed social, economic and political systems, in other words, a 'failed state'. The investigation concentrates not only on national systems but also scrutinizes the superstructures which directly influence national systems and theatre in particular.

Combining academia with activism is difficult, especially as activism suggests the deployment of radical and militant ideas, whilst academic work prefers a neutral approach or to use the 'confusing' phrase, a 'non-biased argument'. However, activism is the yeast of creativity, it is the motivation for language use in the work of art. It enables the creation of skilled actions and shapes on the stage, which attract, entertain, provoke and even educate the audience if they so choose. Activists, just like the artists, are not neutral and they have never tried to be. Only the academics 'pretend' to take this stand. Even if one would prefer to 'standout' as an academic, one has to be guided by a certain reason for which s/he may then become part of the activist movement. As previously mentioned, when these three positions – artist, academic and activist, are combined, they contradict or support to each other. However, it reaches a point when it is important to choose one position to prevail, while the others contribute as and when necessary. In this case, it is the academic position which must prevail.

It should be understood that during the fieldwork, respondents who were mainly artists were unlikely to be treated as an experimental group or as 'guinea pigs', a position in which for years researchers have placed them. In 'experimental study', participants' information is extracted for academic purposes. This echoes Eagle, Hayes & Sibanda's (1999, p. 450) argument that, "research has become a commodity produced through competitive activity, and has become so 'career-ised' that the concept of the beneficiaries is often ignored". Some interviewed artists openly argue that there 'must' be a mutual benefit for the scholars (who

conduct the research) and for the artists. The artists are afraid that researchers are simply making off with artists' life experiences and that they have been helping just a few individuals obtain their 'degrees', which assures them of better working positions and good salaries. It is not surprising to hear that some of the artists claim to be tired of research, as they do not see an immediate improvement in their daily existence, whilst researchers continue to promote the idea that research will 'enhance' their lives.

This study is divided into two major parts. Part One is composed of Chapter One to Four, which mainly discusses the theoretical and historical perspective of theatre in Africa, with particular reference to Tanzania. The aim of this part is to highlight the historical contribution of theatre in challenging global dominant systems from slavery to neoliberalism. Part Two is comprised of Chapter Five to Seven, which brings on board three distinct and also perhaps similar theatrical case studies. I should point out that the historic/periodic divisions such as pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial and so on (especially in Part One), are imaginary/superficial. They do not exist in reality but they are provided so as to enable the process of conceptualizing theatre development from an historical perspective.

Specifically, Chapter One provides prime definitions and the conceptual framework of the study. The defined and discussed terms include theatre, culture, theatricality, development, imperialism and neoliberalism. The aim of this re-conceptualisation is to show the correlations and the historical debates that situate these terms in the present state. The chapter also includes theatre and neoliberalism theories and attempts to link them to establish where they converge and where they diverge.

Chapter Two analyses theatres in pre-colonial and colonial Africa. It gives insights into various historical eras in Tanzania leading towards the liberation and nationalism movements. It deals with utilitarian, bourgeois and resistance theatres. The aim of this chapter is to find a link between the consequences of slavery and colonialism and post-independence theatre practice.

Chapter Three looks at the post-independence struggles to rebuild 'national culture'. Using post-colonial theory, the analysis is carried out on political propaganda and elite theatres, which were a result of political re-organization and the implementation of socialist (*ujamaa*) policies. The implementation of *ujamaa* and self-reliance policies such as the Arusha Declaration (*Azimio la Arusha*) of 1967, Leadership Code (*Mwongozo*) of 1971 and

Villagelization (*Vijiji vya Ujamaa*) of 1973 gives a clue about the 'independent' state initiatives to fight against imperialism and neocolonialism. The process rationalizes the underlying factors for the establishment of national arts groups (NAGs), which just like *ujamaa* were aimed at restoring national culture. The chapter also examines and criticizes the imposed International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), which 'structurally adjusted' the country and caused the demise of both nationalism and socialism theatre movements.

Chapter Four analyses 'theatre (neo)liberalism', the commercialization of theatre and governing politics. It analyses the Zanzibar Declaration (*Azimio la Zanzibar*) of 1991, which became a mechanism to obliterate the Arusha Declaration and wipe out *ujamaa* in favour of neoliberal policies. The whole process, which was 'politically' declared as a matching process of political and economic policies, had tremendous effects on theatre, including the downfall of national arts groups (NAGs) and the re-emergence of 'travelling' theatre. Through Muungano Cultural Troupe, Mandela Cultural Troupe and Tanzania One Theatre (TOT) 'travelling' theatre groups, the chapter also analyses the consequences of transferring the created socialist theatre onto a capitalist stage.

Chapter Five addresses the concept of theatricality and 'people's' theatre. Taking its departure from Brecht, Freire and Boal, the chapter describes the correlations between those models and that of Aristotle, and how they are applied in the Tanzanian/African context. The chapter also identifies the contribution of the elite, specifically the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) in the process of nation building. The birth of Theatre for Development (TfD) is one of the struggles to address the post-independence challenges observed in Chapter Three. This chapter uses the TfD experience in Mlonganzila village in the year 2000 as a case study analysed using Bakari & Materego Theatre for Development (TfD) framework. The case explicitly shows the difference between political propaganda described in Chapter Three, economic propaganda discussed in Chapter Four and social propaganda, which TfD attempts to advocate. The TfD setbacks, especially in terms of the issue of sustainability and external foreign aid, are key to the discussion.

Chapter Six explains the notion of non-governmental organizations' (NGOs) theatre and its relation to the state. The chapter is based on *Zinduka* (wake up), a performance by Msonge Theatre Arts Group in 2004 in Vingunguti, Dar es Salaam. Analysing the recorded video and captured pictures it becomes evident that there is a difference between Theatre for

Development (TfD) and Theatre in Development (TiD). Moreover, some development NGOs prefer the use of the term participatory theatre (*sanaa shirikishi*) as opposed to Theatre for Development (*sanaa kwa maendeleo*) in carrying out their agenda, due to the fact that most donor projects require 'community participation'.

Chapter Seven examines the current donor theatre practice by analysing the production of *Varangati* (chaos, disorder or havoc) in Pangani, Tanga in 2009. The performance shows how Theatre for Development (TfD) has made a departure from people's theatre to donor's theatre. Apart from not classing as TfD, this performance proves to be a piece of social propaganda, which exposes problems, offers solution and intimidates people into taking immediate action.

The conclusion summarises the transformations and provides an overall conclusion for the study. It evidences the implementation of neoliberal policies as key to theatre's donor-dependence and underdevelopment. It shows the challenges of donor-dependency and the implementation of neoliberal agendas imposed from the centre. By conclusion, theatre should detach itself from foreign aid and donor dominance and avoid the assumption that there is no alternative (TINA) to donors. This implies that both central and local government machineries should take the initiative to subsidize theatre so that it can achieve self-sustainment. In the long term, formal theatre training and education is seen as one of the sustainable solutions to theatre donor-dependency.

1. Re-Conceptualization

> A critique of aid can only be conducted within the framework of political economy
>
> Samir Amin (2010)

Undertaking theatre study in Africa has many challenges. These challenges are tied to history of the continent and need a subtle approach especially in defining key terms. For nearly five decades, there has been discussion revolving around terms such as theatre, culture, theatricality, imperialism, neoliberalism and their relationship to development and underdevelopment of the developing nations especially those in Africa. The aim of this chapter is to put in perspective the discussion which has been carried, bring on board previous debates and controversies (if any) and also to provide a fertile ground for understanding when such terms are being used in this study. However, this re-conceptualization is not substantial as it only forms part of the study. On the other hand it attributes to the dynamics in which theatre exist and hence lead to the theoretical framework of the study. The devised theoretical framework is used to analyse theatre as a contributive genre within global dominant policies. Considering the symbiosis relationship between art and propaganda, it is important to define this relationship and perhaps draw boundaries in which each operates and influence other.

1.1Theatre

For many years, there was a historical misconception of theatre in Africa. Such misconception led to various debates on the proper term to describe the concept of theatre in Africa. Such debates were not only in Africa but also in Euro-America. The cultural landscape of the continent can be one of the reasons why it became an issue of debate on where to position some theatrical activities. Diakante & Eyoh (2001, p. 17) describe the controversy.

> The term 'theatre' itself has diverse, complex, contradictory and even antagonistic connotation in Africa. As well, the study of dramatic phenomena involves diverse approaches. Even in the west, the word 'theatre' denotes completely different realities, and what is meant by theatre in one country is not always the same as what it meant in others. It would be unwise, therefore, to expect to find in ancient Black Africa types of theatrical performances analogous to European forms (Diakante & Eyoh, 2001, p. 17).

Diakante & Eyoh clearly show how delicate the debate about theatre is. They also shade light on the challenges of trying to equate theatre of one place to the other as it can have similar function but differs much in its origin and evolution. On the other hand, Mlama (1991, p. 55) pauses criticism about misconception of the existence of African theatre in the post

independence era in the academic discourse. According to her, there are people who believed that theatre did not exist in Africa. She mentions Taban Lo Lyong who believes that theatre was only confined to entertainment and professional acting. This means theatre which is done for non-entertainment or by amateur is not theatre. Mentioning Ebrahim Hussein, Mlama criticizes him for addressing theatre only in relation to European dramatic genres while there were evidences that theatre existed in Africa. Both Taban Lo Lyong and Ebrahim Hussein had the Aristotelian way of conceptualizing 'theatre proper' based on emotion infliction and the unities of time, space and action. This implies theatre was considered to be theatre when there is a representation or interaction of characters with fictional dialogues and acts on the stage (Fiebach, 2002, pp. 17-18).

The Aristotelian concept of theatre seems to be the centre of controversy when it comes to discussing theatre in Africa especially in Aristotle's catharsis approach. In reflection Brecht seemed to manage to break through with his epic theatre and the alienation effect (*Verfremdungseffekt* or *v-effekt*) which is more focused on reasoning which can bring change than emotion (Ibemesi, 2007, p. 18). In traditional societies or in the pre-capitalist Africa, theatre was considered to be a creative and aesthetic process which gives out a performance. The major contribution of theatre was to relate the world (the living) to the supernatural powers (the dead). Rodney (1972, p. 42) expresses how "African dance and art were almost invariably linked with a religious world-outlook in one way or another. As is well known, traditional African religious practices exist in great variety, and it should also be remembered that both Islam and Christianity found homes on the African continent almost from their very inception". Lihamba (1985a, p. 8) adds:

> Theatre performance in traditional African societies is a manifestation of social organization and practice, on one hand, and the specific aesthetic systems which gave the performances their forms on the other. This fulfils both material and non-material needs. The performances, then, do not aim at mere imitation of the social reality but desire to atune society to the universe. The approach to performance is cosmological combining both spiritual essence and material matter (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 8).

Many debates about the existence of theatre in Africa occurred in the post independence period of 1960s – 1980s. Looking at the trend of the debate it was evident that both intellectuals and theatre scholars used 'colonial' literature to debate instead of going beyond proof of existence in establishing the truth. Scholars forgot what Diakante & Eyoh (2001, p. 17) refers to analogous nature of theatre. In elaborating such scenario, Plastow (1996, p. 13) argues:

> Even those intellectuals who have sought to defend African performance forms have often done so simply by trying to widen the colonial definition sufficiently for African forms to squeeze in on the very edges of the theatre world. All such arguments are the result of colonial and neo-colonial cultural imperialist indoctrination. I am strongly of the opinion that African performance forms do not need to justify their existence. They simply are, and should be placed in a central position in all discussion of African theatre […]. We will then feel free to draw on these forms as desired and incorporate them into contemporary productions without any inhabiting sense of intrinsic inferiority (Plastow, 1996, p. 13).

Justification of theatre should go beyond definitions of practice which sometimes hinder the conceptualization of the fact that theatre exists in Africa. It also needs no comparative justification to prove its existence but rather description of its characteristics as Lihamba (1985a, p. 8) says. "Today, however, there is a general agreement that Africa has a distinct theatre based on her own cultural traditions" (Mlama P. , 1991, p. 55).

Currently the term theatre in Africa or African theatre is used to differentiate theatre practice in Africa as compared to the 'western' theatre. The use of 'African theatre' is not used mainly to outcast other theatre as non-African or connote them as European. The main reason for the evolution of this term is to simplify the holistic understanding of theatre/ performing culture in Africa. Kerr's (1995, p. 1) defines theatre in broadest term to encompass drama, dance, vaudeville ritual, acrobatics and mime. Mlama (1991, p. 55) defines theatre as "any performing art that represents life through symbolic images or artistic expressions that are in the form of action. The action can be in the form of dance, drama, mime narration or combination of any of these". And according to Fiebach (2006, p. 5) the boundaries between these theatre forms are 'fluid and dialogic'. Furthermore, Fiebach (in Friedemann Kreuder, (2008, p. 9) defines theatre "as a communicative presentation of all-encompassing movements/expressions of bodies or of their interaction with objects, which as symbolic actions signify other events and circumstances than the perceptually manifest activities". Since "each society has its own theatre whose characteristics are shaped by its specific socio economic structure" (Mlama P. , 1991, p. 55), theatre in Tanzania or Tanzanian theatre as applied to this study signifies the theatre practice in Tanzania. According to Mlama (1991, p. 98), "Tanzanian theatre is not a single body of activities. Rather, it is a variety of movements constantly feeding into and influencing each other".

Intentionally this study has avoided the use of such terms like performing arts. This is due to the fact that, the term performing arts as used in Tanzania perhaps in other places across the globe, is broad. The term includes not only theatre, but also (video) film, radio and television dramas. Since this study is centred on theatre, it is appropriate to use the term theatre

throughout although in some quotations performing arts is used to mean theatre and/or performing culture.

From the very early stage of this study, I should point out that I belong to the 'camp' which believes that theatre is not a media. This means that only theatre as live performance "has a special capacity to incorporate any other medium without changing its status" (Dapp, 2008, p. 40). Auslander (1999, p. 6) aptly argues:

> Live forms have become mediatised [...] they have been forced by economic reality to acknowledge their status as media within a mediatic system that includes the mass media and information technologies. [...]. there is no question that live performance and mediatised forms compete for audiences in the cultural marketplace, and that mediatised forms have gained the advantage in that competition (Auslander, 1999, p. 6).

This means if theatre is considered as a media is due to the dominant capitalist market forces which push theatre to mediatise so as to produce profit and survive.

1.1.1 Theatre as Propaganda

Achebe (in Ogunleye, 2001, p. 69) reminds us that "all art is propaganda, though not all propaganda is art". This implies that when discussing theatre we should bear in mind the propagandistic nature of the art as " a mode of persuasive communication used to influence a target audience" (Ogunleye, 2001, p. 67) or as "the hidden persuader" as Vance Packard in Ogunleye (2001, p. 68) says. This study analyses mostly the functional/utilitarian theatre. Ogunleye (2001, p. 71) divides such performances which fall under the category of utilitarian and moralistic into three broad categories. These performances are arranged in a continuum whereby some only expose the problem (problem performances), others exposes the problem and show the solution (thesis performances) while others go further to advocate for the implementation of the provided solution, that is to take action (propaganda performances). This means that although the characteristics of problem, thesis and propaganda plays are explained, there is a very thin line between a problem performance which imitates or shows the problem only and the thesis performance which goes further to provide a solution. Furthermore there is no clear cut between thesis performance and propaganda performance which after exposing the problem and offering a solution, it persuades the audience to take action. Clearly propaganda performances can be defined as the highest level of moral performances. From this point it is evident that, apart from political propaganda there is social and economic propagandas. This study therefore shows the correlation between the multifaceted layers of propaganda performances and how they relate to the global policies.

1.2 Culture

Discussing the concept of culture in this study becomes crucial as it has a direct relationship with theatre. Taking departure from postmodern relativism, "all cultures contributed equally valid interpretations of reality; and that each culture can only be properly understood and interpreted in its own terms. No longer could all cultures, viewed as different ways of seeing the world, be understood in the same terms" (Epskamp K. P., 2006, p. 2). What Epskamp tries to show here is the correlation between culture and the society where culture emerges. Carlson defines the relationship between culture and theatre as a 'simulacrum'. He argues:

> Theatre, as a simulacrum of the cultural and historical process itself, seeking to depict the full range of human actions within their physical context, has always provided society with the most tangible records of its attempts to understand its own operations. It is the repository of cultural memory, but, like the memory of each individual, it is also subject to continual adjustment and modification as the memory is recalled in a new circumstance and context (Carlson, 2001, p. 2).

Carlson's argument is similar to Schechner's (1977, p. 6) who relates art and life to food. Schechner argues that art is like a cooked food while life seems to be uncooked food. This implies that the cooked food will always come after cooking the raw food to mean, "art is the process of transforming raw experience into palatable forms". Furthermore, Forbess (1999, p. 800) defines culture in relation to arts. "Culture is the sphere of ultimate beliefs and values, expressed by means of symbols, which influence actors' perceptions of the world and thus, their perceived avenues of action". From Carlson and Forbess explanation, it is clear that one cannot separate theatre and culture.

According to Cabral, (I quote in *extenso*):

> Culture, whatever the ideological or idealist characteristics of its expression, is thus an essential element of the history of a people. Culture, is perhaps, the resultant of this history just as the flower is the resultant of the plant. Like history, or because it is history, culture has as its material base the level of the productive forces and the mode of production. Culture plunges its roots into the humus of the material reality of the environment in which it develops, and it reflects the organic nature of the society, which may be more or less influenced by external factors. History enables us to know the nature and extent of the imbalances and the conflicts (economic, political and social) that characterize the evolution of a society. Culture enables us to know what dynamic synthesis have been formed and set by social awareness in order to resolve these conflicts at each stage of evolution of that society, in the search for survival and progress […]. Thus it is understood that imperialist domination, denying to the dominated people their own historical process, necessary denies their cultural process. It is further understood why the exercise of imperialist domination like all other foreign domination, for its own security requires cultural oppression and the attempt at direct or indirect destruction of the essential elements of the culture of the dominated people (Cabral, 1980, p. 142).

Even though this Cabral's argument is dated back to 1970, it is clear that it is a foundation for the existence of culture. The parameters which he uses to define culture have not changed and hence his definition remains valid. To add on the clarity of the concept of culture, Beyaraza

(1994, p. back cover) cautions that, "culture is conceived of *not* as a dead museum piece but a living reality of the people" (emphasis is mine). I believe here, the writer wants us to understand that culture is not static but a dynamic activity. At some point Beyaraza emphasizes that culture has to do with things which have been created by human being in which I also agree. It is on the same note we are also reminded that culture has to do with living organisms, their relationship to properties and how they interact with one another.

There have been several academic debates on the word 'culture'. One of them can be dated back when Sally Moore wrote her book *Anthropology and Africa* (1994). In response, Archie Mafeje (1998) wrote an article titled *Conversations and Confrontations*. I think Mafeje provides a solution to the controversy of the term culture to anthropologists. For him, the argument on the definition and use of the term culture by anthropologists can only be understood if anthropology will be able to 'deracialise' (Mafeje, 1998). Adding, Chirot (2000, p. 249) argues, "since, no matter how hard they try, anthropologists will never convince the literate public that race is not genetic, by tying culture to race, they have defeated themselves and made themselves irrelevant". Cabral (1980, p. 143) reminds us that, "the time is past when, in an attempt to perpetuate the domination of people's or nations and when, out of ignorance of bad faith, culture was confused with technical skill, if not with the colour of one's skin or the shape of one's eyes".

Precisely, Mafeje, Chirot and Cabral have a point when they show how it is difficult to argue about culture from anthropological standpoint because of its origin being the 'study of the others'. At the beginning, these 'others' seem not to have 'culture' (only traditions and values) as compared to the sociological point of view that 'they' (Euro-Americans) have societies instead. P. Worsely (in Chachage, 1986) explains that:

> Anthropologists largely studied non-Europe, apart from peasant folk traditions in Europe itself the tendency was to link the study of these complex cultures with the study of the simple Australian aborigines and the Bushmen of South Africa. Sociologists, on the other hand, studied whites-dockers in the East-End, poverty-stricken 'children of the Jago' as primitive in many respects as the nomads at the end of the earth. The great danger was the disinherited of Europe might see his image in the dispossessed of Africa or Asia (Chachage C. S., Socialist Ideology and The Reality of Tanzania, 1986, pp. 12, Chapter 2)[1].

In a critical review of Kuper's book *Culture: The Athropologists' Account* (2000) which tries to 'subdue' the concept of culture, Chirot (2000, p. 249) shows that "there was no need to be

[1] In this study, the author has used the softcopy of Chachage's 1986 PhD thesis whereby the chapter pages are not sequentially numbered as they are typed in separate chapters. This is different from the original hard copy of the thesis whereby the chapters and pages are sequentially numbered.

coherent about what culture means, about the fact that cultural differences can be compared, and that sociocultural evolution actually occurs." Since there are many cultures, Wamba (1991, p. 227) argues that, "cultures are forms of consciousness, i.e. a relationship to reality (*rapport du reel*) and the starting point here is the fact that *people think*. This relationship cannot be evaluated in terms of its being true or false".

So if the issue now is that anthropologists think 'the others' have no culture again, does that mean because of 'globalization' non Euro-Americans have 'graduated' and now they have societies instead of culture? At first let us get the historical facts right. According to Cabral (1980, pp. 142-143):

> Study of the history of liberation struggles shows that they have generally been preceded by an upsurge of cultural manifestations, which progressively harden into an attempt, successful or not, to assert the cultural personality of the dominated people by an act of denial of the culture of the oppressor. Whatever the conditions of subjugation of a people to foreign and the influence of economic, political and social factors, in the exercise of this domination, it is generally within the cultural factor that we find the germ of challenge which leads to the structuring and development of the liberation movement (Cabral, 1980, pp. 142-143).

On the same line of argument, Jane Plastow (1996, p. 10) reminds us that:

> One of the main philosophical justifications for African colonization was that the continent as a whole was utterly barbarous and without culture. The European mission was to bring civilization and Christianity to a benighted Africa. Traditional rituals and celebrations inspired fear in the uncomprehending Europeans, who often saw in them potential aspirations for the revolt or manifestation of the animism they wished to eradicate. They therefore routinely sought to suppress many forms of traditional African culture (Plastow, 1996, p. 10).

Falola (2003, p. 18) shows clearly the position of culture present situation. He warns that "to ignore cultures and the traditional sources on which they depend is to misunderstand the Africans in the modern world and to set them on a course whose consequences are unpredictable". The current struggle and manipulation to reposition the word culture and its application started a way back (in history) as rationale for colonization. In addressing the dilemma of conceptualizing 'culture', Rodney (1972, pp. 41-42) asserts that:

> Because of the impact of colonialism and cultural imperialism [...], Europeans and African themselves in the colonial period lacked due regard for the unique features of African culture. Those features have a value of their own that cannot be eclipsed by European culture either in the comparable period before 1500 or in the subsequent centuries. They cannot be eclipsed because they are not really comparable phenomena (Rodney, 1972, pp. 41-42).

Falola (2003, p. 2) regards culture as an 'agency of power'. Said (2003, p. 159) positions culture as a powerful weapon to fight "against extinction and obliteration" and also as "a form of memory against effacement". Therefore if Moore (1994) and others of the same

thinking suggest the word culture to be replaced, it implies that they are also suggesting power shift. Any attempt to paralyse the existence of culture in the era of neoliberalism, it is an attempt to confine power in one position. In reality this is an attempt to utilize the same power against 'powerless' as it was during slavery and colonialism. Falola (2003, p. 5) affirms that, "the linkages between colonialism and culture are always obvious, but they are not hard to delineate. Furthermore Cabral (1980, p. 140) clearly asserts that "it is not possible to harmonize the economic and political domination of a people, whatever the degree of their social development, with the preservation of their cultural personality." Hence it is equally important to argue that the attempt to 'dilute' the concept of culture is one of the mechanism to allow the domination of neoliberal policies to easily take place.

Culture (in Kiswahili *utamaduni)* exists and is still adequate and relevant. On this, Godwin Kaduma, the former Director of Culture in Tanzania explicitly argues that, "Tanzanian national culture is whatever Tanzanians want it to be" as quoted in Askew (2002, p. 271). This implies that any attempt to dismiss the whole notion and existence of culture at this moment, can divert this study from its direction it wants to take. Although it might sound as an 'academic immatureness', it doesn't seem problematic to use culture in its classical definition of the 'total way of life' as Cabral (1980, p. 143) concludes that "whatever the material conditions of the society it represents, the society is the bearer and the creator of culture."

UNESCO (in Ndagala, 2007) report of 1995 titled *Our Creative Diversity* repositioned this classical definition of culture and enhance its value to appreciate the cultural diversity of the world. The report explains that:

> Culture, therefore, however important it may be as an instrument (or an obstacle to development), cannot ultimately be reduced to a subsidiary position as a mere promoter of (or an impediment to) economic growth. Culture's role is not exhausted as a servant of ends – though in a narrower sense of the concept this is one of its roles – but the social basis of the ends themselves (Ndagala, 2007, p. 16)

UNESCO (in Ndagala, 2007, p. 16) reminds us that 'development and economy are part of people's culture' while Carlson, (2001, p. 2) insists that theatre is a simulacrum of culture and history. This means any attempt to sideline culture, is to go against UNESCO's *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* of 2005.

In Tanzania, arts and specifically theatre are some of the components of culture. This is verified by various occasions when it is advertised to have activities related to culture, then it

means there will be art performances, presentation and exhibitions. Even though culture is more than art, still art remains as a primary superstructure to hold and discuss culture in Tanzania. Askew (2002, p. 160) shows that:

> Far from being a stagnant domain, as might be inferred from stasis-tainted terms like *tradition* and *custom*, the idea of culture evokes rich discourse from Tanzanian citizens, scholars, politicians, and philosophers alike. Tanzanians have participated vociferously in global debates on cultural 'estrangement', cultural recovery, and the necessity of rejecting neo-colonial cultural paradigms with as much force and vehemence as colonial forms (Askew, 2002, p. 160).

From Askew (2002, p. 160) argument it is clear that there is a fundamental reason for Tanzanians rejection of any attempt to destabilize 'culture' as a concept. Cabral (1980, p. 141) further explains:

> The value of culture as an element of resistance to foreign domination lies in the fact that culture is the vigorous manifestation, on the ideological or idealist level, of the material and historical reality of the society that is dominated or to be dominated. Culture is simultaneously the fruit of a people's history and a determinant of history, by the positive or negative influence it exerts on the evolution of relations between [hu]man and his[/her] environment and among men[/women] or human groups within a society, as well as between different societies. Ignorance of this fact might explain the failure of several attempts as foreign domination as well as the failure of some national liberation movements (Cabral, 1980, p. 141).

In the midst of this complexness, it is important to show how various scholars have defined culture. Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1997, p. 127) defines culture as "a product of a people's history". Cabral (Cabral, 1980, p. 149) joins Ngugi to advance the definition of culture.

> Culture, like history, is necessary as expanding and developing phenomenon. Even more important, we must bear in mind that the fundamental characteristics of culture is its close, dependent and reciprocal connexion with the economic and social reality of the environment, with the level of productive forces and mode of production of teh society which created it (Cabral, 1980, p. 149).

From Cabral's argument, it is equally important to refer culture as a "class product" (Nabudere, 1979, p. 85) and emphasizes that "culture is not genetically determined" (Chirot, 2000, p. 249). Conclusively, culture as an instrument or a tool when used appropriately it moves the society towards agreed destination and when misused it becomes a weapon of destruction and confusion. As a tool, it is confined to a particular society within a certain time and place. If not most of the time, culture represents manners and creativity which are favoured by a social group in relation to time and space.

1.3Theatricality

Various scholars have defined theatricality. These definitions are derived from the fact that there is more than the then Euro-American concept of 'theatre proper'. According to Christopher Balme (2001)

> Theatricality as a mode of perception means that things and actions, peoples and places, are not in themselves theatrical, they possess no inherent theatricality, but rather are rendered such by a combination of aesthetic conventions and discursive practices, which determine in turn around which phenomena we place the 'frame' of theatrical apprehension. Theatricality can be understood as discursive practice which intersects theatre (as an institution and aesthetic form) with wider cultural contexts (Balme, 2001).

Balme's definition of theatricality corresponds with the definitions which Fiebach (in Friedemann Kreuder, (2008, p. 9), Mlama (1991, p. 55), Kerr's (1995, p. 1) and Lihamba (1985a, p. 8) have provided. This implies that most of the definitions which are used to define theatre in Africa are basically similar to the definition of theatricality. In summary theatricality can be defined as a practice in which culture becomes the process in which theatre evolves.

1.4Development

Development is always discussed because there is an opposite notion which is underdevelopment. According to Frank (1975, p. 104):

> [...] underdevelopment is apparently inevitable result of the historical development of capitalism over the past few centuries. Not only did underdevelopment develop as a consequence of the development as capitalism in the past, but the process continues and repeats itself today. It continues in the sense that the development of the world capitalist system continues to produce metropolitan development and peripheral underdevelopment today as it has in the past, continues to deepen the contradiction between the two and to deepen and strengthen the structure of underdevelopment itself. It repeats past experience in the sense that renewed attempts in the periphery to liberate one country or another from the underdevelopment consequent upon the operation of the imperialist-capitalist system are repeatedly frustrated by that very same imperialist system today as they were in the past; and each such frustrated attempt at development leaves a new residue of structural underdevelopment that will be much more costly to overcome in the future (Frank, 1975, p. 104).

As Frank (1975, p. 104) elaborates, it is important to discuss the concept of development from a historical perspective so as to link it to the theatre evolution especially its relation to development in Tanzania, and in Africa in general. The process of linking the two – development and theatre – is also based on the dependency theory. Ira Katznelson et al. in (Offiong, 1980, p. 76) argue that:

> Dependency means, then, that the development alternatives open to the dependent nation are defined and limited by its integration into and functions within the world market. This limitation of alternatives differs from limitations in the dominant nations in so far as the functioning of the basic decisions in the world market are determined by the dominant nations. Thus the dependent nations must make choices in a situation in which they do not set the terms or parameters of choice (Ira Katznelson et al. in (Offiong, 1980, p. 76).

Frank (1975, p. 1) further shows the link between dependency, development and underdevelopment. He argues that "development and underdevelopment are [...] related, both through the common historical process that they have shared during the past several centuries and through the mutual, that is reciprocal influence that they have had, still have and will

continue to have, on each other throughout history". Furthermore, "underdevelopment is an original state with the concomitant characteristics of backwardness or traditionalism and that abandoning these characteristics and embracing those of the developed countries (particularly the US) constitute alpha and omega of economic development and cultural change" (Offiong, 1980, p. 23). This implies that the political-economy superstructure is fundamental in determining trade and domestic development, which make the least developed countries (LDC) or developing countries (a euphemistic coinage for underdeveloped countries) more dependent on developed economies.

According to Chachage (2006b, p. 1), development as a concept 'metamorphosized' in the last 500 years of human development. Since its evolution, the term has created doubt and suspicion, especially when used in connection to Africa. Historically colonialism emerged in the form of the Christianisation of savages/barbarians and the civilisation of primitives. Thereafter, imperialism and neo colonialism surfaced in the process of modernisation and development. Modernisation for this matter means moving African societies from traditional to modern lifestyles, with a western appearance. Development implies depending on commodity-based production, which leads to capital accumulation, as a way of managing the economy (Chachage S. L., 2006b, p. 1). For Frank (1975, p. 17) "capitalist development and underdevelopment are not only temporary but also systematically discontinuous".

Mazrui & Mazrui (1995, p. 106) show the dichotomy of modernization and development. They argue that:

> If both 'modernization' and 'development' are seen as a struggle to 'catch up' with the 'West', the twin processes carry considerable risks of imitation and dependency for the Third World. Developing countries become excessively pre-occupied with attempting to emulate Western methods of production, Western techniques of analysis, Western approaches to organization, and Western styles of behaviour. In that very imitative complex lies vulnerability to continuing manipulation by Western economic and political interest (Mazrui & Mazrui, 1995, p. 106).

Moreover Mlama (1991, pp. 17-18) shows the negative consequences of capitalism in terms of the development of the majority. She argues that:

> Due to success of capitalism, development has not been forthcoming to the majority of the world population. People have become poorer, the quality of life has worsened and more and more people cannot even produce enough to feed themselves. Millions are starving to death. The few who have amassed wealth at the expense of others, often resort to repressive measures, silencing the majority into an acceptance of their exploitation. The majority are excluded from participating in policy making or planning their own development. They are instead only expected to implement programs formulated by others, even when such programs are not for the benefit of the common man and woman. Rarely are they given the chance to question the unfair returns for their labour (Mlama P. , 1991, pp. 17-18) .

Looking critically, one would realize the whole concept of foreign support and aid not only in theatre but in the operationalisation of the so called poor states like Tanzanian is embodied within neoliberal policies. The adoption and implementation of such policies were regarded as the solution for 'poor' countries, but on the other hand, they are a 'grave' for a country's development. Shivji (2009b, p. 13) refers to this dilemma as "the age of globalised neoliberalism".

Looking at the historical dilemma of development in Africa, Teveodjre in Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman (2007, p. 48) argues that:

> The African continent experiences, more dramatically than any other region in the world, the negative effects of unadjusted development strategies conceived by their leaders or imposed by the great powers. In spite of its human resources, natural wealth and the laudable efforts of many governments and peoples of the continent, the African economies have not realised significant growth levels, they have not been able to achieve a degree of autonomous growth and indigenous development. But we are reminded that African women and men are well versed in their own problems and that penetrating reflection on our own condition will permit us to find solutions to the ongoing problems of our continent (Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, 2007, p. 48).

In understanding the dilemma of conceptualizing the term development, Walter Rodney provides a definition of development in the underdeveloped countries. His definition is based on an attempt to avoid the use of the western definition of development. At individual level Rodney (1972, p. 9) defines development to mean "increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self discipline, responsibility and material well being", and this can be well-done collectively if people understand the state of their environment. And for him, "this capacity for dealing with the environment is dependent on the extent to which they understand the laws of nature (science), on the extent to which they put that understanding into practice by devising tools (technology)". We observe that Rodney defines science as laws of nature and technology as the process of putting the laws of nature into practice with the use of devised tools. Lihamba (1985b, p. 38) shows how theatre can contribute to such development. She argues:

> If development means the thrust towards individual's total freedom, the performing arts are vehicles for the pursuit of that freedom. Not only can they cater for his[/her] basic, physical needs but more importantly they can cater for his[/her] mental and spiritual needs and the expression of his[/her] creative needs. When human creates, [s/]he exercises his[/her] powers to assert him[/her]self and move away from physical and mental slavery. [S/]he produces to enable him[/her] to live a more creative life. Good performances can fulfil this function for human in that they unleash his[/her] imagination and creative powers more sharply (Lihamba, 1985b, p. 38).

By this explanation, it is clear that by understanding the role of theatre in the community, it enriches the understanding and the level to which such community can or has achieved in terms of development.

1.5Imperialism

Currently the word imperialism seems to be 'shelved' in the academic discussions and perhaps replaced by various terms such as globalization. Edward Said (2003, pp. 189-190) does not see such diversion caused by the collapse of the Soviet Union and lack of powerful ant imperialism block alone. Said see such diversion and perhaps glorification of imperialist acts caused by the "failure of intellectual class". Such intellectual failure is capacitated by what Said defines as "post modernism in which American pragmatism and linguistic analysis as well as French deconstructionism" have contributed Said (Barsamian & Said, 2003, p. 190).

Throughout this study, the word globalization is called by its 'real' name – imperialism as Shivji (2007, p. 1) shows. Mazrui & Mazrui (1995, p. 106) as for Chachage (2006b, p. 1) show how it is important to understand the history of development in relation to modernization. Cabral (1980, p. 141) on the other hand links development and imperialism. He argues that, "the principal characteristic, common to every kind of imperialist domination, is the denial of the historical process of the dominated people by means of violent usurpation of the freedom of the process of development of the productive forces."

This study adopts the Daniel Offiong and Ngugi wa Thiong'o definitions of imperialism.

> The phenomena associated with imperialism include monopolistic privileges and preferences, plunder of raw materials, seizure of territory, enslavement of the indigenous population, nationalism, racism and militarism. There is a general agreement in associating imperialism with economic, political, cultural and territorial expansion (Offiong, 1980, p. 54).

Furthermore Ngugi (2006, p. 2) adds that:

> For these patriotic defenders of the fighting cultures of African people, imperialism is not a slogan. It is real; it is palpable in content and form and in its methods and effects. Imperialism is the rule of consolidated finance capital and since 1884 this monopolistic parasitic capital has affected and continues to affect the lives even of the peasants in the remotest corners of our countries. If you are in doubt, just count how many African countries have now been mortgaged to IMF - the new International Ministry of Finance as Julius Nyerere once called it. Who pays for the mortgage? Every single producer of real wealth (use-value) in the country so mortgaged, which means every single worker and peasant. Imperialism is total: it has economic, political, military, cultural and psychological consequences for the people of the world today. It could even lead to holocaust (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 2006, p. 2).

Looking from these definitions, it is clear that there is a correlation between dependency, imperialism and underdevelopment. Dale Johnson (in Offiong, 1980, p. 73) argues that, "dependency is imperialism seen from the perspective of underdevelopment". In addition, Neo-Marxists see no difference between monopoly capitalism, imperialism and colonialism (Offiong, 1980, p. 57). Therefore, there is no option to discuss the relationship between theatre, foreign donors and neoliberalism and ignore the fact that they are intertwined and have an imperialistic causal relationship. Amin (2010) argues that the evolution of aid was a "strategic response by imperialist capital to the needs of time". In observing the development and processes embodied in imperialism in Africa, Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1997, p. 8) observes it as a dramatic turn in power struggle. For him, imperialism is an issue related to power struggle, whereby economics, politics, culture and literature are intertwined. Which means slave trade, colonialism and neo colonialism were a process of honouring and protecting capitalism through imperialism.

1.6Neoliberalism

There are many definitions provided for the word neoliberalism many with convergences. According to Encarta dictionary, neoliberalism is a political view, arising in the 1960s, that emphasizes the importance of economic growth and asserts that social justice is best maintained by minimal state interference and free market forces (encarta.msn, 2009). Cerny (2008, p. 1) shows the evolution of neoliberalism.

> Originally a label for a new form of nationally rooted transatlantic conservatism in the late 1970s and 1980s, neoliberalism was at first embodied primarily in the politics of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and the Conservative Party in the United Kingdom (UK) and of President Ronald Reagan and the Republican Party in the United States (US). It has often been seen as a revival of what has sometimes been called 'classical liberalism' or '19th century liberalism' - i.e., a return to purer laissez faire principles and the ideology (and economic theory) of the self-regulating market (Cerny, 2008, p. 1).

Shivji (2009a, p. 21) as for Cerny shows the same path of neoliberalism evolution. Elizabeth Martinez and Arnoldo García (2000) define neoliberalism from its negative effects from mid 1970s when it was massively 'ushered'. For them:

> although the word neoliberalism is rarely heard in the United States, you can clearly see the effects of neoliberalism [...] as the rich grow richer and the poor grow poorer [...]. Around the world, neoliberalism has been imposed by powerful financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank (Martinez & García, 2000).

Since it was not easy to impose neoliberal policies, the engineers had to device the model in which neoliberalism could survive and operate. One of the mechanism was the

institutionalization of both local NGOs and International NGOs. Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman (2007, p. 28) say:

> However, there are few NGOs which do openly grapple with the larger questions raised by the wider context and where NGOs should sit within the current economic paradigm. The Bretton Woods project, an NGO project, actively engages with IMF and the World Bank on issues of ideology, policy and practice. A minority of NGOs in the south and some academics and NGOs in the north do fundamentally question the economic model and its ability to ever be inclusive or address the multiple needs of the poor in Africa. Some NGOs have picked up on the idea of social movements as the drivers of positive change and have actively committed themselves to working to support movements of poor people demanding and addressing the need for major change [...]. NGOs, especially those based in the north, are increasingly being challenged to identify where they sit in the aid business and what their role and ideology actually are [...]. One issue they both honed in on was how northern NGOs are viewed by southern NGOs, many of which are becoming especially hostile to the solution, mainly because of their close relationships – in receiving funding and consulting with – the levers of global powers (Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, 2007, p. 28).

In recent years, shouts have been spread over neoliberal economic policy which started with individual countries ambitions to revive their economies. According to Cerny (2008, p. 2), neoliberalism is recently used as social discourse, economic doctrine and as a descriptive framework. It is evident that in this study using neoliberalism for analysing theatre and donor dependency gives a clear picture of the 'social economic realities' of theatre. Looking on the practical nature and its characteristics, scholars like Shivji (2009a), Martinez & García (2000) and others equate neoliberalism with imperialism. According to Martinez & García (2000), neoliberalism is operating through free market, cutting down of public expenditures in social services, deregulation of state interference, privatisation and more importantly eliminating the concept of community or public good. Looking on the operationalization of neoliberalism, it is clear that it has the same working principles as imperialism which Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1993, p. 110) describes as the "power of the dead capital".

The assumption of neoliberalists has been that the market can regulate itself in what they call competition. Such competition though emphasized becomes difficult as the market contain both fair and unfair players. Lack of systematic state involvement in the market by balancing import and exports, shatters weak economies by strong economies using the same 'blanket' neoliberal policies. For example, while the weak economies are forced to allow free market (deregulation) those with strong economies dominate as they have already accumulated capital. After domination, the weak economies fail to compete and even fail to run even their public institutions. Then the weak are asked to privatise them instead. Through free market policy, the strong economies are the one to buy those institutions which were built through public funds. When the strong buy the institutions, it necessitates the downsizing of the employees and running costs to maximize the profit. This market approach leads poor

economies to collapse and the strong to become stronger. The stronger economies would not like the poor economies to collapse completely as they are part of the 'peripheral' market of the products from the 'centre'. Therefore, strong economies device a mechanism to support the poor economies through foreign aid and 'soft loans'. These ones with strong economies are the one also known as donors'/international community (a euphemism for US-led imperial block as Shivji (2009a, p. 56) points out).

Shivji (2009a, p. 156), criticizes neoliberal policies which embodies development projects such as the 1980s Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), and similar projects from the 1990s in the name of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) led by the so called international financial institutions (IFIs) such as IMF and the World Bank. These development projects were brought under the umbrella of democracy, multipartyism, liberalisation and economic recovery aiming at the so-called poverty reduction. To him the whole process of IMF/World Bank development sounds imperialistic as a majority of Tanzanians have failed to experience *uhuru* (independence) and poverty had entrenched itself to the maximum. In relating IMF/World Bank (IFIs) projects, capitalism and underdevelopment, Chachage & Chachage (2003, p. 7) show how:

> SAPs [Structural Adjustment Programs] had restructured capital (private and public) which benefited from the statist model of the 1960s and 1970s around newly deregulated branches (import-export activities and the plunder of natural resources). They had also heightened the marginalization of the majority of the people and, aggravated tensions and reinforced further hierarchization. The practical problem for the IFIs [International Financial Institutions] and their supporters was how to win popular support for the SAPs measures and the market order, which are essentially anti-people and anti-human rights. For the IFIs and their supporters the problem was not lack of mass democracy, as the critics of SAPs claimed. Rather, it was that of how to put forward a defence of capitalism by trying to justify economic liberalization and commercialization of public and civil institutions and its consequences as far as the majority of the people are concerned. It was within this context that those democratic struggles, which sought new historical visions and modes of politics that aimed at defending women, youth, children, workers, poor peasants, the marginalized minorities, etc. were derailed. The popular democratic opposition to SAPs, as far as the International Financial Institutions IFIs were concerned were heralding the destruction of the fundamental basis of the liberal order and the institutions of privatisation and market forces (Chachage & Chachage, 2003, p. 7).

Chachage & Chachage show clearly how the imposed neoliberal policies marginalized people's voices at the periphery. The shift of the so called peoples revolutions were embodied and paralysed by the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) and donors' support. On the donors (development partners) involvement and underdevelopment of the African continent, Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman (2007, pp. 25-26) outline that:

> There is also growing criticism that donors do not pay adequate attention to global issues. The PRSPs focus on poverty, as do donors, but it is a national framework, looking only at the interval workings of a country, its government and institutions. It does not allow for the analysis of the international trends

> that cause or contribute to poverty, but many argue that these – especially restrictive trade agreements and the often-low prices paid for primary commodities – are critically important in shaping the entire development agenda [...]. Behind the PRSPs stands the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility (PRGF), this is actually the core aid disbursement mechanism. There are many problems with the PRGF approach and critics argue that this economic approach can never enable countries to meet their commitments on poverty; it is described by some as a continuation of past IMF and World Bank neoliberal, structural adjustment economic policies (Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, 2007, pp. 25-26).

Therefore it is important when discussing development and underdevelopment in Tanzania in the post independence period, to consider the relationship between slavery, colonialism, imperialism, neo colonialism and neoliberalism. All these economic models have a cause and effect relationship, as they always metamorphosed into different forms. For example, the application of neoliberal policies was not different from imperialism, apart from the fact that the latter was aggressive and the former was more subtle. Cerny (2008, p. 39) points out how neoliberalism with its "arm's-length regulation has proven to be a relatively manipulable and fungible platform for actors to use to reconstitute their strategies and tactics". Mignolo (2005, p. 98) also demonstrates how even after independence colonial nightmares continued to haunt most colonized states. These nightmares were generated either by political projects or social movements to fight against the everlasting humiliation and pain of neo colonialism. For him, development was widely spoken about but not achieved in practical terms. "The facts nonetheless force upon us the conclusion that underdevelopment is systematically and everywhere associated with – in fact caused by – colonization" (Frank, 1975, p. 2) although "not all colonized countries became underdeveloped (USA, Australia etc.) nor were all underdeveloped countries colonies (Southern Europe, Japan)" (Lacoste in Frank, 1975, p. 2). In synthesizing such scenario of developmentalism Kothari (in Chachage S. L., 2006b, p. 1) affirms that "where colonialism left off, development took over".

1.7Between Theatre, Politics and Economy

Looking at the relationship between theatre and society, it is important to study it by analysing economic and political developments. "Indeed, if we are thinking of the whole population in the society, it does not seem possible to talk about development of theatre and drama in that society without analysing the nature of its economic and political development" (Etherton, 1982, p. 316). Boal (2000, p. Introduction) on the other hand insists that since theatre presents both "pure contemplations" and "vision of the world in transformation" it is impossible to separate theatre from politics because politics is the one which "shows the means of carrying out that transformation or delaying it". In addition, Weber (2004, p. 31) shows the relationship and differences between theatre and politics. He says (I quote in full):

> The relation between theatre and politics has a long and vexed history. Of all the 'arts' theatre most directly resembles politics insofar as traditionally it has been understood to involve the assemblage of people in a shared space. But the audience in the theatre differs from the members of a political grouping: its existence is limited in time, whereas a polity generally aspires to greater duration. Theatre acknowledges artificially and artifice, whereas political communities are often construed in terms of a certain naturalness, an association underscored by the etymology of the word *nation* – deriving from Latin *nasci*, to be born. Political entities have historically derived their legitimacy from their ability to promote what is shared and common – 'a commonwealth' – whereas theatre tends to frequently to the extreme and to the exceptional. Politics is supposed to involve as appeal to reason, whereas theatre frequently appeals unabashedly to desire and emotion. Finally, perhaps most important of all, politics as generally practices claims to be the most effective means of regulating or at least controlling conflict, whereas theatre flourishes by ex-acerbating it. Yet both the thinkers of politics and its practitioners have recognized a need to come to terms with theatre, lest it winds up dictating its terms to them (Weber, 2004, p. 31).

Additionally, Shivji (2009b, p. 26) believes that one cannot discuss the whole issue of development without putting into consideration other global politics and policies. This includes the whole process of capital accumulation under what Shivji (2009b, p. 26) named "imperialist accumulation under globalised neoliberalism". To sum up this argument Nyamnjoh (2008, p. 127) concludes that "the impact of globalisation on the cultural economy in and on Africa cannot be understood separately from the dominant hierarchies outside Africa".

Shivji (2009b, pp. 26-54) defines how accumulation of capital was operating under primitive accumulation, industrial and financial over accumulation to the current process of accumulation by dispossession. Looking on the way capital was generated and accumulated; it is clear that the continuum has two forces opposing or embracing each other at some point. So, theatre as part of the social movement can be understood when embodied into the political economy of the existing policies which are neoliberal policies. Looking at neoliberalism and neoliberal policies, it enlighten us to understand better why things are the way they are now and why with all efforts by Euro-Americans to bring 'development' and the whole concept of 'developmentalism' has failed to reach the point in which they thought it is appropriate.

> Moreover, 'decades of development' – the imperial readjustment to national independencies and the imperial post colonialist reactivation and reinterpretation of the colonialist civilizing mission – have in the main, led to appallingly dismal results; this has but reconfirmed the fact that the recapitulation of capitalist civilization, on the African continent had already been foreclosed with the slave trade. Even colonialism, 'the shortcut to progress', has not done miracles. Theories and practices of development – developmentalism – which have been based on the conscious or unconscious ignorance or denigration (traditional society viewed as 'obstacle to development') of cultural and historical specificities of the communities whose development they sought to promote, have just compounded the crisis (Wamba Dia Wamba, 1991, p. 224).

Lihamba (1985a, p. 8; 1985b, p. 38), believes that any development when happens, goes parallel with human way of developing him/herself. This can include the way s/he express him/herself especially to things which s/he find interesting and important. So there is a direct relationship between theatre and development. That, any theatre work in the whole development process must have inner relation to the activities carried in the society. Looking at this system, human development is interdependent to the development of theatre and the other way round. Taking this stand, it is clear that there are two ways in which this study can be analyzed, internally and externally. Externally, there are global forces which drive any state on the surface of the earth which can be described as a 'political economy of the neoliberalism'. Internally there are ongoing development initiatives in which theatre as a simulacrum of culture helps the society to reach the set goals.

To carry further on Lihamba's theory of theatre and development, Ngugi (2006, pp. 42-62) engross himself to look on the process of making theatre using postcolonial literary theory. He sees language as important tool in the creation of any theatre as it also gives a society ownership and 'copyright'. Using his writings, especially the play *Ngaahika Ndeenda* (I Will Marry When I Want) which is written in Gikuyu, Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Ngugi wa Mirii, label this as the process of 'decolonizing the mind'. Using the Kamiriithu Community Education and Cultural Centre and the play *Ngaahika Ndeenda*, the Ngugis show clearly that there is a 'language of African theatre'. They believe that if theatre uses the society's language, then that becomes the real revolutionary theatre. Such theatre shows the real outlook of the society in a positive way and also gives the society members the authorship in writing their history. Ngugi further argues that, "we had gone on to define good theatre as that which was on the side of the people, that which, without masking mistakes and weaknesses, gives people courage and urges them to higher resolves in their struggle for total liberation" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 2006, p. 43). Looking from that aspect, then if development is part of human life, it is equally important for theatre which is used, to be in the language which is understandable to the desired community. Ngugi as for few theatre writers in Africa has maintained his firm stand on the language use to date. This is seen in his latest work *Murogi wa Kagogo* (*The Wizard of the Crow* (2006) which was published in Gikuyu.

On a local level, there is a relationship between the artist and the state. Kelly Askew (2002, pp. 4-5) discusses the challenges which the artist has in the political-led society. She explains the relationship between artist, theatre and the state. Siri Lange (2002) also explains the

relationship between artists and the society when there is what she referred to as 'state control'. Such state control on the other hand is a result of global dominant policies. For example, the censorship of capitalist theatre in the socialist state is a result of the competing global dominant policies i.e. socialism versus capitalism. Understanding the essence of theatre, then it becomes easy for the state to suppress thespians or artists rather than confronting the capitalist system. By doing so, it is obvious that the state wants to send a signal to its citizens that it is in much control while in fact, it is not because the state itself is politically and economically incapacitated by depending on global superstructure.

Generally, theatre in Tanzania can only be understood and analyzed when linked directly to global forces which organize or reorganize (structurally adjusting) state's systems. It is clear that from the outer look, global forces affect states capacity to deliver to its citizen. Then the state arranges its operating system to its people and their activities including theatre and artists. Therefore, I argue that there is a tremendous effect on theatre from the centre to the periphery and limited effect from the periphery to the centre. Since, the global forces affect theatre through the continuum of effects there is a possibility of theatre to affect the global forces although the chances are 'limited'. By linking theatre practices to the 'globalized-neoliberal' world, it is clear that theatre is 'used' directly and indirectly to propagate for neoliberal policies.

2. From the Centre to the Periphery

> In the words of the novelist Chinua Achebe, colonialism put a knife in things that held us together, and things fall apart. Indeed before the Second World War, the culture of European domination seemed secure.
>
> Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1997, p. 127)

This chapter explores the practice of theatre in Africa from pre-capitalist societies to colonial domination, including the period before 1961 when Tanganyika, now Tanzania, obtained 'pseudo' political independence. The aim of writing about theatre before colonialism or in the pre-capitalist era is not to write a new history but to provide a snapshot of what actually happened in those communities in Africa and to explore its relation to the current practice of theatre in Tanzania. The assumption is theatre existed in Africa as explained in the previous and in this chapter will provide historical facts to show the difference between pre and colonial theatre. These differences will be evidenced by various policies set by colonialists and the colonised reactions. This chapter also deals with the general perception that imperialism caused the dependency on donors that has left theatre in the devastated state it finds itself today. Frank (1975, pp. 2-3) indicates that:

> The fact that 'colonialism' and 'imperialism' have been used, especially in reference to certain phenomena of the period 1870-1960, almost interchangeably, and that 'imperialism' is derived from 'empire' or 'imperial system', suggests that the colony, by common understanding, is the dominated part of a system in which the imperialist is domineering part. In short 'colonial', 'imperial' and 'capitalism' all refer to the set of relationships, and more importantly as a *system* of relations, in which domination, super-subordination, exploitation, and of course, development and underdevelopment, play a central part (Frank, 1975, pp. 2-3).

According to Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1993, p. 110) there are three methods which imperialists use to ensure their own survival: firstly the control of former and new colonies, for imperialists no colony was dead, if I may express it in such terms. This type of feeding on old and new colonies has resulted in the existence of authoritative regimes in some parts of Africa, Asia and South America. Secondly imperialism "arms itself to the teeth to protect its power against rival imperialism or from real or imagined threats from successful people-based revolutions" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1993, p. 110). This is accomplished by the initiation of coups and assassinations of leaders who appear uncompliant with imperialist protocols. The third way in which imperialism survives is through silencing people within the imperialist headquarters, i.e. in the USA and Europe. This is done by threatening "people's power by social oppression, racism, sexism and even through religious divisions" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1993, p. 110). All of these mechanisms to protect imperialism have a direct effect on theatre, given its place in society as a simulacrum of the culture and history of people.

2.1 Pre-Colonial African Theatre

In many instances, the history of theatre or the history of Africa prior to colonialism has been discussed more generally in terms of the continent. This attitude underestimates the complexity and heterogeneous cultural traditions. It also ignores various factors which have shaped the continent to how it is today (Mlama P. , 1991, p. 55). The history of Africa and its countries has been built on relationships between people, the environment, societies, cultural aesthetics and technological development. These relationships exist not just between Africans themselves but also between people from outside of the continent (Lihamba, 2004, p. 233). The individual countries or nations seen today were created during colonialism and Africa was divided into nations to 'reflect' the notion of 'nations' in Europe. It is evidently that neither nations nor tribes existed in Africa and both are a result of colonialism (Ranger T. , 1986, pp. 248-250). Furthermore, Rodney (1972, p. 41) argues:

> The moment that the topic of the pre-European African past is raised, many individuals are concerned for various reasons to know about the existence of African 'civilizations'. Mainly, this stems from a desire to make comparisons with European 'civilizations'. This is not the context in which to evaluate the so-called civilizations in Europe. It is enough to note the behaviour of European capitalists from the epoch of slavery through colonialism, fascism and genocidal was in Asia and Africa. Such barbarism causes suspicion to attach the use of the word 'civilization' to describe Western Europe and North America. As far as Africa is concerned during the period of early development, it is preferable to speak in terms of 'cultures' rather than civilizations (Rodney, 1972, p. 41).

According to Chachage (1986, pp. 14, Introduction), the area of land which constitutes present-day Tanzania, had several nicknames such as Bundu, Nyika and Safariland up until 1919, when Tanganyika became its official name This area was not isolated due to internal and external contact with other societies especially through trade. According to Rubin & Diakante (2001, p. 299), Arabs colonized the area in 7th century BC, and there were trade and commerce links between Asia, Mediterranean and the current Zanzibar, which was previously named Azania. Chachage (1986, pp. 1-2, Chapter 2) shows that there was trade between East Africa and Asia for thousands of years before colonialism. He gives an example of trade between East Africa and India in the first millennium A.D., whereby local merchants connected this trade to the interior Long Distance Trade. Between the 9th and 10 centuries, trade in gold from Zimbabwe (formerly Southern Rhodesia) reached the coast of Sofala (Mozambique) and later Kilwa (Tanzania). This trade involved communities in Kilwa Kisiwani, Kilwa Masoko, Zanzibar and Bagamoyo (Chami F. , 1999). Chachage (1986, pp. 1-2, Chapter 2) demonstrates clearly that by this time there was a defined Swahili society, employing Arab culture and writing style. Chami (2001, p. 648) provides evidences, on the new Bantu Migration Theory, showing how Bantu-speaking people had already by 200 BC

populated the coast of the area which is now known as Tanzania. As Chachage (1986, pp. 1-2, Chapter 2) points out, these were the people who formed the Swahili speaking communities and civilizations. From these interrelationships, Swahili culture (including poetry and dances) came to be integrated in the culture of indigenous people (Horton & Middleton, 2000, p. 57).

According to Lihamba (2004, p. 234), in the area currently known as Tanzania, various communities had already organized themselves into kinships and chiefdoms. These included the Waluguru, Wamwera, and Wahehe. Some were feudal/semi-feudal like the Wahaya (Bahaya) in Tanzania, Ankole (Banyankole) in Uganda and Tswana in South Africa (Mlama P. , 1991, p. 56). These societies had organized court performances, court poets and heroic recitations (*majigambo*), which praised the existing rulers. For example Wahaya court performances were accompanied by *enanga*-a seven string zither. Being a feudal society most of the theatre performances were based on entertainment and praises to the ruling class. Heroic recitation is one of the theatre forms used to present this ideology. In describing the characteristics of Heroic recitation) *majigambo*, Lihamba says (I quote in *extenso*):

> Heroic recitation is a genre both literary and theatrical which has been called simultaneously heroic poetry or poems, praise poems or poetry. This form has been practiced by amongst others the Wanyakyusa, Wazanaki, Wakunga, Wangoni, Wamaasai, and Wahaya of Tanzania. Outside Tanzania, such groups as the Zulu, Bahima and Banyankole amongst others, have used this form [...]. But praise poems or heroic recitations are not closed literary expressions. Their meanings and functions can only be realised in their dramatization or performance [...]. Dance, movement, costuming, music and acting are to varying degrees used to realise the full meaning of heroic poems in performance [...]. as poetry, heroic recitation relies on imagery, metaphor and figurative language where there is little stress on personal emotions but rather a series of pictures is conveyed to listeners through a number of laconic and often rather staccato sentences, a grouping of ideas which may on different occasions come in a different order (Lihamba, 1985a, pp. 20-21).

The following example of heroic recitation is from the Bahaya[2]:

I am a tough character
My soul is likened to a tobacco leaf
My heart to a wooden spoon
Which of the two is better?
It is you my lord the king who worries my mind
I am totally committed to defending the kingdom
I am among the survivors of Muhene battle
I carry my own food reserves in adventures
I am the sorcerer of Lubwa
I am a polygamist
I grow fat after spending night with a woman

[2] Some songs and quotations in this study are translated in English from the original language. Therefore, in a situation where the original language is not found, the English version will prevail.

That is why I was given the praise name Nnenwe
I prepared medicine for a leopard and hid it in the Ibembela forest
Any leopard that crossed over it also drank it
All leopards were killed after they have become mad
Their skins were used to decorate the throne

I was given the praise name Lubundazi
A man who can take over under cattle herds
I am a tiger of the panther family
Many attempts on my life have ended in vain
I am the character you cannot easily bribe
I side with good friends instead of rich brother
That is why I am trusted by kings
That is why I was given the praise name Lukwekwe
Lukwekwe implies my loyalty cannot be distracted from the king
Whoever does wrong to my lord the king will provoke my temper
And I will react ruthlessly like the Bwoe spirit medium
Hail the sea that swallows rivers

(Mlama P. , 1991, pp. 56-57)

Moreover, all of these performances, regardless of their purpose of entertainment, also addressed accepted social norms, such as the participation in rituals as well as addressing criticised anti-social ideas. The artists who performed at these occasions were protected and rewarded by their rulers. Such examples demonstrate the existence of organized and well-to-do African societies long before the invasion of foreigners (Euro-American explorers, missionaries, traders, civilizers etc).

Most of the pre-colonial societies lived a communal lifestyle (*ujima*) apart from the few feudal/semi-feudal previously mentioned. In the communal societies, ethical values prevailed over other values. Work was communally done and resources were collectively owned. "Since work is the responsibility of all and art being creative work is produced and consumed communally" (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 11). Even the traditional African theatre at that particular time was forced to adjust itself to that kind of lifestyle. There are many factors that differentiate traditional African theatre from current theatre practice. Mlama (1985, p. 9) and Semzaba (1983, p. 5) points out some of the differences, stating that traditional theatre had a communal ownership with its validity and authenticity being based on the societal structure of the time. The following Kaguru wedding song shows the essence of communal sharing:

Ichidoo	This little food
Ndie na nani ndie	With whom shall I eat it
Ndie nai ndugu ndie	I must share it with my kin
Chidogogi	It is so little
Ndie na nani ndie	With whom shall I eat it

Ndie nai ndugu ndie I must share it with my kin

(Mlama P. O., 1985, p. 9)

In the traditional societies, there was a strict adherence to the whole process of theatre creation. The way theatre techniques and skills were passed from one generation to another was based on family or ethnic grouping. As part of the process, all materials used for the preparation of theatre, especially costumes and props were found locally and assembled collectively. As such, theatre was a simulacrum of the society in that it resembled or reflected the society's livelihood. For example, if members of the society were fishers, theatre was fitted in before and/or after fishing, and the theatre content reflected/acted the daily activities and that is why theatre is known as the oldest profession (Sayore, 2008, p. 37). The same applied to a society of farmers, whereby theatre reflected all major farming activities such as agricultural preparation, planting and weeding. The theatre practice also incorporated harvesting celebrations before a new farming cycle. In pastoral societies, the performance had a direct link to animal husbandry. The performing space, costumes and props would also reflect the pastoral society (Semzaba, 1983, p. 5). These activity-based dances had various names according to the ethnic group they belonged. For example *ukala* performed by Wazigua and Wabondei was a ritual dance for spirits' appeases, divination, purification of guns and hunters protection (Lange, 1995, p. 145). *Abasimba* of Wajita, was known as hunting dance. *Limpango* was a war dance done by Wanyakyusa. Wasukuma and Wanyamwezi on the other hand, had snake dance (*bayeye*) and porcupine dance (*bununguli*) which belonged to snake and porcupine societies respectively (Bakari & Materego, 2008, p. 7; Lihamba, 2004, p. 234; Rubin & Diakante, 2001, p. 300). It was noted that every society had at least three dances which were particular to that society, which meant that the area (Tanganyika) as a whole had hundreds of traditional dances (Rubin & Diakante, 2001, p. 300).

According to Semzaba (1983, p. 5), at that time theatre production involved all members of the society at various levels. To participate was a responsibility of every member of the society. Even the audience was part of the performance, not only were they members of the society but they also had knowledge about their theatre and the processes involved. This affirms the essence of theatre in bringing the performer and the audience together at the same time and in the same place. The practiced communal lifestyle also created communal ownership of theatre. "in many societies, the creation of both form and content was constructed on the broad participation of the members of the community, who as performers

or audience could use the theatre to express their concerns and viewpoints (Mlama P. , 1991, p. 97). The participatory nature of pre-capitalist theatre was what one could call 'automatic' or 'natural' participation. It was not a forced or pre-planned participation, but rather a smooth integration and intertwining of elements. Boal (2000, p. ix) clarified that, "theatre was the people singing freely in the open air; the theatrical performance was created by and for the people. It was a celebration which all could participate freely". On this note, Boal clearly shows the imperative nature of change in relation to society's participation in theatre. We shall have an occasion to return to this point of free participation when discussing the theatre of donors and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Due to the cultural setting, individuals found themselves participating and owning their theatre. This was in fact the basis for the generalization in traditional African societies that every member of the society was an artist (Sayore, 2008, p. 37). Songoyi whose study is basically on the commercialisation of traditional dances, explains on how the traditional communities utilized all performing arts.

> In the traditional communities commercialisation and tendency of the dancers to turn profession, were not there. Nothing of the sort existed. Although even in the traditional communities people and groups specialized in particular dances never did they become professional. People had their own occupations on which they earned their living. The associations which they usually founded were basically for mutual assistance, and dance developed out of the economic activities of the people (Songoyi, 1988, p. 25).

At the beginning of this chapter, I pointed out that theatre was part of the society's platform to discuss any issues that arose. Primarily, theatre reflected the societal system and daily lives of its people. In those societies, it was observed that there were various cycles and social events, such as the birth and naming of a child, rites of passage, marriage and death. Many theatres were tied up in these important social events such as initiation (Mlama P. , 1991, p. 97). In that we see another role of theatre in communal society, which was to reflect social realities and "atune society to the universe" (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 8). Currently in Tanzania there is a tendency to refer to theatre or arts as a mirror or compass of the society (*sanaa ni kioo au dira ya jamii*). Presumably, the reflection of the society through theatre was based on the assumption that if theatre belonged to the society and it reflected the society's activities, then it should be the mirror of the society. Because theatre could predict or forecast the coming events, it was then seen as a compass to direct society in the 'right' direction. Makoye (2008, pp. 106-107) shows how traditional theatre played major role in the prosperity of the society. Due to its importance, every society chose reputable individuals to take care of the arts and make sure the production skills were carried from one generation to another according to the accepted norms and conventions. Furthermore Rodney (1972, p. 40)

affirms that "music and dance had key roles in 'uncontaminated' African society. They were ever present at birth, initiation, marriage, death, etc., as well as appearing at times of recreation".

These activity-based performances derived a new perception of the origin of theatre in Africa. Plastow (1996, p. 15), acknowledges this alternative view from (neo) Marxists like Lihamba, who showed how theatre originated from labour, as opposed to the Greek mythologies of the origin of theatre in rituals. Lihamba (1985a, p. 12) argues that, "art being a form of labour which is creative, is indistinguishable from other forms of labour and becomes a manifestation of the practical activity of human by virtue of which s/he expresses and confirms him/herself in the objective world as a social and creative being".

Looking closely it can be observed that traditional theatre was comprised of various forms of theatre such as rituals, songs, dances, heroic recitations, storytelling and even masquerade. All or a combination of them could form one performance, there was no separation between the forms (Diakante & Eyoh, 2001, p. 17). These forms had different conventions and social contexts to be performed. For example dances were most done during ceremonies, storytelling was more educational and ritual was confined to specific events (Rubin & Diakante, 2001, pp. 304-307).

I can further argue that, theatre elements such as language, props and costumes represented various concepts (signs and symbols) depending on the society. Eagleton (2008, p. 112) describes the characteristic of sign being repetitive but difficult to know its original meaning and the context keep on changing. About symbolism, Lihamba (1985a, p. 17) argues:

> The symbolism in African performances works a lot through conventions. Conventionality here means the adherence to an elaborate system of recognised customs, symbols and accepted rules which act as signals between performer and the audience. Conventions can be traditional (inherited) or occasional, set for the purpose of a particular performance and audience (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 17).

For example, in the African Traditional theatre, songs were sometimes satirical, similarly stories, dances and recitations. Theatre was a functional element and its aesthetics aimed at educating/informing, criticizing or entertaining. *Mkole* dance of Wazaramo, *digubi* of Wakaguru and *ikumbi* of Wagogo were mainly aimed at educating people about rites of passage (Rubin & Diakante, 2001, p. 300). Perhaps the cause of theatre being theorized as a teaching 'tool' or a 'medium' for information can be attributed to this functionality. I should further argue that not all theatre activities were tied to a 'serious' functionality. Some were

just to provide pleasure or relaxation. Others were meant to encourage bravery or the audacity to perform certain activities. For example, heroic recitations were performed not only after a battle but also before, in order to impose bravery on the people who were going to war (Semzaba, 1983; Songoyi, 1990). Lihamba adds that:

> The traditional forms have always been at the disposal of society to use them for instruction. The practical and utilitarian nature of rituals, dances, songs, theatre and the like have been clearly illustrated against the backdrop of human struggle for survival. Performances such as story-telling, ritual, dance, drama and recitations were used as institutions for the reproduction and transmission of social values from one generation to another (Lihamba, 1985b, p. 32).

When analyzing the use of signs and symbols in those performances, it clear that if there were variants in theatrical elements such as language, there was specific meaning to specific society and were not general to all African societies. Thus, a sign or symbol in one society could mean something else in another society, or it could have the same meaning but be applied to a different setting. There was no 'universality' of African signs and symbols used in traditional theatre perhaps resemblance.

Places where theatre was performed were also varied. Theatre did not use a special building set aside for such activities, as it could take place in any 'empty space' (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 2006, p. 37). There were those who preferred to perform under a tree, at the bottom of cliffs, on the riverbanks or beach and some up in the mountains. This had to comply with the purpose of the performance it varied amongst societies. If the aim was ritual, then theatre was performed in the ritual shrine which can be a tree like *mkole* for *mkole* initiation ritual (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 17).

African societies of that time believed that there was life after death, i.e. there was a 'reciprocal relationship', which unites the living and the dead (Semzaba, 1983, p. 10). Masquerades and rituals, among others, were theatre forms used to present this concept of evocations. A good example of this was the *baswezi* dance of Wabisa (Semzaba, 1983, p. 11), *mbayaya* of Wahehe, *madogori* of Wazaramo (Rubin & Diakante, 2001, p. 300) and *midimu* of Wahehe (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 17). *Midimu* was a masked ritual of the Makonde. Done in the second hald of the year, *midimu* accompanied the peak of boy and girls initiation. The mask used in *midimu* represented various spirits such as animals or human beings. By the use of costume, dance and movements, the audience was able to identify the character evocated by the masker (Lihamba, 1985a, pp. 17-18).

The language used in the traditional theatre was the language of the society, which most members used and could understand. Throughout the reading, there was no reported evidence that at that time people would use an extraneous language in theatre that people could not communicate in. The use of the society's language gave the society the room to 'own' the theatre and also gave it authenticity. This was one of the reasons that theatre has been seen as a product of the society (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 2006, p. 44).

In summary when looking at traditional African theatre, one can see it as functional, non-commercial, participatory and as a reflection of the society. It also used the society's language, members as artists and communal performing places. All of these elements when bounded together made theatre at that particular time be seen as a product of the society. Ngugi (2006, p. 37) in explaining the pre-colonial setting of theatre in Kenya, argued that theatre was not isolated from the society, rather it was part and parcel of everyday life 'activity among other activities'.

2.2 Slavery and Colonial Rule

The transformation of life and various interactions in traditional African societies brought changes. These communal structures did not last long before 'they fell apart' as Achebe (1994) has described in his book, *Things Fall Apart*. Exploration, civilization, trade and missionaries have been recorded as the major causes of 'things falling apart' in Africa; "The missionaries in their proselytising zeal saw many of these traditions as works of the devil. They had to be fought before the Bible could hold sway in the hearts of the natives. The colonial administration also collaborated" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 2006, p. 37). Plastow (1996, p. 44) also shows how colonialists participated in the promotion of cultural imperialism. These discoveries by outsiders of abundant land, human labour and resources changed the social, political and economic setting of the continent. Africa became the concern of the world's major colonial players, the Euro-Americans. 'Adventurers' also played a key role in publicizing the potential economic supplies, which were yet to be known to the outside world (Askew, 2002, p. 161). Khamis (2007, pp. 89-90) argued that "nowhere has the impact of these revolutions [slavery and colonialism] been more dramatic than on the African continent".

One must question the aim, cause and more importantly, the benefit of colonialism. While history clearly demonstrates that African societies were practically organized and civilized,

colonialism itself claimed to embody the process of civilization. John A. Hobson (in Offiong (1980, p. 57) sees colonialism as "a reflection of unfulfilled promise of liberal democracy". This remark stresses Offiong's argument that colonialism was caused by British producers' failure to utilize their industrial power fully. The existent inequalities in Britain weakened the consumer power of the working class. As a result, there were limited investment opportunities, which forced British capitalists to search for alternatives. "The growth and expansion of mercantilism of the 16th century led to the development of a single integrated world-wide capitalist system which through ties of commerce and force has created a developed metropole and a periphery which is underdeveloped" (Frank, 1975, p. 2).

Ngugi (1997, p. 8) adds that the aim of colonialism was to secure; land, all that it can produce, and people to work it. For Britain and its crisis, the opportunities lay in underexploited areas of the world. Africa was one such area, which enabled Britain to offload its surplus capital. The search for places to deposit surplus capital led Britain and other European countries to develop an interest in East Africa, among other places on the African continent (Ranger T. , 1986, p. 215). Lacoste in (Frank, 1975, p. 2) shows the consequences of such mercantile expansion whereby it raised England through industrial revolution and underdevelop to the colonized.

"When Europeans started to venture south as far as the coast of West Africa in the 1440s, they were hunting for gold, precious stones and spices. It was the lust for riches that drove the explorers to Africa" (Chachage S. L., 2006b, p. 2). This started with the Vasco da Gama tour to the Cape of Good Hope in 1497. Although the Portuguese used to service their ships in the coastal towns of East Africa on their way to India, by the 18th century they were almost forced out by Arabs from Oman (Rubin & Diakante, 2001, p. 299). It was clear that the Portuguese not only interfered in Long Distance Trade but they also wanted to 'divert the Indian Ocean Trade to Europe'. By 1799 they were defeated by Arabs at Fort Jesus in Mombasa (Lihamba, 2004, p. 234). Remarkably, the Portuguese were the ones who initiated and conducted the deadly Atlantic Slave Trade in the 16th century, after the discovery of the New World created more demand for human labour (Okagbue, 2004, p. 430). Their trade attracted Europeans (England, France and America as a colony) who exchanged manufactured goods as the Portuguese ships crossed the sea to collect slaves. The renowned slave trader Sir John Hawkins had two ships named Jesus and John the Baptist. Despite other human cargo trades that existed in the ancient Egyptian and Roman eras, it is widely held that

the European slave trade held the world record for brutality, especially in terms of how African slaves were treated.

In discussing slave trade, Walter Rodney (1972, p. 103) shows the difference and similarities between Arab slave trade which was predominantly in the Eastern Africa and the European slave trade. Rodney describes the slave trade as the source of African underdevelopment and it was implanted and executed using various mechanisms. For example songs were used as a mechanism to instigate inferiority among Africans and superiority among the captors. Africans, for example, were forced by the British during colonization to sing the following:

Rule Britannia, Britannia rule the waves
Britons never never never shall be slaves

(Rodney, 1972, p. 103)

It was also noted that Portuguese slave captors shouted the names of St. James and St. George as they attacked, killed and collected slaves (Offiong, 1980, pp. 85-87). I have cited the examples of such 'Christian' words and names involved in the slave trade in order to demonstrate the dichotomy of slavery and colonial-missionary activities clearly. Thus the association of missionaries (both Christian and Islamic) with the slave trade, was neither chance nor coincidence. From there, it is not clear when exactly slavery was overtaken by colonialism; as the former began to fade out in the 19th century, the latter was already in place.

According to Chachage (pp. 10-11, Chapter 2), the exploitation of people and resources by imperialist bourgeoisies in the 19th century necessitated the expansion of empires of domination. Chachage's argument was supported by the *amour-propre* of Cecil Rhodes, whom Chachage called 'the greatest advocate and builder of British empire'. He said:

> I was in the East-End of London yesterday and attended a meeting of the unemployed. I listened to the wild speeches, which were just a cry for 'bread', 'bread', and on my way home, I pondered over the same and I became more than ever convinced of the importance of imperialism. My cherished idea is a solution for the social problem, i.e. in order to serve the 40,000,000 inhabitants of the United Kingdom from a bloody civil war, we colonial statesmen must acquire new lands to settle the surplus population, to provide new markets for the goods produced in the factories and the mines. The empire, as I have always said, is a bread and butter question. If you want to avoid civil war, you must become an imperialist (Chachage C. S., pp. 10-11, Chapter 2).

This quotation in Cecil Rhodes' own words, proved the case that colonialism was not an accident but a well-planned imperialist strategy for global domination of capital. It also affirms Ngugi's line of argument that "imperialism is the power of dead capital" (1993, p. 110). For Africa, the time of colonization was conceived as the 'dark ages', as it was clear

that the outsiders knew nothing 'useful'. Tanganyika itself was called Nyika, to mean wilderness. Jefferson Murphy (in Offiong) complains that:

> European attitudes about Africa developed into a complex set of derogatory myths. Africa was depicted as a Dark Continent of jungles and dark, mysterious swamps, and Africans were thought of as savages with no history and no 'culture'. European ignorance of the African interior contributed to the myth of African inferiority, but the slave trade played the more active role in creating myths (Offiong, 1980, p. 95).

Explorers and missionaries such as Dr. David Livingstone claimed to have come to 'help' Africa on two major missions. The first mission was to reduce the extent of the slave trade and end 'tribal' wars, and the second was to extend commerce and spread civilization (Chachage C. S., 1986, pp. 2, Chapter 4). But historically Africa was already organized (civilized) and developed before the Euro-American venture of the 15th century. There is evidence that strong kingdoms and empires existed like in Egypt and the 'glories of Pharaoh', Ethiopia and the 'kingdom of Axum', Nubia and the 'famous state of Kush or Meroe', the Maghreb nation', the Inter-lacustrine region/the Bunyoro-Katara, Zimbabwe and the empire of Mutapa and so on (Rodney, 1972, pp. 57-82). All these examples defeat the notion of colonization being the engine of development and a civilization mission. Furthermore, artistically Rodney (1972, p. 42) argues:

> The art of Egypt, the Sudan and Ethiopia was known to the rest of the world at an early date. That of the rest of Africa is still being 'discovered' and rediscovered by Europeans and the present-day Africans. The verdict of art historians on the Ife and Benin bronzes is well known. Since they date from the 14th and 15th centuries, they are very relevant to any discussion of African development in the epoch before the contacts with Europe (Rodney, 1972, p. 42).

As mentioned earlier, the area of land which constitutes the current Tanzania, was occupied by different colonizers at different times. For example, Zanzibar was under the rule of a dynasty founded by the Sultan Seyyid Said from 1804 to 1963. The hinterland was colonized under "Germany chartered trading company, *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft* German East African Company – (DOAG), founded in 1885 with a capital of 7,128,000 Marks financed by German bankers" (Chachage S. L., 2006b, p. 2; Lihamba, 2004, p. 235). It was evident that even before the Berlin Conference of 1884/85 Tanganyika was already under German colonisation (Rubin & Diakante, 2001, p. 300) and was known as *Deutsch-Ostafrika*. Greeks, Italians and Afrikaners from South Africa were also part of the colonization group and mostly occupied the areas of Usambara, Meru and Kilimanjaro mountains (Askew, 2002, p. 45; Riccio, 2001, p. 130; Lihamba, 2004, p. 235). The German concern was more in the establishment of law and order and magnifying commerce (Chachage C. S., 1986, pp. 2, Chapter 4). Lihamba (2004, p. 236) also points out how Germans concentrated on imposing

economic and political structures to the extent of sidelining theatre aesthetics. Germans neither established a theatre institution nor impressed their aesthetics upon the local population. “Because of ignorance and because for the most part it suited them, they denigrated local performances as ‘uncivilized’ activities” (Lihamba, 2004, p. 236). It was clear that from the beginning, the German colonizers were involved in various businesses such as the purchase of minerals, as the mining industry for iron, copper and salt had existed in Tanzania in the pre-colonial time (Chachage S. L., 2006b, p. 2). In exploiting the available minerals, Germany provided exclusive rights to private companies in those areas which had gold deposits. It was said that by 1910 there were 76 mining fields most with gold potential in Mwanza and Tabora, while 111 areas of minerals had already been discovered (Chachage S. L., 2006b, p. 3). The whole process of the scrambling and squandering of African resources was based on the ‘dead capital’, and this was the ‘external political expression’ of imperialism (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1993, p. 110).

In the process of civilization, colonial education was introduced. According to Chachage (1986, pp. 3-4, Chapter 4), missionary education in Tanganyika was introduced in 1868. The French Roman Catholic of the Holy Ghost established a school in Bagamoyo and later, schools of the same nature were established by the Anglican Church Universities’ Mission to Central Africa (UMCA), the Church Missionary Society and the Lutheran Mission of Berlin. On the other hand, it was evident that the Islamic Quran education had been established in the coastal areas centuries before. The focus of the German education was strictly on vocational training. The colonial education was not aimed at educating Africans for their own benefit, but to help them to participate in the process of exploiting their own countries (Offiong, 1980, p. 115). Whether the colonial government pretended to train middle class workers or to get educated people to help their fellow Africans to become civilized, the bottom line was to educate them to be better exploiters of their own countries for the benefit of the colonialists. Education – as a colonization tool – was left to missionaries through Christianity and baptism (Bakari & Materego, 2008, p. 10; Mlama P. , 1991, p. 57; Mollel, 1985, p. 23; Plastow, 1996, pp. 69-71).

In the same education system, European theatre was introduced in churches. Most of the plays performed in the church had morality as major theme and they were performed mainly at Easter and Christmas. Moral plays such as *Safari ya Msafiri* (Traveller’s Adventures) and *Imekwisha* (Finished) became part of the Anglican Church mass (Rubin & Diakante, 2001, p.

300). Stories such as Daudi Muhando's *Hadithi za Kiafrika Zimekuwa za Kikristo* (*African Tales Tamed Christian*, 1943) and Paul White's collection of *Jungle Doctors' Fables* (1950) were adapted and retold in church services, chosen because of the main theme of morality (Rubin & Diakante, 2001, p. 301). Compared to Greek theatre in the 5th century BC, these "liturgical drama became a very forceful didactic movement' (Mlama P. , 1991, p. 25). Ogunleye (2001, p. 75) refers to such plays as religious propaganda whereas they were "designed to show how people who live as Christians will eventually be rewarded and how non-Christians suffer for their folly; a modern version of vice punished and virtue rewarded".

Apart from colonial/Christian moral plays, traditional African forms of theatre were seen as demonic and repugnant. There are two opposing arguments as to why colonialists and missionaries were keen to suppress traditional African theatre in favour of European theatre. There are those scholars like Plastow (1996, p. 45) who believes that missionaries did not fully understand African performing arts and theatre. Theatre, along with other performing arts, was associated with witchcraft and was thus classified as demonic. She argues:

> Traditional performance was often related to indigenous religion, to sexuality and to alcohol-all things which the Church strove to deny the African people. Moreover, traditional African culture must have been extremely frightening to many imperialists. They generally understood neither its language nor its form, and had been so indoctrinated in the 'savage' nature of 'primitive' Africa that a firelight *ngoma* may well have been transmuted in their eyes into a pagan ritual of frightening barbarity (Plastow, 1996, p. 45).

Scholars like Cabral (1980), Bakari & Materego (2008), Kerr (1995), Mlama (1985), Nsekela (1984) argue against the notion that colonialists banned traditional African theatre because they could not understand them as it was plotted. Cabral (1980, pp. 139-140) asserts that

> History teaches us that, in certain circumstances, it is very easy for the foreigner to impose his[her] domination on a people. But it likewise teaches us that, whatever the material aspects of this domination, it can be maintained only by the permanent and organised repression of the cultural life of the people concerned. Implantation of domination can be ensured definitively only by physical elimination of a significant part of the dominated population. In fact to take up arms to dominate a people is, above all, to take up arms to destroy, or at least to neutralize and to paralyse their cultural life (Cabral, 1980, pp. 139-140).

Actually as Cabral argues, penetrating ones area of dominance in order to dominate as colonialism did, needs more than physical domination. And for this case psychological and mental domination seems to work quite well. To support this argument Bakari & Materego (2008, p. 9) elaborates that:

> The act of suppressing our indigenous arts it was not an accident resulted from not knowing. Even when [colonialists] advocated for religion first before [colonial] government, it was not an accident

> resulted from them not knowing our indigenous societies. They knew what they want and they knew what to do to get it[3] (Bakari & Materego, 2008, p. 9).

Even Kerr (1995, p. 18) affirms that, "the fundamental reason why the Christians were so keen to suppress African performing arts was that they realised cultural forms held the symbolic key to the religious and moral bases of indigenous societies". Nsekela (1984, p. 58) explains in detail how colonial education was used to encourage people to accept "human inequality and domination of the weak by the strong" as one of the fundamental elements of being civilized. Even the process of putting forward religion before colonial administration had a specific mission. Mlama (1985, p. 9) argues that, "in capitalist systems, the mind of the exploited was turned to accept exploitation. Religious songs for example, especially those of Christianity, have been extensively used by capitalists to make people accept worldly material poverty in the hope of receiving heavenly spiritual salvation".

Mlama provides the following 'Christian' song *I Hunger and I Thirst* to justify her argument:

I hunger and I thirst;
Jesus, my manna be:
ye living waters, burst
out of the rock for me.

Thou bruised and broken Bread,
my life-long wants supply;
as living souls are fed,
O feed me, or I die.

Thou true life-giving Vine,
let me thy sweetness prove;
renew my life with thine,
refresh my soul with love.

Rough paths my feet have trod,
since first their course began;
feed me, thou Bread of God;
help me, thou Son of Man.

For still the desert lies
my thirsting soul before;
O living waters, rise
within me evermore.

(Mlama P. O., 1985, p. 9)

Even though it is not clear f the song was translated into Kiswahili, the song emphasized feeding people with bread and manna as they were hungry and not *ugali*, *fufu* or *banku* which

[3] English translation by the author from the original Kiswahili quote from Bakari & Materego.

were ‘popular’ carbohydrate meals. It was surprising to notice that in pre-colonial and colonial African societies (even today) bread was neither a ‘main’ food nor used for ritual/ sacrifice offering (some exceptions can be observed in the French assimilated countries with the culture of French bread). Cases of using bread and wine as the body and blood of Jesus Christ respectively in the Catholic rituals have been criticized as imposed, parable and unrelated to Africans (Mboneko, 2004). For example Mboneko (2004, p. 3) ‘fictitiously’ argues that, “[…] in Germany bread is very important to everybody […] wine is a common drink and most of the time it is served with meal[4]”. This system of indoctrinating people that bread and wine can be transformed into the body and blood of a person whom they didn’t know, can be seen as a ‘cultural invasion’ (to use Paulo Freire’s words) into African rituals in the ‘civilization’ process, which was carried out by Catholic missionaries.

The song which Mlama cited as an example, also emphasized that so long as people were hungry and thirsty then Jesus would feed them. This meant that if they believed in Jesus they would not be hungry and thirsty. This was misleading and was simply a way to soften people’s hearts to believe in parables, which they then wasted time conceptualizing in vain. This process of forcing people to believe in bread and wine as the body and blood of a human being (Christianization), was in most places (including Tanganyika) not a peaceful process and left many societies in a devastating situation.

Another dimension that led to the banning of traditional dances which has not been discussed in great detail, was the reality that some of the traditional dances (*ngoma*) used figurative language or direct acts that were clearly aimed at insulting and affronting the colonial administration. It was difficult for the colonial administrators to tolerate such ‘abominations’ and the sense of victimization through traditional theatre (Chachage C. S., 1986). Comparing Christian religious songs and African *ngoma*, it was clear that *ngoma* had more of a sense of empowerment, liberation and consciousness towards people’s rights rather than towards illusions of ‘bread’, ‘living water’ and spiritual salvation. As previously argued, the banning of African *ngoma* was no accident. The emotions which such *ngoma* induced, were intolerable to the colonialists and it was what Mlama (1985, pp. 9-10) calls the ‘shaping of consciousness’ and ‘tools of liberation’. According to Cabral (1980, p. 147):

> The greater the difference between the culture of the dominated people and that of the oppressor the more possible such a victory becomes. History shows that it is much less difficult to dominate and preserve domination over a people whose culture is similar or analogous to that of the conqueror [...].

[4] English translation by the author from the original Kiswahili quote from Karumuna Mboneko

> One of the most serious mistakes, if not the most serious mistake, made by the colonial powers in Africa, may have been to ignore or underestimate the cultural strength of African people (1980, p. 147).

Therefore the argument that the colonialists banned *ngoma* and other traditional performances because they did not understand them does not stand up as they were aware of the content and the impact of the messages. Ngugi (2006) shows the colonial essence.

> The real aim of colonialism was to control the people's wealth: what they produced, how they produced it, and how it was distributed; to control, in other words, the entire realm of the language of real life. Colonialism imposed its control of the social production of wealth through military conquest and subsequent political dictatorship. But its most import area of domination was the mental universe of the colonised, the control, through culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relationship to the world. Economic and political control can never be complete or effective without mental control. To control people's culture is to control their tools of self-definition in relationship to others (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 2006, p. 16).

Bakari & Materego (2008) further explain that:

> The strongest bomb when fighting to colonize people especially their reasoning, is to destroy their culture [...] Colonialists knew that by destroying our culture, it could be easy to colonize. So they fought against our traditional arts and instead emphasized on the use of their drama. Those dramas were prepared/written by European authors and they reflected their environment[5] (Bakari & Materego, 2008, p. 9).

The colonization of Tanganyika was not a peaceful movement, as in the Christianisation of the area. People did not accept the colonialists and in fact resisted. The resistance was manifested by a bold refusal of the local population's rituals, ceremonies and the content of the dance drama by the colonialists. The major revolts included the coastal people battle led by Abushiri bin Salim in 1888-1889 whereby Abushiri was brutally hanged at Bushiri, Pangani (a place named after him) in 1889. Wahehe also waged a serious revolt from 1891 led by Mtwa Mkwawa, who shot himself in 1898 instead of being captured by the Germans. Before his death, the Germans were defeated twice, by Mkwawa's army at Lugalo in 1891, and at Lipuli Kalenga in 1894. The Maji Maji war of resistance led by Kinjeketile was another remarkable battle in 1905-1907 (Lihamba, 2004, p. 236; Rubin & Diakante, 2001, p. 300; Immkwawa, 2000). Scholars like Edmondson (1999b, p. 11) referred Maji Maji as a 'rebellion', perhaps caused by rebels who went against the 'constituted authority' of the Germans, which was not the case. The battles of Africans against colonialism were vivid examples of a struggle against being treated as an underclass in their own environment. Kerr (1995) believes that:

[5] English translation by the author from the original Kiswahili quote from Bakari & Materego

> The driving motor of imperialism was leading to the gradual incorporation of indigenous pre-capitalist African economies into a wider capitalist macro-economy directed from Europe and North America. For this, to take place it was necessary not only to break down the pre –colonial political and micro-economic systems but also the legal, religious and cultural apparatus which provided their ideological underpinning. Here, despite intermittent apparently divergent policies, there was a rough correlation between the ends of the missionaries and the colonial administrations (Kerr, 1995, p. 18).

Bakari & Materego (2008, p. 8) argued that in order to protect their interests and move them beyond the control of the economy, the bourgeoisie used institutions such as law, education and culture. In the process, they also sponsored the preparation and performance of theatre. "[..], capitalism, in its early stages of development, favoured the growth of art and the artist. It released tremendous forces of artistic as well as economic production, it brought into being a new awareness and gave the artist new means with which to express it" (Songoyi, 1988, p. 58).

2.3 Colonial Theatre

Following World War I, the Germans were defeated and their territories distributed amongst winners of the war. Tanganyika "was made a mandate of League of Nations to be administered by the British and 1946 a trust territory of the United Nations under British administration" (Rubin & Diakante, 2001, p. 300). The change of colonial administration manifested the change of the theatre scene (Lihamba, 2004, p. 236).

Lihamba (1985a) and Mollel (1985) explain how the British occupation led to the introduction of colonial theatre in Tanganyika in the 1920s. Lihamba (2004, pp. 236-237) regarded the British colonial period as the beginning of "a period of aggressive introduction of Western theatre" which was "facilitated through two major channels; schools and expatriate drama clubs". Some of the plays which were performed included Gow's *The Sheriff's Kitchen,* Milner's *The Ugly Duckling***,** McKinnel's *The Bishop's Candlesticks* and Francis' *The Birds of a Feather*. The common places for these performances were in schools where proscenium arch stages and expensive costumes were used. These plays were mainly performed in the racially segregated schools. Plastow (1996, p. 70) explains that:

> All schooling was racially segregated. The British schools mounted productions for parent's days and, from the forties onwards, Asian schools started to put on specifically Asian plays. Drama seems to have been practically non-existent in African schools until the forties, and it was then performed in English only to a tiny élite (Plastow, 1996, p. 70).

The use of proscenium arch stages resulted in a different performer-audience relationship as compared to the traditional theatre (Plastow, 1996, p. 45). Furthermore, Mollel argues:

> Traditionally, schools had been centres for the propagation of a colonial intellectual culture that assumed an absence of any cultural ingenuity or initiative on the part of the colonised. Schools operated on strange cultural menus consisting, for example, of the maypole dance, 'country' dance, Scottish and square dancing, all claiming superiority over 'native' dances and artistic performances (Mollel, 1985, p. 23).

Boal (2000, p. ix) referred to it as aristocratic and class theatre which separates the actors and the audience. While few selected are acting on the stage, majority the audience "will remain seated, receptive, passive". It was easy for colonialists to impose this aristocratic theatre in schools as most of the schools were boarding. This made students to have ample time and facilities (books and halls) to rehearse. Students also were the ones who at least could read and write in English as compared to the working class (Bakari & Materego, 2008, pp. 9-10).

According to Chachage, the years following 1920 were unmanageable for the British administrators in Tanganyika. There were several underlying factors for this including famine, disease, the consequences of World War I and economic deficit. Due to this economic crisis, Britain had to extend the exploitation of raw materials through the mining of minerals and through agriculture. Economically the British administration in Tanganyika depended largely on loans from the London market. To cover the financial deficit, the colonial administration had to find a mechanism to balance its payment. Between 1920 and 1925 the price of gold rose and consequently Britain exploited more gold in the Mwanza, Musoma and Lupa districts, where it had been discovered. This exploitation resulted in a number of social upheavals for those who had been colonized (Chachage C. S., 1986, pp. 14, Chapter 4; Chachage S. L., 2006b, p. 3). The result of these factors was the 'crisis of accumulation', which led Britain to change its administration system to 'indirect', as compared to the German 'direct' system (Ward & White, 1971).

The period between 1945 and 1952 was marked by the aggressive return of colonial theatre after a lull in the years from 1922 to the 1940s, when Britain was economically 'strangled' as Chachage has previously elaborated. The return of European theatre was marked by plays from William Shakespeare, Bernard Shaw, Gilbert and Sullivan, therefore it was very much secular theatre (Lihamba, 2004, p. 237). Of course only certain schools were selected, as these plays were in written form. It was also claimed by one Provincial Officer that Africans at that time lacked 'initiative, application and experience', so it was important to link theatre to missionaries and the colonial government, which provided the education (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 34). Although such colonial performances were not based in any roots in Africa, they were taken as a 'universal' model of theatre, as Mollel argues.

Apart from the colonial plays established by colonialists and missionaries, the establishment of playhouses in Tanzania came about during British occupation. The well-known "Little Theatres" which exist in Dar es Salaam and Arusha to date were constructed in 1947 and 1953 respectively (Rubin & Diakante, 2001, p. 301). This was done mainly to facilitate the colonizers having a place where they could sit and enjoy Shakespeare and other Elizabethan plays or 'last season's West End and Broadway' performances (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 39). Importantly these 'theatres' were mainly constructed "to give colonialists a sense of identity and consolidate their myth of superiority" (Lihamba, 2004, p. 237). These theatres were for exclusive members and it wasn't until after independence that non-Europeans were invited to perform. Apart from their racial segregation, Little Theatres were also used as a model to show 'elite' Africans or 'black Europeans' (as Nyerere referred to them) the quality and value of European theatre. In terms of language, in the Little Theatres and also in schools, drama was performed in English. Despite its foreign nature, the elite accepted drama. This attitude caused drama to be seen as part of an elite and European culture even to date, there was no room for traditional theatre to be seen as a legitimate simulacrum of the African culture (Rubin & Diakante, 2001, p. 301).

The British Council also participated in the secularisation of European theatre. Their initiative was based on school drama competitions and festivals (Youth Drama Festival). These initiatives had a severe influence on local theatre productions especially in the Dar es Salaam, Morogoro and surrounding regions where they were mostly conducted. Although theatre scholars such as Mollel argued on the claimed universality of colonial theatre, that attitude also influenced the ministry responsible for culture to adopt the British Council competition and festival model to run theatre activities in Tanzania after independence (Lihamba, 2004, p. 37). In preparing for these competitions, schools were supposed to chose plays which were in English such as *The Birthday of the Infanta*, *White Queen Red Queen* and *A Little Nut Tree*. They were also requires to present a play of 45 minutes in one act or full play. This implied that 'elocution and proper speech' were important judging elements (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 32).

Before the end of World War II, cultural activities including traditional dances – *ngoma* were seen as obscene, barbaric and one of the activities which propagated tribalism (Plastow, 1996, p. 10). Later in 1948, the British colonial government changed its cultural policy to allow and encourage cultural activities including *ngoma* (Rubin & Diakante, 2001, p. 302). The British

provided a list of 20 *ngoma* which were acceptable (Lange, 2002, p. 46). This can be seen as a difference between the Germans and the British, but in actual fact the point in time when the British government decided to allow certain *ngoma*, was a time when nationalism and liberation movements had begun, and the colonial administration was in no position to say otherwise (Askew, 2002, p. 168). This freedom was satirically to "distract them from the mounting opposition to colonial domination in the empire" (Mlama P. , 1991, p. 58). Additionally, the British had been forced to change their cultural policy due to 'unrest and demand for independence' in other parts of the world, especially in Asia. Rubin & Diakante (2001, p. 301) argued that after British colonialists realized that they could no longer contain people's desire for cultural freedom, they "hatched a plan to brighten the lives of the colonial subjects and thus gain acceptance of colonial system." Here again the subjugation of colonialists over the colonized was exemplified. Due to the fact that people had become aware of their rights and freedom, the belief that 'the native was a natural performer' was romanticized and glorified (Rubin & Diakante, 2001, p. 301). This is what I call 'a carrot and stick' tactic employed by the colonizers towards the colonized.

It should be noted that in the late 1940s or before the high peak of nationalism movements, performing groups were seen by the British as the 'yeast' to arouse divisions and 'tribalism'. Thus, before the government realized that they could benefit from some of the groups by using them as cheap business advertising tools, they rejected them with contempt. The introduction of performance fees and taxes resulted in the formal organization of theatre groups in the urban centres as it was cheaper to operate that way. These groups performed dances and drama in relation to their places of origin. In Dar es Salaam for example, Wanyasa and Wamatengo formed Southern Tanganyika People's Union, Wapogoro formed Ulanga Association, Wazigua, Wakwere, Waluguru and Wakwami created Ukwami Union. The beginning of the nationalism movement provoked the need to accept *ngoma* groups in order to minimize tension between the colonized and the colonial government. Evidently, the so-called African traditionalism policy passed by the British colonial government in 1948 was a 'counter-measure' to the mushrooming theatrical organizations, which the colonialists thought had a 'tribal mission' (Lihamba, 2004, p. 238). For colonialists, there was a diverse shift in the perception of groups, which "can be viewed as neither charitable nor unconscious" (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 27).

Such groups, which the colonial government saw as 'tribal associations', were not meant for 'tribal' perpetuation as such. They mushroomed as a reaction to the colonial civilization mission for the so-called barbaric people, who as Chachage pointed out, resisted the way the colonial administration system suppressed their cultural expression in the process of 'ending tribal wars' whilst at the same time plundering their wealth. Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1997, p. 127) indicated clearly that, "we know from history that a system of domination creates its opposite: resistance!" Both the German and British colonial governing systems forced people to move from one area to another, especially from rural to urban areas or production sites, especially on the plantations (Lihamba, 1985a, pp. 234-235). When those people met in the new place – which is also common for people who meet in a foreign place – they tended to organize themselves according to their places of origin, traditions and even according to the language in which they could easily communicate. This is what Ndabaningi Sithole described as 'conscious of kind' (Falola, 2003, p. 4). Therefore associating ethnic grouping with tribalism was a misconception of existing African social structures, which had several factors in common, including that of being black; and being seen as third class by the minority colonizers and Asians, which they were not.

In the process of resistance *beni ngoma* was born (Rubin & Diakante, 2001, p. 302; Ranger T. , 1975, p. 123). This *ngoma* started in Mombasa, Kenya and in Tanga and Pangani in Tanzania. By 1914, using the Kiswahili language, *beni* in a number of variations was already to be found in most parts of Tanganyika in the process which Lange (1995, p. 5) refers to 'assimilation' by performing groups in the rural areas which renamed *beni* in their locality. For Wamwera *chikos*a evolved as a result of *beni,* while for Wanyamwezi there was *dundo* and in Ulanga there was *mlangimlangi*. On the other hand, even *enanga* among the Wahaya and Wakerewe was affected by *beni* (Chachage C. S., 2002, p. 5). *Beni,* in the eyes of colonialists, was appealing because it "was an indication of a longing for aspects of European culture" (Ranger T. , 1975, p. 123) and "a good move away from traditional 'barbaric' dances" Lihamba concludes (1985a, p. 29). *Beni* was primarily developed by taking various elements from the social, political and colonial organizations. The dancers put on; imitations of military shirts, shorts, socks, shoes and ties as a costume. The music performed (brass band) and even the dancing itself (parade), imitated military drill practices. Regardless of these characteristics i.e. imitations of European conducts, *beni* "also had deep roots in pre-colonial dance" (Lange, 1995, p. 5). These *beni ngoma* were being practiced in the form of associations. Well-known associations included Marini against Arinoti and Kingi against

Scotchi (Askew, 2002, p. 45; Ranger T. , 1975, p. 28; Lange, 2002, p. 45). Surprisingly, colonialists were attracted because they could see that Africans had understood the kind of performances they were supposed to perform. “The imitation of European dress and drills, especially by the African civil servants, teachers and soldiers, was seen as a civilizing process for the local people” (Lihamba, 2004, p. 238). Thus, the notion that *ngoma* and other traditional performances were ‘barbaric’ was well comprehended within *beni*.

This pseudo colonial appreciation of *beni* did not last long. After some time, *beni* associations went into turmoil. The colonial government and missionaries sensed that *beni* had an internal agenda aimed at uniting people. Christian converts were banned from attending and participating in *beni* performances and their associations as they were so called pagan and uncivilized activities (Rubin & Diakante, 2001, p. 301). “This *ngoma ya Beni* is a political secret society of communist origins. It is strictly forbidden for our Christians to join this society” agued the missionaries (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 29). It should be noted that the Christian “proselytization campaign did much to accelerate deterioration of traditional performances” as they used a ‘radical’ rather than ‘adaptive’ approach (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 32). Ranger (1975, p. 123) adds, “Yet the crime of the missionaries in this case did not lie in their attempt to impose European styles upon Africans. It lay rather in their attempt to deny to Africans the ability to chose when would adopt or adapt European styles, and when not”. Since *beni* were organized by associations, the colonial government started to charge tax for every performance so as to discourage people from performing them. The colonial government realized that *beni* must be regulated because it could bring political consciousness and also it contained elements of abusing ‘mockery of whites’ and questioning the legitimacy of colonial administration (Ranger T. , 1975, p. 123). For the colonialists, *beni* was a communist society (Lihamba, 2004, p. 238) and a mechanism to spread Islam (Ranger T. , 1975, p. 123). “In 1954, the colonial government passed the Societies Ordinance, which required all organizations to register themselves. The law was established in order to stop, or at least to control, any anti-colonial pr nationalist activity. In some cases jazz bands were used a cover for political meetings” (Lange, 2002, p. 49).

As was expected, some members of *beni* associations and jazz bands were part of the nationalism movement which gave birth to the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). TANU was the party, which led the struggles until 1961, when Tanganyika was granted independence (Lange, 2002, p. 50; Lihamba, 1985a, pp. 29-30). Here, I wish to argue that

beni, as any other theatrical form, was a result of the oppressive administrative structure between the rulers and the ruled struggling to fit within the created administrative systems. In Chapter Three, we will see how Theatre for Development (TfD) was born out of the same 'culture of resistance' style. Although most rulers pretend to portray theatre and other performing arts as micro processes (as established in both colonial administrations in Tanzania), the impact in most cases resulted in macro achievements. (See also Boal's *Theatre of the Oppressed*, 1982).

Apart from *beni*, *vichekesho* (singular *kichekesho*) – comic skits was another performing art form which came about during colonialism. *Vichekesho* were performances done by few characters, i.e. from one to three "as interludes for *taarab*-an East African musical form by African, Asian and Arabic musical motifs" (Lihamba, 2004, p. 236). This musical genre became famous in the 1920s, led by Siti binti Saad who performed widely in Eastern Africa and India. According to Bakari & Materego (2008, p. 10), *vichekesho* were practiced by people who were attracted to using their skills to perform colonial drama. Due to their low level of understanding the colonial drama language and its composition, they were forced to enact a replica of the European drama. Still, the content adhered strictly the Bible, Christianity and civilization by propagating 'good manners'. *Vichekesho's* central stories were created through satirical misunderstanding of the English language by African servants in front of their British masters. One of the *kichekesho* was known as *Boi* (boy) and *Mzungu* (white person). The word 'boy' was also used to connote house cleaner or servant.

[6]Mzungu:	[*Calling the house cleaner*] Boi! Boi! Houseboy!
Boi:	[*Coming fast while breathing*] Sir!
Mzungu:	Coffee, tafadhali (please)
Boi:	Unataka kofi? (Do you want a slap?)
Mzungu:	Ndio, (yes) coffee
Boi:	[*Stunned*] Nikupige hasa kofi? (Should I really slap you?)
Mzungu:	Ndio (yes) and one egg
Boi:	[*Amazed*] Mama yangu! (ooh gosh!) Huyu mzungu leo sijui vipi. Anataka nimpige kofi halafu nikamwite dada Egi. (I don't know what is wrong with this white person today, s/he wants me to slap him/her and then go and call sister Egi – Agnes)
Mzungu:	[*Annoyed*] Haraka (fast)
Boy:	[*Prepares himself, slap him/her and leave the place very fast calling*] Egi! Dada Egii!
Mzugu:	Stupid, why have you slapped me?

[6] English translation by the author from the original Kiswahili quote from Bakari & Materego

Boi: Hee makubwa! [This is strange] Bite nae anatakiwa. S/he want also Bite – Beatrice) [*starts to call*] Bite! Bite! Bitee!

(Bakari & Materego, 2008, pp. 11-12)

In analyzing this example, it was clear that *vichekesho* were accepted and enjoyed by colonialists as humorous. "The colonialists encouraged humour that denigrated the African, but left alone, the African performers satirised everyone in their human foibles and stupidities" (Lihamba, 2004, p. 238). The stereotype form (language used) and the theme contained made *vichekesho* part of the ruling class theatre. *Vichekesho* did not contain about the emancipation and liberation content, which could have lead to empowerment against colonial oppression and suppression (Bakari & Materego, 2008, p. 17). Towards independence and post independence, *vichekesho* became unpopular as people were more aware of the nature and content of theatre which they would like to see and participate in. Lihamba provided a reason for the unpopularity of *vichekesho*. She says:

> The reasons behind the loss of satire in the performing arts are many. E. N. Hussein touches upon one of them, *Vichekesho. Vichekesho* made the African ridicule him/herself to make the European laugh. This was laughter at the expense of the performer, who does not laugh with his/her audience; it was derogatory, it was negative. The end was not corrected behaviour but a widening of a racial gap and a prolongation of prejudices. *Vichekesho* has left a bad taste in the mouth of many (Lihamba, 1985b, p. 37).

The rise of *vichekesho* was also facilitated by the introduction of film in 1922. The initial films included those of Charlie Chaplin and Harold Lloyd, which lead to the local production of films in 1953. The production of famous films by the colonial government such as *Muhogo Mchungu* (Bitter Cassava), *Chalo Amerudi* (Chalo has Returned), The Post Office, The Tax etc showed the influence of *vichekesho,* especially on the local actors who participated (Lihamba, 2004, p. 238). All these local produced films featured a 'funny man' like Shabani bin Yusif who acted as fool and later learn wisdom. For British colonial government, films were cheaper to produce and control the final content as compared to theatre (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 42).

Apart from the demise of *vichekesho* and transformation of *beni ngoma*, another issue which became prominent before independence was the concept of performers and audience separation. This was not due to the introduction of European drama alone, it went beyond this. Previously I demonstrated how performing groups in urban centres were formed by people who came originally from the same place and had been forced to migrate to another place for work or for other personal reasons. In these 'new' places, the performances that

were given by those groups did not only target members from the same background (as had happened prior to colonialism), they also targeted other people who had migrated from different areas or migrant workers already there (Lihamba, 1985a). For new performances and *ngoma*, the situation forced the audience to position itself as an audience. The audience members sometimes did not have a direct relation or contact with the performing group in order to understand the content of theatre to enable them to participate fully. Furthermore, the language, symbols and signs used were sometimes different compared to those used by members of the audience. The same applied to costumes, *ngoma*-dancing patterns etc and this led to the emergence of new theatre patterns, which accommodated such changes. *Beni* was a good example of this. *Beni* then influenced other *ngoma* such as *lele mama, gombe sugu* and *hiari ya moyo* which as we will see in Chapter Two, were later used in the independence movements (Chachage C. S., 2002, p. 5).

The interference by the colonial administration was another problem which lead to the change of theatre practices in urban centres. Their introduction of "complex apparatus of licences, permits and fees" (Askew, 2002, p. 162) to regulate *ngoma* became one of the main causes of new adaptations in theatre. This showed that not only that the audience was forced to 'alienate' themselves because they were not part of the preparation but the resettlement outcomes were inevitable. It was only *beni* which managed to break through a number of places dominated by migrant workers and established itself as a migrant workers' dance. *Beni* was, as previously mentioned, a malleable dance and it later developed various versions such as *kalela* and *malipenga* depending on the place where they were adapted (Chachage C. S., 2002, pp. 5-6; Ranger T. , 1975, pp. 116-117).

Due to the fact that societies changed from communal to a class-led capitalism, theatre creation also adapted to reflect this same change. Instead of theatre being owned by everyone in the society and involving everyone in its creation (both form and content), colonial theatre became the property of colonialists and a small elite in clubs and in schools. The majority remained as audiences receiving what the artists had prepared. In churches, the audience/members of the society did not have the chance to take part in the performance other than as a humble audience, receiving the message of 'good' versus 'bad' as portrayed by the artists. After the performance, the audience was expected to adapt and opt for the 'good' and get rid of or leave the 'bad'. This was the very aim of colonial theatre in Africa – to teach (Bakari & Materego, 2008, pp. 9-10).

During the colonial time, the effects of migration were seen most prominently in the newly-created urban centres rather than in rural areas, using *beni ngoma* as an example. The reality was that both rural and urban areas alike suffered at the hands of colonial damnation. For example the Maasai, who performed heroic recitations as one of their major theatrical forms, found themselves in trouble with the colonialists. In their heroic recitations, they used to boast about how they have successfully managed to get many cattle in a cattle raid. In the colonial administrative system, cattle raid was an offence. Moreover, stealing was a sin according to Christian religious norms. So using feedback from heroic recitations, the colonial government was able to arrest the 'thieves'. This colonial harassment forced the Maasai to abandon their heroic recitations, because it brought them many problems in life (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 32). I contend that, any governing system especially economic and politically based can enlighten or numb any social movement in society. So if the governing system was not interested in a certain sector, for example theatre, it has a way to suppress or ignore it so as to force it to slowly disappear or die. Furthermore, any change of the governing system affects theatre either positively or negatively. Hence theatre cannot remain the same under different governing systems, whether colonial or democratic.

Regardless of all the efforts to suppress theatre, the colonial government did not successfully manage to kill it (Rubin & Diakante, 2001). Traditional theatres were so strong and colonialists knew that. The alternative was to replace it with colonial/missionary theatre through indoctrination of children in schools. In these schools is where these children were taught to scorn their traditional theatre in favour of colonial theatre (Makoye, 2008, p. 106). Nyerere once admitted that:

> When we were at school we were taught to sing the songs of the Europeans. How many were taught the songs of the Wanyamwezi or the Wahehe? Many of us have learnt to dance the 'rumba' or the 'chachacha', to 'rock 'n' roll' and to 'twist' and even to dance 'waltz' and the 'fox trot'. But how many of us can dance or have even heard of the *Gombe Sugu*, the *Mangala*, the *Konge*, *Nyang'umumi*, *Kiduo* or *Lele Mama* (Nyerere J. , 1966, p. 186).

The quest for a new governing system and cultural freedom became key aims in the struggle for independence. The nationalist and liberation movements in Tanganyika had to plead to their people to believe that life would be better than it was under colonialism. This was also a struggle for the search of nationalism and the renaissance of traditional African culture, as opposed to cultural imperialism (Chachage C. S., 1986; Shivji I., 2009a). Because people needed a better quality of life and wider economic opportunities, it was evident that including these demands in the independence struggle agenda could mobilize support. More

importantly the struggle for independence included several demands from the people that they should be involved in the decision making processes, as opposed to the colonial government where colonialists made decisions on their behalf (Nsekela, 1984, pp. 53-54). During the colonial time, the Legislative Council (LEGCO) was made up of a majority of European and Asian representatives. Africans on the other hand had no representation (Chachage C. S., 1986). From this aspect it is clear that "the nationalists leaders undertook to assure that when independence came, there would be mass participating in the decision-making processes of governments. The emphasis was on the development of [hu]man and not of things" (Nsekela, 1984, p. 54).

All these independence initiatives were supported by various theatre forms and most historians always underestimate/ignore the fact that various theatre forms played a major role in bringing independence (Mlama P. , 1991, p. 59). Taking from the premise that majority of people were 'illiterate' and colonial laws did not allow an authorized gatherings, it is obviously most of the political activities were organized under auspices of theatre groups. For example Lange (2002, pp. 47,53) shows how "bands [*beni*] were central in preparing the ground for decolonization". Even the majority of women who became members of TANU (Tanganyika African National Union) the party which lead to the independence of Tanganyika members, were recruited from various dance societies especially *lelemama*. It was easy to recruit members from artistic association than in the civil societies. This was due to the fact that majority were afraid of the consequences of being TANU members (Lange, 2002, p. 54).

As mentioned earlier, cultural consciousness was part of the liberation struggle and the phrase 'cultural imperialism' became prominent (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 2006). Cultural imperialism was the doctrine that there were superior and inferior cultures, the former being the Euro-American and the latter African, Aboriginal etc (Smith, 2008, pp. 43-44). This propaganda has provoked a lot of contention on how to measure better versus worse culture in the world of diversity. For example, I was informed that the way in which a better culture might be measured was through science and progress. Therefore if one does not have 'scientific advancement' according to the Euro-American definition of numbers and alphabets, then that person does not qualify to be seen or encompassed within a better culture paradigm, they are categorised rather within inferior culture (Beyaranza, 1994, p. 19). This attitude towards other people's culture and theatre was incorrect and inappropriate and that is exactly what the

colonialists did to African cultures. As Rodney (1972, p. 42) amply questions, "who in this world is competent to judge whether Australian waltz is better than a Makonde *ngoma*".

Since time immemorial traditional theatre performances have not qualified as theatre. The so-called theatre under colonial occupation was the European type of theatre. Traditional theatre performances remained illegitimate cultural expressions, as they were classed as pagan and uncivilized (Rubin & Diakante, 2001, p. 301). This meant that during colonial occupation, those groups that were commissioned by colonialists to perform in other places were not able to become professional groups and make a living from such performances, as their work was merely informal. This was a result of two things, first the colonial – capitalist system exploited them as cheap labourers, and second the society distanced itself from supporting those performing groups due to colonial and religious indoctrination. According to Lihamba (2007, p. 5):

> The failure of colonialism to create and develop cultural institutions for the arts has been both a blessing and a curse. A blessing because it provided room for indigenous art forms to continue to exist but a curse for contemporary culture practice because the arts and its institutions continued to suffer the negligence and peripherisation when compared to the political and economic spheres (Lihamba, 2007, p. 5).

After the dissipation of colonial education, it became difficult for earlier African theatre scholars to argue for traditional African theatre over Euro-American theatre (Plastow, 1996). These elites were the victims of what John Scotton, the Chief Secretary (in Chachage C. S., pp. 11, Chapter 4) defined "as a good African who was not a bad imitation of a European […] a half educated African who considered him/herself quite as good as, if not better than, the white person who governed him/her". These were the people who erupted in the colonial education mystery looking down upon traditional theatre as 'barbaric', and those who practiced it as uncivilized. "At no time were these indigenous performances recognized as legitimate cultural expressions. The Tanzanians, therefore, like many came to associate the term 'theatre' only with the dramatic performances found in Europe" (Rubin & Diakante, 2001, p. 301). The debate of theatre and non-theatre and science versus non-science showed the challenge that people in Tanganyika received from colonialism and cultural imperialism. Ngugi insists, "colonialism is of course a practice and not a theory" (1997, p. 7) and as it was previously claimed, 'their' theatre was not theatre and 'their' culture was just traditions and values, as explained in the introduction chapter. This attitude, among others from the colonial administration on various levels ignited the need for independence.

Before independence was granted, we were informed that there were many 'fracasses', which occurred on both sides; the colonizers and the colonized. On the side of the colonized, African leaders (the ones previously described by John Scotton), had to prove to the colonial government that they were capable of leading the newly independent nations. In Tanzania for example, African leaders went on and established newspapers regardless of the fact that the majority of their followers were illiterate (Scotton, 1978, p. 1). This act proved the fact that colonialism was excessively embedded in the thinking of these leaders who were more concerned with impressing the colonial administration than considering the real needs of the majority of Africans. These African leaders were no different from colonial *vichekesho,* actors who imitated European drama and appeared as clowns of their own culture. This is also the same approach employed in missionary education, whereby students were forced to perform English plays when they could hardly understand the language, let alone read it. This replication of colonial mentality also showed a clear picture of how life after independence would be, as these leaders would continue to inherit policies from the colonial administration which were unnecessary and unmanageable, all at the expense of the needs of the majority.

Apart from proving their capabilities to lead the country to the colonial administrators, the struggle for independence had many underlying demands, as previously mentioned. These included; cultural freedom, better education, healthcare, control of resources and representation for Africans on the Legislative Council (LEGCO). Hence, it was important for people in Tanganyika to think that the post independence era would be a relief not only in economic and political terms, but also with regards to cultural aspects. All of these struggles were a symbol of people creating the means by which to express dissatisfaction with colonial regimes and to underline the necessity of independence.

In terms of the colonizers, we were reminded that at the point when imperialists realized that they could no longer continue with their exploitation, they made sure that they left 'the house in good order'. Nsekela shows (1984, p. 54) that:

> Equally, because the end of colonialism was a goal which transcended domestic class and other group interests, the national liberation coalitions included some whose interests were not of national development and self reliance but of becoming the successors to the colonial masters, and these became the 'new settler' elite still depend on the metropolis (Nsekela, 1984, p. 54).

What Nsekela has explained is what Ngugi (1997, pp. 7-8) has referred to as a process of replacing the colonial state with African independent states and offer what Nkrumah in

Offiong (1980, p. 122) calls ‘clientele sovereignty’. Those who took power after independence were either part of the elite –‘black Europeans’ (Nyerere J. , 1966, p. 186) whom colonialists could control from the centre, or ‘white Africans’ who could work from within in a similar fashion to colonial masters (Offiong, 1980, p. 75). In such a dramatic scenario, unfortunately the long-awaited independence turned out to be a mere pseudo-political independence or fake independence as Nkrumah in Offiong (1980, p. 122) shows.

2.4 Conclusion

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, the aim of analyzing theatre before and during colonialism was not to re-write history but rather to build an argument as to why theatre in Tanzania is as it is today. During colonialism, another pertinent issue evolved in relation to theatre, which I will refer to as resistance theatre. We saw how Germans and the British were keen to destroy theatre and other cultural activities due to their ‘uncivilized’ nature. Despite this incursion, it was clear that they did not manage to wipe them out (Lihamba, 2004, p. 236). As the colonial governments refused various traditional performances due to their ‘barbaric’ nature, certain theatre groups began to resist this ‘cultural invasion’ and to fight for their cultural freedom. People derived mechanisms to continue to practice their traditional theatre, even though it was incompatible with colonial laws (Rubin & Diakante, 2001, p. 301). They waged deliberate moves to resist the colonizers and create ways to continue their cultural practices. As Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1997, p. 127) showed clearly, the consequences of any submissive domination is the birth of a culture of resistance.

In terms of how the colonial administrations treated theatre, there were a number of differences between the Germans and the British. As stated, the differences were to a greater extent influenced by the situation on the ground at the time of the colonization (resistance), and by global forces (independence movements) which had an effect internally on the colonies. Theatre under colonialism especially the British administration, brings three crucial issues which have a direct relationship with the current theatre practice in Tanzania. Those issues link theatre, donors and the global forces.

First, during colonialism, when the colonial government did use ‘traditional’ theatre, it was for its own benefit. The benefit was due to their discovery that traditional performances, especially *ngoma* could pull in large audiences. Because of this, the colonial government used them to pull customers into exhibitions so that they could sell them their products

(Lihamba, 1985a, p. 25). Using theatre as an advertisement tool was different from the commercialization of theatre, which scholars such as Songoyi (1988, p. 28) have discussed. In commercial theatre, the product for sale was theatre itself, as opposed to it being used as the advertisement tool for other products. However both of these converge at a certain point, as we will see in the coming chapters. This kind of colonial exploitative appreciation towards theatre can be compared to a propaganda tool in politics which Mlama (1991, p. 30) criticized and communication tool in relation to social matters (Bakari & Materego, 2008; Breitinger, Theatre for Development, 1994; Epskamp K. P., Theatre for Development: An Introduction to Context, Applications and Training, 2006). My argument here is that discussing theatre as a 'tool' in today's Tanzania is not a new phenomenon, it can be traced back to colonial times and also to a certain extent as far back as traditional societies.

The second issue is the way the colonial government utilized traditional theatre. Because colonialists preferred not to invest or to use money in theatre, they used the existing groups to lower their running costs. This has a direct link on the first argument of using theatre as a 'tool' to pull audiences in. This attitude of traditional performing groups working as 'cheap labourers' and a 'lack of investment' from the colonial government was not a new phenomenon in the age of neoliberalism and donors' theatre, as we will see in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. This approach can be traced back to colonial times when imperialism hit Africa and when the political economy of Europe was based on capital accumulation (capitalism). We have seen that in traditional theatre, communal societies invested in theatre not in terms of cash (as the case turned out to be in a capitalist system) but in terms of the skills and honour of its presence and practice. The investment made by the communal societies was one that brought about a communal ownership and participation. Imperialism and capitalism opposed communalism due to the class orientation of workers/proletarians on one side and the bourgeoisie and capitalists on the other in the possession of material things (Tanzania One Theatre, 2002). This friction between those who wanted to accumulate wealth using others as tools, in order to generate capital was what Shivji (1976) referred to as 'class struggle'.

The third issue related to theatre that arose prior to independence is the travelling nature of the traditional dances – *ngoma*. According to Lihamba (1985a, p. 28), groups that were used by colonial governments were sometimes forced to move from one place to another in order to perform. This system of moving from one place to perform in another was not appealing to

the artists. They needed a lot of time to invest in those activities – advertising/pulling in audiences – and all without proper payment or even food included. This was I have already pointed out, cheap labour. Thus in order to perform the work which the government wanted them to do, *ngoma* was seen as the simplest way to fulfill that duty as it advertised the products and did not require material investment. Here I wish to argue that although *ngoma* was later perceived in the post-independence era as a representative sample of *utamaduni* (culture), its history (in Chapter Three) began with its complex use in the colonial period. The so-called 'nationalization of *ngoma*' which Lange (2002, p. 50) has described, did not start following independence, it began in fact before the nationalism movement. Employing a similar approach to colonial administrators, Christian missionaries used plays to spread their evangelism. This followed the realization that traditional theatre was an effective tool to communicate with the 'pagans' (Rubin & Diakante, 2001, p. 301).

In this chapter, I have highlighted the imperialist scramble for and squandering of raw materials (both mineral and agricultural) by colonizers following their alleged 'discoveries'. It is important to understand that, although independence is eventually granted to colonized countries, the imperialists are still very much in control. The following chapter shows the challenges posed by imperialism in the so-called 'successful people-based revolutions' after independence (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1993, p. 110) and the challenges of 'imposed' neoliberal economic programmes and their outcomes on theatre.

3. 'Singing' for Nationalism while 'Clapping' for Neoliberalism

> Of all the crimes of colonialism there is none worse than the attempt to make us believe we had no indigenous culture of our own; or that what we had was worthless – something of which we should be ashamed, instead of a source of pride.
>
> Julius Nyerere (1966, p. 187)

Soon after Tanzanian independence in 1961, there was an assumption that life would return to the historical past and perhaps theatre would 'go back to the womb' (Mphalele in Kerr, 1995, p. 42) 'to be born afresh'. This assumption ignored the fact that romanticizing pre-colonial theatre would subsequently devalue traditional African theatre's struggles during colonialism, which helped to bring about independence (Kerr, 1995, p. 42). In Tanzania, there are many examples to show the contribution of theatre. The *Maji Maji* War of 1905-1907 which used water ritual ([...], 1981, p. 115) is one of them. *Beni ngoma* was also used to communicate liberation messages (Ranger T. , 1975, p. 141). On the political arena, Bibi Titi Mohamed mobilized women to join Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) through *ngoma* groups (Lange, 2002, pp. 47,53-54).

Falola (2003, p. 7) shows clearly how culture played a major role 'as a tool of resistance' in Africa which led to the collapse of the European empires. The joy and celebrations for independence went hand in hand with the process of filtering the imposed colonial theatre out, in order to return to 'pure' pre-capitalist theatre. Barber (1997, p. 1) claims that "for the nationalist African elites, celebrating the 'traditional' was an affirmation of self-worth, an assertion that African civilizations had long had their own artistic glories to compare with those of the colonizers". While agreeing with Barber, I should add that when Julius Kambarage Nyerere (1922-1999), the first president of Tanzania, placed an emphasis on the restructuring of post-independence 'national culture', he also believed in the 'power of culture', in acquiring and maintaining power. Cabral (1980, pp. 142-142) leads us to the same vision which Nyerere had.

> Study of the history of liberation struggles shows that they have generally been preceded by upsurge of cultural manifestations, which progressively harden into an attempt, successful, or not, to assert the cultural personality of the dominated people by an act of denial of the culture of the oppressor. Whatever the conditions of subjection of a people to foreign domination and the influence of economic, political and social factors in the exercise of this domination, it is generally within the cultural factors that we find the germ of challenge which leads to the structure and development of liberation movement (Cabral, 1980, pp. 142-142).

Apart from the historical perspective of theatre practice, this chapter discusses the practice of drama, dance and other theatre forms from just before independence up to the present day. This period is marked by the adverse shift from president Nyerere's socialism to president

Mwinyi's IMF/World Bank Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs). It reflects the strengths and weaknesses of the 'replaced colonial states' in the process of conceptualizing and practicing *uhuru* (independence).

This chapter also presents evidence on why it is important when analyzing theatre in Tanzania just before and after independence, to take the influence of internal and international political economies into consideration. Internally, Tanzania was a 'party state', as the party had supreme powers and legitimate control over 'everything' (party supremacy). In referring to Tanzania as a party state, one should also bear in mind the fundamentals upon which the ruling party was established and how they used theatre as political propaganda. In Chapter Two, we saw how *beni* became one of the traditional dances (*ngoma)* to symbolise the liberation agenda and to be used as a unifying tool by TANU (Tanganyika African National Union). In this chapter we will see how the 'independent' or 'replaced colonial' state continued to use traditional theatre in the process of re-building national culture.

3.1 Uhuru Trial

Theatre between the 1950s and the 2000s, is characterized by a diverse shift from nationalism to neoliberalism. It was during this period that *ujamaa* (African socialism) flourished and was then gradually marginalized or failed as Lange (2002, p. 64) accounts. The creation of culture and theatre with nationalist sentiments was high on the agenda. Nationalism became a social, political and economic 'framework', which as we will see was directly linked to theatre. According to Shivji (2009a, p. 198), the nationalism movement in Tanzania and in Africa in general had two aims. The first was to support the Pan Africanist movement, which was developed by Africans in the Diaspora. The second was to form a resistance movement to imperialism. Nationalism was geared towards regaining national status and an African identity, which had been shattered by colonialism (Nyerere J. , 1966, p. 187). After independence, the focus was to rebuild national culture through national theatre. Though this process began prior to independence, Lange (2002, p. 50) refers to this process as nationalization of *ngoma* (traditional dances).

In the process of building a national culture, theatre and politics were intertwined in such a way that it is difficult to draw a line between theatre and politics. It is for that reason that this study advocates an inseparable status for theatre from economy and politics. Boal (2000, p. ix) further argues that "those who try to separate theatre from politics try to lead us into error

– and this is a political attitude". On the same note, Makoye (2008, p. 108) clearly shows how history, economy and political change manifests the nature and practice of theatre in Tanzania. Mlama (1985, p. 13) concludes "economic base and the cultural superstructure determine and influence each other and cannot be separated".

Edwin Semzaba (1983, p. 18) in his study on *Trends in Modern Theatre Movement* captures in detail the origins and advancement of nationalism in Tanzanian theatre before independence up to the early 1980s. Semzaba is among a number of scholars who have documented artistic groups and individuals who participated fully in the mobilization of people for the independence struggle, but who were largely ignored by historians. Regardless of their participation in the independence struggle, Mlama (1991, p. 59) shows clearly how artists such as Kalikali, Mwinamila and Makongoro are 'forgotten' or 'eliminated' in the Tanzanian history. In his study, Semzaba focuses on Mwinamila.

According to Semzaba (1983, p. 18), there is a strong connection in how national theatre emerged from traditional theatre. He mentions two reasons, which means that national theatre sprang from traditional theatre. Firstly, the traditional theatre that existed was able to bear and integrate changes and he referred to this process as 'susceptibility'. Secondly, there were certain conditions that allowed traditional theatre to be elevated to national theatre status. These conditions included the need to mobilize people to favour national unity (patriotism), which was geared towards regaining identity after colonialism. In relation to these two factors, Semzaba argues that the milieu that can facilitate the emergence of a new concept depends greatly on the existing concept. Therefore, theatre that existed before colonialism or traditional theatre was capable of enduring and encompassing change. Due to the conditions that existed before independence (oppression, suppression and exploitation) and the growth of nationalism, it was clear that the existing theatre just needed a platform in order be elevated to become a national theatre. Therefore the state used some of the existed traditional theatre forms to build national theatre.

Although there were many theatre forms such as storytelling, rituals, heroic recitations, masquerades, *ngoma*, music and poetry; *ngoma* (traditional dance) was the most susceptible to change and adaptation in the process of becoming a symbol of national theatre (Semzaba, 1983, p. 19). According to Semzaba, *ngoma* which were able to encompass changes, adaptations and 'modernisation', such as *msewe, sindimba, buyoyangi, hiari ya moyo, bununguli, bayeye, mkwaju* and *gombe sugu,* were the ones that were able to survive for a

long period of time. *Ngoma* that were tied to religious or ritual usage, such as *baswezi* of the Wabisa, could only survive within the religious and ritual realm (Semzaba, 1983, p. 19). The *baswezi* for example, was a secret society dance of the Wabisa. One has to go through an initiation that includes the possession of Wabisa spirits. It was believed that ill-health stemmed from Wabisa spirits, and the solution to this was exorcism. Such *ngoma*, whereby transformations and adaptations were limited to a specific function were excluded or disappeared completely (Semzaba, 1983, p. 11). On the other hand, *ngoma* which managed to survive after colonialism and which were chosen to form a part of national culture were those that were able to transform and adapt to new styles within various African traditions, without borrowing too much from 'European' theatre (Semzaba, 1983, p. 19).

The use of theatre to represent national culture came about not only because of the susceptibility of *ngoma,* but also due to the fact that theatre embodies a whole range of issues in human life. Looking at theatre before and shortly after independence it is clear that the state adjusted and modified it to reflect the nationalism movement, which started in the 1950s. The formation of TANU in 1954 from the Tanganyika African Association (TAA), as explained in the previous chapter was in some parts of Tanganyika directly linked to *beni*. Most of the *beni* associations' members became members of TANU which increased the popularity of the party, thereby causing membership to rise. In order to ensure the message of *uhuru* (independence) was spread in a 'palatable' manner throughout the country, TANU used *ngoma.* TANU formed a group based on the Nyamwezi traditions known as Hiari ya Moyo, led by Suleiman Mwinamila (Semzaba, 1983, p. 20). Hiari ya Moyo were the first theatre group to openly partner with TANU in order to fight for independence, without making any major changes to their traditional dance as compared to *beni*. The Hiari ya Moyo group, which adopted the name of the Nyamwezi *ngoma* known as *hiari ya moyo,* still exists today. This group is sometimes referred to as the Mwinamila group, and is supported by the ruling party, Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM).

Hiari ya moyo was among those traditional dances (*ngoma*) which were susceptible to change and to the inclusion of new concepts of nationalism and patriotism. This was what Lange (2002, p. 50) calls 'nationalization of *ngoma*'. Using storytelling and ritual forms, *hiari ya moyo* became very famous within the party (TANU) system (Semzaba, 1983, p. 20). On the other hand, it was difficult to use foreign theatre that had been introduced during colonialism, such as Shakespeare and other Elizabethan theatre, as part of the TANU campaign. There

were three major reasons for this challenge. Firstly, European theatre was seen as the kind of theatre which was imposed by colonialists through schools and clubs, and therefore it formed part of the elite theatre. Boal (2000, pp. ix-x) in describing this kind of bourgeois theatre, argues that this was the type of theatre whereby the protagonists "ceased to be objects embodying oral values, superstructural, and became multidimensional subjects [...] equally separated from people".

Secondly, using European theatre in the TANU liberation movement would have been a perpetuation of foreign culture and the elitist attitude, as opposed to a nationalist movement. The use of foreign theatre might have glorified the perpetuated notion that some cultures were better than others (Semzaba, 1983, p. 20). As it is widely known that:

> The experience of colonial domination shows that, in an attempt to perpetuate exploitation, the colonizer not only creates a whole system of repression of the cultural life of the colonized people, but also provokes and develops the cultural alienation of a part of the population, either by supposed assimilation of indigenous persons, or by the creation of a social gulf between the aboriginal elites and the mass of the people (Cabral, 1980, pp. 144-145).

Mollel (1985, p. 20) adds that "a theatre that consisted of a dramatic mishmash from Victorian England, an alien importation that could only be accepted by those who have passed through the western-oriented-education system [...] by as little a minority as five percent of our population". This meant that if TANU would have opted to use this kind of theatre, it would only have reached five percent of the targeted population.

Thirdly, because of its nature, European theatre was 'difficult to perform' (Semzaba, 1983, p. 20). TANU owned neither halls that could facilitate the staging of European theatre nor written literature to distribute to the masses during the campaign. Actually, there was no tangible correlation between Shakespeare or other Elizabethan plays and TANU activities at that particular time. It should be noted that most European plays were written as opposed to *ngoma,* which were more often than not presented orally and significantly improvised. This made the written literature such as Shakespeare more relevant for indoctrination rather than the mobilization and motivation that TANU was aiming for.

Looking at TANU and Mwinamila's Hiari ya Moyo, Semzaba (1983, p. 20) informs us that most of the artists were members of TANU Youth League (TYL). It is believed that the majority of Hiari ya Moyo artists were illiterate, as the literate and elite were not allowed to join politics by British colonial administration. Probably also because the elite saw themselves as 'upper class', though John Scotton in (Chachage C. S., 1986, pp. 11, Chapter

4) refers to them as half educated people who thought they were better than their colonial 'masters'. Falola (2003, p. 9) shows how astute the elite were "in manipulating culture to the maximum advantage". The elite were more interested in European drama (Mollel, 1985, p. 25) and in modern European dances (Lange, 2002, p. 49).

In Chapter Two, I also pointed out how traditional theatre failed to acquire a cultural status before colonial governments, regardless of efforts made by those who had been colonized. The process of prohibiting the literate and elite from participating in the creation of national culture could also be seen as a means of protecting traditional theatre from foreign influences acquired by the elite through education. This attitude of eliminating the elite and literate from theatre and performing arts in general could be argued to have formed the basis for the current situation in Tanzania, whereby art is considered to be an activity for academic failures or losers (Buitrago & Mo, 2009). Generally, other registered parties apart from TANU, such as the United Tanganyika Party (UTP) and Congress did not use theatre or *ngoma* in their campaigns. There were two reasons for them not to opt for using theatre in their campaigns. Firstly, they were based on the model of the colonial administration and secondly they were able to access the colonial infrastructure for their publicity and campaigns (Semzaba, 1983, p. 21).

As previously stated when TANU formed, the decolonization movement began and Hiari ya Moyo was forced to put forward concepts of nationalism and liberation in order to fight against (neo) colonialism and (cultural) imperialism. According to Semzaba (1983, p. 22), earlier performances by Hiari ya Moyo proved that the nationalist and independence movements had already started. *Amka Msilale* (Wake up, don't sleep[7]) was their first recorded performance in 1954.

Amka Msilale	Wake up don't sleep
Msiwe wajinga mu Tanganyika	Don't be stupid, you are in Tanganyika [territory]
Tanganyika ni mali yetu	Tanganyika is our property
Tukidai tutapewa	If we demand it, we'll be given

(Semzaba, 1983, p. 22)

The content of this song shows the essence of mobilizing people by giving them an enthusiasm in the process of fighting for independence. This song was quite different from 'bread' and 'living water' songs propagated by the missionaries. It was not a pedagogical but a mobilizing song (Semzaba, 1983, p. 20). Thus groups that evolved just before and shortly

[7] English translation by the author from the original Kiswahili quote of Semzaba.

after independence had a specific political agenda which was firmly rooted in the society. In this instance, because the society was tired of colonialism, it was easy to use theatre in the process of uprooting the colonial administration. The 'wake up, don't sleep' call signifies the fact that people should be aware of what is going on and the 'don't be stupid' is aimed at triggering peoples' awareness that they must fight for their independence, otherwise they will be classified as stupid. This is one of the songs which clearly shows the theatrical approach to class struggle aimed at destroying the "barriers created by the ruling classes" (Boal, 2000, p. x).

The period after independence was seen as a new beginning for theatre practitioners. We find again peoples' consciousness of regaining their cultural values. Julius Nyerere also known as *Mwalimu* (teacher) was the first president of Tanzania who joined the masses and promised a better life than that prior to independence. Nyerere established an independent Ministry of National Culture and Youth in 1962 to support cultural initiatives such as the 'rehabilitation of culture' and 'search for cultural identity' (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 82). The establishment of this ministry was announced during his speech to parliament on the 9th December 1962, when the then Tanganyika became a republic (Lange, 2002, p. 54). He said, "I have set up this new ministry to help us regain our pride in our own culture" (Nyerere J. , 1966, p. 187). In explaining the motive behind the establishment of the Ministry of Culture as one of the earliest ministry to be formed, Lihamba (2007, p. 7) shows that:

> [What] Nyerere was responding to when he established the Ministry to be responsible for culture, was a desire to create cultural engineering processes and to revert what he saw as the cultural negligence imposed by colonialism. Rather than providing direction for cultural development, Nyerere's move was to provide one of the greatest cultural challenges especially in the development of the arts (Lihamba, 2007, p. 7).

The establishment of the Ministry of Culture and Youth in 1962 was accompanied by various cultural reformations. This included the 'institutionalization' of national art groups (NAGs). I refer to this process as institutionalization rather than establishment because as we have seen, groups such as Hiari ya Moyo under Mwinamila had already acquired a national image through the party system. In response to Nyerere's 1962 speech the ministry established other national art groups. These included the National Ngoma Troupe (1963), National Acrobatic Group (1969) and National Drama Group (1972). These groups were supposed to act as a model of theatre in Tanzania (Makoye, 2008, p. 108). For example, the National Ngoma Troupe had 30 artists who were recruited from various regions in Tanzania. The troupe

comprised of both musicians and dancers. As in the case of Hiari ya Moyo, members of the National Ngoma Troupe were also members of TANU Youth League (Lange, 2002, p. 55).

This process of institutionalizing these national arts groups was to fulfil the quest for the renaissance of Africanness (identity) in the arts and culture (Bakari & Materego, 2008, p. 12). Since the state realized that theatre was an effective 'tool of communication', it decided to use it to impart and disseminate information to people (Lange, 1995, p. 44) in various places in Tanzania. The multiplication of national arts groups transcended from national, regional, district and ward to village levels (Lange, 2002, p. 58). Perhaps since their integration into party and state organs, they were considered as part of the governing structure of Tanzania. Mlama (1991, p. 103) explains that, "these groups perform[ed] at political functions, such as rallies, state banquets, and party meetings at all levels".

Members of the national arts groups were employed by the state. Since the state subsidized 100 percent of the production costs and paid their monthly salaries, the groups were not allowed to charge or receive extra payment for their performances (Makoye, 2008, p. 107). The focus was on the promotion of national unity, echoing the state's *ujamaa* policies and entertaining the people. The 100 percent state support of national arts groups resulted in high quality performances (Makoye, 2008, p. 107). On a broader perspective, the socialist state did not allow any initiative that could lead to the commercialization of theatre, which is why the established national arts groups were fully funded by the state. Reflecting the traditional African societies, the state believed art was communally owned, as it was a communal product of the society. Its commercialization could dishonour its value and change its status of being a communal creative work that should be produced and consumed communally (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 11). Moreover, commercialization could allow individual ownership thus eliminating the majority from participation, something that was done either by capitalists or by the bourgeoisie (Mlama P. O., 1985, p. 15).

Many groups with similar characteristics of Hiari ya Moyo and national arts groups were formed and some were linked to the parastatals. For example, the Urafiki group was linked to the Urafiki Textile Industry, Ukonga group was linked to Ukonga prison and JKT Jeshi was a part of the National Service Army (Semzaba, 1983, p. 22). Since these groups were formed by the 'working class', they worked as representatives of TANU. The content of their performances was basically geared towards building a positive image of TANU and propagating its policies. Riccio (2001, p. 132) adds that "these locally based groups were to

keep cultural voices and heritages alive as well as provide a mouthpiece for Nyerere's social economic and political reforms". As in the case of Hiari ya Moyo and national arts groups, all these groups had 100 percent support from the parastatals to which they were attached, which enabled them to conduct their activities. Makoye (2008, p. 108) notes that these groups were not for profit but to provide education and entertainment at and away from their working premises. Mlama (1991, p. 103) argues that, "the ideological intention behind the promotion of these groups has led to the development of a theatre for propaganda which […] is an attempt to domesticate the theatre to serve the interest of the ruling ideology".

As the number of theatre groups increased, it became difficult to eliminate or avoid foreign influences in their performances. The reason was probably because some members of these newly-formed groups had contact with or had seen foreign performances and then integrated them into their performances. For Semzaba (1983, p. 22), because of this 'contamination', groups which had been 'contaminated' failed to be "representative of truly authentic national theatre". The contamination was not only seen on theatre but also in the culture. Askew (2002, p. 80) argues that "after independence, however, strong antiforeigner sentiment developed in the new states that encouraged coastal individuals to emphasize, perhaps rediscover, African ancestries and allegiances, and similarly provoked nationalist scholars to rewrite their histories and locate the source of and inspirations for coastal culture in its African context".

From Semzaba's argument, it is clear that the definition of national theatre during the post-independence period was theatre which was unaffected by any foreign influences. This assumption was mainly caused by the 'back to the womb syndrome' and failure to accept the imperative nature of change. Lihamba (1985a, p. 32) warns of the backlash of using traditional theatre in a contemporary situation. She says:

> The task to use traditional forms for a contemporary society demands analysis and selection. The traditional performances like other traditional practices are not frozen entities to be transplanted from era to era. The organization of contemporary society cannot accommodate some traditional elements which are oppressive and contradictory – elements which need demystification (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 32).

National theatre was also translated to mean the theatre form that reflects the needs of the society, especially the needs of the working class. Taking the key elements of traditional theatre which were discussed in Chapter Two, such as it being non-commercial, a medium/ tool of communication, the use of popular or rather peoples' language, its participatory

nature, use-value etc., the same became the key elements to evaluate any kind of theatre to qualify as national theatre. Hence, Hiari ya Moyo became a 'truly' national theatre group, because it managed also to borrow some elements not only from traditional theatre but also specifically from other traditional dances of other ethnic groups (Semzaba, 1983, p. 23). These elements for example, included somersaults from Wabisa (*baswezi*) and Wasukuma (*bununguli*). It is widely held that the somersault became a 'trademark' of Hiari ya Moyo. Mwinamila as the group leader was able to do somersaults, suspending himself in the air before landing safely. These acts made Hiari ya Moyo very famous and they received a wide audience in Tanzania (Semzaba, 1983, p. 23).

The Mwinamila group became well known also through advertisements, which were done by Radio Tanzania – Dar es Salaam (RTD) the then only and state-owned radio. Since it had its roots in the ruling party, Hiari ya Moyo also received invitations to perform at various party and state occasions throughout the country (Semzaba, 1983, p. 23). "From a cross-section of the people interviewed about Mwinamila group, ninety percent of them claimed to know or have heard of the group. Forty three percent had seen the group performing at ceremonies and function and forty seven percent had heard it over Radio Tanzania" (Semzaba, 1983, pp. 26-27). This also attests to the fact that TANU's and later CCM's intentions to create national theatre were successful. In addition, Semzaba indicates, "the lack of external influences in Mwinamila group makes it remain the true source of a national theatre reference" (Semzaba, 1983, p. 23).

3.2 *Uhuru*-Dream Defeated

Soon after *uhuru* (independence), the inspiration and 'fruits' of *uhuru* were overwhelmed by neo colonialism and imperialism and specifically cultural imperialism. According to Ngugi:

> Cultural imperialism in the era of neo colonialism can be dangerous cancer because it can take new, subtle forms. It can hide under cloaks of militant nationalism, calls for dead authenticity, performances of cultural symbolism, and even under native racist self-assertive banners that are often substitute for national self criticism and collective pride in the culture and history of resistance (1997, p. 18).

Perhaps, Nyerere knew the magnitude of cultural imperialism and he tried to block it by establishing the Ministry of Culture. People thought that since they had managed to take out colonial administration and institutionalized a new state under Nyerere, it could be a solution for the long-awaited cultural independence. Nevertheless, "the revelations were grim and pessimistic" as Lihamba (1985a, p. 65) said. Things did not materialize as planned and this created disillusionment. Nyerere (in Nabudere 1979) states:

> The reality of neo colonialism quickly becomes obvious to a new African government which tries to act on economic matters in the interest of national development, and for the betterment of its own masses. For such a government immediately discovers that it inherited the power to make laws, to treat with foreign governments, and so on, but that it did not inherit effective power over economic developments in its own country. Indeed, it often discovers that there is no such thing as a national economy at all! Instead, there exist in its land various economic activities which are owned by people outside its jurisdiction, which are directed at external needs, and which are run in the interests of external economic powers […]. Neo colonialism is very real and a very severe limitation on national sovereignty (Nabudere, 1979, p. 90).

This was the time when imperialists were expanding their empires at any cost or 'feeding on old colonies' as Ngugi (1993, p. 110) says. We are told, those African leaders who failed to comply with imperialist ventures were 'offered' a coup or assassination. Cases of presidents Kwame Nkrumah, Patrice Lumumba, Eduardo Mondlane and Samora Machel are good examples (Shivji I. , 2009a). Perhaps even Nyerere himself feared the imperialist 'offer' as during that time, "radical nationalism had a very hard time keeping afloat" (Shivji I. , 2009a, p. 150). For example the USA Pentagon and CIA managed to organize Nkrumah's coup in Ghana in 1966 (Lee, 2009), and the same agencies managed to kill Lumumba in favour of Moise Tshombe and Mobutu in the former Zaire. Mobutu 'surrogate' regime as Shivji (2009a, p. 21) accords became the "most successful US client in Black Africa [...] who has kept his commitment of allowing US corporations to operate in Zaire uninterruptedly" (Offiong, 1980, p. 79). Another example was the apartheid regime in South Africa. According to Ngugi (1993, p. 110), this regime "could not last a day without the support of imperialists' nations". These examples of coups, assassinations and authoritative regimes in Africa proved the fact that imperialism always struggled to secure interests using established mechanisms. All these attempts made Nyerere worry about imperialist expansionism and dominance strategies and made him consider a counter-system.

The cultural inferiority ran too deep in the people's nerves in such a way that the elites or white Africans as Okot p'Bitek in Offiong (1980, p. 75) refers to them replaced the colonial regime in the institutionalization of colonial theatre. Falola (2003, p. 10) argues that "the elite cleverly use access to western culture as a source of power and prestige". For example Mlama (1991, p. 59) elaborates on how after independence European plays which were "irrelevant and inadaptable to Africa realities" were promoted to be "staged in schools, universities and urban centres for the consumption of the elite". In the social life, the division between the have and have nots became distinct. The 'settler proper' and 'native settlers' continued to enjoy the 'fruits' of independence at the expense of 'citizens' or natives (Mamdani in Chachage C. , 2009b, pp. 2-3). These native settlers are the ones which Nsekela

(1984, p. 54) refers to them as 'new settlers' to mean the elite group. The majority of Tanzanians could not see the benefit of independence, "indeed, the fruits of independence seem[ed] to have bypassed the majority" (Mlama P. , 1991, p. 67). In 1964, Kalikali, one of the renowned singer and poet expressed his concern about state mistreatment of its citizens and failure of the majority of the citizens to practice *uhuru* in his song *Litinganga Libusese* which he sang in Kisukuma to mean slavery has not ended (Songoyi, 1990, pp. 57-58).

Ukitawala twitawalile	we have really got independence
A bana Tanganyika	the people of Tanganyika
Nghana twitawalile	truly we are independent
Bakulumbaga witawaji	they are giving thanks to independence
Abo bali na milimo mitale	the ones with big jobs
Abo balipandika magana	the ones who earns hundreds
Buli ng'weji	month after month
Al'abalimi ba baluba	but the growers of cotton
Nduhw' iyakupandika	have nothing to gain
Litingang' ili busese	prepare farms
Ililima lyingile	as the planting session comes
Tubyulima buluba	growing cotton
Buguji bushike	the prices fall
Guchel' umpango	this is not a good plan
Tuliginya sumba Ng'wana Mbagule	we are fattening other people, son of Mbagule
Ming'wana gakwigutaga	they are really eating
Kulola ha sa kwesa	they are laughing and dancing
Na kumigija mu shitambala	and blowing their noses with handkerchiefs

(Songoyi, 1990, pp. 57-58)

As expected, Kalikali was warned by the party-state leaders but he continued to compose 'self driven' songs. When he composed as song *Ba divisheni* to mean Division Secretaries, he was arrested and detained. But later Nyerere ordered him to be released (Songoyi, 1990, pp. 61-62).

Shivji (2009a, p. 56) summarizes such proletarians' feelings at that time, who argued that "in the 1960s, the rulers were eating the fruits of independence and now the fruits are finished, they are squandering independence itself". Plastow adds that:

> Sadly, in many cases the colonialists succeeded so thoroughly in their attempts at a cultural imperialism that the once-colonized may even now fail to recognize the depth of their indoctrination, as they whole heartedly embrace as symbols of development, the languages, clothing and household items of the ex-colonial Western masters, and the aggressively consumerist values of pulp films and television. Traditional culture is often seen as inferior and even faintly embracing by postcolonial elites (Plastow, 1996, p. 46).

The colonial trauma continued to haunt people and this was well reproduced in plays such as *Mkwawa wa Wahehe* by Mugyabuso Mulokozi first performed in 1968, and *Kinjeketile*

(1969) by Ebrahim Hussein. In both plays, which depict the anti-colonial battles discussed in Chapter Two, the authors portrayed Mkwawa and Kinjeketile as victors respectively but with tragic ends. These plays came at a time when people were searching for alternatives after an unfruitful independence. At the same time both authors were trying to remind people of the successful past struggles as a motivation to trigger their thinking to alternatives so as to move forward.

The post-independence disillusionment was further explained by Ebrahim Hussein, in his play *Mashetani* (Devils), 1971. In Act One of *Mashetani,* Hussein uses the devil in the play to frustrate the main character – Kitaru. "The use of the devil as the enemy of Kitaru the protagonist in *Mashetani* implies how difficult the struggle for social and economic freedom is, that it is a struggle between two unbalanced forces" (Semzaba, 1983, p. 15). Kitaru at one point tries to kill the devil but in vain. Perhaps this implies that Kitaru is fighting with the forces that are dominant and above him, i.e. the socio-economic challenges of neo colonialism. Later in the play, Kitaru tries again to kill the devil and manages after the fulfilment of the devil's demands. Probably this means that the state has to surrender to its enemies – the imperialists – to be supported, as Hussein used the devil to represent the imperialists (Semzaba, 1983, p. 15). In Act Four, Kitaru is talking to his friend Juma who according Ricard (2000, p. 58) represents the *nouveaux riches*. Juma concludes that *mpanda ngazi na mshuka ngazi katu hawashikani mikono* (the one who goes on top of the ladder and the one coming down, they cannot shake hands). Maybe this implies that the social classes are distinct and permanent. In *Mashetani* we see the dominance of 'black Europeans', 'white Africans' or the elite class, who resurface after independence and replace the colonialists. For Semzaba (1983, p. 15) the assertion of classes, "demonstrates further the necessity of unifying that dreadful mental bondage to clear the way for true liberation and ultimately the attainment of genuine freedom". To him the existence of such classes represents a lack of independence that is equal to colonisation.

This system or style of writing plays to depict colonization and the struggle for independence was not peculiar to Tanzania. The postcolonial period in most of the African countries was the same – challenged by neo colonialism and imperialism. Hence, theatre artists reacted or responded to the situation in various ways. Etherton (1982, p. 146) showed how Ola Rotimi (Nigeria) wrote *Ovonramwen*, Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Micere Mugo (Kenya) came up with *The Trial of Dedan Kimathi* and Kabwe Kasoma (Zambia) wrote *The Black Mamba Plays.*

3.3 *Ujamaa* and the Rise of Political Propaganda

According to Ogunleye (2001, p. 71), propaganda is the intention to use art or theatre for a cause to seduce people to take action against a certain problem, which has been raised in the artistic presentation. So, the propaganda performance initiates a problem, provides a solution and at the same time urges people to implement that solution. The idea of using theatre as a propaganda tool was not new in postcolonial Tanzania. In the previous chapter we saw how the colonial government and the missionaries used theatre in the process of Christian civilization.

Apart from working prior to independence and shortly after, the Hiari ya Moyo group under Mwinamila had a further task; to fight against all elements of cultural imperialism, neo colonialism and emphasise self-reliance. Being one of the revolutionary African leaders, Nyerere has always been unhappy with global pillage and exploitation. Since 1962, he advocated *ujamaa* - African socialism (Nyerere J. K., 1977, p. vii). "Socialism may be regarded as the historical response to the development of development and underdevelopment resulting from capitalist exploitation" (Frank, 1975, p. 101). According to Nyerere, *ujamaa* (family hood) was a state of mind (*ujamaa ni imani*) that brought about care for other people. *Ujamaa* did not advocate laziness or sluggishness (Nyerere J. K., 1977, p. 1). It was clear that *ujamaa* opposed capitalism, which Nyerere (1977, p. 37) believed made a few people happy through the exploitation of the majority (TANU, 1967, p. 7). He envisioned a socialist society whereby everyone worked, and thus humanity and hospitality as community values would be maintained. For Nyerere *ujamaa* was not a new phenomenon but rather a reconstructed approach. For example, Nyerere (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 63) argued that "we in Africa have no more need of being 'converted' to socialism than we have of being 'taught' democracy. Both are rooted in our past – in the traditional society which produced us". To embrace Nyerere's ideas on *ujamaa*, Wole Soyinka, the Nobel laureate composed a poem for Julius Nyerere called *Ujamaa*.

Sweat is leaven for the earth
Not tribute. Earth replete
Seeks no homage from the toil of earth.
Sweat is leaven for the earth
Not driven homage to a fortressed god.

Your black earth hands unchain
Hope from death messengers, from
In-bred dogmanoids that prove

Grimmer than the Grim Reaper, insatiate
Predators on humanity, their fodder.

Sweat is leaven, bread, *Ujamaa*
Bread of the earth, by the earth
For the earth. Earth is all people

Soyinka believes *ujamaa* is the best model of human life. For Soyinka *ujamaa* is like a 'biblical bread' to mean life. Soyinka though fond of Nyerere and *ujamaa*, seem to be influenced by the westernization of definition especially by the use of 'bread' instead of perhaps *fufu*, *gari*, *banku* or *ugali*.

As explained earlier, for Nyerere, *ujamaa* is a state of mind and he bases his arguments on 'moral orientations' in which communal sharing and solidarity had an upper hand over selfishness and exploitation (Ferguson, 2006, p. 75). He sees that in African traditional societies there are key values that can be retrieved and utilized by *ujamaa*. He purposely chose *ujamaa* as opposed to other applications of socialism such as Marx and Lenin, as he argues that their ideas were suitable for Europe and copying them was a continuation of the rejection of the existence of cultural models of better life – humanity, communalism and democracy – which existed in Africa prior to colonialism (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 64). It was evident that Nyerere saw Cuban education experiments, co-operative settlements in Israel and the co-operative social organization of Denmark and Sweden as examples for Tanzania to learn from (Lihamba, 1985a, pp. 67-68). He also modelled his idea of communal settlement – *ujamaa* villages using Mao Tse Tung's (the then Chinese president) model of settlements on China (Fosu, 2008, p. 145). "Nyerere, on the other hand, developed his political, economic, and cultural program of African Socialism upon the premise that the past held the keys to the future. African socialism predicates a return to the proto-socialist, communal villages of a romanticized, politicized past" (Askew, 2002, p. 160). It can be argued that Nyerere's *ujamaa* had both internal and external experiences, which he thought could be amalgamated into a decent implementable policy.

Ujamaa was implemented and covered broad aspects of Tanzanians' lives on various levels. These included the *Azimio la Arusha* (Arusha Declaration) of 1967, *Mwongozo* (Leadership Code) of 1971 and *Vijiji vya Ujamaa* (villagelization) of 1972 (Askew, 2002, p. 160). The Arusha Declaration was dedicated to *ujamaa,* education and rural development for self-reliance. A holistic approach to *ujamaa*, the Arusha Declaration stood as a political landmark for the beginning of *ujamaa* and emphasised self-reliance. Apart from fighting against neo

colonialism, emphasizing a democratic state, the Arusha Declaration also provided a guideline for human rights, liberation and African unity (Lihamba, 1985a, pp. 59-60). The declaration also brought a "serious re-examination of the colonial legacy brought forth a more progressive conception of theatre" (Mlama P. , 1991, p. 23). All these were geared towards building egalitarianism and a party state nation. That is why the Arusha Declaration was seen as the blueprint for *ujamaa* (Rubin & Diakante, 2001, p. 302).

Nyerere came up with *ujamaa* and the self-reliance 'project' as a strategy to defeat his 'enemies', or to use Hussein's word, the 'devils'. The fundamental reason for *ujamaa* came when he realised western capitalism had created a burden for his state through the reliance on foreign support. When propagating *ujamaa* and self-reliance policies he argued that "no amount of aid from the outside was going to help if the people themselves did not accept the task of development [...] Moreover, gifts and loans were dangerous to independence and freedom" (Nyerere in Lihamba, 1985a, p. 61). I have put an emphasis on the Arusha Declaration and its standpoint on foreign aid and donors, to show that Nyerere knew the consequences of donors in relation to neo colonialism and imperialism. Probably this realization was too late to be effective or affect changes. However, Shivji on the other hand believed that Nyerere was not conversant in the magnitude of the political economy of imperialism, their 'arms' length regulations and the whole process of capital accumulation (Shivji I. , 2008, p. 1082) that is why *ujamaa* faced great obstacles as we will see later.

Education for Self Reliance was another package that accompanied the Arusha Declaration One should remember that during the independence struggle, one of the demands was for better education for all Africans. Therefore, the objective of Education for Self Reliance was to have a syllabus that reflected Tanzanian needs and was able to produce students capable of working theoretically and practically in the concept of self-reliance. The syllabus was changed to reflect *ujamaa* and self-reliance so as "to produce skilled hardworking, active thinkers and innovators" (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 62) whereby in 1968 the state started the Universal Primary Education (UPE) program (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 69) to fulfil people's expectations regarding free access to education. The implementation of the Education for Self Reliance policy affected not only subjects such as geography and history, but also literature and theatre. Mlama (1991, p. 99) explains how all of a sudden European literature and theatre were shelved and stopped in schools due to their association with capitalism and imperialism. The Education for Self Reliance policy brought a realisation that "theatre was not all

Shakespeare" (Mlama P. , 1991, p. 23). On the other hand, the policy brought 'puppet art'. Mlama (1985, p. 14) cited this example, which was produced to advocate socialist education.

Kisomo ee kisomo	Education yes education
Kisomo cha watu wazima kisomo	Education adult education
Kisomo ee kisomo Mwalimu kasema	Education Mwalimu [The President] has said so

This is a *sangula* dance of Wapogoro from Mahenge, Morogoro. It was aired by Radio Tanzania on 11th May 1982 through *Asilia Salamu* program (Mlama P. O., 1985, p. 19). As the song stands, it rephrased what Nyerere said about education for self-reliance. Mlama (1985, p. 14) refers to it as "praises to party leaders" and parroting of "government policies, decrees and campaigns".

The other important aspect of the Arusha Declaration document was the emphasis it had on African traditional cultural values (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 62). In theatre, the emphasis of the Arusha Declaration was to use theatre as "a vehicle and a tool for cultural transformation" (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 82). Artists of different calibres were 'called' by Nyerere to go and propagate *ujamaa* (Lange, 1995, pp. 40,148; Lihamba, 1985a, p. 81; Mlama P. , 1991, p. 103; Rubin & Diakante, 2001, p. 302). The call also encouraged the performance of theatre in primary and secondary schools.

> The adoption of socialism also provided a fertile ground for the emergence of new theatre forms. Even the elites who had been significantly alienated from their indigenous theatre and trained to promote only European theatre responded positively to the challenge of coming up with a new theatre that would be relevant to the country's socialist aspirations (Mlama P. , 1991, p. 100).

To reinforce the Arusha Declaration, theatre courses which started to be taught at the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) in 1965, were merged into a full theatre department in 1967 (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 82). Later music and fine arts were added to the department in 1972 and 1974, respectively and form a department of Art, Music and Theatre. This was an initiative to "reflect the interrelated arts characteristics of African cultural practice" (Rubin & Diakante, 2001, p. 302). In responding to the policy change towards *ujamaa*, the department has been noted for spearheading the *ujamaa* policy adoption and research towards alternative theatre aside from the existing colonial theatre. For example, plays such as *Kinjeketile* by Ebrahim Hussein and *Hatia* (Guilt) by Penina Muhando were said to receive wide audiences throughout the country due to their social relevance when they were initially performed in the late 1960s (Mollel, 1985, pp. 23-24). In the same line of *ujamaa* initiative, the College of Arts and later Butimba College of National Education's Programme in Theatre Arts were

formed in 1976 and 1982 respectively (Makoye, 2008, p. 108; Sayore, 2008, p. 41). These colleges, just as it happened for the former department of Art, Music and Theatre at UDSM, were responsible for keeping cultural activities alive by training people who were capable of 'rehabilitating culture' and building its identity.

To answer Nyerere's call to propagate *ujamaa*, Mwinamila's group Hiari ya Moyo produced a song titled *Azimio la Arusha* (Arusha Declaration[8]) to support the importance and magnificence of the declaration. In this dance song *Azimio la Arusha*, Mwinamila informs the audience about what it implies in a switch from an exploitative class to non exploitative one (Semzaba, 1983, p. 25)

Azimio la Arusha ni mkuki kwa wanyoyaji	Arusha Declaration is the spear to exploiters
Madhambi yote yamepata dawa	All evils have got cure
Ubepari, dharau, rushwa, kudharauliwa	Capitalism, insults, corruption, disdain
Dawa yake Azimio la Arusha	Their cure is Arusha Declaration

(Semzaba, 1983, p. 25)

Hiari ya Moyo's version of *Azimio la Arusha* can be interpreted as a direct interpretation or echo of the declaration's 'famous' clause that:

> Tumeonewa kiasi cha kutosha, tumenyonywa kiasi cha kutosha, na tumepuuzwa kiasi cha kutosha. Unyonge wetu ndio uliotufanya tuonewe, tunyonywe, na kuupuuzwa. Sasa tunataka mapinduzi; mapinduzi ya kuondoa unyonge ili tusionewe tena, tusinyonywe tena (TANU, 1967, p. 10).

Translation

> We have been oppressed a great deal, we have been exploited a great deal and we have been disregarded a great deal. It is our weakness that has led to our being oppressed, exploited and disregarded. Now we want a revolution – a revolution which brings to an end our weakness, so that we are never again exploited, oppressed or humiliated (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 58).

Azimio la Arusha was propaganda as it not only displayed the problem, but also provided the solution and urged the audience to take action. Looking at the title itself and the emphasis on 'all evils', it dwelled on converting the minds of the audience to 'buy' the Arusha Declaration idea. While I agree with what Achebe (in Ogunleye, 2001, p. 71) said about the propaganda value of every type of art, there is a challenge to using theatre as a tool for political propaganda because in some cases it tries to provide data that turn out to be inaccurate. For example in *Azimio la Arusha* the assumption was if things could work as planned, all evils would have been eradicated. Such vacuous artistic generalization is what Ogunleye (2001, p. 71) has called a 'dramatic sermon'. This assumption that things would work by themselves as

[8] English translation by the author from the original Kiswahili quote of Semzaba.

written in the documents was also the romanticisation which *ujamaa* received during its implementation and led to its limited success. I should point out clearly that in such an atmosphere of propaganda, TANU did not give room for critical analysis of Nyerere's *ujamaa* process. Any attempt to criticize was perceived as neo colonialist and an imperial tactical manoeuvre.

Apart from its propaganda value, other underlying factors for producing *Azimio la Arusha* can be observed. Firstly, it was part of the artists' duty to use national theatre to reflect national issues – the nation at stake; Mlama (1991, p. 100) called it a 'fertile ground' provided by the declaration. Secondly, it was a personal and artistic forum to talk and show how 'all' the problems that evolved after *uhuru* such as disdainment and corruption, would be solved by the Arusha Declaration. Probably artists, as part of the society, also felt the need to support a movement or decisions that could foster better life, humanity and egalitarianism. For them, this was a relief after the *uhuru* disappointment. I should emphasize that the artistic personal decision to participate in national matters (*ujamaa* and its implementation) has not been highlighted, or scholars who wrote about theatre after the Arusha Declaration have marginalized it. Probably it was a belief or an oversight that artists as '*tabula rasa'*, 'illiterates', were not sensitive or knowledgeable enough to chose their own themes rather they were 'mouthpieces'. This attitude defies the fact that artists have a freedom of choice regardless of the political and economic influences. Njogu & Mugo-Wanjau (2007, p. 189) show that:

> The artists resonate and are propelled by global and local events. Whether they are addressing terrorism, HIV and AIDS, corruption, dictatorship, poverty and economic deprivation, the pursuit of freedom, gender inequalities, the quality of leadership and interpersonal relationships, artists have always sought the images that capture their inner feelings about the phenomenon (Njogu & Mugo-Wanjau, 2007, p. 189).

As previously indicated, the 1971 *Mwongozo* (Leadership Code) was another *ujamaa* strategy within the party (TANU) regarding leaders and leadership. It was a didactic document to strengthen leadership and leaders. As the title stands, it was a guideline on how to lead people and follow leadership ethics in the midst of neo colonialism. *Mwongozo* aimed at emphasising the implementation of *ujamaa* and self-reliance especially to leaders who were seen to be 'off-track' with the implementation of *ujamaa* themselves (Semzaba, 1983, p. 24). It was evident that the independent state had simply replaced the colonial government, whereby some leaders, instead of serving the people turned out to be petty bourgeoisie and representative of the colonial government (Shivji I. , 2009a). Citizens had no opportunity to

air their views about the state and its leaders as Chachage (1986, pp. 13, Chapter 1) points out. These 'petty bourgeoisies' (*mabepari uchwara*) are a generational clique of rulers, either elites or party members who accumulated wealth and used them to control the state. However, *Mwongozo* did not work as it is clear from the face that the government had to pass the Economic Sabotage Act in 1983 (Askew, 2002, p. 48; Lihamba, 1985a, p. 74).

The Economic Sabotage Act (Special Provisions), which aimed to combat the 'unsocial behaviour' of economy saboteurs (*wahujumu uchumi*) and racketeers (*walanguzi*), was also reflected in theatre production such as the play *Walanguzi,* by community members in Malya village, Mwanza in 1983 (Mlama P. , 1991, p. 133). The Kilakala theatre group performed a song in 1983 to criticize leaders who abused their position and involved themselves in illegal trading (racketeering).

Tunalaani sana enyi viongozi wetu
Mnaoshiriki madhambi nchini mwetu
Biashara mwaendesha kwa siri tunatambua
Biashara uchwara wala msikatae

Mmekabidhiwa madaraka muongoze
Mnayatumia kwa manufaa binafsi
Utasikia simu yapigwa maulizo
Ngano imefika gunia mbili nyumbani
Kesho kutwa hotelini maandazi

Twatambua sana kuwa mnayashiriki
Watu hatupati ngano imeadimika
Mnastawisha huko mfaidikako
Hao hao viongozi na walioshika madaraka
Hao ndio chanzo cha hali ngumu

Translation

We curse you leaders who engage in evil deeds in our country
You are engaging in private business secretly, that we know
Petty business and do not say, it is not true

You have been given positions to lead us but you are using that for your own benefits
You will hear the telephone inquiring, has wheat flour arrived, two sacks at my house
The day after, buns at the hotel

We know that you engage in this, we do not get flour because you send it where you benefit
It is the leaders in power, they are the cause of our economic hardship

(Mlama P. , 1991, p. 105)

The timing of both a play and song about racketeering showed how the community was sensitive to political and economic issues, and reflected them in various theatre forms. This kind of theatre whereby performers present information which reflect their emotional unrest is what Ogunleye (2001, p. 73) characterises as 'propaganda of agitation'. To a larger extent, all *ujamaa* initiatives were supported by mass rallies, songs, plays and performances. "Academicians, theoreticians, as well as theatre practitioners, echoed Mwalimu call" (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 81). All these initiatives were supported by TANU-the state. Later in 1968 all these artistic activities were coordinated by Institute of National Culture (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 81).

The process of implementing *ujamaa* opened new theatrical avenues to artists. Specific theatrical forms emerged during *ujamaa* such as *ngonjera.* Popularised by Mathias Mnyampala in the early 1960s, *ngonjera* became the theatrical identity of *ujamaa*. Concisely, *ngonjera* are poems that incorporated the traditional theatre characteristics of heroic recitations (*majigambo*) and are recited in Kiswahili by more than one person in a 'call and response' format. In most cases, it is like a 'question and answer' session. One asks a question about a certain issue, and the other replies and this is how *ngonjera* delivered its political propaganda (Lihamba, 2004, p. 242). "The contest was normally between the evils of capitalism and the virtues of socialism. Exploitation, corruption, disregards for human values and materialism were pitted against socialist egalitarian values" (Rubin & Diakante, 2001, p. 302). *Ngonjera* does not depend much on dramatization and costumes as for heroic recitations (*majigambo*) but on aural – pitch and tones. Mlama (1991, pp. 30-31) by citing works of Mathias Mnyampala such as *Azimio la Arusha* (Arusha declaration) and *Elimu ya Kujitegemea* (Education for Self Reliance), criticized *ngonjera* for "faithfully paraphrasing of party policies without any artistic interpretation". *Ngonjera* were later incorporated in the post independence theatre works of Penina Muhando (*Lina Ubani*) and Paukwa Theatre Association (*Ayubu*). The inclusion of dramatisation and music in *ngonjera*, made them more famous and they were performed by people from different levels of education (Lihamba, 2004, p. 242).

In the previous chapter, it was observed that *vichekesho* (comic skits) as one of the theatre forms that flourished during colonialism resulted in the loss of satire in theatre. *Vichekesho* were based on making Africans 'clowns' for their failure to cope with Western civilization. After independence, the scenario and the context of *vichekesho* changed. *Vichekesho* became

part of the working class (proletarian) theatre, which ridiculed neo colonialism and capitalism as opposed to the colonial *vichekesho,* which made Africans ridicule themselves (Rubin & Diakante, 2001, p. 307). Mlama (1991, pp. 97-98) points out that "the *vichekesho* (comic skits) of the 1970s, after Arusha Declaration that introduced *Ujamaa*, became the theatre of the working class. Through the *vichekesho*, the Tanzanian workers rallied behind socialism and exposed the capitalist forces responsible for their exploitation and oppression". Most *vichekesho* were not documented and were mainly improvised. They are short and had few characters between one and three. The old forms or stories were 'recycled' to accommodate new content. Rubin & Diakante (2001, p. 307) equate *vichekesho* to *commedia dell'arte* due to their collective creation and impromptu nature.

The birth of Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) in 1977 is another landmark in theatre production in Tanzania. This was marked by the merger of TANU and the Afro Shiraz Party (ASP). One should note that since 1964 when Tanganyika and Zanzibar united[9], there were two different parties which were in power in those two countries; TANU in Tanganyika and ASP in Zanzibar. After the birth of CCM, again Hiari ya Moyo made another composition titled *Leo Sio Sherehe Tunaanza Chama* (Today is not a ceremony, we are inaugurating a party[10]). "Mwinamila group performs mostly during party function and mass rallies" (Semzaba, 1983, p. 26).

Kufa kwa TANU na Afro	The death of TANU and Afro [ASP]
Sio kufikiwa kwa Ujamaa kamili	Is not the peak of real *Ujamaa*
Wametimiza yao waliyoyaweza	They have fulfilled what they can
CCM lake ni kuendeleza	CCM has to take over
Kwenye Ujamaa kutufikisha	To reach *Ujamaa*

(Semzaba, 1983, p. 26)

Hiari ya Moyo argued that the end of TANU and ASP was the beginning of CCM. Starting a new party was only the continuation of *ujamaa* and the self-reliance movement because the *ujamaa* concept was yet to mature. Hiari ya Moyo believed CCM could manage to reach real *ujamaa*. Artists in Hiari ya Moyo saw clearly that Nyerere's *ujamaa* as an ideology needed further work in order to mature i.e. "the need to re-examine the past mistakes and put more effort in restructuring the difficult road to socialism" (Semzaba, 1983, p. 25). Apart from *Leo Sio Sherehe Tunaanza Chama*, Mwinamila's group composed other songs such as *Jiandikishe*

[9] "This is the only surviving union in Africa so far since 1884, despite all the problems over the years" (Chachage & Chachage, 2003, p. 3)
[10] English translation by the author from the original Kiswahili quote of Semzaba.

Uanachama (register for [party i.e. CCM] membership) and *Kung'atuka* (to relinquish power). All these songs were geared towards publicizing and propagating the Arusha Declaration of 1967 as a CCM manifesto (Semzaba, 1983, p. 25). The birth of CCM on the other hand brought to the scene many 'meaningless songs' as Mlama (1991, p. 30) points out. Songoyi in (Mlama P. , 1991, p. 30) gives an example of the following song which represents several others of the same nature.

Chama Chama Chama	Party Party Party
Cha Mapindizi Tanzania	Revolutionary [Party] in Tanzania
Ee Chama Tanzania	Yes Party in Tanzania

(Mlama P. , 1991, p. 30)

Mulokozi in (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 87) has a different perception of the so-called propaganda, and meaningless art. Using an example of playwrights, he argues "any writer who is really concerned about their (people's) welfare should give them hope and encouragement not discouragement. S/he should also give prescriptions whenever necessary". While understanding Mulokozi's stance, compromising artistic qualities for the sake of providing 'prescription' might create another problem, especially when the 'prescription' fails to materialize.

The formation of CCM reinforced the constitution (interim) amendment of 1975, which gave TANU full legal status of single party supremacy (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 70). This implied that party supremacy became an independent institution, above all other state machineries. *Chama kimeshika hatamu* (party supremacy) became the slogan. *Hatamu* means bridle, so it implied that the party was in total control as a horse rider is of a horse. Actually, nothing could be done without party 'blessings'. (See *The United Republic of Tanzania (URT) Constitution* of 1977 Section 1 Part 1 (3) 1-4). The following song performed in 1982 by a village primary school choir in Malya, Mwanza, expresses the supremacy of CCM and people's expectations.

CCM ni Mapinduzi na sisi tupinduke
Tusiwe na kasumba za kikoloni
Nchini Tanzania tunayo kazi ya kujenga taifa
Wote Watanzania tufanye kazi, kwani kazi ni uhai
Ujenzi wa Tanzania unategemea Watanzania
Uchumi wetu Tanzania unakitegemea kilimo
Tufanye kazi kwa juhudi, tufanye kazi kwa bidii

Tena wazalendo tuwe macho kuwafichua adui zetu
Wavivu na wazembe pia wote wanaohujumu mali ya umma
Hongera Mwalimu na viongozi wote wa Chama cha CCM

Ni miaka mitano CCM yashika hatamu tutaendelea

Translation

CCM is revolutionary so we must also be revolutionary
We must not carry on the colonial hangovers
Here in Tanzania we have a duty to build our nation
All Tanzanians must work hard because work is life
The construction of Tanzania depends on the Tanzanians
Our economy depends on agriculture
Let us work conscientiously
Let us work hard

And we patriots must be alert for enemies
The lazy, the fools and those who sabotage our national resources
Congratulations Mwalimu [President Nyerere] and all Party leaders
It is now five years [since the formation of CCM] and CCM is still holding the reigns and we shall advance

(Mlama P. , 1991, pp. 111-112)

As the song explains, party supremacy became another disastrous propaganda. Regardless of its outrageous, inhumane and derogatory connotation (bridle control), the state did not give room for critical analysis of its social implications.

It should be noted that the TANU/CCM initiatives to institutionalize party supremacy using theatre, were not peculiar to Tanzania. For example the relationship between Hiari ya Moyo and CCM in Tanzania or the formation of national arts groups was similar to other African countries, such as South Africa. The African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa had Amandla Cultural Troupe during the Liberation Movement (Mlama P. O., 1985, p. 10) . The group was involved in all struggles against apartheid and racial segregation policies. The nature of their dances were similar to those of Hiari ya Moyo, i.e. to motivate and mobilize people. Hiari ya Moyo's song *Amka Msilale* of 1954 (Semzaba, 1983, p. 22) can be compared to the Amandla's song *Ayakinggikaza* (they tremble) (in Mlama P. O., 1985, p. 10). As for Tanzanian participation in the liberation process in southern Africa, Hiari ya Moyo also composed songs titled *Uhuru wa Msumbiji* (Mozambique Independence) and *Ukombozi wa Zimbabwe* (Zimbabwean Liberation) to celebrate Mozambique and Zimbabwe independencies (Semzaba, 1983, p. 24).

Another important issue in the national theatre movement in Tanzania was the language. It is worth noting that although the Hiari ya Moyo group came from the Nyamwezi ethnic group, they used Kiswahili language in their performances, to make sure the audience understood

what their performances were about. Therefore, the possibility of having a national theatre stemming from traditional theatre was also dependent on the ability to use the language that was widely spoken. Semzaba (1983) elaborated that:

> The success of the emergence of a national theatre from traditional theatre in Tanzania must be attributed primarily to the spoken language used. The unification of people during the period of colonialism needed a language which would reach all people. Kiswahili due to economic factors such as the 'Coast to the Great Lakes' trade mostly done by Arabs, was spoken throughout most of the country. It was used as the language of communication in the process of national unification (Semzaba, 1983, p. 27).

In general, theatre was forced to use the same language that was used for communication. Moreover, groups that used Kiswahili were able to get more support from the ruling party, CCM. CCM discouraged ethnic languages because it believed the continuous use of ethnic languages could result in disunity and what was referred to as 'tribalism' in Tanzania.

> Tanzania has utilized Kiswahili not only as an expression of the Africanness of Tanzanian people, but also as an expression of their being Tanzanian. Kiswahili in this case becomes part of Tanzania's patriotism proper, and is called upon to serve functions which would give Tanzania's national identity true expression and fulfilment (Mazrui & Mazrui, 1995, p. 82).

According to Semzaba (1983, p. 27), 100% of the interviewees in 1983 showed that they did not have any problem understanding Hiari ya Moyo performances. This was due to the group's ability to 'code switch' and 'code mix' between Kinyamwezi and Kiswahili, in communicating their messages. It is evident that the implementation of the Arusha Declaration facilitated the growth of Kiswahili language and theatre. Lihamba (1985a, pp. 47-48) shows that:

> The Arusha Declaration provided writers and performers not only with subject matter for their themes but also opened new areas for the Kiswahili to develop as a language. Kiswahili is a malleable language and this asset made it possible for it to quickly become part of the political climate both morphologically and lexically. As a result new terminologies sprung up to accommodate the new political and economic ideas. Words like imperialism, neo colonialism, exploitation, oppression etc. soon found their Kiswahili equivalent. The dissemination of these words was carried out by poets, playwrights and performers. They not only used the new words but at times endowed old words with new meaning. As a result, the Kiswahili language has seen a rapid growth after the Arusha Declaration (Lihamba, 1985a, pp. 47-48).

Nyerere knew that people's language was an important factor in his struggle. He devised subtle modalities to absorb imperialist forces in theatre. The immediate approach was to provide artists with the theme of their performances, i.e. *ujamaa*. Since artists looked to Nyerere as a national and international role model, they were easily attracted to following him. The philosophical speeches and arguments that Nyerere preferred to expound, were probably what made artists fond of him.

Regardless of all these efforts by TANU, later CCM and the artists, it was not easy to fight against cultural imperialism for various reasons. Firstly, as Ngugi (1997, p. 18) showed, cultural imperialism takes a subtle form by transforming into multiple forms. Secondly, some leaders, elites and petty bourgeoisie continued to honour colonial theatre as 'the' theatre and to ignore traditional theatre forms such as *ngoma*. For example, some state directives contradicted the whole concept of the institutionalization of theatre. *Kazi si lele mama* (work is not a dance of *lele mama*) becomes a slogan to advocate for the separation between work and theatre/culture (Mlama P. O., 1985, p. 17). *Lele mama* is one of the traditional dances (*ngoma*), which was used during the independence struggle. Thirdly, since 1962 the ministry or department that was designed for culture was moved regularly. By 1990, the ministry or the culture department was moved to eleven different ministries and offices (Askew, 2002, p. 186) and 14 to date. This movement has been condemned as a lack of seriousness when it comes to cultural matters, especially the arts (Askew, 2002, p. 186; Mlama P. O., 1985, p. 13).

Fourthly, the ministry initiatives to regain national pride were not effective enough as there was no defined socialist cultural policy (Mlama P. O., 1985, p. 13). Lange (Lange, 1995, p. 1) tries to establish as if there was a "socialistic cultural policy". According to Mlama (1985) most of the content of the so-called cultural policy under *ujamaa* was a result of Nyerere's speech of 1962, which resulted in the formation of a ministry responsible for culture and subsequent national art groups (NAGs). The so-called policy was also based on state officials' statements. *Ujamaa* on the other hand believed that culture would have grown automatically after the success of *ujamaa*. According to Mlama:

> This argument ignores the fact that the economic base and the cultural superstructure determine and influence each other and cannot therefore be separated. It also ignores the fact that while the country is waiting for socialist culture to come it is under constant exposure to the influences of capitalist and imperialist culture which is part and parcel of the imperialist struggle against socialism. There is a tendency to think that the war against imperialism is only an economic one, and a failure to realise that imperialism is fighting the war against socialism both economically and culturally (Mlama P. O., 1985, p. 5).

Instead of working on a clear cultural policy that was able to comply with *ujamaa*, the ministry responsible for culture was busy sending groups to perform in party-state meetings and functions, as the audience was amongst the ruling class. Mlama (1985, p. 14) sees that the promotion of some theatre forms such as *ngoma*, poetry and songs, was geared towards pleasing the ruling class. Giving several examples, Mlama confirms that this puppet attitude has resulted in the art of parroting. The following example provided by Mlama shows how a

political speech could be rephrased into a poem. This poem *Hotuba ya Mwalimu* (Mwalimu's [Nyerere] Speech) appeared in the CCM newspaper *Uhuru*:

Desemba tarehe tisa, Baba kwa njia ya anga
Katueleza mikasa, ambayo imetuzonga
Kujikosoa makosa, na jinsi ya kujikinga
Tujitolee muhanga, kwa kufufua uchumi

Baba katoa usemi, kujitolea muhanga
Watumishi na walimu, mkumbuu kujifunga
Nchi yetu tuihami, tuitoe kwenye janga
Tujitolee muhanga, kwa kufufua uchumi

Kasema tukaze roho, janga linalotutinga
Tusiingiwe muhaho, kama kuku kwa kupanga
Tuvue roho majoho, tuvae jembe na panga
Tujitolee muhanga, kwa kufufua uchumi

Translation

On ninth December, through a radio broadcast
He told us the catastrophes that are stifling us
We must criticise ourselves and know how to defend ourselves
We must sacrifice to salvage our economy

Our father (the President) has given word to sacrifice
Civil servants and teachers, to tighten our belts
To defend our country and save it from doom
We must sacrifice to salvage our economy

He said we must be brave, and face the catastrophe.
We must not shake like a chick before the hawk.
We must take the shrouds off our hearts, and carry the hoe and the machete.
We must sacrifice and salvage our economy

(Mlama P. O., 1985, p. 14)

In criticizing this poem, Mlama (1985, p. 15) showed the irrelevance of the content to the actual situation, it was merely a repetition of what Nyerere says. The poem did not analyse the economic problems of that time, a situation that Mlama refers to as a 'tottering economy'. Such art compositions like *Hotuba ya Mwalimu* and the like lack originality and simply repeat what leaders say (Miti & Kahamba in Mlama P. O., 1985, p. 15). But on the other hand such composition can be due to the 'traditional' poem composition style of balancing rhyme and metre.

This strategy to produce art which was palatable to the ruling class, i.e. people within the ruling party, resulted in the direct censorship which was carried out by cultural officers on all

levels, from Radio Tanzania-Dar es Salaam (RTD) to the National Music Council-BAMUTA (Mlama P. O., 1985, pp. 14-15). This means art which was not giving praise to Nyerere, the party or ruling class, or which was against or challenged party supremacy, was eliminated or banned. Mlama (1985, p. 15) reminded us that, "such control betrays a misguided view of the role of art in ideology. Art can be critical and yet contribute positively to ideological development. Parrot art does not contribute to the socialist construction because it does not analyse problems and point out solution".

The party/state censorship also created the need for writers and theatre practitioners to employ self-censorship. This resulted in various forms of writing that were outward looking rather than inward, as Lihamba (1985a, p. 479) shows. Examples of such works include Penina Muhando Mlama's *Lina Ubani* (There is an Antidote for the Rot) which focuses on the consequences of Idi Amin war (Kagera war) of 1978-79. Another work is of Euphrase Kezilahabi *Kaptula la Marx* (The Shorts of Marx) which challenges dictators who have failed to deliver to their citizens but still continue to rule. Paukwa Theatre Group produced *Ayubu* (Job) which challenges the dominant capitalist system which oppresses poor people. All these writers/groups were influenced by Marxist/Socialist/Communist ideologies and use historicism to interpret life. The writings also show traces of Brecht's techniques and ideas especially in the need for theatre to communicate change. Perhaps these writers after studying the environment which they were living (which was full of state censorship) they realised the consequences of expressing the truth. Brecht points out clearly five things which writers have to overcome so as to explicate truth. These include "the courage to write it; the wisdom to recognise the truth; the judgement to utilize those in whose the truth will be effective; the art to use the truth as weapon; and to spread it among many" (Ibemesi, 2007, p. 22).

Despite the efforts by the state to suppress artistic creativity in favour of propaganda and praise for the party, the state was still not able to control everything. As it was during colonial times, people continued to perform and enjoy their freedom of expression and sometimes even showed their resistance to state orders. The following song shows part of this:

Alas for us drinkers
They have closed our great pub
But I must sue the government
No mister, they want us to farm, friends
So we can feed our children
But we have always been great farmers
I have already cultivated my rice farm

And we still work on our farms

(Mlama P. , 1991, p. 60)

The process of nationalizing theatre went further than embodying traditional theatre elements. It became a revolution. The relationship between Tanzania and China could be one of the reasons for the Cultural Revolution policy of 1975. In spite of the fact that the Chinese Cultural Revolution came ten years before the Tanzania Cultural Revolution, i.e. 1966, it was evident that there was a relationship between the two countries in the theory and practice of the Cultural Revolution phenomenon (Askew, 2002, p. 160; Lihamba, 1985a, pp. 67-68). However though the Chinese and Tanzanian Cultural Revolution policies resembled each other, in reality there were some distinct differences, especially the violent implementation of the policy in China versus the propaganda approach in Tanzania (Lihamba, 1985a, pp. 67-68). According to Askew (2002, p. 160), Mao Tse Tung (the then Chinese President) did not see the need to build culture using traditional societies' history. Nyerere on the other hand, believed in traditional African societies. Even *ujamaa* was constructed to reflect the culture of traditional African societies before colonialism. For Nyerere, culture had to embrace all the good sentiments of the past so as to be able to confront the future. Here I can argue that the naive concept of the Tanzanian state to try in several incidences 'to return' Tanzanian culture to pre-colonial times is due to Nyerere's belief that pre-colonial culture was the best, especially in terms of its sense of humanity, democracy and communality, as opposed to capitalism.

3.4 *Ujamaa* Disputed

Vijiji vya ujamaa (villagelization) of 1972 was the highest phase of *ujamaa,* as it emphasised *ujamaa* and rural development. The process included moving and reorganising people in the *vijiji vya ujamaa*. "Despite the reluctance among many rural people [to resettle in the *vijiji vya ujamaa*] the artists who were part of the propaganda machinery were very loyal in fulfilling their task as 'educators' of the people (Lange, 2002, p. 59). A village group in Singida in 1970s performed the following *nkininta* dance

Tumekubali kuishi katika	we have agreed to live in
vijiji vya ujamaa	*ujamaa* villages
Ee baba Nyerere kweli	Yes father Nyerere truly
tumekubali kuishi!	we have agreed to live there!
Maisha yetu ni kilimo	our way of of life is farming
Tanzania	Tanzania
Siasa yetu ni kilimo	our policy is faming

Heeh! Hey!

(Lange, 2002, pp. 58-59)

In extracting the content of this dance, it is evidently that it represents what Ogunleye (2001, p. 74) refers to as "propaganda of integration which attempts to unify people for a common cause for their own mutual benefit".

Although there were some discrepancies in implementing *ujamaa* from the Arusha Declaration, at this point, Nyerere's *ujamaa* became more controversial. "*Ujamaa* has reached and moved beyond its zenith. The myth of returning to a proto-socialist past was proven just that a myth" confirms Askew (2002, p. 25). The recorded controversy has been the forceful move of over nine million people to *vijiji vya ujamaa* in 1973, under *Operesheni Vijiji* as the state felt it was important to settle in the created villages (Shivji, 2009a, p. 44; Askew, 2002, p. 237). More than 50% of the total population was moved to *ujamaa* villages (Iliffe, 2007, p. 262). Apart for *Operesheni Vijiji*, for many years, Nyerere's *ujamaa* was criticized both internally and externally. I remember him receiving several nicknames such as Haambiliki, to mean a stubborn person, for his actions and implementation of *ujamaa*. Haambiliki was a famous character in the then Radio Tanzania – Dar es Salaam (RTD) drama, who never accepted advice. He was also referred to as Mti Mkavu (dry tree) and Ayubu (from the Biblical Job), among many other nicknames. Of course, he did not accept these names with pride as he did the nicknames Mwalimu (teacher) and Baba wa Taifa (father of the nation).

Before the Arusha Declaration, people were already tired of waiting for the fruits of *uhuru*. For example, as Shivji explained, university students demonstrated a few months before the Arusha Declaration of 1967 against a mandatory contribution from their salaries. One of the placards they held stated 'colonialism was better'. As Shivji (2009a, p. 152) states, "Nyerere could not stomach it. He dismissed the students, some 300 of them, and used the occasion to lambaste the accumulative tendencies of his own coterie of leaders. He slashed their salaries by 20 percent. That became a precursor to the Leadership Code of the Arusha Declaration". This example showes the disappointment which various groups of people in Tanzania had in the post-independence period.

The post-independence situation of rampant neo colonialism and imperialism can perhaps demonstrate Nyerere's ideas and why he believed *ujamaa* was ideal for Tanzania. The post-independence situation and people's expectations did not match. The rise of petty

bourgeoisies, the elite class and the ruling class minority over the 'classless' majority necessitated the implementation of *ujamaa* and especially the Arusha Declaration. But Chachage (1986) sees the post-independence struggles as a challenge to neo colonialism beyond the ideological differences pronounced. He contends:

> Thus the struggles after independence were not merely ideological; rather they were part of real material struggles, within which the intelligentsia used state power to defeat the workers and peasants, in the earnest belief that they were trying to emancipate the whole people from backwardness and class conflicts. Socialist ideology was an integral part of those struggles in which the working people were finally defeated (Chachage C. S., 1986, pp. 13, Chapter 1).

Here Chachage shows clearly how *ujamaa* was used by the elite and intelligentsia as a vehicle to defeat the majority. The *ujamaa* implementation outcomes did not suffice probably because of the nature of the excessive ruling party's interference in state decisions or a lack of anti-imperialist operationalisation strategy as Shivji (2008, p. 1082) argues. Lihamba (1985a) clarified the possible internal problems of implementing *ujamaa* in Tanzania in the early 1980s:

> Tanzania's economic problems, however, cannot be blamed on socialism alone as social structure. In retrospect, the present situation can be seen as almost inevitable in view of the type of planning and investment which have been carried out since 1967. Lack of scientific planning and utilization of resources available can be cited as an example. In spite of the officially claimed centralized planning, each sector of the economy has been operating almost autonomously. Industrial projects which would have lifted agriculture from its backward condition have either not been thought up or given very little priority. For a country that depends on agriculture for both subsistence and development, neglecting agriculture and the peasants is tantamount to suicide (Lihamba, 1985a, pp. 72-73).

Ujamaa triumphed through a theatrical mismatch between its form and content. For example, while there was an emphasis on *ujamaa* implementation through arts, there was no clear cultural policy to counter the political change (Mlama P. , 1991, p. 13). Political speeches especially the 1962 presidential inaugural speech, state creeds and other policies were reproduced in the arts and they were perceived as 'cultural policy' (Mlama P. O., 1985, p. 11). The fabrication of theatre productions to rephrase such speeches, creeds and policies is what has been branded as 'parroting theatre' (Mlama P. O., 1985, p. 14) and meaningless songs by Songoyi (Mlama P. , 1991, p. 30). Many artists did not realize the *ujamaa* challenges in their magnitude. Instead, they continued to be optimistic. Analysts such as Mlama (1985, pp. 11-12) saw *ujamaa* as a hindrance to cultural development. She argues:

> Whereas the adoption of *ujamaa* provided a specified theoretical direction for economic development, it did not provide direction for cultural development. *Ujamaa* policy has overemphasised economic change at the expense of ideological change. There has not been a realisation that economic development has to go hand in hand with ideological development. As such, most of the major documents stipulating various characteristics of *ujamaa* policy, including the Arusha Declaration,

Socialism and Rural Development, *Mwongozo*, overemphasise economic change (Mlama P. O., 1985, pp. 11-12).

Lihamba (1985a, p. 79) also criticized the Arusha Declaration for presenting traditional life as 'homogeneous and idyllic'. She believes that in the traditional African societies there were issues of exploitation, hierarchy, sex and age difference, even though on the surface they looked harmonious and democratic.

In response to the Arusha declaration challenges, Euphrase Kezilahabi produced a poem *Picking up Rice*

News came from Arusha
We began sorting out the rice of *ujamaa*
With eyes ahead, eyes sideways, we removed sand
We made small burial place for the sand

We began to remove broken rice one by one
The fingers worked like a sewing machine
Night and day until the eyes hurt
We made a small white pile

There was too much broken rice and sand
We cooked after labouring a long time
We began to eat
We found out there was still sand and broken rice
When shall we eat without sand, without broken rice?

Kezilahabi (in Lihamba, 1985a, pp. 89-90)

Apart from the internal disorganization of *ujamaa* carried out by TANU/CCM, Shivji (2009a, p. 44) outlined the external forces that led *ujamaa* to 'crash'. He explained how a year before *Operesheni Vijiji*, Tanzania had already abolished local government and replaced it with a central government system. The abolition of local government at that time has been cited as one of the 'big mistakes' of Nyerere's rule. "It was one big fiasco", Shivji concludes. But surprisingly this transition from local to central government was proposed by an American consultancy firm and Shivji argues that the proposed system was suitable for a firm and not a country; "Perhaps [the American consultancy firm] saw the country [Tanzania] as one big corporation" argues Shivji (2009a, p. 44). I have cited this example to show that the United States of America (USA) was not in total exclusion during *ujamaa.* Shivji (2009a, p. 152) aptly showed how "Nyerere's radical nationalism eventually led him to socialism and self reliance while at the same time he continued to nurture a pretty consistent aversion to both the then [East and West] superpowers".

The collapse of the East African Community (EAC) in 1977 that was created in 1967 with Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda as members, created another social tension between these nations and also created an impact on the economy. For example, the Tanzania–Kenya border was closed and permitted only limited business activities. The publication industry which was more vibrant in Kenya than Tanzania was affected, especially the publication of plays as shown by Lihamba (1985a, pp. 94-95).

As pointed out earlier, in 1978-1979, Tanzania went to war with Idi Amin Dada (Kagera war), the Ugandan leader who came to power through military means. Amin had overthrown the then Ugandan president Milton Obote in 1971. Shivji (2009a, p. 153) explains that this overthrow came at a time when Obote had decided to move to the 'left', towards Nyerere's ideas of *ujamaa*. On one hand this move created opposition in Uganda and on the other attracted the meddling 'west'. Hence the Amin coup was 'backed by the Israelis and the British'. The coup in Uganda made many Ugandan radical intellectuals flee the country. Perhaps the Amin attempt to invade Tanzania in 1978/79 gave Nyerere a reason to fight back and overthrow Amin, as Obote was said to be a good friend to Nyerere.

The war also created a 'fertile ground' for theatre. According to Songoyi in (Plastow, 1996, p. 198), one village in Mwanza used the *bugobogobo* dance of Wasukuma to reflect the war scene. *Bugobogobo* is a traditional dance that is associated with agricultural events.

Amini, the uncivilized had boasted too much
That he was the conqueror of the British Empire.
The beating he got was big enough.
Amini cried, "Men help me". He panicked.
Tanzania has now fired its artillery
Eighty kilometres inside Uganda
Kambarage said, "Be cool Amini, cool
These are just light rains, heavy ones are coming"
Let us beat him thoroughly
Carry him, like a snake, in our fingertips.
Let us throw him away
Lest he smell bad to us
Amini is mad. Heavy rains are falling.

Songoyi in (Plastow, 1996, p. 198)

As can be noted, the dance depicts the war updates that were given through state media. It is said that the cost of the war burdened the Tanzanian economy (Fosu, 2008, p. 145). The consequences of the war and the collapse of the East African Community coincide with the implementation of *ujamaa*, which created despair for the majority.

The criticism of *ujamaa* did not include political and economic aspects alone. From the mid-1970s, theatre writers came up with written plays criticizing *ujamaa* and the state. These plays were not only written but also performed in schools (primary and secondary) and in art institutions such as the University of Dar es Salaam, the former Bagamoyo College of Arts and Butimba. These included among others *Jogoo Kijijini* (A Cock in the Village) and *Ngao ya Jadi* (The Ancestral Shield) by Ebrahim Hussein (1976), *Kaptula la Marx* (The Shorts of Marx) by Euphrase Kezilahabi (1979), *Duka la Kaya* (The Village Shop) by Ndimara Tegambwage (1985), *Nguzo Mama* (The Mother Pillar) and *Lina Ubani* (There is an Antidote for Rot) by Penina Muhando Mlama in 1982 and 1984 respectively. Others include *Harakati za Ukombozi* (Liberation Struggles) by Amandina Lihamba, Ndyanao Balisidya and Penina Mhando Mlama, first performed in 1978 and published in 1982, *Ayubu* (Job) by Paukwa Theatre Association first performed in 1982 and published in 1984, *Mafuta* (Oil) by Paukwa Theatre Association (1986), *Mitumba Ndui* (The Pox) by Penina Mhando (1989) and *Mkutano wa Pili wa Ndege* (The Second Conference of the Birds) by Amandina Lihamba (1991).

In general, these plays criticized the whole process and the implementation of *ujamaa*, neo colonialism, imperialism, bureaucracy in social services provision and the consequences of the Amin war, which holistically had left the majority of Tanzanians living a devastated life. This trend of the publication of such plays showed how *ujamaa* became a positive stimulus to artists, as it provided them with a 'ready-made' theme to react to. The post independence period of *ujamaa*, party supremacy and artistic censorship correlates to the colonial period whereby traditional theatre forms such as *beni ngoma* were seen as core to liberation and independence struggle (Lange, 2002, p. 97; Lihamba, 1985a, p. 29).

3.5 Donors' Avenue

There are multi dimensional ways of conceptualizing any situation. Yves Lacoste in (Frank, 1975, p. 1) argues that, "the underdeveloped countries cannot be understood if one abstract from foreign influence". Lacoste argument is pretty clear in guiding the direction in which the post independence theatre can be analysed. We have observed the state initiatives to institutionalize or nationalize theatre in the process of nationalism and the building of national culture. Obviously *ujamaa* experienced serious challenges soon after its inception, which was somehow rooted in the neo colonial atrocities of the west as well as in the inefficiency of the state. Nyerere soon realized the consequences of the economic crisis of the

1970s, his *ujamaa* policy and the deep-rooted inefficiency of the state machinery as major challenges to fulfilling his socialist ambitions. The only option, as it was for other African countries, was to lean towards neoliberalism. According to Shivji, "Neoliberalism represented the return of aggressive imperialism in the form of globalization" (2007, p. 1). He adds that:

> Neoliberalism made its entry into our countries through various SAPs [Structural Adjustment Programs] of early 1980s. These programmes were nothing more than the further integration of our economies and resources into the world market circuits (liberalization of trade). We were required to withdraw budget allowances from social services to repay loans (cost sharing and balancing of the budget) and deliver natural resources to multinational capital. More importantly SAPs took away the sovereign decision-making right of the African nations. Cost sharing and user fees destroyed whatever little 'welfare' state had been established in the awake of independence (Shivji I. , 2009a, p. 156).

The 1980s "will be recalled is the period during which SAPs were adopted by African countries like 'secular gods" (Ali, 2003, p. 193). These programs, regardless of the intention, did not create tremendous development as was intended, apart from structurally adjusting the countries. Mkandawire & Olukoshi argue:

> When in the 1980s, Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) first made their entry on a massive scale into the economic crisis management strategies of African states, few bothered to ponder systematically the politics of a reform package whose immediate impact was as unselling for the state as for the various social forces in society and whose ultimate aim was to fundamentally alter the structural basis of African economies (Mkandawire & Olukoshi, 1995, p. 1).

The introduction of SAPs created adverse effects on peoples' lives all over the world. For example, in 'Latin' America, just the same as in Africa, the implementation of neoliberal policies went hand in hand with the collapse of the welfare state and the rise of dictators (Mignolo, 2005, p. 98). Depelchin (2005, p. 129) argues that the best way to understand the misdemeanour of any institution such as the IMF (International Monetary Fund) or World Bank, is through analysis of its abuse. "An institution like World Bank may claim to speak for the poor, but it is clear that World Bank officials are not ready to pose that question to those who have been impoverished as a result of their programs".

Nyerere was one of the few African presidents who refused the IMF/World Bank foreign aid policies, as he believed they were not helpful to the country (Iliffe, 2007, pp. 292-293). Nyerere (1980, pp. 7-8) accused the IMF and World Bank of being undemocratic institutions, which instead of being neutral, reacted to the ideological positions of their 'customers'. Nyerere believed that apart from internally-caused *ujamaa* failures, the IMF and World Bank played a major role in uprooting 'the little good' that *ujamaa* had managed to put in place. Nyerere in his 1980 New Year message titled *No to IMF Meddling,* refuted several

allegations pertaining to the 'miserable' lives of Tanzanians during the implementation of *ujamaa*. He argues, (I quote in full):

> Tanzania needs peace-in Africa and elsewhere. But the major economic problems which have preoccupied us in recent months, and which darken the coming year, were not caused by the war against Amin's Uganda, nor the African struggle for freedom. These make things worse; they added to the strain on our resources and deflected our attention at an important time. But we were experiencing inflation before October 1978; our balance of payments was in serious deficit before that war; oil price increases have nothing to do with events in East or Southern Africa.
>
> These externally caused problems are obvious, and so is our need for an injection of balance of payments support. What recently became equally obvious to me but nevertheless strange and repugnant was the attempt by the International Monetary Fund to exploit those difficulties in order to interfere with the management of our economy.
>
> The IMF always lays down conditions for using any of its facilities. We therefore expected that there would be certain conditions imposed should we desire to use the IMF Extended Fund Facility. But we expected these conditions to be non ideological, and related to ensuring that money lent to us is not wasted, pocketed by political leaders or bureaucrats used to build private villas at home or abroad, or deposited in private Swiss Bank accounts (Nyerere J. , 1980, p. 7).

With this defence which he gave as a New Year Message (1980) to the diplomats in Tanzania, Nyerere wanted the world to understand the Tanzanian crisis from a peripheral rather than from a central perspective. Which means, apart from acknowledging the internal challenges *ujamaa* had, he was also trying to avoid 'blaming the victim syndrome' from imperial institutions such as the IMF.

By the end of 1970 the political and economic atmosphere of sub-Saharan Africa was 'grave enough' as Nyerere (1980, p. 9) admits, 'bleak' and 'on its knee' as Shivji (2009a, p. 56) states. Most of the countries failed not only in providing 'sustainable development' but they also failed to practice independence. The majority of the population suffered due to a lack of social services. In Tanzania, the situation was no different. Towards the end of the 1970s, the Tanzanian state could no longer support the national arts groups (NAGs) and their replicas, as it was experiencing an economic crisis (Makoye, 2008, p. 108) due to internal and external causes.

Externally there was a cut in aid from the United Kingdom, the then West Germany and the United States of America (USA). The controversy was around the Tanzanian *ujamaa*-led Foreign Policy, which advocated for Pan Africanism, a call for African unity and Tanzanian support for the liberation movement in Southern Africa and Asia (Tanzania One Theatre, 2002, p. 66). Internally, various scholars (Chachage & Chachage, 2003, p. 5; Lange, 2002, p. 64; Fosu, 2008, p. 145) believe that the Tanzanian economy suffered from the 1970s oil crisis, high levels of inflation, budget deficit, the expense of the Amin war followed by the

major famine of 1984, which decreased agricultural production. “Import control were imposed as foreign reserves declined sharply because of the government policy to provide universal access to social services” (Fosu, 2008, p. 145). So the period between 1970 and 1985 can be regarded as a period of ‘hard control’ by the state (Fosu, 2008, p. 144). Poor transportation infrastructure and a lack of ‘important’ social services such as education, health and water made people despair in *ujamaa.* This became the second major setback of Nyerere’s state following independence. If we include the mutiny of January 1964 ([...], 1981, p. 133) it could be seen as the third setback.

At the beginning of 1980, the IMF – World Bank pressure increased. It was impossible for Nyerere to reverse his stand and accept the proposed Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) and other accompanying conditions as proposed by these institutions. To him they sounded equally as imperialist and capitalist. At the same time, the Eastern block championed by the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) started to collapse. This signified the beginning of the end to the Cold War. The end of the cold war brings to an end most of the communist state monopoly and open up the world to the capitalist consumerism. The impact of such economic changes of the 20th century is noted in the beginning of the 21st century (Epskamp K. P., 2006, p. 1). In 1984 Nyerere gave an official speech of retirement as president, announcing ‘*nimeamua kung’atuka’* literally meaning ‘I have decided to relinquish power’ and he officially stepped down on 5th November 1985 (Askew, 2002, p. 238). It is said that he relinquished power at a time when the economic situation was irreversible (Lange, 2002, p. 79). Although Nyerere relinquished power, the Tanzanian economy was at a crossroads.

3. 6 Conclusion

Tracing the socio-political and economic landscapes of Tanzania since independence, from centre we see the Arusha Declaration and its *ujamaa* was a major obstacle to development that had to be uprooted. The IMF and World Bank conditions clearly dismissed *ujamaa* in favour of liberalisation and the privatisation of major means of production and social service provision so as to reinforce the concept of ‘developmentalism’. The establishment of the IMF and the World Bank was to facilitate and glorify this developmentalist ideology. According to Chachage (2007, pp. 6-7), developmentalism was an inherited policy that defined development using Euro-American criteria, instead of using the social-cultural state of the nation. Zeleza (in Chachage C. , 2007) traces the evolution of developmentalist ideology.

According to him it began in the 1930s during the Great Economic Depression, and culminated in World War II. In Africa, this ideology was propagated through the 1929 British Colonial Welfare Act, followed by the British Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1945. These acts forced African countries to plan their development according to foreign culture. Mignolo, a critic of neoliberalism adds that:

> The story is never fully told because 'developments' projected from above are apparently sufficient to pave the way toward future. 'Expertise' and the experience of being trained as an 'expert' overrule the 'living experience' and the 'needs' of communities that might subsume technology to their ways of life, and transform those ways of life to accord with capitalist requirements, using technology as a new colonizing tool (Mignolo, 2005, p. 97).

Tracing economic dependence following independence, I can argue that the evolution of IMF/World Bank developmentalism projects was the process of wielding economic imperialism. Offiong (1980, p. 65) defines economic imperialism as "the subordination or domination of one country or a group of countries by another for the main purpose of formal or informal control of domestic economic resources for the benefit of the subordinating or dominating power, and at the expense of the local people and their economy".

Since independence, the World Bank and IMF have been lending money to Tanzania to implement short and long-term development plans inherited from the British colonial government. The process of repaying debts added more 'injuries' to the economy. As Toussaint in Shivji (2009a, p. 56) showed, it consumed four times more than the costs used to provide social services. On the issues of foreign debts Samir Amin (2010), bluntly shows that "within the historical capitalist context, external debt has always been a form of pillage ('of primitive accumulation'). That is why Nyerere repeatedly claimed that the IMF/World Bank were 'outrageous' and accused the IMF of making itself an 'International Ministry of Finance' and of interfering in the decision-making power of the nation (Nyerere J. , 1980, p. 8). It was obvious that these institutions empowered themselves or 'armed themselves to the teeth' as Ngugi (1993, p. 110) says, in such a way that they could dictate which policy to implement where, when and who to affect.

In their defence, the engineers of Structural Adjustment Programs (IMF and World Bank) argued that where SAPs have failed to improve people's lives it was due to the lack of 'political will'. 'Good student Ghana' under authoritarian leadership was said to be the best example for African nations to learn about SAPs or IMF/World Bank initiatives (Mkandawire & Olukoshi, 1995, p. 5). But in Tanzania, regardless of the so-called political will, the

process of structurally adjusting the country created enormous wounds in the social life, similar to those of slavery and colonialism and finally flattened the 'small amount of welfare' accumulated. For example the 'golden era' of Tanzania, so-called by the World Bank in the 1960s, was not because the Tanzanian economy performed well in a sustainable agriculture infrastructure, rather it was due to the high price of cash crops such as sisal, coffee or tobacco on the global market (Fosu, 2008, p. 145). In this case, the fall of the price of cash crops in the global market directly affected the country's economy, and this was vivid when the sisal demand dropped in the world market (Chachage C. S., 2004, p. 15) .

So when the IMF and World Bank proposed SAPs as their way of helping Tanzanian or other African economies it was not the first time the imperialists had penetrated the Tanzanian economy. The notion of help started way back when Dr. David Livingstone claimed to come to Africa to help, as described in Chapter Two. So the notion of Euro-American help, aid, donation etc. in the 21st century is not a new phenomenon, as it has its roots back in the mercantile period, as civilization and the legality to colonialism. These plans and ideologies were not geared towards improving Tanzanian people's culture but rather extending the colonial mentality of raw material provision in exchange for imported goods.

This chapter attempts to establish *ujamaa* and the whole process of the institutionalization of national culture through theatre as a resistance to the Euro-American model of modernity and universalism as pointed out by Chachage (2004, p. 29). The theatre that was produced at the time of *ujamaa* was also a resistance theatre (as it was during the struggle for independence), despite also being 'political propaganda'. Mwinamila and his group Hiari ya Moyo represents many of the theatre groups in the post independence Tanzania which aimed at resisting 'cultural invasion', consolidating and presenting political changes. These political changes encompassed in the theatrical works are criticized for being meaningless, political propaganda, parroting in nature. They are also regarded as mouthpieces of party leaders and state creeds and policies. Still Mwinamila and other artists remind us that what they produce as artwork is 'what everybody is talking about' or that is 'what is in the peoples mind'.

This chapter also covers the establishment of the dichotomy of global imperial policies in the centre and its impact in the periphery. *Ujamaa* as a resistance model to neoliberalism played a similar role to the anti-colonial wars of liberation waged by Chifu Abushiri, Mtwa Mkwawa and Kinjeketile. Therefore *ujamaa* was an apparatus to show the world the different

landscapes of thoughts and ideologies, which describe trueness and a matured democracy and this was the respect the capitalists failed to accept.

4. Staging Socialist Creativity on the Capitalist Stage

> Every colonized people – in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality – finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation.
>
> Frantz Fanon (1967, p. 18)

This chapter tries to show the nature of theatre after the concretization of neoliberal policies in Tanzania. It highlights the difference between President Nyerere's leadership and his successors in terms of political and economical changes which directly influence theatre. Previous chapter establishes the fact that while the process of nationalism was going on, it was obvious that it paved the way for the neoliberalism to take place. Since there were unfulfilled post independence political promises from the state, artists could no longer remain 'loyal' to nationalism movement. This implies that, the change of the global dominant policies especially the end of the cold war, signified the beginning of new era which can be defined as era of theatre liberalism. In defining the concept of theatre liberalism, I will continue to trace the post independence established national art groups (NAGs) and aftermath. The aim of the chapter is to show the 'chameleon' nature of theatre in encompassing itself within any governing policy.

4.1 Theatre Liberalism

Theatre liberalism as used in this chapter means the notion in which theatre tries to 'excommunicate' itself from political propaganda while at the same time compromising with the liberals policies of free market, subsidy removal, deregulation, privatisation, downsizing and expunction of community and public properties. Precisely Amin (2010) differentiate such markets by arguing that the phenomenon of market is that of "capitalist markets (based on the valorization of capital). Generally, it is a tendency on which theatre alters its nature to fit accordingly to the neoliberal dominant superstructure. On a wider perspective, Frank (1975, p. 35) describes the phenomena of cultural liberalism. He says:

> [...] cultural liberalism is not just 'liberal' culture. It is the liberal production, diffusion, and consumption in the name of 'liberalism' of any item that can by the most liberal interpretation be called culture or truth [...]. Of course, this liberal diffusion occurs not in the name of political and cultural liberalism alone. No, it is also for the sake of economic liberalism; it pays (Frank, 1975, p. 35).

Looking critically on how neoliberalism operates it is obviously it has a direct effect on theatre. According to Shivji (2009c, p. 2) "neo-liberalism/globalisation was not simply a matter of certain economic policies giving free rein to capitalist vultures and financial speculators, but, much more, an ideological offensive against nationalism and socialism". In

such luminosity, then neolibralism and colonialism share the same values of exploitation of the arts. According to Lihamba (2007, p. 6):

> A consideration of contemporary art and culture education cannot be complete without acknowledging the legacy of western cultural forms and practice. As stated earlier, the school was one of the most successful cultural vehicles that colonialism established and through it, the laying down of a foundation for western art and cultural practices were affected. New cultural aesthetics were planted directly and indirectly. New ways of producing music, drama, poetry, fine arts and other cultural products became popularised. New spaces became important avenues for the production and consumption of some of the new art forms (Lihamba, 2007, p. 6).

Shivji (2007, p. 2; 2009a, p. 196; 2009b, p. 13; 2009c, p. 2) and Martinez & García (2000) clearly argue that there is no difference between globalisation and neoliberalism as globalisation signifies the belligerent comeback of imperialism. Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1993, p. 110) shows his sympathy on how the world is controlled by imperialists in such a way the outcomes of any act has been predetermined. He explains:

> A few shareholders in the City and Wall Street by merely manipulating and playing the monopoly game of sale and purchase of stocks and shares can determine the location, death and life of industries; they can determine who eats, what and where. They can create famines, desserts, pollution and wars. The peasant in the remotest part of the globe is affected by power of those who hoard billions even though only visible in figures on computer screens in the finance houses we call banks. Currently, the IMF and the World Bank are determining the lives and deaths of many in Africa, Asia and South America (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1993, p. 110).

On this, it is clearly that 'manipulation' and 'predetermination' of the outcomes are core to neoliberalism as it is for imperialism. Ngugi provision provides us with the starting point to question the concept, content and context of theatre in the neoliberal sphere. In relating it to theatre, (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 2006, p. 16) further shows how both global economic and political control are incomplete without cultural control. Hence the whole process of imposing neoliberal policies is incomplete without 'disarming' cultural factor. This means that the predetermined outcomes of imperialism is what results into theatre liberalism.

4.1 Liberalization and Marketization of the National Culture

Whilst president Nyerere rejected the IMF and World Bank Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), his successor, President Ali Hassan Mwinyi, 'did not have alternatives' other than accepting Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs). The imposition of SAPs was instructed and engineered by international financial institutions (IFIs) especially International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. This second Tanzanian president who ruled from 1985 to 1995, is remembered by the presidential campaign slogan *ndugu yetu, mwenzetu* (our comrade,

fellow comrade) which was used to consolidate votes. Shivji (2009a, p. back page) explains how enthusiastic people were for such economic shift. He says:

> The neoliberal project, led by the IMF and World Bank, promised to correct many of the distortions in the African postcolonial environment. It pledged to engineer liberalisation and expand democratic space through competitive multiparty elections. For a people who had suffered years of statism, these promises were persuasive. Indeed, they accorded this project a level of legitimacy it otherwise would have not enjoyed (Shivji I. , 2009a, p. back page).

Ferguson (2006, p. 71) shows how these programs were "forced down the throats of African governments [...] based on precisely the sort of spurious economic 'proofs' and implausible suspension of moral memorandum".

Although it was seen as for Mwinyi 'there was no alternative', such economic and political transition towards SAPs was not a smooth move. There were rejection and controversies amongst workers and farmers who were the dominant group in Tanzania on which direction to take. According to Chachage & Chachage (2003, p. 5):

> Tanzania [in early1980s] attempted to negotiate with the World Bank and IMF for loans to deal with the situation. But these institutions refused to lend the country, unless there were changes made in the policy directions by implementing Structural Adjustment Programs. These institutions required Tanzania to devalue the currency significantly, freeze wage increases, increase interest rates, decontrol prices, remove subsidies on agricultural inputs and foodstuffs, relax import controls, encourage private investments and reduce government spending by cutting down budget on social services. While some sections of the economists, planners and politicians supported SAPs; some lawyers and social scientists opposed them for their anti-welfare and in egalitarian tendencies (Chachage & Chachage, 2003, p. 5).

At that time, *vijiji vya ujamaa* had failed to work and at the same time 'all evils' accumulated since independence which had been expected to be solved by the Arusha Declaration culminated in failure. Mwinyi became Mzee Ruksa (literally an elder of enormous freedom and liberalization) as he granted permission for many things, which Nyerere had not, especially the IMF/World Bank borrowing conditions. Obviously, he accepted the name Mzee Ruksa with gratitude. The 1986-1994 was the period characterized by 'soft control' of the state (Fosu, 2008, p. 144). His *ruksa* led to the malfunctioning of many state organs. "However, they also point out that he [Mwinyi] never had the strength to maintain control over the market forces which emerged during and after the first years of economic liberalisation. The result of this was rampant corruption which spread throughout the state apparatus", argues Wallengren (1997).

SAPs' conditions emphasized liberalisation. Liberalisation of most of the things (if not all) pertaining to economy and politics, such as the retrenchment of workers in the public sector, subsidy removal, power decentralization and an emphasis on the need for foreign aid and

donor support to revive the 'collapsing' economy. Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) as 'secular Gods' were the only way to develop and 'there is no alternative' (TINA) to neoliberalism became a syndrome (Chachage C. S., 2004, p. 30). According to Mwase & Ndulu in (Fosu, 2008, p. 145), "thus the period of soft controls began in 1986, marked by government withdrawal from direct involvement in production, processing and marketing activities retaining only its role in setting policies". The holistic outcome of restructuring the state machinery is what Wallengren (1997) refers to as 'rampant corruption', which directly resulted in high levels of inflation and social crime. Moreover, Joel in (Askew, 2002, p. 238) explains how "Tanzania's spell under socialism proved to be the longest road to capitalism [...]. All the political and economic pillars which plunged the country to where it is, have finally crumbled". This implies even the theatre which was nurtured during the peak of socialism was changed so as to be accommodated within capitalist mode of production.

Since his retirement in 1985, Nyerere keep on 'pulling the reigns'. But it is during this period or retirement when Nyerere openly came to criticize his party Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM). According to Chachage & Chachage (2003, p. 7):

> Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, who had stepped down from the presidency in 1985, with the intention to revitalize the party, had become disillusioned by the one-party system by 1987. In this year, he told Kenneth Kaunda [the then Zambian president] that what Africa needed was a multiparty system, as a means to challenge the party in power, since in the one party system the tendency for those in power is to be complacent. By 1990, he started insisting on the introduction of competitive politics and challenged Chama Cha Mapinduzi's (CCM) legitimacy, and declared that it was no longer a sin to discuss a multiparty system. Donors were also putting pressure for the country to join the multiparty bandwagon as one of the conditions for getting aid (Chachage & Chachage, 2003, p. 7).

It is obviously that Nyerere saw the dilemma which CCM is facing in coping with global dominant agendas. Then he considered multiparty politics as the only way to challenge CCM to deliver services to the people and also as a way to end statism. In the process of *ruksa* the liberalization did not spare culture. Once political and economic aspects are shifted, the burden falls directly on the culture, as previously mentioned, politics, economy and culture are interrelated. On this, Rubin & Diakante (2001) argue that:

> There were great expectations after the Arusha Declaration that the government's intentions to support cultural activities would give the theatre sufficient subsidy to avoid commercialization. However, the proclamation did not translate itself into concrete support. Liberalization policies pursued from early 1980s made theatre a commodity for sale like any other (Rubin & Diakante, 2001, p. 304).

By commodifying and marketing theatre and other arts it becomes obvious that, theatre is no longer serving the socialism but rather following the capitalism bandwagon. Through *ruksa,* artists were able to become apolitical, with less party interference and state censorship. It is

during the *ruksa* time that the means of expression were diversified, including the institutionalization of private print and visual media companies. Even though artists celebrated *ruksa* for providing less state monitoring and interference, it was evident that the removal of social service subsidies, the effects of downsizing, deregulation and privatisation directly changed the theatrical landscape in Tanzania. This is what Ngugi (2005, p. 155) calls "privatize or perish – and homily – leave everything even your social fate, to the tender mercies of the market". Most of the theatre groups, including national art groups (NAGs) could no longer obtain state support. Artists were forced to market their art just the same as any other commodity. The marketing of theatre is not easy in a place where people are used to seeing free political propaganda performances. According to Gibbs (1999, pp. 125-126) the adoption of IMF/World Bank conditions forced most theatre activists to seek funds from various sources, as the government could no longer support them. "It is clearly difficult to preserve unfettered theatre movements in nations that are deeply in debt. The absence of local sources and funding for the arts and for development projects makes collaborations with bodies that are very different in cultural and other agendas inevitable" (Gibbs, 1999, pp. 125-126).

In 1991, the Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM), embarked on what came to be known as Azimio la Zanzibar (The Zanzibar Declaration), as the declaration was made in Zanzibar. The aim of the Azimio la Zanzibar is to synchronize social, political and economic aspects with liberalization and other IMF/World Bank conditions. According to Chachage (2004, p. 20) this was the direct confrontation to the Arusha Declaration of 1967. To him this is a process whereby CCM "began to contemplate multipartyism and the dismantling of the policies that had been implemented to bolster one-party rule and enhance statism".

> Within this context, the nature of the debates changed by the end of the 1980s. The issues were recast to increasingly focus on the question of multiparty democracy, with the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. In fact, donor pressure was quite significant in pushing for the establishment of such a system, as conditionality of donor support over and above structural adjustments. This was being done under the banner of 'good governance'. The introduction of multiparty democracy became one of the aid conditionalities by the end of the 1980s. This was in a context of a world that was working hard to irresponsibize the state by removing the notion of the public and public interests, submitting people to the belief of the values of the economy—the "return of individualism" (self-help, self employment, cost-sharing, etc) and the destruction of all philosophical foundations of welfarism and collective responsibility towards poverty, misery, sickness, misfortunes, education, etc (Chachage & Chachage, 2003, p. 7).

Furthermore, various evidences show that by confronting the Arusha Declaration, the Zanzibar Declaration was forced to go against socialism in favour of capitalism, and liberalism in favour of nationalism. Tripp in (Chachage C. S., 2004, p. 20) argues that

Zanzibar Declaration "fundamentally modified the 1967 Arusha Declaration and challenged the original objectives of the document". It also aims at "abandon[ing] the Leadership Code (Mwongozo) of the Arusha Declaration which constrained capitalist tendencies among the leaders" (Chachage & Chachage, 2003, p. 6). In a simple explanation, the Zanzibar Declaration is a deliberate move to modernise and impose universalism in Tanzania. The door was left open for foreign investors to invest and foreign aid to flow as it was said that that was the only way for poor states like Tanzania to develop. The Zanzibar Declaration was also regarded as the affirmation to the 'privatization' and 'marketisation of arts. As it was for other social services, art was left to compete in the market as other commodities as state could no longer offer support. "The transition from socialism to liberal market economy in the late 1980s entailed social stratification of a type of scale unknown earlier in the country's history" (Lange, 2002, p. 202). Furthermore, Fosu (Fosu, 2008, p. 146) argues, "the 1986-1994 period could thus be viewed as a transition from hard controls to a market-based economy, a transition that required substantial machinations".

Regardless of the criticism of his *ruksa* policy, Mwinyi was said to have been a central figure in the dynamic change of the country. According to Wallengren (1997) "[Mwinyi] acknowledged the need to introduce economic reforms in the mid-1980s". The democratisation process was followed by the mushrooming of civil societies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), which were seen as positive outcomes of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs). All crucial development responsibilities were taken away from the government and handed over to the private sector and NGOs, which Chachage (2006b, p. 2) ridiculed as 'smart partnership'. This assertion affects not only theatre but also informal sectors attached to development. Ferguson (2006, p. 77) argues that:

> The coerced adaptation of 'structural-adjustment' programs by African states since the 1980s has been accompanied by a fundamental shift in the way these states have sought to legitimate their policies. Leaving behind the moral language of legitimization that was shared by African socialism and its critics alike, African politicians and bureaucrats now seek to explain and justify their new policies (for audiences both foreign and domestic) in the economistic language of international technocracy (a shift inevitably recorded in the West as a motive toward 'pragmatism' and 'moderation' economic matters (Ferguson, 2006, p. 77).

In support of NGOs, the IMF and World Bank argues that NGOs were more effective, efficient, transparent and democratic than states, in fostering development. This was to decentralize power from the single party-led state, which had a strong belief in socialism and seems to hinder the capitalist model of development (Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, 2007, p. 28). The assumption was that by increasing the aid supply, Tanzania could implement

short and long-term development plans which aimed at reducing the deepening poverty. Perhaps by giving funds to NGOs it was thought that it would ease the socio-economic transformation, as most of the African states seem to be 'out of touch' or 'authoritative' in comparison with the NGOs. In such a scenario, theatre artists followed suit in the establishment of their NGOs. 'People's participation' became a key word in accessing donors' money.

> Many NGOs pride themselves on their support for local participation and their commitment to enabling local beneficiaries to identify development problems, plan interventions and carry out implementation. Most NGOs recognize that failure to include participation and put people first seriously undercuts the effectiveness of projects that attempts to induce and accelerate development (Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, 2007, p. 41).

Some such NGOs 'snatched' the University of Dar es Salaam participatory theatre model; Theatre for Development (TfD). TfD was seen as part of the process of giving people a voice after the 1970s – 1980s party supremacy and state disillusionment in social service provision. It was also an elite move to decolonize theatre by rejecting the universalism of the development concept (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 441). Generally, Theatre for Development (TfD) was a mechanism to honour pre-colonial people's participation in theatre as opposed to the western theatre which alienated audience participation (Bakari & Materego, 2008, p. 15). The introduction of TfD, interactive theatre and other participatory approaches attracted donor funds because they were addressing 'fundamental' community issues such as female genital cutting (FGC), HIV/AIDS, democracy, human rights and so on. Such theatre genres which emerged in relation to donors and development are discussed in Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

It was clear that what NGOs were doing was to minimize the harm created by the IMF and World Bank Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) and other development projects created by imperialists. If SAPs had not destabilized Tanzanian development patterns, perhaps some of the current problems would not been there in the first place. "What is clear is that, the colonial spoliation which was part of the early expansion of the mercantilist system may have made a critically important contribution to the development of its capitalist successor's now developed countries" (Frank, 1975, p. 15). This implies that, the existence of the so-called donor/international community (euphemism for capitalist imperial block) has its roots in the recipients' so called poor economies. For this matter, donation or foreign aid becomes a fact of silencing the process of unbalanced accumulation or a process of further integration in the capitalist economies. Ferguson (2006, p. 71) further argues that "it is possible to show that

these Structural Adjustment Programs have already had enormously destructive social consequences and human costs […]. But my concern here is with neither the effects nor the efficacy of structural adjustment but rather with the style in which it is legitimated".

While IMF/World Bank SAPs conditions seem persuasive in solving the economic crisis and 'quenching people's development thirst', Chachage (2009c) does not see any development achieved from foreign assistance, especially aid received from donors. He defines Tanzania as a 'celebration of mediocrity', which has a 'collective economic poverty' caused by 'collective mental poverty', which is a result of 'collective imbecillization'. For Chachage it is evident that calling for more foreign aid and external donors cannot solve the development problem, as the root cause for the lack of development was deeply rooted in the community itself. Although the request for more donor support increases, the Tanzanian economy does not recover and remains among the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC). Shivji (2009a, p. 56) regards this 'un-developing' situation as a fact and not a myth.

In general, despite the struggle of the countries south of the Sahara to repay the debts, it was observed that the debt burden of such countries have increased 28 times between 1970 and 1991. The current situation in Tanzania shows that the national budget has a deficit of an average of 34% (PriceWaterHouseCoopers, 2009) which has to be filled by donors while the inflation rate has risen to 13.5% (Reuters, 2009). According to Embassy of Netherlands (in Tanzania), Tanzania receives tremendous amount of money from donors over US$ 1.2 billion but still in 2008, the foreign debt increased to around US$ 6.5 billion. "The liberalisation of the economy and privatisation of public companies is proceeding very slowly" (Netherland Embassy-Tanzania, 2009). This is an appalling situation not only for the political and economic aspects of country like Tanzania but more on the social and cultural aspects.

According to Askew (2002, p. 281):

> Ideological welfare between capitalism and socialism continues in the domain of culture despite supposedly clear capitalist/democratic victories elsewhere. It is waged over the acts of artists and musicians who are castigated for falling prey to profit motives yet abused by a parasitic bureaucracy that demands art and music without compensation beyond rhetorical praise (Askew, 2002, p. 281).

The 'democratization' process, including the multi-party policy, which was reintroduced in 1992 after the Zanzibar Declaration, was another political 'mockery'. The white paper on political pluralism (Nyalali Commission Report of 1992), shows that more than 77.2 percent of Tanzanians were willing to continue with the single party system (Chachage & Chachage,

2003, p. 7; Iliffe, 2007, p. 300; Legal and Human Rights Centre, 2009, pp. 30-31). However the reintroduction of the multi-party system favoured the minority and this becomes the IMF/ World Bank democracy and fulfilment of 'good governance' demand (Lange, 2002, p. 79). IMF and World Bank pressure for political pluralism as a significant symbol of a democratic state, overshadowed the decision of the people. This overshadowing was caused by Tanzania dependency to the developed countries. With such dependency, Tanzania compromised not only the pseudo-independence it had, but also crashed the concept and notion of democracy.

The democratization process resulted in the amendment to the constitution to accommodate multi-party politics. In 1995, the first multi-party (in the midst of neoliberalism) and democratic elections (as documented) were held in Tanzania. Benjamin William Mkapa became the third president, ruling from 1995 to 2005. Mkapa came into power with the slogan *ukweli na uwazi* (truthfulness and openness). The Mkapa era ushered and embarked on not only trade liberalisation but also the brutal privatization of public institutions. On the other hand, Mkapa is seen as an economic reformist after the Ali Hassan Mwinyi era of rampant corruption. Mkapa has to prove that *ujamaa* has collapsed so as to attract capitalists in what was considered a process to deny being a 'socialist sheep' and demonstrate himself as a 'capitalist lion' (Wallengren, 1997). It was during Mkapa's supremacy that the so-called imperialists, during nationalization, became investors in neoliberalisation. Chachage (2006b, p. 2) argues that new vocabularies were coined to suit neoliberal policies, such as 'globalization' to replace 'global pillage', 'investors' to replace 'exploiters', 'retrenched and unemployed workers' as 'entrepreneurs'.

Mkapa was praised by World Bank and IMF for his effective management of Tanzania marketisation and privatisation in what has been remarked as 'economic diplomacy' (Shivji I. , 2009c, p. 2). Mkapa, regardless of his 'elitist' approach to an economy-based presidency and praise from the IMF and World Bank in 2004, left a 'bad taste' with many Tanzanians (worldfocusgroup.com, 2009). This praise went hand in hand with the rampant corruption, abuse of power and human rights by ruling party members, many of them well placed in the state leadership as members of parliament and government ministers (Legal and Human Rights Centre, 2009, pp. 164-166). Some people have faced charges for calling Mkapa *fisadi* (reprobate) in public (Mohamed, 2009; Legal and Human Rights Centre, 2009, p. 32). The outcome of his ten years as president can be summarised as 'the era of profligatism'.

It is during the Mkapa era that the refurbished foundations and frameworks for people's empowerment in development known as Poverty Reduction Strategies (PRSs) are introduced and implemented. These are IMF/World Bank strategies for Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) to rescue their economies after Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) (United Republic of Tanzania, 2009). We were told that the PRSs were "aiming at sustaining broad-based growth whilst emphasizing equity and good governance" (United Republic of Tanzania, 2009, p. 1). The Poverty Reduction Strategies (PRSs) were generated on various levels and over time. For example, in Tanzania initiatives such as the National Poverty Eradication Strategy (NPES) were produced in 1998, aiming at halving the incidence of poverty by 2010. Development Vision 2025 was produced in 1999 and the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) was produced in 2000. MKUKUTA, the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP) and MKUZA for Zanzibar were the second generation of PRSs which began to be implemented in 2000 (United Republic of Tanzania, 2009, p. 1).

Largely all these developmental programs were advocated as a mechanism to ease SAPs. This means that the IMF/World Bank were trying to cure the 'side effects' of SAPs, while SAPs were 'dressing the wounds' of slavery, colonialism and neo colonialism. Besides statistical success, less impact is felt on an individual level due to IMF-WB ephemeral and exogenous approaches (See International Monetary Fund, 2000). Songoyi (1988, p. 28) on the other hand argues:

> The disintegration of the pre-capitalist economies which was brought about by the penetration of capitalism into our country turned all production, even the production of aesthetic object (the arts) into commodity production; and commodity production under capitalism has its own rules. It requires particular organization and formation of institution to see that things are done as expected. That is, commodity production develops commercial institutions to market the products (Songoyi, 1988, p. 28).

The liberalism period infused development ideologies, which used 'annual per capital income' as a 'measurement' of development, a system that was more suited to Euro-American countries. To some degree using these kinds of measurements in Africa have proved to be "theoretically inadequate, empirically invalid and developmentally ineffective" (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 442). Currently, Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and per capita income have been adopted as the primary formula to compress people's lives strictly into arrangements of 'numbers and alphabets'. If one analyses the Poverty Reduction Strategies (PRS) proposed by the IMF and World Bank and the results in the Poverty and Human Development Report (PHDR), one can see how these documents place emphasis on the GDP and per capita income as the key measurement of development (United Republic of Tanzania,

2009). As Lihamba (1985a, p. 442) says, this system of measuring development does not suffice to advocate for and bring about 'development'. "Relying on economic criteria such as GDP [Gross Domestic Product] only to assess the development impact of these transnational forces is not enough since they tend to overlook some of the virulent imperial and racial tendencies of these forces" (Chachage C. S., 2004, p. 32).

Apart from billions of dollars spent in the first phase of MKUKUTA (National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty) and its counterpart MKUZA, surprisingly, neither theatre nor arts were included. It wasn't until 2009 when the preparation for the second phase of MKUKUTA and MKUZA that performing arts were included under 'entertainment' and 'non-traditional service sectors' (United Republic of Tanzania, 2009, p. 9). The proposition for the inclusion of 'performing arts' was based on the assumption that such areas, if well developed could boost the national economy. The guideline for the development of the next generation of MKUKUTA and MKUZA, prepared by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs outlines that:

> One of the components of the informal sector which shows prospects for providing employment, especially to the youth, is the entertainment service sector (i.e. film, music, etc, which could fall in the so called performing arts). The exact and potential contribution of these non-traditional sectors of employment and income generation (e.g. non-traditional service sectors like film and music industries) is an area for which we know very little (United Republic of Tanzania, 2009, p. 9).

Within the cultural industry, Mkapa is remembered for his initiative to have a Cultural Policy in place in 1997. Though it was thought that Tanzania had an official cultural policy during *ujamaa* years, it was not in fact the case. Regardless of the new content, the policy fails to show how theatre and other arts are to survive in the midst of neoliberal policies. As it was for *ujamaa*, the policy maintained control at the top levels of cultural support but the financial part was handed over to well-wishers. Under the sub heading of Financing Cultural Activities (7.5.1), the policy shows clearly that the "Government shall mobilise and involve individuals, various organisations and the public at large to contribute towards the financing of cultural activities" (Wizara ya Elimu na Utamaduni, 1997, p. 24).

The 1997 Cultural Policy's clauses 2.1.2 (1997, p. 4) and 6.2.5 (1997, p. 19) state the necessity of introducing arts (music, fine art, sculpture and the performing arts) as examinable subjects in both primary and secondary schools. However it is not until 2008, that the government implemented such provision. Although the outcomes are yet to be realised, a number of challenges can be identified. Students are being taught in the English language,

which prevents them from understanding arts as a simulacrum of their culture, which is mainly reflected in the language of Kiswahili. Insufficient teachers, teaching and learning materials are some of the challenges too (Mmasy, 2009). One might ask what the responsible ministry was preparing for?

Hatar (2001) sees the challenge of implementing cultural policy in Tanzania as conceptual incapability of the key implementers. He says:

> In my view the single most problematic area in theatre education stems from the fact that the policy makers still cannot see the importance of theatre in the affairs of the nation. They see theatre in terms of *ngoma* (dances) performed by half clad people sweating away in a dance at the airport, welcoming state guests. Most of the policy makers have grown up in an education system that has alienated them from traditional theatre and as such, many of them cannot see any real term value in investing in the arts (Hatar, 2001, p. 21).

The Cultural Policy document though appears to have been developed in consultation with key stakeholders, as the approach to its implementation has always remained top-down. For example, under 2.1.7 it states "Cultural industries shall be identified and encouraged to contribute towards national economic development" (Wizara ya Elimu na Utamaduni, 1997, p. 5) . The policy document does not stipulate who, how and what exactly should be done to fulfil the intention of using culture to support the national economy. Instead, the policy extracts few components as the keys to culture and expects well-wishers, donors, NGOs and investors to implement the policy while the state observes.

Although the World Bank and IMF conditions are widely implemented from the late 1980s onwards, during Mwinyi presidency, it is evident that the state was still in control to some extent. As time went on and the subtle absorption of neoliberal policies, party supremacy declined. The supremacy was replaced by 'global dominant movements', such as human rights, democracy, freedom of expression and so on, and neither Mkapa nor CCM could resist such 'global' changes. This marks one of the positive outcomes of neoliberal policies – to end statism in Tanzania and minimize artistic censorship. In comparing the leaderships skills and personal ideologies of these three presidents, Julius Nyerere, Ali Hassan Mwinyi and Benjamin Mkapa, Shivji (2007, p. 1) states that if Nyerere is to be called the father of nationalism, Mkapa should be the father of neoliberalism and Mwinyi the 'mid-wife'. This is because the transition period of the Mwinyi presidency did not have a clear cultural policy as it was in the middle of *ujamaa* and a mishmash of undefined policies. Shivji adds that this was "a transition period during which nationalism and neoliberalism struggled for dominance […] where as neoliberalism triumphed".

It should be noted that the smooth funding of theatre through NGOs continued until 2001, up until the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the USA. At the beginning of 2002, there was a great change in funding strategies from various donors, including the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), who was the main theatre donor in Tanzania. "As unrealistic expectations of western donors failed to materialize, however, support for African NGOs began to decline. This process was accelerated by the events of September 11th 2001, which prompted donors to redirect aid money toward African states in an effort to reduce the terrorist threat" (Igoe & Kelsall, 2005, p. 2).

In 2005 Kikwete was elected as president with more than 80% of the Tanzanian vote (Legal and Human Rights Centre, 2009, p. 6). As Mkapa before him had done, Kikwete came up with the new slogan of *ari mpya, nguvu mpya na kasi mpya* (new vigour, new zeal and new speed). In his first speech to the parliament, Kikwete (2005) mentions ten core issues which Tanzanians could expect would be dealt with new vigour, zeal and speed. The tenth core issue was about culture. He proclaims that, "The Fourth Phase Government will promote sports, as well as cultural and other forms of entertainment [...]. Among the issues we will address is the question of the rights and interests of artistes so that they can be well rewarded for the great work they do". It is however still difficult to judge the implementation of this statement at the end of his five-year tenure.

Looking at the trend of theatre in Tanzania from the late 1980s, they show every characteristics of being born out of economic hardship and party supremacy. The international financial institutions (IFIs) especially the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank economic programs Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) played a significant role in eliminating and establishing new forms of theatre in Tanzania.

> Thus, with the implementation of SAPs [Structural Adjustment Programs], by early 1990s, the government had liberalized crops marketing; liberalized the distribution of most inputs; introduced freehold lease in land ownership; and liberalized the investment policy in favour of private investments. It had also deregulated exchange and interest rates; reformed the fiscal and monetary policies; removed all subsidies for agricultural inputs and foodstuffs; reintroduced school fees in schools; and, reintroduce poll tax under the guise of "Development Levy". Other measures taken were reform policies to allow private banking; allow free transactions in foreign exchange by opening change de bureaus; restructure parastatal statutes to allow private shareholders or private ownership and finally abandon the Leadership Code of the Arusha Declaration which constrained capitalist tendencies among the leaders (Chachage & Chachage, 2003, pp. 5-6).

This quote from Chachage & Chachage clearly shows the impact of neoliberal policies in Tanzania although theatre or culture is not specifically mentioned. One of the major weaknesses of the post independence literature which describes *ujamaa* versus capitalism and

its aftermath in Tanzania, has been the exclusion, omission or overlook of theatre and cultural industry in general as victims of such policy change. This has not only been the historians' deficit but also the political scientists' and sociologists' shortfall when writing about Tanzania. Wamba (1991, p. 220) elaborates this deficit.

> In fact, liberation struggles in Africa have relied heavily on models of revolutionary politics developed and already in crisis elsewhere; the adoption of a 'revolutionary model' has replaced *revolutionary creativity*. Cultural creations of the movements resisting despotic communities (since the emergence of the state up to slave trade and colonialists Dark Ages), private property, autonomization of power and the individual, values process, etc are never taken into account. The point of view of the whole that ignores particularities is consonant with capitalism (Wamba Dia Wamba, 1991, p. 220).

4.2 The Death of National Art Groups

In the 1960s when Tanzania was under *ujamaa* it established national art groups (NAGs) as pointed out in the previous chapter. The established national arts groups were National Ngoma Troupe (1963), National Acrobatic Group (1969) and National Drama Group (1972). These national arts groups (henceforth NAGs) were expected to be the foundation whereby national culture could be reconstructed. According to Cabral (1980, p. 147):

> For culture to play the important role which falls to it in the framework of development of the liberation movement, the movement must be able to conserve the positive cultural values of every well-defined social group, of every category, and to achieve the confluence of these values into the stream of struggle, giving them a new dimension – the national dimension. Faced with such necessity, the liberation struggle is, above all, a struggle as much for the conservation and survival of the cultural values of the people as for the harmonizing and development of these values within a national framework (Cabral, 1980, p. 147).

It was on the same idea of liberating 'Tanzanian culture' from colonial mentality that why NAGs became important engine. In realizing the necessity of having such engine in rehabilitating a 'national culture', the state became the sole provider for all incurred expenses including salaries and allowances for all artists in the NAGs. The aim was to limit to the marketization and commercialization of theatre. By the late 1970s, the state failed to provide fully to the mushroomed replicas of NAGs.

> The symptoms of the crisis by 1980 were deterioration in the balance of trade, a fall in agricultural production (food and export crops), negative per capita growth and high inflation rates. Others were acute shortage of essential consumer goods, low industrial capacity utilization, deterioration in the budgetary position and general deterioration of the conditions of the working people (Chachage & Chachage, 2003, p. 5).

With such national budget deficit, the national arts groups (NAGs) were dissolved and a national art institute was formed. This institute was situated in Ilala Sharif-Shamba in Dar es Salaam, current National Art Council (BASATA) premises. In 1981, the institute was transformed and shifted to Bagamoyo and became Bagamoyo College of Arts (BCA) and

current known as Institute of Arts and Culture, Bagamoyo or TaSUBa (Makoye, 1998, p. 95). Apart from economic crisis, we are told that NAGs were dissolved for other socio-political reasons. Mr. Rashid Masimbi (2008), former Director of Culture and Executive Secretary of Tanzania Theatre Centre (TzTC), mentions several major reasons why NAGs were dissolved apart from economic crisis. Firstly, the level of professional artists was low compared to the so-called non-professional artists especially the dancers. At the grassroots' level it was observed that members of the National Dance Troupe could not compete with the traditional dancers. Secondly, the NAGs failed to fulfil their establishment objective which was to inspire Tanzanians to regain their lost pride, reconstruct national culture and control cultural imperialism. Thirdly, there was a need to train cultural officers so that they could work with society at the grass root level effectively and efficiently. Practically, members of the NAGs could not work effectively at the grassroots' level, as they had to tour every region and abroad for national and international performances. From Masimbi explanation, it is clear that the NAGs performances became 'unsatisfactory' according to state expectations.

Initially groups which did not receive party (state) support were likely to commercialize their theatre, get into competitions and being able to include European theatre elements (Semzaba, 1983, p. 29). The commercialization of theatre brought about both positive and negative consequences on theatre. The death of NAGs being one on the negative impacts of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs). On the other hand, the withdrawal of the state involvement in social service provision, took away the party supremacy and censorship of the arts. The commercial groups which loosened the theatre industry's mode of operation became the champions of sustaining theatre out of donors and state support. Therefore, it is important to say that the project to reconstruct national culture through theatre was demised when the state had to downsize its expenditures according to IMF and World Bank neoliberal conditions. "Throughout the country, government-owned institutions were either scrapped, had to curtail their activities or were later privatised. Cultural troupes owned by such organisations ceased to function" (Lihamba, 2004, p. 243). At the end, "liberalisation policies pursued from the early 1980s made theatre a commodity for sale like any other" (Rubin & Diakante, 2001, p. 304). This was evidenced by the rise of ticket prices in the 1990s (Fiebach, 2009, p. 147). The commercialized theatre such which emerged as 'popular theatre' described by Lange (2002, p. 289), Edmondson (2001, p. 159) and Askew (2002, p. 282) were a result of diverse shift of political economic structure of Tanzania.

Various scholars like Wamba (1991, p. 220), Mlama (1985, p. 15), Lihamba (1985b, p. 36), and other have criticized this tendency of commercialization and commoditization of the arts. Songoyi (1988, p. 28) argues:

> The emergence and development of the numerous dance troupes which perform for money in the public halls and bars in Dar es Salaam in the recent years [1980s] is an aspect of capitalism. The present economic crisis in the capitalist system, the crisis whose impact is strongly felt in the poor countries like Tanzania, has aggravated the situation. Many people, given that it had become difficult to make ends meet, decided to experiment with other alternatives. The field of traditional dances began to be explored and after seeing some indications that it could probably be profitable, many associations came into being. People have discovered that a skill to perform any traditional dance is an economic asset and a tool which can help one to survive in the present economic crisis (Songoyi, 1988, p. 28).

At this point Songoyi describes the emergence of theatre which was caused by economic crisis. However, Songoyi did not call it 'popular theatre', but commercial theatre. Perhaps this is because his analysis was based on the economic aspect of theatre which dictates its social application as Ngugi argues (2006, p. 16). Brook (1968, pp. 11-12) refers to such commercial theatre as 'the deadly theatre'. He explains that:

> The Deadly Theatre can first sight be taken for granted, because it means bad theatre. As this is the form of theatre we see most often, and as it is most closely linked to the despised, much-attacked commercial theatre it might seen a waste of time to criticize it further. But it is only if we see that deadliness is descriptive and can appear anywhere, that we will become aware of the size of the problem. The condition of the Deadly Theatre at least is fairly obvious. All through the world theatre audiences a dwindling. There are occasional new movements, good new writers and so on, but as a whole, the theatre not only fails to elevate or instruct, it hardly even entertains (Brook, 1968, pp. 11-12)

As Brook argues, the problem of commercial theatre is not on the content and motif but in the way it is generated. The challenge is on the capitalist system which generates products for consumption without not necessarily considering the consumer fulfilment. Wamba (1991, p. 220) concern is the influence of the centre to the periphery through consumerism of cultural products. He argues:

> Capitalism, the present core of Western civilization, pushes for a routinized cultural reproduction, consonant with profit making, based on commodity fetishist/levelling universalism. Anti-despotic communities' modes of life are its targets to be destroyed. Dependent capitalism is even worse as it entertains global cultural alienation in favour of the modes of life of the Centre and thus affects people's and community forms of consciousness of the periphery (Wamba Dia Wamba, 1991, p. 220).

Theatre has been a victim of power and money. In search of popularity one has to be able to break into the market either using power (politics) or money (commercialisation). According to Mlama (1985, p. 15), the commoditisation of art becomes a common phenomenon due to capitalism.

> Art is a commodity and is exploited for commercial purposes. In order to be commercially profitable, art over-emphasize cheap entertainment that attracts audience to bars and dancing halls. This is

> especially true of pop music, most of which has content that has very little contribution to make to the development of people. Instead, it is meant to increase commercial gains (Mlama P. O., 1985, p. 15).

As Mlama points out, the process to break into the market itself can result in producing propaganda plays. In a general synthesis, there is a very thin line between propaganda and commercial theatre. Plastow (1996, p. 199) says:

> What the state and intellectuals are united in is their distrust of the commercialization of popular art and the immorality it is supposed to encourage. Commercialization of bands and cultural troupes was creeping phenomenon of the seventies and eighties. Managers and performers realized that a living could be made by professional performing companies. Gradually these companies became more and more independent of their parent bodies. As competition grew for audiences, so did demands on performers (Plastow, 1996, p. 199).

4.3 The Birth of Muungano, Mandela and Tanzania One Theatre

The dissolved national arts groups (NAGs) shaped the practice of theatre in Tanzania both socially and economically as some of its members decided to form their own theatre groups such as Muungano Cultural Troupe and Mandela Theatre Troupe. According to the information from BASATA (National Art Council of Tanzania), Muungano Cultural Troupe under the leadership of Nobert Chenga was formed on 28th March 1979 and registered by BASATA on 4th July 1988. Mandela Theatre Troupe under Bakari Mbelemba famously known as Mzee Jangala was registered in 1989. Although not stipulated when exactly Mandela Theatre Troupe started presumably it started before the registration as it was for Muungano. These groups took the performing format established by former national art groups of combining drama, acrobatics, dances, heroic recitation, music, comedies and *taarab*. Later Captain John Komba an ex soldier came up with another group known as Tanzania One Theatre (TOT). Although TOT appeared on the scene in the early 1990 especially during the multiparty campaigns for the ruling party CCM in 1995, it was registered by BASATA in 1996. The company (before a group) also adopted Muungano and Mandela performing format.

From late 1980s to 1990s, these three groups (Mandela, Muungano and TOT) were famously known for their performances countrywide. They travelled from region to region to perform using the NAGs portfolio and experiences. Lange (2002, p. 289) adds that "the privately-owned cultural troupes were modelled directly on the national troupes, and the owners of the largest troupes all have a background in governmental cultural institutions". Their travelling theatre was not peculiar, as Fiebach (2006, p. 1; 2009, p. 145) in several instances records the

existence of theatre of the same nature in Ghana (Ghanaian Concert Parties) and Nigeria (Yoruba Travelling Theatre) in the 1940s.

This time these three groups (Muungano, Mandela and TOT) were well received by the audience, as they were apolitical. Fundamentally, they could not 'preach' about *ujamaa* because the majority of the Tanzanians believe that *ujamaa* policies have failed. Lange (2002, p. 271) laments the Tanzanians' outcry of the corrupt state organs but she was surprised that, "it is something anomaly that there are very few popular theatre plays about politics and corruption". Lange on her study about Muungano, Mandela, TOT, and other replicas of former NAGs, fails to address two major issues which could dissolve her anomalousness. First, as stated earlier, people were tired of serious plays, *ujamaa* lamentations and party propaganda. They were tired of being taught though free didactic plays so when they pay entrance fee they expected something different. Secondly, her analysis of the so-called popular theatre plays was biased as it excluded some of the theatre groups which existed and even extensively performed and published various plays. One of them is Paukwa Theatre Association. This was one of the prominent theatre group established in 1976 by University of Dar es Salaam staff and students of the former Department of Art, Music and Theatre aimed at performing beyond academic realm. Most of Paukwa's performances criticized the state, corruption and global unbalanced economy. *Ayubu* (Job)*, Mafuta* (Oil)*, Mitumba Ndui* (Pox)*, Harakati za Ukombozi* (Liberation Struggles) and so on which were produced, staged some published are some of the plays which attacked the 'clogged' CCM (the ruling party) state system.

This exclusion of the so-called elite and intellectual theatre within 'popular theatre' is in some case intentional. There is a perception that 'popular' has to do with the non 'intellectual'. Barber (1997, p. 2) defines popular art/culture as the "work of the local producers speaking to local audiences about pressing concerns, experiences and struggles that they share". Barber (Barber, 1997, p. 92) again, defines popular culture to mean a current event whereby huge number of the audience attends. Edmondson provides similar definition. According to Edmondson (2001, p. 159) when referring to groups like Muungano, Mandela and TOT, she comments that "although the popular troupes avoid criticism of the government and the ruling party in their lyrics, their physical movements directly refuse the directive of the state that call for subdued sexuality" (Edmondson, 2001, p. 159). Her argument as it was for Lange (2002, p. 271), does not consider other groups such as Paukwa, Parapanda Arts,

The Lighters and so on which performed plays since early 1990s with similar trend to Paukwa's content but approaching the audience in a 'modest' commercial manner. Both Lange and Edmondson fail to understand the nature of commercial theatre, that is why they could not see performances done by groups such as Muungano, Mandela and TOT which criticises the state.

Since Muungano, Mandela and TOT were neither attached to the state nor received subsidy, they depended on gate collection (box office). Lack of state subsidy, justified their approach to commercialize and sell theatre as Rubin & Diakante (2001, p. 304) point out this was result of liberalisation policies. The inauguration of multiparty politics and the so-called democratic political move intensified the use of politics as a major theme in theatre in Tanzania. The competition amongst these popular theatre groups Mandela, Muungano and TOT was also intensified. "Muungano, and particularly Mandela, were struggling for mere survival as relevant theatres [...]. Only TOT, loosely affiliated with the ruling party, had gained in status" (Fiebach, 2009, p. 146). TOT successfully receives full patronage from the ruling party CCM and 'enjoy' subsidy to pay monthly salaries and cover all production costs to date (Rubin & Diakante, 2001, pp. 303-304). In this situation, though not officially proclaimed, TOT receives similar benefits which NAGs used to receive from the state. In such unbalanced situation, it becomes difficult for non patronised groups to be competitive as they are neither supported by the state nor the ruling party.

The 'popularity' of Muungano and TOT from mid 1990s to mid 2000s, came out of competitions. The major competition was on the *taarab* especially its contemporary *mipasho* (heated talks) led by Khadija Kopa and the late Nasma Khamis. The queens of *taarab* as referred to by their fans kept moving from one group to another. It was either TOT or Muungano who took one in exchange of the other. In this vicinity, these groups became artistic rivals (Lihamba, 2004, p. 244). Every group strived to receive more audience than the other using one of the *taarab* singers. Their *mipasho* lyrics were based on answering each other and at some point called for public intervention and request them to use accepted language. "*Mipasho* songs have a tendency to use scandalous sexual metaphors" (Lange, 2002, p. 298). For example in 1994, in Dar es Salaam, there was a competition between Muungano and Tanzania One Theatre (TOT). Although these groups presents a range of theatre genres from acrobats, *ngoma* to choir; *taarab* was the centre of attraction to the audience members. The completion mood was set when TOT sang its song *Kidudu Mtu*.

Kidudu has been derived from the word *mdudu* which means an insect and *mtu* means human being. The use of prefix *ki* is to debase/dishonour the word. This means apart from being a human, one behaves alike a small insect who is harmful. The song, according to the audience members, it was geared towards abusing Muungano being or having *kidudu mtu*. In respond, Muungano sang *Nitakunyambua*. *Nyambua* as the root word has many meanings, but here it means to insult/slander meaning 'I'll insult/slander you'. It is obvious the song was a reply to *Kidudu Mtu* and it changed the mood of the completion. Both groups fans started to debate amongst themselves and interpreting the meaning of the song and measuring it impact amongst themselves. This notion of the competition and after performance discussion shows clearly people can use theatre to debate amongst themselves on issues which matters to them (Bakari & Materego, 2008, p. 30).

Although their *mipasho* was full of satires, ironies and metaphors, for *taarab* 'traditionalists' they considered them as too direct and less poetic. Still the proponents of *mipasho* see it as the reflection of global digital media revolution (Lihamba, 2004, pp. 244-245). Through *taarab* and *ngoma* competitions, TOT and Muungano managed to sustain their large ensembles. Lihamba (2004, p. 244) reminds us that, the nature of competition between TOT and Muungano, was not a new scene in Tanzanian theatre. Cases of competitions between Wamatengo and Wangoni ethnic groups and others like Wasukuma were known to exist for many years prior to colonialism.

Edmondson (2001, p. 164) when describing the competition between Muungano, Mandela, TOT and another group which evolved, Simba Theatre, she refers the kind theatre practiced by these groups as tourist theatre. She describes Muungano as a group which was trying to reshape itself within the tourist industry by producing theatre to attract tourists in tourist places (hotels and bars). In her analysis though substantial, she omits the fundamental reason for such the competition to produce the so-called tourist theatre. Historically, the 1990s in Tanzania was the period whereby socialism and capitalism was competing and at the end capitalism won. This was the time of the intensive and grievous implementation of IMF and World Bank conditions to structurally adjust Tanzanian economy. The outcome of the so-called tourist theatre was one of the side effects of the neoliberal policies whereby the groups were competing for survival.

In discussing these three groups it is important to compare their operationalization with other groups of similar nature which existed in Africa. As Etherton (Etherton, 1982, pp. 42-43)

explains when discussing Nigerian travelling theatre of Ogunde, Ladipo and Olaiya (Baba Sala), personality, company/group stricture and affiliation matters. Looking at Muungano, Mandela and TOT, one can identify Muungano with Norbert Chenga, Mandela with Bakari Mbelemba (Mzee Jangala) and TOT with Captain Komba (MP). Their personality was also what shapes their company/group administration structure including having 'founders' syndrome'.

The issue of affiliation also come out with Muungano's uncertainty on where to belong for financial support (Lange, 2002). Mandela was mostly affiliated to radio and television productions. This is clearly marked with the use of Mzee Jangala character who was one of the popular characters in the then radio Tanzania – Dar es Salaam (RTD) drama *Haambiliki*. TOT is obvious a CCM mouthpiece. Since these three factors are interrelates – personality, administrative structure and affiliation – they holistically shape the status of the group/company to the audience and perhaps determine their popularity.

Currently, apart from TOT which appears vigorously on the stage in either by election or in every year which 'is divisible to five' to campaign for CCM, Mandela and Muungano have failed to keep pace and maintain their large ensemble which requires reasonable amount of finances and infrastructure to cover for their stars, instrumentalists and equipment (Lihamba, 2004, p. 244). This explanation implies that apart from the social structure, theatre is predetermined and shaped according to politics and economy. Similarly, there is no deviation from the neoliberalism trend which has been provided for apolitical compliant groups.

4.4 Servicing Neoliberal Propaganda

In a 'potpourri' of governing policies between socialism and capitalism it is important also to see the challenges beyond the provided surface outcomes. In exemplifying the challenges encountered in the process of defeating socialism Shivji (2009c, pp. 5-6) indicates:

> Neo-liberalism was a direct attack on the national project and to an extent it successfully defeated the national project conceived in the narrow territorial sense. One thing that neo-liberalism brought home is that even the limited form of 'national' independence in the sense of state sovereignty was flawed as the so-called independent African states had to obediently carry out the policy prescriptions of imperial institutions and powers (Shivji I. , 2009c, pp. 5-6).

In the early 1990s, although Mandela, Muungano and TOT were de detached from state, they were still popular. Their popularity led them to be commissioned by various neoliberal institutions to 'preach' about development. Apart from the goodwill which aimed at incorporating theatre within a development paradigm, 'popular' theatre was brought on board

to facilitate the implementation of neoliberal policies on the same wheel of development. Edmondson (2007) when describing the demise of groups like Mandela, and Muungano, she failed to link the demise of these 'popular' groups and neoliberalism. For example, Edmondson (2007, p. 137) argues that the downfall of Muungano, Mandela and is simply due the evolution of television and video films. On this note, Fiebach (2009, pp. 146-147) argues, "it might be useful to consider the effects of the neoliberal strategy on the social situation of those strata of the companies' audiences that lost rather than gained from the economy's small boom. A good example is the significant increase in ticket prices throughout the 1990s". On the consequences of dominant economic policies on theatre (live performances), Auslander (1999, p. 7) point out that "the general response of live performance to the oppression of economic superiority of mediatised forms has been to become as much like them as possible". This implies that the only theatre which can survive within neoliberal policies is the one which can transform itself to neoliberal mediatised performances.

The notion that neoliberal policies will facilitate development has vehemently criticized to be the opposite. Frank (1975, p. 35) shows the link between economic policies, development and culture and the intersection of the opposite, that is, underdevelopment. He argues, "the real importance of economic, political, social, and cultural liberalism(s) for underdeveloped lies in their interaction to promote and maintain that underdevelopment". As argued before, there is a direct link between the centre and the periphery in discussing theatre liberalism which cannot be eliminated. The presence and application of dictatorial neoliberal polices in theatre as for political economic and social cultural systems cannot be left unquestioned. This dichotomy can be analysed using a song called *Ubinafsishaji* (privatization) performed in 2002 by Tanzania One Theatre (TOT). As established earlier, TOT is the ruling party – Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) 'mouthpiece' (Edmondson, 2007, p. 59). The company was commissioned to compose and perform the song by Tanzanian state and the World Bank. We are informed that the World Bank sponsored the audio and the video production which can be found in the World Bank website (World Bank, 2002). The content of the song though controversial, it conforms to the fact that there is always a relationship between imperial forces in the centre and the state in periphery as a key player in the implementation of any 'ruthless' policy. Such relationship is in many cases of no value to the working class majority.

Ubinafsishaji huleta maendeleo	Privatisation brings development
Huinua na kumwendeleza mwananchi,	It empowers and develops citizen

jamani	my goodness
Ni maendeleo	Its development
Toka vijiji hadi dunia,	From the village to the world
teknolojia mpya kuekeza	Investing in new technology
Ufanisi unatokana (na)	Efficiency comes from
uchapakazi kwa uhodari	bravery hard-working
Wanawekeza rasilimali,	They are investing natural resources,
maendeleo ya binadamu	human development
Pamoja wee, pamoja wee, pamojaa	Together wee, together wee, together

This song can be cited as one of the economic propaganda. What CCM through TOT and the state are trying to express is the superficial expectations of privatization which is yet to be observed by the majority of Tanzanians (Shivji I. G., 2007, p. 63). Frank (1975, p. 13) explains what should development mean out of economic numbers and figures. H argues that:

> [...] development and underdevelopment are not the summation only of economic qualities. They are their cumulation and the whole social structure and process which determines that accumulation. Equally important to the 'initial' contribution and sacrifice is this cumulative one. However important the cumulative contribution of colonialism-capitalism-imperialism may or may not have been, it is quite clear that the now underdeveloped countries participation in the capitalist system has undoubtedly made a – perhaps the – most important contribution to their underdevelopment (Frank, 1975, p. 13).

This approach of using songs to soften hearts of Tanzanians to accept privatization is what Ngugi (2006, p. 16) refers to an approach to mental control. Ngugi (2006, p. 16) clearly points out that "economic and political control can never be complete or effective without mental control. To control people's culture is to control their tools of self-definition in relationship to others". In such paradoxical compromise to neoliberalism through theatre and culture, Wamba (1991, p. 220) brings us back to the time of neo colonial liberation and revolution struggles. He argues:

> When resistance movements against this systematic alienation end up reproducing the same despotic forms of civilization now viewed as emancipator projects, the issue of *cultural vision becomes crucial*. If revolution is defined as practices of breaking away from any despotic community endangering the integrity of life process by destroying the basis of life (nature) and promoting the autonomization of power, individual, value-capital process, etc, then anti-despotic community cultural elements enhance such a revolution (Wamba Dia Wamba, 1991, p. 220)

Taking history at its path, the song *Ubinafsishaji* echoes the colonial era when songs were used to make people humble and endure colonization through Christianisation. During colonialism, British colonialists at one point encouraged people to practice their theatre especially dance. It was later discovered that, it was the only mechanism to astound people so that they can forget to fight for independence. The same approach was replicated in the post independence TANU/CCM propaganda. Critics of such propaganda argue that, theatre should not be used to deal with social economic reality of the society superficially. This implies that

theatre must change from populist to popular and reflect the social reality (Mlama P. , 1991, p. 104). In trying to be populists, state might deliberately use theatre as a tool to maintain its regime. Mlama (1991, p. 15) shows that:

> Some regimes have adopted an approach of co-opting the arts and thus ensuring that they are on the side of the ruling class, propagating its ideology and mobilising the people to maintain the status quo. In the guise of promoting national cultural identities, the arts have been turned into political mouthpieces of government or party policies, exhorting people to abide by government plans and to be grateful to the leaders for their independence and whatever development has come their way. The airport or state banquet dances fashionable with many African countries (Mlama P. , 1991, p. 15)

CCM has been in power since independence in 1961. As a ruling party it has influenced what the state has to deliver and what not. The state on the other hand has to please donors especially so as to get debt relief and more financial support. Using this TOT example of the song *Ubinafsishaji* it is evidently that though the notion of national culture seemed to collapse, the role has remained to use such image of the 'national culture' to communicate with outer world (Lange, 1995, p. 66).

4.5 Conclusion

The post liberal period is as it was for post independence, is a reflection and consolidation of political changes. There are several issues which can be leant from the relationship between theatre and neoliberalism. The major issue is the way the neoliberal policies have been able to entangle the state through CCM party and use it to manipulate its people. Since it grabbed power in 1961, CCM (before TANU) has played a major role in dictating the 'tune' of theatre in Tanzania. It should be noted that pre conditions for a loan to recover from 1980s economic crisis made the state to compromise the pseudo independence it had and this continued through marketisation and privatisation (Chachage & Chachage, 2003, p. 5). When Tanzania decided to implemented the IMF and World Bank conditions, Tanzanian economy and politics have structurally adjusted, and influenced the choice of the social life for Tanzanians. Tanzania has compromised its sovereignty to these International Financial Institutions (IFI).

These unexpected negative outcomes of the project to 'reconstruct' national culture, can be argued that the existence of theatre whether under nationalism or neoliberalism is directly linked to susceptibility of theatre itself and existing conditions both internally and externally which pre determines the outcomes. Which means if theatre exists in dictatorial state is it most likely to acquire either anti or pro dictatorial elements. In responding to the challenges of neoliberalism/globalization (which Shivji (2009a, p. 196) refers to as imperialism),

Lihamba (2007, p. 11) shows how arts and culture education becomes important today than in the post independence era.

> Art and culture education in Africa today needs to be more than only a response to the past legacies but an actor in informing the cultural impact of globalization. To a greater extent, art and culture education have not been prepared to inform or respond to contemporary forms of globalization. As globalization facilitates the movement of ideas and cultural products through porous borders and enabling peoples a glimpse of alternative ways of producing and consuming culture, globalization manifests itself also as aggressively anti-local, anti indigenous production of art ideas and the various forms of cultural activity which cannot be commodified into profitable objects (Lihamba, 2007, p. 11).

It is on the same glace that we see how neoliberal trend has created an indubitable exploitative modality whereby the plight of theatre, its practitioners and audience are vivid.

5. Theatre for Development in Tanzania

> Development without consideration of cultural specificities can only be imperialist.
>
> Wamba Dia Wamba (1991, p. 219)

This chapter describes the Mlonganzila experience in relation to the historical perspective of the evolution of Theatre for Development (TfD), using Bakari & Materego's (2008) theoretical framework. I chose Mlonganzila out of dozens of other TfDs in which I have participated due to the fact that it had the dual purpose of animation/awareness raising as well as research values. Moreover, it has been my reference point for all other successive TfDs, in terms of both process and product. This particular TfD process occurred in 2000. Many things have changed but the essence of this chapter is to differentiate between 'Theatre for Development' (TfD) and 'Theatre in Development' (TiD), and also to provide a foundation for the Theatre for Development (henceforth TfD) concept that will provide a comparative analysis for Chapters Six and Seven.

5.1 Culture and Development

Taking departure from Chapter One where the concepts of 'development of underdevelopment' and dependency have been linked, it is also important to link such development then with culture so as to expose the relationship between theatre and development. According to Falola (2003, p. 8) "few people disagree that culture is important in seeking answers to Africa's economic underdevelopment". According to Njogu & Mugo-Wanjau (2007, p. 189), "when used as a dynamic process, culture could be a tool for social change and art can be used for the creation of awareness, behaviour modulation, advocacy, therapy and the mobilization of social support". Epskamp (2006, p. 42) defines culture and development as "a framework [...] in which cultural factors and actions influence the process of sustainable development at local level".

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Culture Organization (UNESCO), which Kerr (1995, p. 149) refers to as a 'prestigious agency', plays a role in associating culture with development in the enhancement of the so called developing economies (a euphemistic coinage for underdeveloped economies). According to UNESCO:

> Development and economy are part of people's culture. Unlike the physical environment, where we dare not to improve on the best nature provides, culture is the fountain of our progress and creativity. Once we shift our view from a purely instrumental role of culture to awarding it a constructive and creative role, we have to see development in terms that encompass cultural growth (in Ndagala, 2007, p. 16).

The relation of theatre and culture lies in the fact that "theatre as a simulacrum of the cultural and historical process […] has always provided the society with the most tangible records of its attempts to understand its own operations" (Carlson, 2001 p.2). Furthermore, Epskamp (2006, p. 29) shows that regardless of the 1950s attempts to portray culture "as a factor of resistance, a formidable opponent to change", the opposite has been proved. Therefore when discussing culture and development, it is obvious that it is (to a certain extent) the same as discussing theatre and development. Mlama (1991, p. 23) shows the direct relationship between theatre and development. Taking examples of consciousness and ideology-shaping done by theatre in socialist countries like China and Cuba, it is evident that theatre has a direct role to play in development. Epskamp (2006, p. 1) also shows clearly how "during the 1970s cultural activities including theatre did indeed contribute to the fall of the Marcos regime in Philippines and the Samosa regime in Nicaragua".

This concept of culture and development emerged vigorously during the Mexico Conference, known as the Mondia Cult of 1982. This was the time when research publications and reports showed clearly the challenge of 'development' in the developing countries. This was especially the case in Africa, due to non-attachment to culture (Diagne & Ossebi, 1996 pp.28-29; Epskamp K, 2006 p.32). Ndagala (2007, p. 3) points out that culture was not seen as a fundamental force for development. Before, the emphasis was on social service provision – health, education and infrastructure. Even donors themselves kept their focus on social services, thinking that it would result in a rapid development of the agricultural and industrial sectors. Therefore economic growth was perceived to be the quick solution to poverty. To rectify the situation, in 1988 UNESCO launched the UN World Decade for Cultural Development (WDCD 1988-1997). This was followed by several initiatives including the World Culture and Development Commission Report (*Our Creative Diversity*) of 1995, which laid a foundation for how to achieve development through culture (Diagne & Ossebi, 1996, p. 28; Epskamp K. P., 2006, pp. 32-33).

The result of the UNESCO initiatives of 1982 and 1988 was the replication of cultural policies/reports/papers in various parts of Euro-America. For example, in Canada by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) in 1991 (*Society, Culture and Sustainable Development*), in the Netherlands by the Netherlands' Directorate General of International Cooperation (DGIS) in 1991 (*World of Difference: A New Framework for Development Cooperation During the 1990s*), in Sweden by the Swedish International

Cooperation Agency (SIDA) in 1995 (*The Role of Culture in Development*), the British Council's *Arts and Development* paper of 1995, Finland's *Culture and Development* document of 2000 by the Department for International Development of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland and the Humanist Institute for Development Cooperation, Netherlands (HIVOS) *Policy Document Arts and Culture: Towards Cultural Diversity and Pluralism* of 2002 (Epskamp K. P., 2006, pp. 34-36). I have mentioned these bilateral donor institutions and their culture and development documents, as they have been key financial donors of TfD in Tanzania and other parts of the world. On an individual level, Epskamp (2006, p. 15) elaborates how in the 1980s and 1990s practitioners such as Ross Kidd (one of the African Theatre for Development guru) participated in the global campaign to convince bilateral donors of the essential nature of culture and development.

On the other hand, the initiative for culture and development (not cultural development) started in Africa years before UNESCO recognition. Good examples of this are The Accra Conference of 1975, the Lagos Plan of Action of 1980 and the Lome Agreement of 1984, all of which discussed and agreed on the essential nature of culture for the sake of African development (Diagne & Ossebi, 1996, p. 29). In Tanzania, the Ministry of Culture and Youth was among the first ministries to be formed in 1962, when Tanganyika became a republic. As Nyerere established the ministry he argued that it was essential in the fight against neo colonialism, imperialism and in order to regain 'national pride' (Askew, 2002, p. 160; Lange, 2002, pp. 54-55). Nyerere had a vision of a national culture built from traditional theatre. As discussed in Chapter Three, Nyerere's idea of the institutionalization of culture was comprehended in the fact that people could only do or achieve their best if they had pride in who they were. Hence the process to regain 'national pride' could directly effect change by slowing down the effects of neo colonialism and imperialism and maintain focus on the development of the people.

With the same 'global' wind leaning towards culture and development, the IMF and World Bank also became interested. For example, in 1998, the World Bank in collaboration with UNESCO held a conference in Washington DC entitled *Culture and Development at the Millennium: The Challenge and The Response*. This was followed by several similar conferences held by banks in Paris and Florence in 1998 and 1999 respectively (Epskamp K. P., 2006, p. 36). These were seen as 'new' initiatives for the IMF and World Bank to talk about culture and development. Before, the IMF and World Bank believed that by lending

money with strict conditions to poor countries, they would boost development (Ndagala, 2007, p. 4)

Critics of the IMF and World Bank claim that these institutions cannot at any time give a positive deliberate stance to empower the marginalized or those who have been impoverished by their policies (Depelchin, 2005, p. 129). Therefore such a decision to integrate culture in development in IMF/World Bank projects has more to do with political and economic gain than social. Cerny (2008, p. 38) questions the IMF and World Bank transformation to global governance via cultural support. He says:

> International regimes and global governance institutions have not only sought more autonomy but have also transformed their policy goals to a more complex, evolved neoliberal approach. For example, the World Bank's shift in the mid-1990s to giving priority to poverty reduction goals over harsh structural adjustment policies has changed the discourse of global governance towards more socially-oriented goals, although how much it has changed the substance of policy is hotly debated (Cerny, 2008, p. 38).

Furthermore, Amartya Sen ([...], p. 1)[11] in his article *Culture and Development* elaborates on how "the world of banking and that of culture are not thought to have much in common" so it is impossible to accommodate the two phenomena (capital accumulation and culture) in the same basket. As expected, the World Bank deals with culture only in relation to environmental issues, i.e. cultural heritage (Epskamp K, 2006 p.36). Furthermore Epskamp (2006, pp. 36-37) clearly signalizes that:

> [World Bank] introduced the 'environmentally sustainable development' concept, embracing the cultural with the natural environment, and focusing on exploiting human and natural resources without destroying their environmental context. The World Bank's interest in 'culture in sustainable environment' deals with the intrinsic value of the historic cultural heritage of the past and the expression of the local culture today, including the cultural heritage of indigenous people. These resources provide the benefits from sustainable tourism, without denaturing the cultural assets that motivate that tourism in the first place. Cultural tourism is considerable to be 'bankable' activity. Therefore, the Bank is in favour of programmatic people-centred support in the form of financing operations such as loans and credits (Epskamp K. P., 2006, pp. 36-37).

Nyoni (2008, p. 173) explicitly analyses the reasons for International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) or the so-called 'donor community' (including UNICEF, WHO, OXFAM, GTZ, AMREF, Ford Foundation, DANIDA, NORAD, SIDA and the Peace Corps), to support theatre which directly relates to development. For him, there are two major reasons, which have causal effects. Firstly, these institutions fanatically support theatre because it is said to 'bring' about development. Secondly, some of the institutions support TfD so as to be able to carry out their responsibilities in a particular community. The level of fanaticism and responsibility is what this study is concerned with. These

[11] In the original document of Amartya Sen, both publication year and the publisher are unspecified.

responsibilities are well stipulated in most of the donors' foreign policies and in fact are more relevant to the donor country than the intended recipient. For example, the change of the Swedish foreign policy with regards to 'terrorism' in 2002 directly affected theatre, as most of the SIDA funded projects were suspended or reshaped to reflect the new Swedish foreign policy. Paul Brian (in Palma, 1983, p. 43) shows clearly that "what is decisive is that economic development in underdeveloped countries is profoundly inimical to the dominant interests in the advanced capitalist countries".

According to Etherton (2004, p. 204), most donors support TfD in addressing social issues such as HIV/AIDS, the protection of children, human rights, democracy, the empowerment of women, conflicts and poverty reduction. This is due to the fact that TfD is seen to have a different approach in that it empowers the intended community to take an upper hand in the choice of the themes and incorporated theatre forms. In Kenya, as for Tanzania, Odhiambo (2008, p. 14) shows how the reintroduction of TfD attracted donor funds because it was addressing fundamental community issues such as HIV/AIDS, Female Genital Cutting (FGC), democracy and so on.

5.2 Elite/Intellectual Theatre Movement

The mid 1960s theatre movement was a result of theatre practitioners' "search for ways to express a reality" and it was a decision to "turn towards traditional performances and oration as integral parts of contemporary expression" (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 91). It was "a process of democratizing culture with the intention to effect a positive change in the lives of rural and marginalized populations" (Eyoh, 1984, p. 164). The introduction of TfD served a triple purpose; emancipation, empowerment and entertainment (Mlama P. , 1991, p. 67). As it was for *beni*, TFD was on one hand a resistance theatre to the oppression of the post colonial state (neo colonialism and *uhuru* disillusionment) and on the other was an opposition to individualism and the impacts of commercialisation which came as a result of IMF and World Bank programmes to adjust the majority of the structures of post-independence African states (Etherton, 1982, p. 316).

Hence, various movements, which diverted from 'colonial theatre' were introduced. Inspired by Augusto Boal's 'theatre of the oppressed', Bertolt Brecht's 'epic theatre' and Paulo Freire's 'pedagogy of the oppressed', the model of participatory and interactive theatre known as Theatre for Development (TfD), was introduced in Tanzania, just as it was in many

other African countries (Kerr, 1995, p. 149; Lihamba, 1985a, pp. 444-446). TfD became one of the models which tried to "focus on actors [doers] rather than systems, to promote bottom-up approaches rather than top-down methodologies" (Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, 2007, p. 40). From this perspective it is clear that TfD was chosen as one of the planning approaches which would address "the power relations in planning process and within communities; the role and authority of the development practitioner vis-à-vis other actors with other types of knowledge and authority; the importance of communication and for decision making; and the justice and legitimacy of actions" (Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, 2007, p. 41).

According to Nyoni (2008, p. 170), TfD is a combination of two distinct words; theatre and development. For him theatre is a result of human effort to represent his/her emotions/feelings or ideas through various signs and symbols. These signs and symbols represent the reality of the environment in which this person lives. Development is the best level of life that a human attains in social life, economy and in thoughts. It is a stage where this person reassures him/herself that his/her present condition is better than the past[12]. According to Nyoni (2008, p. 172), TfD is a participatory process in the creation of a theatre performance, which involves community members in researching, analysing and looking for solutions for problems which hinder their development.

In relating the notion of donors' support in development participatory methods, Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman (2007, p. 42) comment that:

> Allowing space for local knowledge is essential; people often have intimate knowledge of their own conditions, socio-political dynamics, customs, beliefs and attitudes that will directly affect the way development processes proceed or unravel. This knowledge is now tapped through a wide range of participatory methodologies that include visual, oral, dramatic and written traditions. Many donors the world over also accept the significance of participation in improving aspects of project development and acknowledge that, in spite of ambiguities and challenges, local contributions and inputs are essential and must appear in project plans. Local beneficiaries, and sometime local government and civil society representatives, must consulted at various points in the project cycle, from identification to evaluation (Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, 2007, p. 42).

Previously Theatre for Development (TfD) has been used by various individuals under different names, such as social theatre, popular theatre, participatory theatre, forum theatre, theatre for integrated rural development (th.i.r.d) and so on. All of these concepts originated from a single concept of community participation in theatre production (Breitinger, 1994;

[12] English translation by the author from the original Kiswahili quote from Nyoni.

Chambulikazi, 1984; Epskamp, 1989; Etherton, 1982; Eyoh, 1984; Hutchinson & Breitinger, 2000; Materego, 2002; Mngereza, 2005; Thomas & Schechner, 2004).

In defining TfD, Breitinger (1994, pp. E7-8) argues that TfD was used to describe a variety of socio-political protest theatres, which were used by community members to reverse the unbalanced situation they were facing. TfD was a symbol and result of poor development policies, which transpired over two decades. It also aimed at enabling community members to express views and participate in the development process to improve their lives (Mlama, 1991 p.109). When describing social theatre, Thomas & Schechner (2004, p. 12) argue that it was a "theatre with specific social agendas; theatre where aesthetics is not ruling objective". Furthermore they state that this kind of theatre was mainly practiced in times and places of crisis (Thomas & Schechner, 2004, p. 14).

Popular theatre, as used in development discourse has a different meaning compared to the popular theatre defined by Barber (1997, p. 2 & 92), Lange (1995, p. 5). Lihamba (1985a, p. 444) shows the differences arguing that:

> The development of popular theatre for development has been in tune with the ideas which have defined the concept of 'popular' in culture and theatre. In Tanzania, for example, there have been different ideas and approaches in the use of theatre for development and these have been variously identified as popular theatre. The existence of different theatre practices which parade as 'popular' has tended to confuse what is and what is not actually 'popular' within cultural production. The idea of 'popular' carries with it political and aesthetic dimensions which take into consideration the production and consumption of cultural elements within a historical context – its origin and the target are the people themselves. The existence of popular forms is tied up with the people's struggles as an oppressed majority and the forms have a particular political relationship to these struggles. They rescue, incorporate and preserve elements which 'serve the interest of popular classes (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 444).

When the term popular theatre appears in this chapter (unless specified otherwise), it is used to mean interactive theatre, which uses a participatory approach for the emancipation and the raising of awareness of the mass/people on development. According to Odhiambo (2008, p. 20) interactive theatre:

> simply refers to a type of theatre that brings together different forms and practices. It is performance, discussion, education, research, all packed in one form. It also encourages high levels of interaction between actors and spectators in the pre- theatre construction activities, the process of theatre creation, in the performance and the post performance activities (Odhiambo, 2008, p. 20).

Furthermore Odhiambo (2008, pp. 20-21) defines the participatory approach as:

> an action, situation or process that involves all parties for whom the result or final product is meant. In Theatre for Development it means that the community for whom the project is meant is involved in all its stages from inception to implementation through theatrical process: research, analysis of research

> findings, prioritisation of problems, devising of a theatre piece, and its performance and post-performance activities. In fact participation defines and characterises the concept of interaction (Odhiambo, 2008, pp. 20-21).

There are various scholars who have defined popular theatre. For example, Castagnino (in Epskamp) defines popular theatre as:

> theatre that is general associated with opposition to court and refined theatre forms or with opposition to bourgeois theatre, or to all 'classical' theatre forms which are standard and which are generally used by the established order. Also included in popular theatre are forms which come under the heading of 'theatre for development', forms which strive for explicit aim in the development process (Epskamp K. P., 1989, p. 12).

Adding to this, Kerr (1995, p. 151) states that "popular theatre seemed to be a technique which could resolve the apathy created by poor methods of communication". According to Brecht, as quoted by Etherton (1982, p. 24) the word popular in theatre means "[…] taking over the people's own forms of expression and enriching them […] representing the most progressive selection of people in such a way that it can take over the leadership […]". It is clear that TfD uses the 'popular' approach in fulfilling its objectives of emancipation and awareness-raising.

Before theatre practitioners arrived and began to use the term Theatre for Development (TfD), the evolution process took the form of at least three major models. The process started with 'theatre to the people' (travelling model) and later moved to 'theatre with people' and finally evolved into 'people's/popular theatre' (the TfD model).

5.2.1 Theatre to the People (Travelling Model)

In this model, a devised play targeting a specific issue was brought to the community so as to open a dialogue with community members. There was a feeling among the elite that in the post-independence period there was a 'theatre vacuum' to be filled (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 452). There were three issues linked to this vacuum. Firstly the term theatre meant medieval and Elizabethan colonial theatre, which implied that the Tanzanian community did not have theatre. Bakari & Materego (2008, p. 17) showed how there was an assumption that people in the villages were not in a position to see plays. This assumption created a need to 'send' theatre to people. Secondly, there was a deliberate move to raise people's consciousness about the value and existence of 'their' theatrical practices that had existed before colonialism. This was well presented soon after independence but before the peak of Arusha Declaration in the mid 1960s (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 448). Thirdly the assumption that taking theatre to people was also to bridge the gap between the educated and the non-educated

(Lihamba, 1985a, p. 451). This became an avenue for theoreticians to become practitioners. Kerr (1995, p. 149) adds that "a frequent aspiration of the university travelling theatre movement has been to interact with non-academic theatre campaigns aimed at community renewal, particularly in the rural areas of Africa". Lihamba (1985a, p. 450) and Kerr (1995, pp. 135,139) have documented how the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM), Tanzania, the University of Malawi, the University of Yaounde, Cameroon, Makerere University, Uganda, Nairobi University, Kenya, Ahmadu Bello University (ABU), Nigeria, the University of Zambia, the University of Botswana, the University of Swaziland and so on, became part of the movement to bring theatre to the people.

In the 1970s when this model (theatre to the people) gained momentum, it was not a new phenomenon in Africa. It started during the colonial period but in two different approaches, the commercial and the educational approach. Fiebach (2006, p. 1) describes a similar model in Nigeria known as Yoruba travelling or itinerant theatre. In discussing Nigerian Yoruba travelling theatre, Fiebach shows how Hubert Ogunde, Kole Ogunmola and later Moses Olaiya, known as Baba Sala, used music-based performances and moved from one place to another to perform. The only difference was that while the Hubert Ogunde and Kole Ogunmola groups of the late 1940s used to charge people to see their shows, in the travelling model of the 1960s the performances were for free.

Breitinger (2004, p. 251) also describes the process of taking theatre to the people in Uganda during the colonial time in the 1940s, to serve 'educational' civilization purposes. Through the Social Welfare of the British colonial administration, theatre was used to mobilize people towards state programs for health and agriculture. Using cultural officers in every district, the process of taking theatre to the people was also a process of 'educating people', using didactic plays that had both positive and negative characters.

In Tanzania the actors and directors involved were from the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) and the National Drama Group based in the city, who produced a play to perform to people in the villages. For example, in 1975 UDSM students produced a Godwin Kaduma's play known as *Dhamana* (Bail), and performed it in the Kerege village in Bagamoyo and later they produced *Mabatini* from the same author. The late Godwin Kaduma was the then lecturer at the Department of Art, Music and Theatre at UDSM. On the other hand, the National Drama Group produced plays such as *Afande* by J. Bakari and M. Muba, *Kila Mtu* (Everyone) by O. Ijimere and *Exodus* by Tom Omara. All these plays were performed in

different parts of Tanzania (Bakari & Materego, 2008, p. 17). Other plays that were performed during the travelling theatre phase were those written by Ebrahim Hussein (*Mashetani, Kinjeketile*), Athol Fugard (*The Blood Knot, The Island),* John Ruganda (*The Burdens*), Penina Mlama (*Hatia*) and Bob Leshoai (*The Prodigal Son*) (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 451). Apart from the written and published plays, the performance model also worked with improvised pieces.

Due to travelling complexities, costumes and props used were minimized in this model. Only the necessary props were taken though others were improvised using materials available. Since the performances took place on open stages (similar to Peter Brook's (1968, p. 11) *empty space*), the change of scenes was also minimal. Complicated sets that required specialized sound or lighting effects were avoided. Most of the performances took place during the day. Lihamba (1985a, p. 450) admitted that in the 1970s these performances were well and enthusiastically attended but no further follow-up was done to evaluate the impact.

Thomas & Schechner (2004, p. 13) believe that "the view that social theatre is simply a matter of taking theatre to sites that have no theatre or where theatre has been disrupted or destroyed, needs to be challenged". Five major setbacks were encountered in the process of bringing theatre to the people. Firstly the approach was not people-centred and it was synthetic. The content and form were pre-defined by the actors and directors (Bakari & Materego, 2008, p. 13; Kerr, 1995, p. 138). Even the performance slots were determined by lectures and the students' timetables, which in turn were controlled by the UDSM, which was also the main financer (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 452).

Secondly, community members' involvement in the discussion was superficial and insufficient, as community members were not certain of the content of the play. It was a mere 'cultural invasion' and 'too much of missionary activity' as Lihamba (1985a, p. 452) points out. Thirdly, this was seen as a forum for elite artists to show off their skills and 'talents' rather than it being about the content of the plays, which was expected to empower people to bring about change for development. At the end of the day, the play ended up providing entertainment, while the original aim was to bring theatre to the people in order to discuss their social problems (Materego, 2002, p. 24).

Fourthly, the plays were not sustainable, as they disappeared when the performers left the 'stage' (Materego, 2002, pp. 24-25). Lastly, these performances used the developmentalist

approach, which held the audience to be ignorant even of their own environment, i.e. 'simply castigate poor for their ignorance' (Mlama P. , 1991, p. 74). Adding to this, Mlama says:

> The villagers [were] treated as depositories, or to use Freire's term 'empty pots', for propaganda containing messages which exclude their own viewpoints. The large audiences reached by these theatre programs may be entertained by the shows, some of which do become popular, but they are passive recipients of a content over which they have no control (Mlama P. , 1991, p. 69).

According to Mlama (1991, p. 106), the travelling theatre or theatre to the people model was abandoned in the 1970s due to the changes which were brought about by the Arusha Declaration. The Arusha Declaration of 1967 can be one of the reasons for the paradigm shift in theatre practices from serving 'theatre self' to serving people.

5.2.2 Theatre with People

In order to address the challenges in the performance approach, lecturers and students at the then Department of Art, Music and Theatre at UDSM (as well as at the other African universities previously mentioned) came up with the theatre with people model. In this approach, actors and their director(s) lived in the community for a period of time and tried to adapt themselves to 'rural life' or to any other location where the performance was taking place. By living in rural areas, the elite thespians conducted research and identified problems which they later reflected in a play. This was seen as the elite's revolutionary move to come down from their 'ivory towers' (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 449). In the middle or at the end of the jointly created performance the audience was given a chance to discuss issues raised in the play. Using a tableau in the middle or at the end of the play, the audience was expected to jump in and answer the open/closed final question, which perhaps the joker posed. The community participatory level, especially in the discussion, was a big improvement on the travelling approach. This occurred because facilitators spent a reasonable amount of time with community members so as to understand their culture and importantly their values and traditions. On the other hand, community members became comfortable and relaxed enough to participate since they had been living and working with the actors and facilitators. Therefore they were able to participate with a minimum amount of tension. Even though the theatre with people model improved the discrepancies of the performance model, the performance remained unsustainable and not people-centred (Bakari & Materego, 2008, p. 18).

5.2.3 TfD Model (People's/Popular Theatre)

This theatre model involves community members in all stages of theatre creation and presentation. This approach has also been identified as popular/people's theatre (Chambulikazi, 1984; Mlama, 1991; Materego, 2002). Community members become the engine in running the whole theatre process, as compared to the theatre to people and theatre with people models. Instead of being actors, the theatre experts work as facilitators or animators. The role of animators is not to decide what community members should do but rather to animate and empower people to understand their problems and be able to seek sustainable solutions (Bakari & Materego, 2008, p. 25). These kinds of performances take place in a venue chosen by the community with community members as actors. In these kinds of performances no applied light is required, as animators believe that the performance must occur within the community's normal daily schedule.

These developments of theatre from theatre to people, theatre with people to TfD have been a result of the thespians' struggle from the 1970s to position theatre within the development paradigm (Mlama P. , 1991, p. 67). Professional practitioners wanted people to understand theatre within their *modus vivendi*. On this line of argument, where TfD in related to the 'traditional' theatre practice in Africa, Mlama (1991, p. 63) shows that:

> The contemporary Popular Theatre [TfD] movement in Africa is a continuation of this long tradition of theatre. It is not, as it often claimed, an innovation of the 1960s when the university – based theatre artists embarked on a search for mass-based theatre practice. Instead, it is an attempt to the fore a long tradition that has constantly been overshadowed by the dominant classes (Mlama P. , 1991, p. 63).

One of the well-documented examples of TfD in Africa is Ngugi wa Thiong'o and the Kamiriithu's community theatre (Kenya) in 1976 which resulted in the play *Ngaahika Ndeenda* (I Will Marry When I Want) (Odhiambo, 2008, p. 83).

The concept and nature of TfD, as with the travelling and theatre with people models, was not a new phenomenon in the world. Many countries in South America and in Europe used it to portray on one hand the rejection of dictatorial and fascist states and racism and oppression on the other (Mlama P. , 1991, pp. 11-53). Odhiambo (2008, p. 101) shows how TfD in Kenya became a democratic space after the constitutional amendment of 1991, which as in Tanzania, allowed political pluralism. For Odhiambo the democratic space came after years of the autocratic ruling party KANU under the then President Daniel Arap Moi stifling opposition voices (Odhiambo, 2008, p. 21).

In Tanzania TfD was introduced by University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) lecturers Amandina Lihamba and the late Eberhard Chambulikazi, who participated in the TfD workshop in Zambia in 1979. This was a follow-up workshop to Botswana's National Workshop of 1978. After this workshop, which was funded by Canadian University Services Oversees (CUSO), some of the organizers suggested the idea of having a regional workshop in Zambia (Kerr, 1995, p. 154). And so the Tanzanian TfD was based on Zambian Chikwakwa Theatre (for more information read Kerr 1995, pp. 139-149). According to Mollel (1985, p. 24), TfD was a result of UDSM artists in search of genuine African theatre which existed before colonialism the opinion which is also shared by Mlama (1991, p. 63). On this Mlama argues that:

> The contemporary Popular theatre movement in Africa is a continuation of this long tradition of theatre. It is not, as often claimed, an innovation of the 1960s when the university based theatre artists embarked on a search for a mass-based theatre practice. Instead, it is an attempt to bring to the fore a long tradition that has constantly been overshadowed by the dominant classes (Mlama P. , 1991, p. 63).

The pioneers of TfD in Tanzania believed that it was essential to integrate theatre into the development process to ensure its existence and sustainability. Lihamba (1985a, p. 443) believed that the challenges of the Euro-American definition of development would be covered and encompassed within the TfD model.

However, the 1970s economic crisis was part of the institutionalization of TfD. The crisis meant that the state struggled to deliver the promised socio-economic development to its people. Non-functional theatre was sidelined as it was of less importance compared to clean water, education, health and sanitation. Even at UDSM where both the travelling and theatre with people models depended on financial and material support, it ended up not being a priority (Lihamba, 1985a, p. 454). Epskamp (2006, p. 3) showed how it was easy and cheap to use local media (traditional theatre forms) in the community to communicate issues of development, especially where the need for behavioural change was concerned. Therefore theatre practitioners in collaboration with foreign organizations had to find a way to 'assist' the state in achieving set developmental objectives through theatre. "The people needed to use the theatre which they already possessed to communicate and analyse their developmental problems especially in the face of the economic crisis" (Mlama P. , 1991, p. 106). This was a time when foreign aid was directly injected into theatre. It was also the time when Nyerere's state was negotiating with IMF/World Bank development programs that necessitated the cut of subsidies to social services and institutionalized cost sharing as a mechanism to revive the tottering economy.

In Tanzania the first TfD performance was held in 1982-1983 in Malya village, in the Kwimba district, Mwanza region. This was followed by a number of TfD performances in Bagamoyo and Msoga, in 1983 and 1985 respectively. Later a series of TfD processes were conducted in Mkambalani, Morogoro (1986), Kisiwani Muheza, Tanga (1992), Bangwe, Munanila, Uvinza and Kifura in Kigoma (1993), Rukwa in 1993, Kongo, Coast Region (1994) and Isyesye, Mbeya (1994). All these TfD processes were supported by the National AIDS Control Program (NACP), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and other donor-funded institutions (Bakari & Materego, 2008, p. 68). From there onwards, TfD spread to all regions in Tanzania initiated and/or funded by research institutions or International NGOs. This funding summary of TfD by itself shows the politics behind TfD and donors. Perhaps it is a signal that TfD is not people's theatre as often claimed but rather a result of the funding agencies' policies.

TfD has also been used as a bottom-up participatory research method (Kerr, 1995, p. 151; Epskamp K. P., 2006, pp. 47-48). The difference between TfD and other research methods, including participant observation, lies in the ability to work closely with the community being researched, in order to identify problems and go through a process of establishing the mechanism for community participation in the solving of their problems (Bakari & Materego, 2008, pp. 20-22). Over time, TfD discussion became more involving and interesting as it was easily related to the community's lifestyle. Community participation also gives an opportunity to the researched community to receive prompt feedback on the research, as opposed to 'classical' research which has been made into a commodity and has become 'career-based' to the extent that the research community is treated as an experiment (Eagle, Hayes, & Sibanda, 1999, p. 450). Epskamp (2006, p. 48) has also shown how TfD in the 1990s managed to complement the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) research method.

5.3 TfD Theoretical Framework

TfD uses various theatre forms to execute its development aspect. The forms used are those which are susceptible to change and capable of encompassing a 'message'. "The rationale was that the local media [theatre forms] were already available, inexpensive to work with, and well-known to the community" (Epskamp K. P., 2006, p. 3). The associated forms include *ngoma* and songs, storytelling and drama (Bakari & Materego, 2008, pp. 25-34). The kind of theatre in TfD has been based on the methods that Boal, Freire and Brecht have described in their books *Theatre of the Oppressed* (2000), *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1972)

and *Brecht on Theatre* (1977). The general synthesis of these books shows how community has been entangled within the theatre produced on various levels and aspects of integration. For example, Boal (2000, p. xxi) sees theatre as a product of the society. This implies that if theatre is produced within a certain community, it should benefit community members. In order to benefit the community, members of such community must own it. Owning theatre as a product goes hand in hand with owning its means of production and here it means the process in which theatre goes through to its final destination – audience. The logic here is, if then the community members are the ones who owns the means of producing theatre, it will reflect their needs and they will use it to sustain themselves and possibly solve problems which arises in the production process. If that is the process which theatre has to be produced, there should be no demarcation between producers/thespians and consumers/audience. From such argument Boal (2000, p. xxi) shows why there must be a deliberate move to break the demarcation between the actors and the audience. By crossing this demarcation it meant that there would not be a participant and an observer but rather active participants throughout the performance. He refers to the 'spectators' as *spect-actors*. In a broader perspective Boal envisions the consequence of theatre being owned by a few (bourgeoisie) who would always use theatre for their own gain and not for the gain of the whole community. By having *spect-actors*, Boal (2000, p. xxi) believes theatre ownership would be returned to the community.

On the specific description of the role of theatre in the community, Boal departs from the classical notion of Aristotelian theatre. Boal puts his emphasis more on the content of the performance than on the actors. While Aristotle prefers theatre to teach the audience, Boal (2000, pp. 36-37) (as for Brecht) sees theatre as a method to bring change to the oppressed community but not teaching them. Aristotle believes that theatre should teach the audience through the characters of the performance. The acting style which Aristotle believes it can teach the audience is that one which is believable based on realism. By implementing such acting – body and action – it is easy if the character is punished for bad acts, to make the audience to learn the consequences of being bad. This ideology is well reflected on Aristotle's definition of tragedy as a performance which "produces the emotions of pity and fear" (Wilson & Goldfarb, 2004, p. 39).

Brecht on the other hand sees the audience made up of people who have their own thinking and opinions. This implies that for Brecht the audience is not an 'empty pot' and the audience opinion should not necessarily correspond to the characters indoctrination. Since the audience

sees the performance and if there is a problem, it is upon the audience to look for its own solution. Comparing Aristotle and Brecht it is clear that Aristotle is of the opinion that theatre should warn the audience while Brecht believes that theatre is a method of animation. This means theatre should animate the audience so as to provide themselves with a solution to the problem (Bakari & Materego, 2008, pp. 33-34). This active encouragement, which the audience and also participants (as per Boal's description), have gained from the performance is what will bring social change and stir development. That's why one of the differences between TfD and other forms of so called community theatre has been to de-emphasize artistic creativity and emphasize the animation (vivacity) of the audience through the presentation of the message.

On the other hand Freire (in Bakari & Materego, 2008, p. 34) considers theatre as a literacy training to break the 'culture of silence' that had been constructed in poor communities. For Freire, there are times when communities simply accept situations of hardship and believe that is how life is. This is due to the 'chronic' problems a community may have which leads them to the point of believing that there is nothing they can do to alter the situation and in that climate people decide to keep quiet or maintain what he describes as a 'culture of silence'. Freire believes that the ruling class will always benefit with the silent mode of the ruled class as there will be no mechanism or arrangement to overthrow the ruling class. On the other hand it is not by accident that the ruled class will just prefer to keep quiet or maintain the culture of silence. In most cases the ruled class fear the outcomes of breaking the silence which can be both positive and negative, and the negative reaction from the ruling class is what the ruled class fear most (Bakari & Materego, 2008, p. 32). To bring change to such a silenced community there must be a mechanism to make community members see the challenges and actively get involved in the process of resolving them.

On how to approach such 'silent community' is where Freire has paused his major concern. For Freire the question is 'how' will one get into another community to tell the community members their problems while that person is not part of the community, is a stranger or an outsider so to say (Bakari & Materego, 2008, p. 32). Freire uses the term 'conscientization' to describe this situation whereby people are exposed to the situation for them to see their problems rather than being told they have problems. This is expected to be the role of animators involved in TfD, which would enable the 'oppressed illiterates' to become conscious (Epskamp K. P., 2006, p. 10). Furthermore, Freire insists that any attempt to

impose solutions on the community within this culture of silence is a 'cultural invasion'. This invasion includes bringing in people with 'out of touch' plans, which have been developed outside the community and then expecting the community members to implement them. For Freire, theatre is among the best way for oppressed or marginalized communities to express, educate and empower themselves – in other words it is pedagogy. The Freirean model has been used so often in Africa (in contrast to the models of Boal and Brecht) due to its relevance. This was especially true in the post-independence period where it served as an alternative educational strategy. To Freire, conscientization, dialogue, codification and investigative research methodologies became important to thespians (Odhiambo, 2008, pp. 27-29).

It is important to note that, Boal has been influenced by Freire's idea of cheering revolution to the oppressed. This can also be seen on the idea surrounding their publications that is *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* by Freire versus *The Theatre of the Oppressed* by Boal (Bakari & Materego, 2008, p. 31). Looking at how Aristotle, Boal, Freire and Brecht have discussed 'community theatre', it is clear that the popularity of TfD as a theatre genre in Tanzania in the early 1980s was also instigated by the economic hardship Tanzania experiences, as described in Chapter Three. This correlation does not mean to glorify TfD but to explain the link between elite/intellectual theatre movements and a people-based theatre – in other words the theory to practice movement.

5.3.1 TfD Attributes

Looking at TfD as an academic discourse, it is important to draw the line between what TfD is and what it is not. The Mlonganzila experience of 2000 and the subsequent experience at UDSM in 2001 and elsewhere to date give the impression that TfD is not as flexible as it has been described. This means that there are attributes to be considered for a theatre performance to be classed as TfD. Since TfD has been institutionalized for more than twenty years, it is important today when people are discussing TfD to have a basis for arguing for or against. Odhiambo (2008, p. 182) in criticizing TfD practices in Kenya shows clearly that TfDs have not been effective as "they lacked clear set of procedures and or methodology within which Theatre for Development as a practice would operate"

Bakari & Materego (2008, p. 23) have identified six attributes for theatre to qualify as Theatre for Development (TfD). First, the purpose of TfD should focus on community

members' needs and it should be prepared by the community. Secondly, TfD should be prepared for a specific community focusing on specific problems and for a particular purpose. The community concerned can be made up of workers, students, farmers, villagers, prisoners etc. Thirdly, TFD should involve people from the early stage of defining the problems right up to the proposed solution. Fourthly, TfD should not only focus on discussing problems but also propose solutions to those problems. The TfD process should outline the capacity of the community members to solve their own problems. Fifthly, TfD should strengthen the relationship between culture and other community development sectors in the use of traditional art forms. Lastly, TfD should give the existing leadership the chance to understand people's problems and their thoughts in detail.

Additionally Eyoh (1984, p. 162) dismisses the idea of theorization in the process of TfD. He maintains instead that theory should emanate from action and not vice versa. For him TfD "should be eclectic and should depend largely on the circumstances accounted in the field". This means other attributes of TfD are flexibility and unpredictable outcomes. To add to this, Nyoni (2008, p. 175) defines TfD as "not just making theatre about AIDS, environment, kwashiorkor or any development issue, rather it is about giving people voice/capacity to express themselves, to listen and to respect their voices[13]". To this note Nyoni explicitly argues that TfD is a process and anyone who wants to use it *must* follow all stages, as there is no short-cut to TfD (the emphasis is mine).

5.4 The TfD Process

5.4.1 Background to the Mlonganzila Project

In June 2000, I was among the animators/facilitators from the Department of Fine and Performing Arts (DFPA), University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) participating in the Theatre for Development process conducted in Mlonganzila village, in the Kibaha district, Coastal Region of Tanzania. Briefly, the Mlonganzila project was a collaboration between UDSM and Brown University in the United States of America. Mlonganzila TfD was a special case as it was also a training process for the Alliance International Research for Minority Students (AIRMS) from the USA. Since it was the first time for me to engage in the practicality of theatre and development concepts, going to Mlonganzila was a learning experience. Frowin Nyoni from DFPA UDSM was the lead researcher or animator/facilitator, assisted by

[13] English translation by the author from the original Kiswahili quote from Nyoni.

Godfrey Lebejo Mngereza. Delma Jackson was the co-ordinator of AIRMS, which had four students.

5.4.2 TfD Stages

The second generation of TfD animators in Tanzania, that is those who followed Lihamba, Chambulikazi and Mlama, came up with a formalized way for how to conduct TfD in the community. These stages, as outlined by Bakari & Materego (2008, pp. 41- 66) provide the animators with the key to how to successfully conduct the TfD process. It is also a mechanism to reduce discrepancies in the implementation of TfD and also to provide an avenue for its institutionalization in the training institutions. For them, TfD has to pass through nine stages, starting from the preliminary stages, familiarization, data collection, data analysis, theatre creation and rehearsals, performances, post-performance discussions and the plan of action (PoA), evaluation and follow-up. All these stages were followed in the Mlonganzila TfD process. Although Bakari & Materego have clearly described the stages, unfortunately they have not provided the number of days or a time frame for the TfD process to be effective, as TfD is perceived to be a flexible process. In the current trend it becomes more difficult to propose the duration in which the TfD process can appropriately run because everything is pre-determined by the foreign aid available and the donors who fund the project.

Nyoni (2008, p. 172) describes these stages as skills which a facilitator/animator must possess, on top of his/her artistic skills. This implies that the TfD animator/facilitator has to be trained in the ways s/he can be accepted in the TfD community to lead the community members in the understanding of their community, in the research of their own community and in the analysis of their problems in identifying root causes, effects and solutions to those problems. Furthermore, Nyoni emphasizes how the animator/facilitator has to use his/her skills in preparing a theatre performance that will open discussion on the issues raised. The discussion is expected to lead to the process of developing a plan to resolve the problems and make community members part of the follow-up group. Nyoni's (2008, p. 172) emphasis has been on the professionalism of TfD. He refers to TfD as an 'elite' process, which means that alone being an artist cannot qualify somebody to become a TfD animator/facilitator. Nyoni equates TfD animators/facilitators and artists in medical terms, referring to the latter as a general medical practitioner and the former a specialist. This stance has its pros and cons, as we will see in the challenges of conducting TfD.

i. Preliminaries

At this stage the lead animator chooses the community in which the TfD process will be conducted. TfD is an elite process as outsiders are the ones who introduce the project to the community. However, community members have to agree and accept their location being used. The lead animator has to have reasons for choosing a particular community and it is important to explain the aim of the TfD process and possibly the benefits, which the community should expect. The lead animator should analyse the size of the community so as to determine the number of animators needs. The chosen period to conduct TfD should also correspond with the community's working schedule. Some communities' lifestyles such as farmers, fishers, cattle keepers etc depend on annual seasons/weather and hence it is important to consider their work schedule.

The lead animator has to build a relationship with the community before the actual TfD process begins. It is important for community members to identify a few individuals/internal animators who will work closely with the external animators. Often the proposed internal animators are artists in the community. The working plan has to also specify the actual time frame for TfD and all other arrangements such as accommodation and meals for external animators should be in place. Proper arrangements for the TfD process should also assure the information flow to community members and selected animators so that they are able to participate fully.

In Mlonganzila, it was the Department of Fine and Performing Arts, which sent a request to conduct the TfD and it was followed by an official written permission from the village. The TfD process took approximately two months (13th June to 15th August 2000). This time frame included two weeks of animators' orientation in the TfD theoretical framework and practical training in animating skills. This was followed by three weeks of field work with the last three weeks being spent on feedback sessions and report writing.

The TfD 'training' included dos and don'ts, Kiswahili lessons for non-Kiswahili speakers from the USA and the reading of TfD-related documents. These included the TfD handbook *Sanaa kwa Maendeleo: Stadi, Mbinu na Mazoezi* (1995) by Bakari & Materego, some chapters from Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1972), Bertolt Brecht's *Brecht on Theatre* (1977), Augusto Boal's *The Theatre of the Oppressed* (1982), H. Ndumbe Eyoh's *Hammocks to Bridges: An Experience in Theatre for Development* (1984) and Penina

Mlama's *Culture and Development: The Popular Theatre Approach to Africa* (1991). These books discuss the concept of theatre as an empowerment and development strategy. The reading of this literature in two weeks was exhausting and at times annoying.

ii. Familiarization

After animators have arrived in the selected community, it is important to meet the village administration and provide the outline of the whole TfD process. At this stage primary information about the community and its members should be obtained. The information to be obtained includes but is not limited to; the population and its ratio (men, women and children), major economic activities and social services available, including schools and health centres. It is also ideal to know if the community has artists and which artistic forms are used within the community.

Mlonganzila is a village situated in the Kisarawe district, the Coastal Region (Pwani) of Tanzania. The village is about 40 kilometres from Dar es Salaam city. The village borders the military camp of the Tanzanian Peoples Defence Force (TPDF). In 2000, the village had over a thousand people residing in about 250 houses. Over 90 percent of the population did not have access to basic social services such as running water, electricity, health facilities and schools (Jackson, 2000, p. 3). The village had a theatre group known as Seven Struggle. The group had seven artists who performed a range of theatre forms from *ngoma* to improvised skits. This group of artists was involved in the project as internal animators.

After the office bureaucracies, animators (internal and external) divided themselves into small groups of three so as to survey the whole community area under TfD. The village is made up of two hamlets, Mlonganzila A and Mlonganzila B. Mlonganzila B is the urban centre of the village as it is situated along the Dar es Salaam-Morogoro highway. So the animators started with Mlonganzila B and ended in Mlonganzila A. The familiarization process took three days and was done on a door-to-door basis. Through this process the social structure of the society was observed and at the end a rough map of the community was created. The map enabled the animators to keep a record of what they had seen. At this stage, Kiswahili language was used although five out of fifteen animators could not speak it fluently.

During the TfD orientation and training, external animators were advised not to 'overdress', whatever this might mean. Women were encouraged to dress in common female attire such

as *kitenge* and *kanga.* These are cotton wraps, one metre wide and one and a half metres long. External animators were also reminded not to turn themselves into 'tourists'. This included the use of cameras and recorders before asking permission from community members as the use of cameras and video/audio recorders could lead to 'communication breakdown'. Some people were not comfortable being recorded when participating in the discussions. Also part of Mlonganzila was claimed to be a part of the Tanzania People's Defence Force (TPDF) military range area and thus photography was forbidden. There are several signs on the so-called army border, which forbid both photographing and trespassing.

iii. Data Collection

At this stage animators (external and internal) should divide themselves into small groups so as to be able to collect detailed data from a specific area. The information collected has to be documented at the end of each session. As during the familiarization process, papers and pens, cameras and recorders are avoided. This is one of the difference between TfD and other data collection methods such as questionnaires and opinion surveys whereby writing and recording are used than attentive observations. Each group has to prepare a brief presentation at the end of the data collection stage to inform the rest of the team of animators. Information collected from the village/hamlet leadership should also be included at this stage. The information should include the leadership structure, population data and the actual borders of the TfD area. Apart from internal animators, the whole research process should involve community members who are interested and have time to participate.

During the familiarization stage at Mlonganzila, the Seven Struggle artists had already identified several problems that the village had. These problems were also identified by other village members in the data collection stage. They included the shortage of running water, the shortage of medical facilities, the absence of a school (in Mlonganzila A) and land disputes between the villagers and the TPDF.

iv. Data Analysis

This is one of the problematic stages in the TfD process. Depending on the social structure and the political atmosphere of the TfD community, controversies can occur. For example Mlonganzila as a village had members of the community who were polygamous. So discussion around issues pertaining to polygamy was sensitive and controversial. At one

point, we were told that the women were not comfortable to talk in front of men or their husbands so they needed a separate group for data analysis, which was provided.

The collected information (in the data collection stage) should be prioritised to enable the community to have a focus in the coming stages. The data analysis and subsequent stages should also be open to all community members. According to Eyoh (1984, p. 164) this "provides a constant forum for collective interrogation towards a communal search for better life". Hence information about the time and venue for the meeting was posted with appropriate advance notice. The analysis took place in one of the school classrooms in Mlonganzila B and included village administrators and community members.

Before the analysis, two animators were chosen in each group, one to lead the discussion and another to keep record of the analysis. The other animators remained as observers. The analysis chart used outlines the problem and the root cause and effects of said problem (see the example table below). So after the small group analysis, each group had to present its analysis to the larger group. The analysis focused more on prioritization of the problems and also the level to which community members could be a part of the solution. The land dispute with the TPDF was mentioned as the uppermost problem. Most of the community members who attended the data analysis session were farmers whose farms were in the area claimed by the TPDF to be their range area. They were not allowed to build permanent houses or grow permanent cash crops, which resulted in a poor lifestyle as the majority of them depended on agriculture.

Whilst it was easy for community members to discuss the effects of the problem it was difficult for them to pinpoint the root causes. For example it was not clear who occupied whose land between the TPDF and community members. The TPDF claimed to own the land while community members claimed to have been invaded by the TPDF. From this tug of war, it was difficult to point out where the problem had begun and what the root causes were. But since TfD respects the community's opinion, the problem was discussed as the data analysis table below shows:

s/n	Problem	Root Cause	Effects
1.	Land dispute with TPDF	- Community members trespassing TPDF premises without permission - TPDF occupying some community members' land by force	- Sexual harassment to women when they cross the TPDF border - Poverty as some community members cannot plant permanent crops or build

			permanent houses - Living in fear as sometimes bullets misses range and get into some houses

Figure 1: Data Analysis table

Apart from the land dispute issue, analysis of three other major problems was carried out. With regards to the water problem, it was observed that the lack of/failure to access clean water has resulted in various disputes between women at the well. In terms of health facilities, community members expressed their concerns of mistreatment by hospital personnel as poor and dirty farmers. On education, it was reported that the school was too far away for children to be able to walk daily. This meant children from Mlonganzila A had to walk to Mlonganzila B which had a school. The distance is approximately seven to ten kilometres, depending on the place where the children were coming from. The border dispute between the TPDF and community members revealed that women are sexually harassed and contacted by the soldiers, but they didn't report such incidents to their husbands (Jackson, 2000, p. 6).

v. Theatre Creation and Rehearsals

According to Odhiambo (2008, p. 185) "[TfD] collaborative nature and utilisation of local forms of indigenous knowledge and aesthetics safeguards the community against the intrusion of the outsider's agenda or what Freire calls cultural invasion". In implementing the TfD process, Bakari & Materego (2008, pp. 25-40) have identified several theatre forms which could be used during the theatre creation and rehearsal stage. These theatrical forms include *ngoma* (traditional dances) and songs, poems, *taarab*, drama, storytelling, heroic recitation etc. Each form has its own advantages and limitations wherever it is used. For example, in a place where there is a strong regard for *ngoma*, it will work better, and the same goes for places with storytelling traditions etc. The issue here is to use a theatre form related to people, which is people-centred and through which people can effectively communicate, as Chambulikazi (1984, p. 11) argues, "villagers communicate, instruct and inform each other in fine movement and tunes". If community members decide to use drama, the animator can facilitate the creation of a performance using various ways such as tableaux, improvisation or role-playing (Bakari & Materego, 2008, p. 34).

Since the problems are analysed to determine the root cause and the outcomes, it is important to put the analysis into the theatre performance. Every group has the right to choose which theatre form they prefer to use. In the process of creating these performances, animators are

there to help in case the group need any assistance and not to 'teach' how to create theatre. There is no good or bad theatre and TfD always places the emphasis on communicating the development message as opposed to artistic creativity.

Community members have to choose a *manju* (similar to joker) in Boal (2000, pp. 167-190), who will lead the discussion after the performance. This is the person who Boal refers to as a 'master of ceremony' (Boal, 2000, p. 182). The *manju* should be a person who is conversant with the performance content and who can handle the discussion. Boal (2000, p. 162) describes the joker's function as magical, omniscient, polymorphous and ubiquitous. Odhiambo (2008, p. 186) shows the need to have "a skilled facilitator [*manju*] to intervene through asking questions, to interrogate social realities and perspective, or to invite other participants to provide their perspectives on the same experience". Before the actual performance, it is important to send out information about the day, time and venue of the performance. The community's authority is the one to inform other potential members of the community to participate in the performance.

During theatre creation in Mlonganzila, as expected things were not easy for Seven Struggle. Despite the fact that they were artists, it was difficult for the group to present a message-based performance. Somehow it seemed they were not interested producing a message based performance as they prefer to produce comedies. No concrete reasons were identified for such failure. Perhaps it was due to their 'general medical practice' as opposed to 'specialist' which Nyoni (2008, p. 172) described that being able to conduct TfD one has to be not only an artist but also a TfD specialist. However at the end of the day they had to perform with other groups as TfD is considered to be a 'work in progress' (Epskamp K. P., 2006, p. 44; Boon & Plastow, 2004, p. 5; Eyoh, 1984, p. 161). The concept of TfD as a work in progress is based on the fact that the performances which are shown in the TfD process are aimed at taking community members through a process of learning and discovering various issues so as to make them aware and proactive (Epskamp K. P., 2006, pp. 43-44).

During rehearsals a number of power struggles and mistrust between the animators and the village authority occurred. It was evident that most of the problems presented pointed to the village authority as the root cause and it seldom pointed to community members. The general concern regarded the authoritarian village administration, which was heavily influenced by ex-soldiers who live in the area (Jackson, 2000, p. 6). It reached the point that the men who formed the elder men group during data analysis, being warned not to participate in the other

TfD stages. In his own words one of the village administrators warned that after the 'Americans' have left he was still the one in power. This dispute led to a thorough discussion between Nyoni and other administrators in both hamlets. It was agreed that instead of having performances in both hamlets, there would be only one performance in Mlonganzila A to minimize tension which was building up in Mlonganzila B (Jackson, 2000, p. 9).

vi. Performances

This is the stage that Odhiambo (2008, p. 185) refers to as codification (using a term from Freire). According to Odhiambo, after research has been carried out, the collected information has to be processed into the theatre work – codification means the researched information is presented in the form of a problem to engage participants to discuss and solve the problem (Odhiambo, 2008, p. 30). Regardless of its effective nature, theatre "is very sensitive, because it is the stimulus for critical debate in the audience; it is the starting point of involvement of the 'spect-actors'; it is also the agent provocateur of critical consciousness and collective social action in the wider community" (Odhiambo, 2008, p. 185).

It was the day of the performance in Mlonganzila. The performance area was an open space close to the compound of one prominent village member (who was not among the village administrators). The scenery was an open field surrounded by houses and a few mango trees, which provided a bit of shade. The audience grouped mostly according to their 'age' and 'sex'. As expected, there was a tension that had accumulated during the theatre creation and rehearsal stages. Accusations amounted, especially amongst the elder men group to the village administration being responsible for the poor life of the majority of the Mlonganzila community members. The decision of the elder men group not to perform created 'a play within a play'. The exchange of words between the elder men went on with them accusing each other of not fulfilling their duties. It seemed elder men group wanted also to present about the tyrannical village authority. If so, the scene was well 'performed'.

In the morning of performance, women in collaboration with the animators gathered behind the performance venue to cook food for all participants after the performance. The cooking was a different factor as compared to other TfDs in which I participated later. The concept of cooking and eating together was agreed upon by the animators and village administration so as to make sure after the performance and after the post-performance discussion, people

would be able to sit, talk leisurely and eat together in the process of bridging the misunderstandings which might have occurred in the process.

The performance was preceded by *ngoma* so as to call attention and encourage all to attend the performance and the post-performance discussion. As observed in many of the places in Tanzania where TfD has been conducted, *ngoma* has been one of the ways of creating attention and making people gather in a certain area. After the introduction, which was given by Nyoni, each group proceeded to perform according to the schedule on which they had agreed, except for the elder men's group, who were in a 'tug of war' with the village administration and who decided not to perform. The women's group used *ngoma* and poetry to express the water problem, the Seven Struggle came up with a skit about how sometimes the bullets go into peoples' houses during military range activities and the young people used storytelling to express the concern of attending a school far from their homes. Of all the groups that performed, the women's group seemed to be the most animated. This was taking into consideration that the majority of these women were wives of the village administrators who had made the elder men group boycott performing. Some of the women in this group had *mke mwenza* (fellow wife) status. In the data analysis stage issues of disrespect between elder wives versus younger ones was outlined, but this time it was different as no one could perceive any tension between fellow wives.

vii. Post-Performance Discussion and Plan of Action (PoA)

It is common after every TfD performance for a *manju* to lead the discussion, and in each group for one animator to record the discussion. The recording is done using a table similar to that used during data analysis, but this time it includes the problem, discussion, solution and person responsible for the execution of the solution. Since the root cause and effects are documented in the analysis, they are omitted, unless there is new information obtained during the discussion. The chart which is used to record the post-performance discussion is then enhanced to form a plan of action (PoA), as seen below.

The Mlonganzila post-performance discussion and plan of action took a different outlook. Since there was a lot of tension between community members and the village administration, the external animators agreed to have a discussion to bring an amicable understanding after the 'Americans' have left. The discussion revolved around the land dispute between villagers and the TPDF. It was observed that in the year 2000 the villagers had been waiting for twenty

years to be compensated by the state, so that they could move from Mlongazila to their new places. It also came to light that living close to the army was dangerous as sometimes bullets miss the range and are fired into people's houses. The situation became worse in the discussion when community members realized that the compensation from the state would be a lot lower than expected. The village administration and the district officials who were present during the post-performance discussion argued that it had taken so long to compensate the villagers, as the state did not have the money allocated for such compensation.

s/n	Problem	Discussion	Solution	Responsible person	Timeframe
1.	Land dispute with TPDF	- TPDF is mistreating people especially women - People violate TPDF rules by trespassing in the military zone - People cross to TPDF to look for social services such as water, medical care etc	- Compensate people to move to other places - Improve social services e.g. water, health care etc using NGOs	- Village authority - District authority	- Six months

Figure 2: Plan of Action (PoA)

It was also observed that the state had already provided an alternative area where the affected Mlonganzila people could move to, where they could build permanent houses and grow crops. However some people were not ready to move to the new allocated lands, as they feared the state would not compensate them after they had moved. In 2000 we were informed that some members had already moved to new allocated lands but still maintain their former houses as they await compensation. The general observation revealed that the whole village was not in dispute with the army. The area concerned was a stretch of about half a kilometre wide running from Mlonganzila B to Mlonganzila A along the TPDF border.

During the discussion, one person requested the state to ask interested NGOs to help in providing social services on its behalf if it claimed to have no money to provide social services such as schools, hospitals etc. The district administrators who were present argued that although the state did not have money to provide social services, no NGO would be in a position to help to build schools, wells or provide health services in places with ongoing land disputes (Jackson, 2000, p. 10). This answer sounded somehow 'political' and some people mocked it, as they were aware that there were several NGOs that operated in areas with disputes, conflicts, war etc. On a broader perspective the land dispute issue can be seen as a

conflict between the state and its people, although throughout the discussion the community members' main concern was with the 'government' for not fulfilling people's expectations.

viii. Evaluation

The aim of conducting the TfD process stated in the preliminary contact should determine the level of evaluation. TfD has in many cases involved three levels of evaluation. The first evaluation can be carried out soon after the post-performance discussion and plan of action, i.e. on-the-spot evaluation. The second evaluation can be carried out a few weeks/months after the process, i.e. short-term evaluation. Thirdly, a long-term evaluation can be carried out years after the process. Evaluation is in most cases done according to the logframe.

> The proponents of logical framework note that, by summarising the essential elements of a complex programme in a simple format, information can be easily shared and reviewed by donors, implementers and other stakeholders. It is often described as a neutral management tool, a way of systematizing volumes of information and a good way to handle complexity manageably. The logframe has undergone rapid diffusion since the 1990s [...]. It has spread from its original use in project planning into programme and sector work, framing strategic relationships [...] and even global-level work. For instance, donor direct budget support to national governments [...] is conceptualized in a logframe (Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, 2007, p. 34).

From the beginning, Mlonganzila TfD did not use logframe as a model for evaluation. As stated earlier, the aim of Mlonganzila TfD was to train people on TfD process and try it out as a research method. The on-the-spot evaluation showed that the TfD conducted in Mlonganzila served as a remarkable intervention in problems covering the last twenty years. TfD was one way to animate people to take part in deciding on the issues pertaining to their development and to take action. Since the concern of community members is the state's failure to provide social services, achieving success in solving their problems could take time.

ix. Follow-up

Any follow-up for the TfD process is two-fold: to evaluate the impact of the process on community members and also to re-awaken the TfD process in case there are other accumulated problems. According to Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman (2007, p. 40), "Demonstrating impact has become a watchdog in development: the purpose is both to account for the use of funds and highlight achievements".

Jackson (2000, pp. 10-11) explains how the TfD follow-up in Mlonganzila was extremely low due to a number of reasons. Firstly, there was a need for the written follow-up permission from the ward secretary due to the previous commotions between community members and

village administrators. Secondly, the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) Department of Fine and Performing Arts withdrew its focus from Mlonganzila. Lastly, it was unclear how to proceed with community members in relation to what was agreed in the plan of action, as most of the responsibilities were left to the village/district administration and not community members themselves.

5.4.3 TfD Summary Chart

The chart below adopted from Bakari & Materego (2008, p. 67) summarises TfD stages. Eyoh (1984, p. 28) provided a similar chart but with much less detail. Eyoh's chart also put evaluation after follow-up, which means there is no room for on-the-spot evaluation. Generally after the TfD process, it is expected that once the external animators have been phased out, the internal animators will continue with the process cycle as the arrows display.

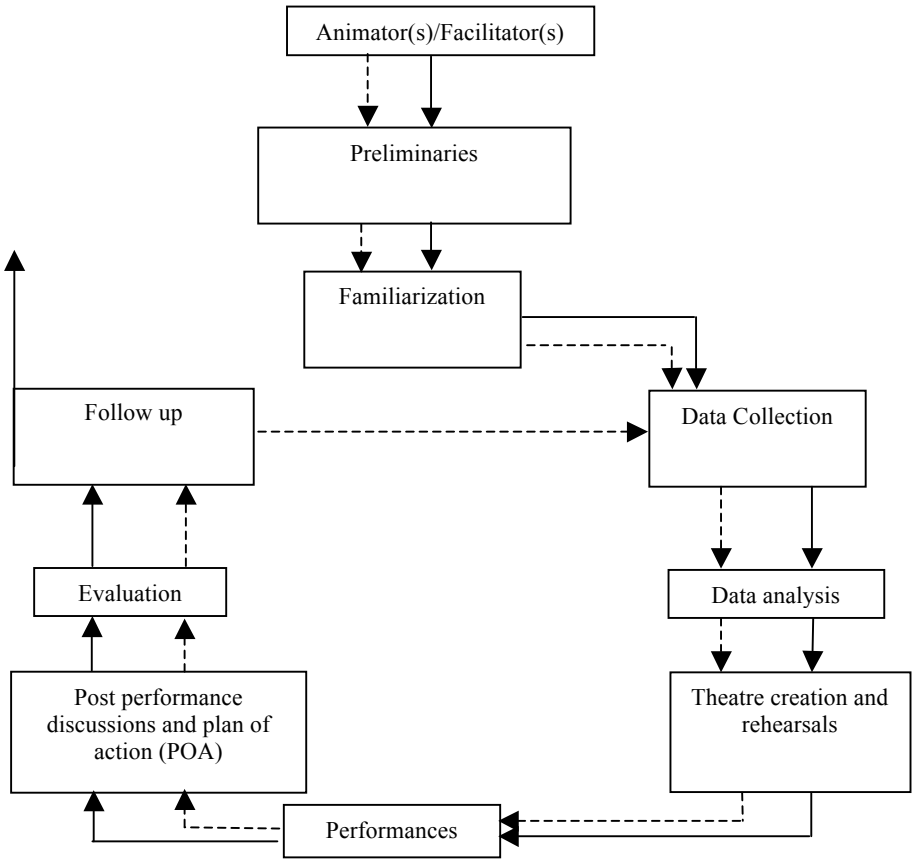

Figure 3: Theatre for Development Stages (Courtesy of Bakari & Materego 2008, p. 67)

5.5 TfD: A Critical Analysis

Ten years have passed since I first embarked on the TfD process in Mlonganzila. The experience was remarkable for two major reasons, firstly I trusted the TfD process and more importantly I believed in its animation and emancipation aspects. I was carried by its application and functionalism, which was to a greater extent focused on people "by listening and respecting their voices" as Nyoni (2008, p. 175) emphasized. From the Mlonganzila experience, it is evident that TfD has achieved its aim of being both interactive and participatory in its approach. For example, Boal proposed the idea of breaking the wall between actors and audience to create spect-actors, Freire proposed theatre to break the culture of silence by animating and emancipating people and Brecht emphasized the need to block cultural invasion by putting people in the driving seat of their cultural activities. All these to a certain level have been achieved by TfD. Kerr (1995, p. 171) also 'celebrated' how TfD managed to return to the performer-audience relationship and partnership, as can be seen in 'traditional' African theatre. For him the barrier has been broken down.

The Malya experience of 1982-3 can also be cited as one of the achievements brought about by TfD. A theatre group in Malya (Kerr, 1995, p. 158) performed the problem of older men impregnating young girls. It was recorded that the process led to the dismissal of the village chairperson and the secretary as under their leadership, they failed to solve the problem. Here one can argue that Freire's approach of using theatre to give a voice to the voiceless has been accomplished. Nyoni (2008, p. 173) refers to it as the power of TfD to empower and assure community members to realize the possibilities. This was also seen in Mlonganzila when women were able to perform and show their problems, regardless of the threat from the village administration and despite the fact that the elder men group 'surrendered'. Theatrically, the Malya experience also reduced the cultural hostility of the dominant Christian church known as African Inland Church (AIC) over 'traditional' theatre forms. Traditional dances from Sukuma ethnic group, which was dominant in Malya village, were incorporated in the performance and performed to the public (Mlama P. , 1991, pp. 125-127). These included *bugobogobo* and *bununguli* among others (Kerr, 1995, p. 158). This implied that TfD enabled the community to use various theatre forms to disperse information in a swifter way (Nyoni, 2008, p. 173).

Michael Etherton has used his experience of working in South Asia with the international NGO Save the Children to show the usefulness of the process. For Etherton (2004, p. 191),

the use of theatre, i.e. TfD, became useful to Save the Children as it helped save the children in South Asia by addressing the issue of children's rights amongst the adult community. He argued that TfD helped some Save the Children staff and local organizations who lacked the skills to work with children and young people. In his conclusion Etherton (2004, pp. 215-216) advocates that:

> TfD itself is a method and a process that the young people say enables them to deal with those in authority. The method is collectively creative, based on learning skills in improvisation, analysis and effective communication. The process is contained in a set of tools and exercise that leads children and young people into negotiation with adults in positions of power. TfD, then is itself a process of empowerment of socially excluded children and young people (Etherton, 2004, pp. 215-216).

Breitinger (1994, p. E8) also expresses the same admiration of TfD. He argues that:

> Theatre for Development as a planning, educative and even managerial instrument relocates society from periphery, where remote-control development policies had relegated it into the very centre of the community, and makes it central to communal planning and decision making. Theatre for Development takes local culture seriously. It takes local cultural values and practices as the departure point from which to define what kind of development is needed to improve life in the community and by what means it should be affected. Re-focusing on local cultural heritage and de-focusing foreign culture is an important aspect in the new approach to development policies (Breitinger, 1994, p. E8).

In addition, Nyoni (2008, p. 175) acknowledges foreign aid and donors for enabling TfD to prosper, not only in Tanzania but also in other places where it has taken hold. For him donors have been able to 'return' theatre's status in the community by integrating it into development. Through such support, donors' projects and programs have been able to provide employment to groups and artists/animators who are working in theatre and development projects. This means foreign aid has been able to empower some theatre groups and individuals financially.

The communication of programs such as TfD attempts to fulfil certain roles on various levels. These include the transmitting of information, which aims at achieving a behavioural change of the intended community. It is expected that this change of behaviour will be beneficial to the intended community. However at the same time there is the communication aim of boosting the image of the involved funding agency (Epskamp K. P., 2006, p. 109). This implies that the so-called communication development or social change signifies the dichotomy of funding body versus the targeted community. Here one can observe that, there are remarkable discrepancies between the intended efficacy and the reality on the ground. The achievement of TfD depends not necessarily on the efficacy of the targeted community but the achieved targets by the funding institution which cannot be verified by the targeted community.

After looking at these achievements, it is also ideal to look at the challenges of implementing TfD. Kerr (1995) as for other TfD scholars such as Boon & Plastow, (2004) and Epskamp (2006), has been sceptical not only of the TfD process but also of the current trend of TfD initiatives. When Kerr (1995, p. 159) criticizing TfD, he argues that "the major disadvantage of Theatre for Development workshops has been that they have not been truly popular". He provides an example of *Laedza Batanani* in Zambia, where powerful community administrators controlled the whole process in 1976. In addition Boon & Plastow (2004, p. 5) also pose a question regarding TfD and empowerment. They contend that donors who support the project in most cases would like to know who is being empowered by TfD by whom and the extent of the empowerment. To prove that theatre can empower people can sometimes be confrontational. The process of answering donors' questions about empowerment has two distinct paths, empowerment for or against the community. This means that potentially donors would be interested in empowering communities that will support their ideology and mission. On the other hand donors are probably interested to know which one is the targeted community in order to avoid funding a non-alliance or a community that will not support their mission. Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman (2007, p. 39) add that:

> For development agencies there is a recognized need to be closely in touch and accountable to donors, beneficiaries and partners; the same tensions apply and what may be best for the donors sometimes may not work well for the beneficiaries. However, in this case only one side has real power, the donors, and reporting against the logframe shifts accountability firmly away from beneficiaries and partners (even the host governments) towards the donors (Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, 2007, p. 39).

This assertion shows clearly that even if TfD practitioners are aware of the TfD process and requirements, they can find themselves inclining towards donor or state demands, and it is this possibility that made Kerr (1995, p. 159) suspicious of the 'popularity' of TfD.

One can see how foreign aid in development projects has created new opportunities as well as challenges for the protection and promotion of theatre, as Nyoni (2008, p. 173) points out. Most (if not all) TfDs have been funded by foreign donors. According to Nyoni (2008, p. 170), this has been due to its effectiveness in involving the community in deciding, planning and implementing developmental projects. But "this foreign aid injection and donors involvement in TfD has resulted to people even artists themselves being deceived that the fundamentals/basics or essence of TfD is foreign aid and donors"[14]. Moreover, TfD processes which are funded either by foreign donors or the state, especially when it has a strong interest in the developmental aspects, becomes a sensitive issue to discuss. The documented reports

[14] English translation by the author from the original Kiswahili quote from Nyoni.

(Bakari & Materego, 2008; Eyoh, 1984; Etherton, 2004; Mlama, 1991), which refer to theatre as part and parcel of development, limit authentic and aesthetic criticism. Such reports recommend further application of TfD to foster 'peoples' development, without pinpointing the challenges of implementing TfD in the neoliberal era. This 'glorification' of TfD seems to compromise to the disowned concept of 'developmentalism' discussed in Chapter One.

In some cases, donors have initiated and over-emphasized the use of theatre for their own explorations and adventures, which Nyoni (2008, p. 173) calls fanaticism and responsibility execution. Hellen Nordenson (2008), Senior Programme Officer, Division of Culture and Media of Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) points out that theatre activities funded by SIDA must show clearly how to alleviate poverty and have a development concept behind them. So when embarking on a TfD, which has been funded by donors such as SIDA, it is clear that TfD loses its key attribute of having community members be owners of the process. Instead the donors now own it and this is what can be seen as TfD being a donors' propaganda of Theatre for Donors' Development (TfDD). Epskamp (2006, p. 63) also shows clearly that TfD donor dependency poses a threat to its sustainability. He argues that, "TfD runs the risk that outsiders will set priorities and strategies, manage up their implementation, broker all forms of aid, and perhaps even supervise the distribution of benefits" (Epskamp K. P., 2006, p. 63).

According to the World Bank,

> Funding difficulties and complexities have also weakened sustainability. Rather than fund balanced programs fully integrated with national budgets, donors have supported capital investments without adequate attention to the need for both counterpart funding and additional domestic resources to operate and maintain facilities. Without sufficient budget support, investments are likely to be ineffectively used and maintained-especially with debt service draining public budgets (The World Bank, 2000, p. 245)

To understand the consequences of donors' emphasis on funding theatre that has ties to development, we can take the example of the Eastern African Theatre Institute (EATI). This NGO was established in 1998/99 after consultation with the main funder SIDA (Swedish International Development Agency). EATI has been used to fund various theatre and development activities, especially TfD in all member countries: Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda (EATI, 2004; EATI, 2007). After ten years of foreign funding, the institution has failed to execute its activities, after SIDA 'suffered' from donor's fatigue. Most of the activities in which EATI was involved were only those which SIDA could agree to support. This shows that foreign aid and donors' initiatives need critical analysis as they have tended

to create more harm than cure. Most of them are concerned with 'missionary' activities i.e. executing donors' responsibilities that cannot sustain either individuals or institutions.

TfD has been regarded as a 'righteous' process because it has helped to reduce some discrepancies experienced in the theatre models of 'theatre to the people' and 'theatre with people'. The description of TfD as a people's theatre and the use of internal animators portray the so-called equal power sharing between external animators and the community involved. In fact, TfD is a class-based process and not 'popular' to mean people's owned as procaimed. For example, the external and internal animators do not have the same power in terms of decision-making. Internal animators have to follow what the external animators and in most cases what the lead animator/facilitator has decided.

Apart from inexperience or partial experience, it is also difficult for internal animators/facilitators to carry on the process after the external animators/facilitators have left, as continuing the process has financial implications. External facilitators are being paid for the work they do in the field as 'experts', and though the internal animators will receive a certain amount it is sometimes lesser than that received by the external facilitators. However the same internal facilitators are expected to continue with the process indefinitely without being paid, which is difficult and impractical. The assumption is that some people will do 'missionary' work because they want to 'serve' and 'save' their own community, therefore they will carry the process on in the absence of the external facilitators. Epskamp (2006, p. 63) regards this as a threat to TfD. Odhiambo (2008, p. 84) shows clearly how in Kenya, TfD faced the 'intellectual' problem, that TfD cannot be carried in the absence of 'intellectuals' or the so-called external animators. In addition, it is difficult for internal animators to carry on the process as the time to learn the process is usually limited. When describing the introduction of the TfD process in the Kumba area in Cameroon, within just two weeks Eyoh (1984, p. 163) refers to it as a 'herculean task'. Epskamp (2006, p. 62) shows clearly that TfD cannot provide new skills to the intended recipients as the allocated time for implementation is too short.

Currently it is difficult to believe that TfD initiatives stem purely from the animators' sympathy and that they simply wish to empower communities to use TfD as a platform to address issues of injustice, prejudice, and cultural/economic poverty. The motive has shifted from the community to personal gain (Boon & Plastow, 2004, p. 1). According to Gibbs (1999, pp. 125-126), "personal circumstances, economic conditions and World Bank policies

have sent African activists and writers to seek funds from various sources". Furthermore, Gibbs sees the partnership between TfD practitioners and some donors as forced by the lack of local sources of funding. Gibbs' argument has perfectly linked TfD evolution in Tanzania and the circumstances surrounding its popularity. The 1980s was a time of economic hardship, party supremacy and a miserable social life for the majority. Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) became part and parcel of the TfD popularity as most of the proposed developmental projects necessitated the use of participatory approaches. This means it is difficult to differentiate between 'modernization' and 'development' as Mazrui & Mazrui (1995, p. 106) argue when projects are being initiated and funded through capitalist systems such as IMF/World Bank. In addition, Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman (2007, p. 31) have related the aid chain and power play by donors as part and parcel of development 'delay' in the recipients' countries.

> While the packing of aid by institutional donors and INGOs draws heavily on these different languages [rational management and participation], the mechanism of rational management have been systematized, institutionalized and embedded in aid bureaucracies. Our concern, confirmed by research, was that this heavy reliance on one managerial model would overshadow and possibly undermine a commitment to participatory approaches to development. In understanding how one language has come to dominate through standardized procedures and systems of accountability, it is important to recognize where power lies and how it is currently used in north-south funding aid chains, something often acknowledged but rarely analysed (Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, 2007, p. 31).

It is evident that TfD as a participatory model has created a more profound donor dependency, as Nyoni (2008, p. 173) shows the dichotomy of TfD and donor dependency. Foreign aid and donor funds in theatre come with a phrase of accountability. For TfD, it is difficult to say to whom these theatre practitioners are accountable.

> The tension between accountability to donors and accountability to beneficiaries are well known and organizations need to find ways to satisfy both if they are to survive, in theory at least. So while large companies have to report to shareholders, they have also to meet the needs of their customers; sometimes what is good for shareholders is not good for customers. However, because they feel their survival ultimately lies in being passionate about their customers, they know the importance of communication with them in order to flourish (Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, 2007, p. 39).

In the similar situation, theatre has to adhere to donors accountability systems regardless of its effects to the theatre survival. Various scholars such as Kwesi Akpabala (as quoted by Gibbs 1999, p. 125) believe that "imperialists are impertinent cultural arbiters who use theatre as a neo colonization method". Akpabala's argument reflects the way TfD has been used to address issues proposed from above. The issue here is not to denounce the usefulness of donor support in theatre but rather to address the issue of conformity and the need of using such funds. According to Nyerere (1968a, p. 25), there is a very thin line between slavery and

freedom when depending on and receiving financial support from foreign institutions. He argues:

> How can we depend upon gifts, loans, and investments from foreign countries and foreign companies without endangering our independence? The 'English' people have a proverb which says, 'he who pays the piper calls the tune'. How can we depend upon foreign governments and companies for the major part of our development without giving to those governments and countries a greater part of our freedom to act as we please? The truth is that we cannot (Nyerere J. , 1968a, p. 25).

Nyoni (2008, p. 174) describes how these gifts, loans and donations have created impairments in TfD. He argues that some artists, in order to compete for donors' funds, have tried to show TfD can be done in a very short time frame and bring immediate change. This means that 'real' or 'professional' TfD practitioners either have their budgets cut or are rejected entirely when they send their proposals to donors as they seem to be 'expensive'. Additionally, artists have been forced to perform 'low rated TfD' so as to meet donors' requests and demands or the allocated budget.

Institutionalization has been another challenge of TfD. TfD started as a purely activist movement. According to Lihamba (2004, p. 245) there were multifaceted layers of TfD popularity and demand in its initial application in Tanzania. These included the inability of the state to provide basic infrastructure for its people. Despite the Arusha Declaration of 1967, there was a rising petty bourgeoisie class, increased corruption, poverty and abuse of the rule of law in the early 1980s. However, more importantly was the neglect and misuse of the arts. So TfD was taken as a means to negotiate for better socio-political and economic standards for people, including for artists. Despite its attractiveness, as a movement TfD was not supposed to be institutionalized. The institutionalization of any movement put it in danger of being captured and controlled by those very people the movement was formed against. This means that if TfD was formed against the state, it is easy to use state powers to control it as occurred in Mlonganzila. Kerr (1995, p. 159), using an example of *Laedza Batanani* in Zambia, showed how TfD cannot lead the direction but only second the direction which the dominant class has decided. In Mlonganzila, the situation was the same. In the process leading towards the theatre performance, the lead animator opted for an amicable solution rather than a confrontation with the village administration. It was evident that there was no option to continue with the TfD process amicably if external animators failed to second the village administration proposition not to perform in both hamlets and instead perform only in Mlonganzila A, whereas most of the community members wanted the performance to happen in both hamlets. It should be noted that Mlonganzila B is the 'urban centre' of the village and

has more inhabitants than Mlonganzila A. The fear of the 'dominant class' was that if the performance happened in Mlonganzila B, there could be a hot debate which might lead to chaos.

According to Samba (2005, p. 24), the continuing use of TfD to represent people's participation actually represents the top-down approach. This implies that what is practiced is rather Theatre in Development (TiD) than TfD (Nyoni, 2008, pp. 170-172). Samba clearly asserts that "these NGOs and aid donors cannot deny the backlash this model [TfD] produces in the target community. In some cases, it has manifested as resentment and in others as opposition and resistance". Samba (2005, p. 74) adds that donors should be held responsible for the backlash they have created in the local communities through their top-down approach to development via NGOs.

> There are numerous challenges associated with donors' introduction of participatory approaches. While official recognition of the role of local actors in development is important, such donor approaches can systematize and often depoliticize the push for participation [...], which all too easily becomes a technical exercise. Moreover, the 'empiricist predilection' of participatory methods can result in 'insufficient attention to legitimacy and justice', and 'tendency to get bogged down in methods and techniques without stopping adequately to consider initial assumptions of broader issues (e.g. about the purpose of the techniques) (Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, 2007, p. 43).

It is clear that TfD cannot work effectively as there is no base to support it at the grassroots level (Materego, 2002, p. 147). Communities have failed to sustain it and it ends immediately as soon as the facilitators leave. "TfD lacks facilities of follow-up activities by means of training and logistics" indicates Epskamp (2006, p. 63). Community members tend to think that the action plans and resolutions passed during the TfD process should be implemented by the facilitators or the state, and not by themselves. Most of the discussions and solutions (in the post-performance discussions) present administrators and state officials as victims, the community members are rarely presented as victims. This makes TfD not user-friendly, especially to community leaders because most of the time it does not facilitate their leadership, rather it pinpoints their problems (Materego, 2002, pp. 144-145).

This study has realised that TfD has continued to be a complex practice as it has inclined towards elitism or intellectualism as Odhiambo (2008, p. 84) criticized. Data analysis and the preparation of the plan of action (PoA) were among the more complicated TfD stages. These stages lay the foundation for implementation, accountability, monitoring and evaluation. This requires knowledge not only of theatre but of the social setting. Facilitators or animators must have inter-disciplinary knowledge to lead the whole process. The question is how many

facilitators are theatre literate, as well as being socio-political and economic experts? What are the levels of understanding of these issues as animators? Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, (2007, p. 36) address this issue of 'expertise' in a broader perspective. They say:

> The approach to expertise is also problematic. Despite donor or NGO instructions to the contrary, often the logical framework is constructed or finalized by a few individuals, staff or consultants, sitting in an office, working with a vague mandate from local people and a clear set of strategic objectives from potential donors. They may know that they are not constructing the best possible plan, but they are putting together one that is plausible on the basis of their own knowledge. This also raises questions about the legitimacy of the resulting plans and documents, for both beneficiaries and staff (Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, 2007, p. 36).

Looking at the attributes of TfD it leads to the conclusion that only elites and intellectuals can facilitate TfD in a way which fulfils the expectations. Experience shows that as it evolves TfD is becoming more and more complex and detached from the community. If the role of the animators is to facilitate and empower people to own the process, the outcome can be impressive but insufficient. Emphasis has shifted from the first six stages to the post-performance discussion and the preparation of the plan of action. This implies that the last three stages are more important, as they form the main part of the researcher's or donor's report. Epskamp (2006, p. 63) shows clearly that artists who participate in TfD activities are there for the theatre aspect. The promotion of development agendas seems not to be within their scope of work. Perhaps this could be the cause of the Seven Struggle's failure in Mlonganzila to 'cope' with the TfD theatre creation process.

The chances of research institutions and universities not treating TfD communities as 'test tubes' or 'guinea pigs' as Kerr (1995, p. 158) describes, are becoming less and less. In using TfD as a research method, the aim of the research remains in the interest of the researcher and his/her 'compradors' rather than in the interest of the TfD community. Using the community for personal research gain under the umbrella of people's theatre has to be questioned, as most of the findings are not communicated to the researched community.

Lihamba (2004, p. 246) agrees that TfD and its practitioners face challenges. One of the outlined challenges is the relationship between theatre as a process and theatre as a product. There has been an ongoing debate over whether TfD should continue to enhance development and ignore its aesthetics. Bakari & Materego (2008, pp. 41-67), when outlining TfD stages, clearly emphasized the message rather than artistic presentation. They argued that the nature of TfD was not to put any emphasis on artistic creativity or skills development other than making sure it manages to convey the required information, a process which

Odhiambo (2008, p. 21) has referred to as 'codification'. The lack of emphasis on artistic creativity by TfD in turning theatre into a 'medium of communication' has to be questioned. According to Fiebach (2009), theatre is not a medium of communication because not every information conveyed is communication. Weber (2004, p. x) further argues that:

> Theatricality resists reduction to a meaningful narrative by virtue of its ability to signify. This ability associates it with what is called 'language'. As the most ubiquitous of signifying media – a pleonasm insofar as *all* media are such through signifying – language demonstrates the priority of the signifying function over that of representation. In so doing, far from reducing the materiality and corporeality of theatre, it marks their irreducibility (Weber, 2004, p. x).

Secondly, Kerr (1995, p. 155) is not satisfied by the way TfD treats theatre. He argues "doubts existed, however, whether such a 'rough' theatre might not in fact be a euphemism for a second-rate theatre, especially bearing in mind that pre-colonial traditions of popular theatre were certainly not 'rough' in the sense of de-emphasizing skills". This implies that the continuation of honouring pre-colonial theatre forms as the 'best' option for TfD as community theatre, is a misconception of traditional theatre forms implying that they were 'rough' and 'half cooked'. Makoye (2008, pp. 106-107) shows clearly how traditional theatre forms were done according to specified standards agreed within a particular community. That is why Lihamba (1985a, p. 32) expresses caution about the use of traditional theatre in contemporary society especially when trying to incorporate it into a 'modern' system. It is clear that the process of integrating traditional theatre forms in TFD was based on the idea that pre-capitalist theatre was idyllic. Take the following example of *gombesugu* dance used in Mkambalani popular theatre in 1986. *Gombesugu* is a celebration dance used during wedding and initiation. *Gombesugu* is performed by "two groups of lead singers with two people in each and everyone present acts as a chorus" (Mlama P. , 1991, p. 186). Apart from drums, the dance is accompanied by *manyanga* (shakers) and *sugu* as musical instruments. Despite the fact that *gombesugu* is a celebratory dance for this case it was used to express the social problems that the Mkambalani people were experiencing:

Maneno yako sema	Speak the words
Usiogope sema	Don't be afraid speak
Maji hatuna	We have no water
Hospitali hatuna	We don't have hospital
Shule hatuna	We don't have a school
Wazo la pili tunasema	As a second thought
Tumekuwa jela Mkambalani	We are imprisoned in Mkambalani
Tumechoka	We are tired
Kama kijiji hakitakiwi tuelezwe	If the village is not wanted tell us
Yatoke uwanjani hapo	Let it be said in public then

Maneno yako sema	Speak the words
Usiogope sema	Don't be afraid speak

(Mlama P. , 1991, p. 187)

From this example and the explanation of the dancing by Mlama (1991, pp. 186-187), it is obvious that the form of the *gombesugu* has remained as it was still danced as *gombesugu*, but the content and context has been replaced. The replacement of the dance's content is not peculiar as in most 'traditional' dances there are no strict rules on the words. But for this case the change is not about the words only, but also on the content and the context of the dance. Speaking on the content, it is clear that it is the dance that addresses issues pertaining to development and lack of social services. Such discussion which expresses the problems of Mkambalani people shows clearly the distinction in context whereas the 'original' *gombesugu* could be celebratory dance while the transposed *gombesugu* is about protest. This means that for those who believed in the content and context of *gombesugu*, they might find it difficult to understand the seriousness and urgency of the new content as the protest scene can be perceived as just entertainment and jubilation.

The emphasis of foreign development communication has minimized other alternative routes for development. Theatre has been shaped to communicate development and forget the fact that theatre itself needs to develop, as do its practitioners. That is why Epskamp (2006, p. 62) regards the TfD return, in comparison with its investment to be 'too modest'. Lihamba (1985b, pp. 31-32) believes that there is a direct link between development, freedom and theatre creativity, which should be embraced, acknowledged and respected. So when funding is concerned or there is an emphasis on development communication it is clear that the performers' imaginations are being interfered with, influenced, manipulated and even corrupted. These sensations and imaginations are the ones that arouse the audiences' emotions, feelings and perhaps bring efficacy. In the case where TfD does not focus on aesthetics or skill development it tends to work outside of 'theatre conventions'. This means TfD reaps artistic benefits for the sake of development without any replacement. "In TfD practice, it is often overlooked that promoting TfD in itself neither creates the necessary motivation for learning nor ensures the utility of TfD" (Epskamp K. P., 2006, p. 62). If the focus of TfD was to link the post-independence communities with pre-colonial ones using traditional theatre forms, then that approach was completely impractical. There should be a new mechanism of integrating current theatre forms within TfD rather than focussing on traditional theatre forms. It is obvious that community members cannot tolerate unskilled or

'rough' performances for the sake of development. It will come to the point when they will not be animated/empowered anymore. That is why Odhiambo (2008, pp. 14-15) calls for practitioners to re-examine their TfD practices and "then decide how to improve and make more effective their own practices".

TfD as a process is not as flexible as practitioners like to advocate. For example Samba (2005, p. 74) in explicating the Cameroonian women in TfD, shows how TfD is flexible "as a language of development communication, how different facilitators have adapted it to their immediate socio-cultural contexts, and the purposes to which the approaches have been used". There was no flexibility in terms of time during the Mlonganzila TfD process. For example, the post-performance discussion was regulated to save time otherwise community members might have debated till dawn without progressing to the plan of action which was seen as the 'important' stage. Considering TfD that is funded by donors or research institute the whole process is regulated according to the donors'/institute's budget and annual reporting schedule. So, animators/facilitators have to struggle to work within the allocated time so as not to 'blow' the budget or overspend. Even if animators/facilitators find a different situation in the community which perhaps requires extra days, the flexibility is limited by the allocated budget. So because the community members might not be aware of the internal organization of the external animators, they find themselves unknowingly or sometimes knowingly 'bulldozed' in the process. For example, in Mlonganzila there was a time when external animators had to agree with everything the village authority proposed so as not to 'waste time' especially when the allocated three weeks for fieldwork were coming to an end. This behaviour has its pros and cons. Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman (2007, p. 40) show that:

> This approach [tight externally controlled accountability], [..], risks replacing trust and judgement, 'distorting the proper aims of professional practice and indeed damaging professional pride and integrity'. Efforts to achieve better performance and results often actually threaten the quality of work, by inhibiting people from using their skills in innovative ways and hedging them about with bureaucratic controls. The pressure for counting and accounting is so strong that trust, flexibility, and the ability to adapt and change are often undermined (Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, 2007, p. 40).

The other challenging issue is the position of TfD animators/facilitators. For example, animators have been granted the power to run TfD processes and oversee the outcomes but they have no chance to push for reforms. "TfD lacks power to implement sustainable follow-up activities" (Epskamp K. P., 2006, p. 62). That is why in most cases animators have to work in collaboration with other activists' groups to speed up the implementation of the

agreed solutions in the plan of action (PoA). In the preliminaries, animators have to state the reasons and the aim of conducting TfD in a certain community. In which case who are the animators representing and to whom are they accountable? Is it to the state or research institutions such as universities or to the donors who fund TfD? I am sure in Mlonganzila the animators were not accountable to the community in which the TfD took place, perhaps to the lead animator/researcher. Epskamp (2006, p. 62) sees this as one of the weaknesses of TfD, as it lacks internal monitoring and ownership.

The other issue that most scholars have not outlined is the risk of being both internal and external animator. In referring to external animators, it means those animators who come from outside the TfD community but who are from the same country. If there are misunderstandings between any of the parties, it mostly falls to the national external animators to resolve rather than to the international animators who often 'just pay a visit', some as tourist visits. What must be made very clear however, is that if the TfD is very successful, then those who provided financial support tend to receive most if not all of the credit. 'Best practices' included in the donors' reports (in most cases) recommend 'further research' and/or further 'interventions', which then lead to other projects. However when things 'backfire', the national external animators are the ones who are held accountable for unsuccessful project outcomes, as they always act as a bridge between donors and TfD community members.

In some incidences, community members can abuse animators for their failure to follow-up or the community administration can make allegations for conspiracy to wreck their jobs, i.e. as happened in Mlonganzila. Being an external national animator in a donor-funded TfD means to take a high risk, which is not stated in the project documents. Sometimes some animators work on a project without knowing the content and the consequences of the project. Verbal attacks and abuse are common, such as the village administrator who said people will suffer the consequences after the 'Americans' have gone. It is obvious that as a TfD animator one has to play the role of an activist trying to apply 'militant reforms', even though sometimes the intention or the inner motive of TfD lies in globally dominant policies.

After working on a series of TfD processes and reading TfD reports and literature it becomes 'business as usual'. Although every community setting is unique, at the end of the day it is difficult to limit 'prejudice' against the TfD outcomes. For example, by working with students as a TfD community in several instances, after some time one can predict the nature

of the performance and post-performance discussion. The same applies to farmers or communities that keep cattle, where as an animator you are aware that they will present similar problems in relation to their geographical and social status. I do agree that there are exceptional cases, but all in all the research or project reports, the logframe and the donors' tracking formats and templates are the same.

Epskamp (2006, p. 62) shows how 'workshop syndrome' as an income-generating activity has made TfD facilitators not develop new skills. Samba (2005, p. 74) elaborates how donor agencies have been putting pressure on practitioners to produce 'quick and quantifiable' results, which in one way or another qualify the previous unparticipatory methods. Furthermore, Samba (2005, p. 74) relates the situation to Freire's 'banking method' of education, whereby "dissemination of information [is] characterised by manipulation and control as opposed to the promotion of dialogue". And this occurs to a larger extent due to the fact that:

> aid is not disbursed using participatory mechanisms but on the basis of logframes. The need for planning and control overweighs the push for participation at the bureaucratic level. While participation usually features as a essential part of the logframe it is only one component in the system of planning, implementation, monitoring and reporting (Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, 2007, p. 34).

This implies that, although donors pretend to support TfD because of its participatory nature, it is clear that their support is for the top-down approach (TiD) whereby information is imposed from the centre by animators.

5.6 Conclusion

TfD is a response to the neoliberal policies in the post independence era. Its implementation and manifestation relies mostly on 'outsider' moderation and external donors/foreign aid injection. Regardless of its effectiveness, it is apparent that TfD as an elite/intellectual process has not been able to empower societies to carry out the process when external animators/facilitators have left. It is also difficult to regard it as 'people's theatre' while the 'driving seat' is occupied by donors, NGOs/INGOs or research institutions. This implies that, neither state nor donor would fund TfD for 'people's sake'. From this observation – though not clearly marked – TfD serves as a 'social propaganda' as the process itself persuades people to implement the proposed actions stipulated in the plan of action (PoA). As time goes, the influence of neoliberal policies is generating other theatre genres which address the decisive point of the policies i.e. 'people's participation' and 'power decentralization'.

Additionally, from the premise that every art contributes to the peoples' lives enhancement (Nyoni, 2008, p. 170), it is evident that TfD (Theatre for Development) does as well as other theatre genres which can be categorized under TiD (Theatre in Development). But the difference is while TfD is significantly based on the people's participation from the inception of the process to the sharing of the end results, TiD is characterized by having development content but not necessarily conceived and produced by the intended community. In other words, TfD is expected to be bottom-up approach as opposed to TiD which is top-down approach. Depending on external facilitation and funding, seemingly TfD has now turned to be top-down approach to development.

6. Zinduka: Using NGOs to Address the CCM State

> The contemporary neo-liberal discourse has one fundamental blind spot. It treats the present as if the present has had no history.
>
> Issa Shivji (2003)

6.1 Zinduka Performance

It is afternoon, on a mild sunny day[15]. We are introduced to an open space surrounded by shops and houses. The open stage is surrounded by an audience, composed of men, women and children as the picture below illustrates. Some are sitting on the ground, especially the children, some are on chairs and others, mainly adults are standing behind. At the back-centre of the stage we see a white banner (approx. 9 square metres) written in Kiswahili in big bold capital letters in black, blue and red; "Msonge Theatre Arts Group in collaboration with Tanzania Theatre Center (TzTC) bring to you a play known as *Zinduka* (wake-up), you are welcome". At the same time, the banner is acting as a backdrop, which separates the front and the back stages.

Figure 4: Performing space in the Vingunguti area, Dar es Salaam during the Zinduka performance. Courtesy of Msonge Theatre Art Group

Beneath the banner, we see three men with about ten drums of big, medium and small sizes. These drums have different names such as *kinganga, msondo, mtoji, jembe* and so on, depending on the size and the materials used to make them. On the far left corner of the banner (far left-back stage), we see a musical DJ surrounded with various musical equipment,

[15] This narrative is taken from a recorded video, courtesy of Msonge Theatre Art Group

including an audio mixer and speakers. To the front-centre of the audience, we see people standing while children are sitting on the ground. One can also see a table with four men sitting facing the stage. The audience is calm but to the far end of where the audience is, one can see people continuing with their activities. Although it seems to be an open area, the place looks like a road that people pass in order to reach various streets. We hear the announcement from the DJ that people should use alternative roads as this place is now a stage for performance.

Heavy drumming is heard and eight dancers enter, four men and four women in two separate lines. They are dressed up in brown striped costumes (similar to cheetah or leopard skin) dancing *malivata*. *Malivata* is the harvesting dance originally practiced by people from Lindi and Mtwara in Southern Tanzania. We see an interactive drummer who keeps on drumming, complementing the backing drummers while others are dancing. Women and men are dancing, following the drumming with different and convergent steps. The lead singer (henceforth *manju*) in this particular dance is a woman who is using a hand-held wireless microphone. The only words of the song are *ee elimu, kufuta ujinga* (yes education, to obliterate ignorance) repeated several times throughout the dance and sung in a call-and-response fashion. At the end of the dance, the four women move off the stage and leave the men on stage. The men are joined by the group's director – Asha Salimu. She starts to dance with the men, following their dance steps. Her dancing though perfect seems comical and the audience breaks into applause. After the dancers have left the stage, the announcer urges the audience to clap for the dancers, to which they respond without hesitation, with cheerful whistling, clapping and shouting.

After a few minutes, the dancers come onto the stage again, this time for the *msolopa* dance. *Msolopa* is one of the coastal area (*pwani*) dances originally performed at initiation celebrations by Wamwera of Luangwa in Lindi region. Apart from Wamwera, *Pwani* is occupied by various peoples such as the Wazaramo, Wakwere, Wangindo and so on. The dancers are dressed up in *ukili* hats (plaited palm leave hats), grey t-shirts, men in trousers and women in skirts. The trousers and the skirts are made in the United Republic of Tanzania (URT) flag colours; green, yellow, black and blue. However the patterns of the flag have been turned upside-down, which means blue is at the top and green at the bottom. This time, both men and women dance in the same patterns, except for the *manju*. The dancing is

accompanied by drumming and whistling. The singing is mostly in unison. The lyrics of the song are as follows:

Hodi hodi uwanjani	Hello hello there
Sisi ndio vijana wa Msonge	We are Msonge youth
Utamaduni wa nchi yetu tunaupenda sana	We love our country's culture very much
Kuhusu suala zima la elimu jama	About the issue of education
Watanzania wote kwa pamoja	All Tanzanians
Tushirikiane kukuza elimu	Let's cooperate to enhance education
Wananchi wote Vingunguti mnahimizwa	All residents of Vingunguti are urged
Kuwa na malezi bora kwa watoto	To take care of children
Kuanzia majumbani hadi kule mashuleni	From home to school
Mkumbuke	You should remember
elimu ndio ufunguo wa maisha aah	that education is the key to life
Oye oye hongera serikali hongera sana	Hurrah, we congratulate the government

After several repetitions of the song, the dancers continue to dance, moving back and forth. As they leave the stage, all dancers move off the stage first, then three men return to the stage and dance in the same patterns, ending the dance while on the stage.

Figure 5: Members of Msonge dancing *msewe*. Courtesy of Msonge Theatre Art Group[16]

It takes some minutes before we hear the drumming again, followed by the women dancers with winnowing baskets. Although they later change the dancing patterns, the first pattern seen on the stage shows all women placing themselves on the front row, while men are at the side. They are dancing *sukula*, a predominant dance in Ukerewe Islands. *Sukula* is a dance

[16] This picture was taken during the performance of the original version of *Zinduka,* known as *Mama Pili*

which demonstrates work distribution between women and men. In the dance women demonstrates various farming activities such as land tilting, planting, weeding, harvesting and winnowing while men are more on fishing activities.

The lyrics of *msewe* are as follows:

Tupo tumewasili kuanzisha mpango	We have arrived to start a program
Wakazi wa Vingunguti	[to] Vingunguti residents
Kukuza elimu yetu ya Tanzania	To enhance our Tanzanian education
Sote twafurahia kukuza elimu yetu ya Tanzania	We are all happy to enhance our Tanzanian education

After a repetition of the lyrics and the dancing of the women at the front of the stage and the men at the back, the dancers leave the stage.

Now the stage is empty and quiet except for the seated drummers. Then comes a man (M1), accompanied by echoing drumming following his actions. He is dressed in a black robe, holding a long torch with a wooden handle. Facing the audience, he narrates the following:

M1: *Jamani Watanzania*	Hey Tanzanians
wananchi wa Vingunguti	Vingunguti residents
Ni jukumu lako kuhakikisha	It's your responsibility to make sure
mwanao anakwenda darasani	your child goes to school
Ni jukumu lako kuhakikisha	It's your responsibility to make sure
mwanao anakunywa maji safi	your child drinks clean water
Ni jukumu lako kukagua	It's your responsibility to inspect
maji safi ya kisima hapa, mmesikia?	clean water here, are we together?

After this monologue, the second man (M2) enters dressed in the same way and holding the same thing as the first man. Facing the audience, he says nothing and just performs scary actions towards the audience. These include moving closer to the audience members, threatening with hands as if he wants to grab or scratch them. These include moving closer to the audience members threatening with hands as if he wants to grab or scratch them. The third man (M3) enters, also dressed in the same black robe and holding the long wooden torch. Facing the audience, he continues on from where the M1 monologue ended:

M3: *Pamoja na hayo*	Apart from that
mzazi una haki na wajibu	as a parent you have a right and obligation
wa kufuatilia maendeleo ya mtoto	to follow-up your child's development

Then the fourth man (M4) enters, with the same costumes and prop. Facing the audience to the front-right, though closer to the first three men, he says:

M4: *Jamani wazazi ieleweke kwamba*	Hey parents, it should be understood that
jukumu la kukuza watoto	it's our responsibility to take care of our
ni letu sote wazazi, au siyo?	children, isn't it?

After finishing the monologue, he joins the other three men and they form a tableau, holding their torches up. Then four women enter, all in black robes holding pots in their hands, with big necklaces made of beads. They place the pots in the front-centre stage, and dance *limpango*. *Limpango* was originally a hunting dance of the Wanyakyusa from Mbeya region. It is also used to show 'men's' prowess. The lyrics are as follows:

Wakazi wa Vingunguti	Vingunguti residents
Ni jukumu la kila mzazi	It's a responsibility of every parent
Kukuza elimu ya mtoto	To take care of the child's education

While dancing, at some point, one man starts a fire from one of the pots and then lights the other pots and torches. Women put the burning pots on their heads and start to dance while the men hold their burning torches upright. After dancing for about five minutes, they all go off the stage except for one woman who continues to dance with her burning pot on her head. She later goes off the stage. The audience claps and shouts as she dances vigorously with the burning pot on her head.

After the applause from the audience, which forms a few minutes of continuous clapping and whistling, we now see the Tanzania Theatre Center (TzTC) representative Mahadia Ali on the stage. She takes the microphone and introduces TzTC, which has sponsored the *Zinduka* play. She says "TzTC is the centre for assisting artists who have not been able to attend formal artistic training to acquire performing arts skills so as they can work as professionals". At the end, she invites all who are interested to visit the office and provides the address of the office, which in the year 2004 was Magomeni, Mikumi Street in Dar es Salaam.

After the briefing from the TzTC representative, Asha Salum, (the director of Msonge Theatre Arts Group) takes the microphone to explain the relationship between the arts and the essence of enhancing education for people of the Vingunguti ward. Addressing parents and leaders who are present, she says:

> Msonge brings to you a play. The play itself is participatory. Because it is a participatory play, there will be time, we will request you as a community members to ask questions or to answer a question or participate in one way or another. Therefore, we request if that happens, please bear with us, collaborate with us so as to reach the goal of this play. Thank you very much, and welcome Msonge Theatre Arts Group with a play known as *Zinduka*. This play has been sponsored by TzTC so as to be able for us to perform in all streets in Vingunguti ward.

The scenery is the same but now there is a school desk at the front-right of the stage. The voice over (V/O) of a woman crying and a man shouting is heard from the back stage. The woman is accusing the man of not providing food for his family. A few seconds later, Pili (a teenager girl), a woman (Pili's mother) and a man (Pili's father) appear on stage. Pili's father (henceforth referred to as Baba Pili) holds a big stick in his right hand and a wireless microphone in his left hand. Pili's mother (henceforth referred to as Mama Pili) also has a microphone. Baba Pili moves and tries to beat his wife. In the process, the wife and the daughter manage to push him and he falls on the ground. Annoyed, Baba Pili accuses the wife for collaborating with her daughter to beat him. After regaining his energy, he stands up and beats them severely. Both Pili and her mother fall down. When leaving the stage, Baba Pili insists, that they will have to sleep outside regardless of it being nighttime and cold.

Mama Pili continues to cry, asking Pili to go and sleep in the male neighbour's room instead of sleeping outside, because the place where she plans to go and sleep Pili cannot go with her. Pili refuses. Before Mama Pili leaves the stage, she hands over the microphone to Pili. Pili stands on the stage for a while looking at the audience before leaving the stage. The whole play is accompanied by drumming and xylophone music, which changes pace and rhythm. According to Etherton (1982, p. 14), music is being used in such kind of performances to emphasize the emotion. Looking at the characters, they are dressed in 'normal' Vingunguti 'dress code', similar to the majority of the audience. Men are in trousers and shirts or t-shirts and women in dresses or blouses and skirts covered by *kanga* or *kitenge*.

Soon after Pili has left the stage, Baba Pili enters and collects his stick. In a soliloquy, he complains about Pili's behaviour of going to school at 6am, when he knows the school starts at 8am. He believes the government was not stupid to put 8am as the starting time for lessons. He promises to go to school the next day at 6am to ask for an explanation. He leaves the stage at a quick pace. A boy student enters, in the Dar es Salaam state-owned primary school uniform of white shirt and blue shorts. He has a backpack. He runs and sits at the desk. Later a girl (Jamila) enters together with a boy, followed by Pili who looks tired and is dressed messily. They are all in uniform, the girls with blue skirts. The boys push Pili from the desk, accusing her of not taking a bath. Jamila defends Pili and manages to secure a sitting place for her.

Then a male student (Peter) enters in uniform and starts to imitate a female mathematics teacher. He says "*Wanafunzi wa darasa hili mnanichefua, hovyo*!" (Students of this class

annoy me, hopeless!) While writing on the board, Peter continues, "diameter times diameter is equal to diameter". While writing, he also shakes his waist, which makes the other students and the audience burst into laughter. Unfortunately, the mathematics teacher who they have nicknamed Mwalimu Kipenyo (diameter teacher), is watching. She enters furiously and starts to beat Peter for calling her *kipenyo* (diameter). The annoyed mathematics teacher (henceforth Mwalimu Kipenyo) decides to give the students thirty questions to answer, after only giving them one example. She warns them that if any of them gets any question wrong or do not do the assignment properly they will suffer the consequences. While Mwalimu Kipenyo is writing on the board, Peter starts to fight with Pili for unknown reasons. Mwalimu Kipenyo hears the noise and wants to know what is going on between the two. Peter complains that Pili is sleeping on the desk instead of writing. Mwalimu Kipenyo asks Pili to explain the reason for her sleeping during the class instead of doing the assignment. While Pili tries to explain how she and her mother were chased out by her father the previous night, Mwalimu Kipenyo does not take the time to listen and instead chases Pili out of the class. After the fight between Pili and Mwalimu Kipenyo, Mwalimu Kipenyo collects her things and asks the students to bring their exercise books to her office once they have finished the assignment.

Before leaving the stage, Peter again imitates the way Mwalimu Kipenyo was talking and rubs the board where the mathematics questions are written. This raises a conflict between Peter and other students who want to do the assignment. Peter defends himself by saying that the questions are too difficult for them to be able to do them. Peter leaves the class, but Jamila comments that he is mad. Peter comes back and beats Jamila and in the process the microphone that Jamila is holding falls down. All other students leave the class and leave Jamila behind. Pili enters and wants to know if Jamila copied the mathematics assignment. Jamila recounts what Peter did. Jamila is worried about the consequences from Mwalimu Kipenyo. Jamila also wants to know why Pili was sleeping during the class. Pili does not hesitate to tell her about what her father did the previous night. But still Pili does not want to reveal exactly where she slept. Both leave the stage chatting.

Mama Pili enters, carrying a plastic bucket of fried fish with her hands. Looking around, she seems annoyed lamenting about Pili's failure to come home early. With excitement Pili enters and greets her mother who doesn't give any reply. Mama Pili scolds her for being late as the fish are nearly spoiled. She asks Pili to rush the fish to the market without even changing her

school uniform. When Pili insists on changing them, her mother gives her the *kanga* which she is wearing to cover herself. She insists that Pili should not come back home without finishing selling all ten piles of fish, which according to her calculations should be sold for 3000 shillings (approx. 1.5 euros).

On her way to the market, Pili meets Peter who tries to seduce her. Pili refuses and Peter decides to punish her by stealing the fish from the bucket that Pili is carrying on her head. Pili realises and starts to chase Peter in vain to make him pay for the fish. She stands at the centre of the stage and starts to cry. She later arrives at the market, arranges her fish and waits for the customers. Then comes the first customer, a drunken man. He holds a bottle of alcohol and a glass, drinking as he moves towards the centre stage. He picks up the fish and starts to eat without even asking the price. When Pili asks him why, he offers her a kiss and says he cannot buy fish without tasting them first. He asks Pili to pack two more fish for him, which she does. He picks the fish up and leaves without paying. When Pili asks for the money, the drunkard tells her to collect her money from his house. Pili refuses and starts to cry again.

As she is crying, Mama Pili enters and wants Pili to give her the money she has collected after selling some fish so that she can buy other things with which to prepare dinner. However Pili has not collected any money yet. She tells her mother about the incident with the drunkard, and her mother insists that she should go with the drunkard to his house in order to collect the money. After Mama Pili's statement, the audience grumbles. Before she leave the stage, Mama Pili emphasises that Pili should not return home without a total of 3000 shillings, and if not she has to devise a means of getting the money. Pili turns to the audience to ask for advice: "What can I do? Help me please".

At this point, Asha Salimu, the performance director starts a dialogue with the audience to get their views about Pili's dilemma. There are some voices from the audience that propose that Pili should go to the drunkard's home to collect the money. To complement the audience murmurs, a man (approx. 20 years old) picks up the microphone and insists that Pili should make sure she gets the money to give to her mother. When Salimu asks how she can get the money, he says, "Pili can get that money from men". His answer makes the audience grumble. Pili responds, "I don't want that advice, I won't go to men". A man (approx. 35 years old) suggests that Pili should express her problem to various community leaders so that they can help. There is a massive clap from the audience to support that advice. Pili wants to know exactly which leaders she may seek advice from. The man mentions local government

leaders, ward leaders (*Viongozi wa Serikali za Mitaa*). Pili argues that it is already late evening, she needs to know exactly what she can do. The man tells her to seek help at the street chairperson's house. After that answer the play continues.

Two male students together with Jamila enter the stage and sit at the desks. Then Mwalimu Kipenyo enters. She returns the exercise books without saying a word. At the same time we see Pili running to class. On her way, she meets Peter and his other friend. They discourage her from going to school. Pili insists she wants to learn mathematics and/or English. They both laugh at her telling her that neither her father nor her mother is an accountant or can speak English. So even when she finishes school she cannot get a job because none of her family members is working as an accountant. Even her parents cannot speak English so it will be useless. Pili changes her statement and says she will learn Kiswahili instead. Peter and his friend both break into laughter, commenting on her beauty and her ability to speak perfect Kiswahili. Peter's friend adds that, "people from *magasa* (village) are the ones to learn Kiswahili". Peter and his friend try to persuade Pili not to go to school and instead go and watch *pilau* (porn movies) and smoke *mjani* (bhang). "If you smoke *mjani*, English and all subjects will flow" says Peter. Pili doesn't know what *pilau* is. As she asks, they tell her it is food for the eyes. They give her some money and ask her to meet them soon after classes. Pili seems happy and convinced. She runs to the class. She is late and Mwalimu Kipenyo chases her away. She also asks her to bring her parents the following day. The class ends and all leave the stage.

Figure 6: Peter and his friend convincing Pili (centre) not to attend classes. Courtesy of Msonge Theatre Art Group[17]

[17] This picture was taken during the performance of the original version of *Zinduka* known as *Mama Pili*

Then Mama Pili enters and sits at the centre of the stage weaving a mat. Then comes Baba Pili, who accuses her of doing nothing apart from sitting and weaving mats the whole day. Pili enters and her parents are surprised to see her return home earlier than normal. Pili lies to them saying that Mwalimu Kipenyo lost her grandfather and all teachers have gone to the burial ceremony. Baba Pili is surprised, "how do schools operate nowadays? How can the whole school close to attend someone's grandfather burial?" Facing the audience, Mama Pili emphasises that, "there are no schools in Tanzania nowadays. Schools were the one which existed in ancient times". Before they conclude their discussion, a student enters with a letter from the school. Pili's parents are shocked to see the student in uniform when Pili said there were no classes going on. Pili seems uncertain and tries to defend herself. Before they read the letter they want to know if Pili went to school that day. Pili emphasises that she went to school. Mama Pili argues, "perhaps this letter is about school contributions, because the schools of today are full of contributions".

Figure 7: Scene from Zinduka by Msonge. Courtesy of Msonge Theatre Art Group

After Pili's father has read the letter, he realises the teacher wants to see Pili's parents the following day at 10am. Baba Pili refuses to go and asks Mama Pili to go with her daughter, as a man is only responsible for boys not girls. "I can't waste my time for things which have no benefit", Baba Pili concludes. On the other hand, Mama Pili asks Baba Pili to go to school with Pili because the next morning she has to go to the ferry (fish market) to buy fish for her small business. Baba Pili leaves the stage without reaching an agreement. Mama Pili insists she cannot go to school with Pili, as she has to take care of her fish business. She leaves Pili on the stage alone. Pili again asks advice from the audience. "What can I do? Help me please,

my parents don't want to go with me to school, the teacher doesn't want to see me. Please, what can I do?"

A girl (approx. 6 years old) says, "you shouldn't go to school alone". A woman (approx. 25 years old) adds, "You should go to school. Tell your teachers that your parents have refused to come to school. The teacher will know how to help you. But you must go to school". Pili responds, "I'm afraid of Mwalimu Kipenyo". Asha Salimu gives a microphone to a woman (approx. 35 years old) who says, "I advise her to go to the top leaders and tell them". After these suggestions, the play continues.

Mwalimu Kipenyo enters the stage. Children from the crowd mock her, shouting Mwalimu Kipenyo...Mwalimu Kipenyo. Later Pili enters with another woman who pretends to be her mother. This becomes a dramatic irony, as the audience knows she is not Pili's mother. Mwalimu Kipenyo allows Pili to go to the class while she talks to her 'mother'. Mwalimu Kipenyo asks her some questions and she is surprised that as Pili's mother she doesn't know which class, school or even the exact name of her daughter. This comes as a result of the so-called Mama Pili referring to Pili as Wakati. After a few minutes of exchanging words, the so-called Mama Pili reveals that she is not the real mother but a sister to Mama Pili. Mwalimu Kipenyo emphasises that she can only talk to Pili's parents and nobody else. Mwalimu Kipenyo (in soliloquy facing the audience), "I'm surprised, Pili is in standard seven, nearly at her final exams and her parents don't care about the education of their daughter!" She leaves the stage annoyed.

Three students enter followed by Pili and later Peter. They sit at the desks. Mwalimu Kipenyo enters with examination papers. She insists that the students try hard to pass their examinations so that their school can be among the top schools in their ward. While others are writing their examination, Pili and Peter are busy reminding each other about the previous day's *pilau*. Before they realise, they are caught by Mwalimu Kipenyo, who accuses them of drawing *matusi* (porn) pictures. Peter accuses Mwalimu Kipenyo for humiliating him because she wanted to have a relationship with him and he refused. Mwalimu Kipenyo becomes more furious and vows to refer the case to the head of the school. After Mwalimu Kipenyo has left, other students accuse Peter and Pili of spoiling the class, but Peter and Pili don't care to listen to the accusations perhaps because they did consume marijuana before. After all male students have left the class, Jamila faces Pili to express her feelings that Pili's behaviour has drastically changed. Pili refers to Jamila as *mshamba* (villager), because she refused to go

with her to watch *pilau*. Even her dress signifies her village attitude. They both leave the stage unsatisfied with each other's behaviour.

Baba Pili, Mama Pili, other students and their parents enter. The standard seven examination results are out and they are looking to see if Pili and other students have passed their examinations. Baba Pili is shocked to see that of all the students, more than 2000 who did their exams, only five of them have passed. Baba Pili and Mama Pili accuse the teachers of not teaching well and just demanding salary increases every now and then. While the commotion on stage continues, Asha Salum enters the stage again using one microphone and holding another in her left hand, and asks the audience, "What happened? What is this commotion for? What has brought all this mess?"

Figure 8: The last tableau of all actors on the stage, arguing about poor examination results. Courtesy of Msonge Theatre Art Group

A man (approx. 45 years old) answers, "there was no good teaching [...] which has made children to fail". Salimu responds "from seeing the play, who is to blame?" A man (approx. 35 years old) states "if parents could collaborate with teachers, students could have passed their exams. Parents are to blame". Baba Pili argues that he is not to blame because as people saw he could not go to the school because girls' issues have to be dealt with by women and not men. A man (approx. 65 years old) replies, "both parents are responsible for taking care of the girls". But Baba Pili claims "girls will be married and boys are the ones who will stay at home and inherit. How do you raise up your children my fellow parent?" The 65 year old man continues, "that's patriarchy system and it has made the situation worse by eliminating girls". The audience clap after he finishes his statement. The 35 year old man comments again, "father should take care of the girl child from birth up to marriage". A boy (approx. 6

years old) raises his hand and he is given a microphone, “I think it could be wise for both parents to go [to school]”.

Salimu asks the audience, “are the parents you have seen in the play, common here in Vingunguti?” The audience replies in unison, “yes they are, a lot!” The six year old boy continues, “mother [to mean Mama Pili], why didn’t you insist to go together with your husband to school?” In responding, Mama Pili says, “I couldn’t because I had to go to ferry”. A man (approx. 35 years old), “it could be wise not to go to ferry and go to school instead [...] you are the one who has caused the whole mess”. Salimu intervenes and asks, “what can you tell women here in Vingunguti with Mama Pili’s behaviour?” A woman (approx. 30 years old), “women with Mama Pili’s behaviour should avoid such behaviour, take care of their children and make sure they go to school [when required]”. A man (approx. 50 years old) argues, “the problem is caused not only by parents but also with teachers like Mwalimu Kipenyo [...] they are not good for us. She did not listen to the child’s problem instead; she chased her [Pili] out to water flowers [as punishment]. At the end, she ended up in *majani* [smoking bhang]”. Another man (approx. 40 years old) adds “teachers like Kipenyo are all over Dar es Salaam and Tanzania. Teachers should take care of the students [...] teachers have to adjust students behaviours and not students adjust teachers behaviours”.

Figure 9: Audience member participating in the discussion. Courtesy of Msonge Theatre Art Group[18]

Then a short question and answer session continues, lead by Salimu. Facing the audience:

[18] This picture was taken during the performance of the original version of *Zinduka* known as *Mama Pili*

Salimu:	If students don't go to the classes where do they go?
A boy (approx. 6 years):	Chimbo.
Salimu:	Where is Chimbo?
A boy (approx. 10 years):	Relini
Voice from the audience:	Msimbazi
Woman (approx. 35 years):	Chaka
Salimu:	Where is chaka, chimbo, relini, msimbazi?
The approx. 10 years boy:	Smoking bhang (applause from the audience)
Salimu:	Where do they go to watch *pilau*?
Audience:	TV
Asha:	Day or night?
Audience:	Night
Man (approx. 45 years):	(annoyed) they go to watch X movies in video parlours here in Vingunguti. Many video parlours show X videos.
Salimu:	(calling out) the Chairperson of the Local Government, are you there? Do you hear? (Applause from the audience)
Man (approx. 45 years):	Yes, I'm there (smiling).

After a debate on where and when people watch *pilau*, the audience mentioned Sancho as a person and place where people go to watch *pilau*. A man (approx. 30 years old) responds, "If I have a screen and a player, why shouldn't I show videos? There are no other employment opportunities in Tanzania, why not to show them if they can pay 50 shillings?" A man (approx. 40 years old) responds politely, "I do agree that [showing videos] is employment. But one should not look for money through dubious ways. The law states clearly that X films should not be shown to under 18 years children whether s/he has a uniform or not". Salimu repeats the question about whether they are shown during the day or at night. Again there are mixed answers from the audience on whether they are shown during the day or at night. A woman (approx. 30 years old) concludes the debate, "they are shown in the day".

Salimu then invites the Chairperson of the Local Government to speak. He starts by thanking Msonge and others for the initiative. He emphasizes that people should follow the law regarding showing X movies. He reminds people that the government has banned such activities. He promises to put a patrol team in place to monitor those who will disobey the law. "If you are found safari [to mean you'll be sent to police to explain]. Even if it is employment, it should follow the law. We'll send paparazzi, you won't notice them. If you are found you should not blame *mwenyekiti wa serikali za mitaa* [the chairperson of the local government]".

Salimu takes the microphone to conclude the performance session. She also thanks the parents and the local government chairperson for their co-operation. She adds:

> This was a *research based* play to know why students fail their primary examinations in Vingunguti ward. This play was initially sponsored by Plan International and performed in all Plan International schools [under project]. Teachers discussed it and it was seen important to take it to all Vingunguti streets. TzTC sponsored it to be performed in all streets [the emphasis is mine].

6.2 Theatre and NGOs

The use of theatre by donors and international/non-governmental organizations (I/NGOs) is not a new phenomenon in Tanzania, just as all over the world. After the imposition of neoliberal policies through SAPs in the 1980s, donors started to give money directly to NGOs. Donors (alias development partners) believed NGOs were more effective than the state in delivering development. All crucial development responsibilities were taken away from the state and handed over to the private sector and NGOs. State powers were narrowed to policy creation rather than policy execution.

> Meanwhile, by early 1980s, a parallel development was taking place in the form of emergence of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). This fed off on the collapse of social provisioning and the donor restructuring of aid, which supported regional development plans (as "local level" development) in the 1970s. With donor support increasingly directed to districts, and the existence of a middle class within districts who was connected to those in other urban areas, the result initially was the emergence of NGOs, famously known as District Development Trusts (DDTs), funded by the middle classes and donors, working in the area of establishing schools and health facilities. The emergence of these – besides the consolidation of entrepreneurial roles, also strengthened the link between business and politics. NGOs basically worked through the district council, which had been reintroduced in 1984 and were mainly dominated by business[people] and retired and retrenched civil servants and parastatal workers. Alongside this development, was the marked presence of donors in community development departments (Chachage & Chachage, 2003, p. 6).

Furthermore, the IMF and World Bank argued that NGOs were more effective, efficient, transparent and democratic than most states in fostering development. This became the direct relationship and partnership between donors and NGOs. As Cerny (2008, pp. 38-39) states, as pressure from major international economic institutions (the IMF and World Bank) increased on the praise of NGOs, it made the NGOs to be seen as the "fifth dimension of the embedded neoliberal consensus".

> These NGOs were developmental oriented, mainly filling the gap created by [...] 'the withdrawal of the state'. These organizations were close to the state and even, not accountable to a defined membership or constituency, and rather than assisting people through sponsorship or subsidies, they were more onto building schools or health facilities, whose general character was that of private social provisioning. They had become partners with the government, which by then was already involved in the process of privatization of social provisioning, by implementation of SAPs. They had emerged because donor policies had changed from financing the government directly in "development projects", to financing NGOs, which were thought to be less corrupt than the government, and more accountable to the donors. With sponsorship, even faith based organizations [FBOs], hitherto known as religious organizations, suddenly became NGOs! (Chachage & Chachage, 2003, p. 6).

The marriage between I/NGOs and the state is always unpredictable, especially when I/NGOs interfere in the state or ruling party's power and politics. Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman

(2007, p. 23) warn about this conservative perception of NGOs as the solution to social problems which have been created by neoliberalism. They argue:

> Much research, as well as the existing realities in Africa, suggests that local government and civil society are arenas where power can be abused as easy as at a national level […]. Yet donors rely on and expect civil society to play a definite role in providing accountability mechanism for governments through, for example, budget tracking and publicizing the misuse of donor funds, despite evidence that in many countries the state curtails the arena for such work and that the larger conflicts in political society are reproduced in civil society (Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, 2007, p. 23).

So by connecting Chachage & Chachage (2003, p. 6) and Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman (2007, p. 23), it is clear that even the production (*Zinduka*) which Msonge produced, has to be challenged. In addition to Msonge being supported by Plan International, which is an International NGO, *Zinduka* was also supported by the Tanzania Theatre Centre (TzTC). The TzTC was established in 1996 as a hub for professional training for artists who did not have the opportunity to gain theatre education from a university or college. Later the TzTC was registered as an artistic institution with the National Art Council (BASATA) and as an NGO with the Ministry of Home Affairs in 1997 (Masimbi, 2008).

From the praises from neoliberal institutions, the correlation between theatre and NGOs became clear especially in the execution of NGOs missions, visions and objectives. This is caused by what has been described as the major characteristic of arts, being a 'hidden persuader' (Ogunleye, 2001, p. 68). Epskamp (2006, p. 109) shows that:

> The arts are a major form of human communication and expression. Individuals and groups apply them to explore, express and communicate ideas, feelings and experiences. Artistic works can inform, teach, persuade and provoke thought. They can reproduce and reinforce existing ideas and values, challenge them, or offer new ways of thinking and feeling. They can confirm existing values and practices, and they can bring about change. As a result, the arts play an important role in shaping peoples understanding of themselves as individuals and members of the society, as well as their understanding of the world in which they live (Epskamp K. , 2006, p. 109).

In carrying out such activity, external funding has been one of the ways to sustain theatre, actors and groups in Tanzania. Such financial support is not geared towards creativity and the aesthetics of the art but rather to the fact of theatre propagating suggested ideologies, i.e. to communicate the message which must be given.

Support for performances such as *Zinduka* has to conform to the I/NGOs' activities, which abide the donor's policies. This can be dangerous to theatre, although on the other hand donors sustain theatre when the state cannot. Apart from theatre being used for political propaganda for the nationalist movement, it is now turned into a social propaganda. Even though funding is essential for the growth and sustainability of theatre, donors have confined

it to a medium of communication for their agendas. It is apparently difficult to distinguish between the artists' or audience motives and those of I/NGOs. Looking at the central theme of performances such as *Zinduka* – the importance of education – it is clear that that is the I/NGO's (as representatives of the donors) agenda. It is difficult for the theatre group to choose a theme of its own, as it must correlate to the instructions given by the funder. This approach makes it difficult to distinguish I/NGOs acts from those of imperialists. Kwesi Akpabala (in Gibbs 1999, p. 125) shows how imperialists "use theatre as a neo colonization method". The problematic issue here is how donors are adamant in using theatre only as a tool for development.

Clearly, in current theatre practice, instrumental theatre such as Theatre for Development (TfD) or Theatre in Development (TiD), which aims at social change, has an upper hand, as non-instrumental theatre occupies no space in the world of donors and NGOs. However, it is important to say that both instrumental and non-instrumental theatres depend on and provide nourishment for each other. They all use bodies on the stage as key to the achievement of the performance. These bodies which sometimes present various emotions in instrumental theatre are not different from non instrumental theatre. This implies that the emotional and psychological satisfaction of the presented bodies on the stage is the coherent binary bond that exists between the two.

6.3 Zinduka Analysis

Zinduka is a tragedy 'of its kind'. Aristotle in Schechner (1977, p. 5) defines tragedy as "the imitation of an action that is serious, complete and of a certain magnitude". This definition shows that the story within the tragedy is not amendable as it is already pre determined. In addition, Etherton (1982, p. 21) defines tragedy as those plays in which the character is affected by a death of disgrace. To some extent, the consequences or misfortune the character suffers, is a result of the character's personal actions. The pain of misfortune is emotionally presented, showing fear and pity, for the audience to be spiritually purged or cleansed (Crow, 1983, p. 12).

Looking at *Zinduka*, it is clear that it represents an example of a certain kind of theatre practice. From the concept, content and context of *Zinduka*, several distinct characteristics can be identified. These characteristics conform to the 'current' way of practicing theatre in Tanzania, especially with international/non-governmental organizations (I/NGOs) which

Nyoni (2008, pp. 170-172) refers to as Theatre in Development (TiD). Nyoni defines Theatre in Development as a theatre practice whereby the concept of development is implanted in the performance. By the mere fact that the community members are not involved in the whole process on producing theatre (like the case of Theatre for Development) is evidently that even if the performance is created out of research, it can only remain Theatre in Development.

Taking for the premise of Theatre in Development (TiD), the analysis of *Zinduka* can be carried out on two levels: as a performance (product) and at the group organizational level (process). Since this analysis is done through the recorded video, it is important to outline the possible advantages, challenges or limitations. The major advantage of analysing such material lies in the fact that it can be replayed in various speeds, which provides a more comprehensive path to look at the performance. One of the main limitations of transferring theatre into a media such as film, is to see it from the camera person or editor's point of view and the producer's ideology. Brook (1968, p. 111) went further to show the difference between theatre and film/cinema. He argues:

> There is only one interesting difference between cinema and the theatre. The cinema flashes on to a screen images from the past. As this is what the mind does to itself, all through life, the cinema seems intimately real [...]. The theatre, on the other hand, always asserts itself in the present. This is what can make it more real than the normal stream of consciousness. This also is what can make it so disturbing (Brook, 1968, p. 111).

Since most of the recording is done in a wide-angle shot, it is easy to treat the appearance of the video as a fair representation of the actual performance, although the actual time of the performance is 'unknown' as editing can eliminate some of the scene transitions.

6.3.1 Characteristics of the I/NGO's Theatre

i. Issue Based on 'Research' Performances

When closing the last session of discussion, Salimu tells the audience that, the performance was based on 'research'. Although this can be seen as the reason to address the issue of education in the Vingunguti ward, it is obviously a top-down approach. It is obviously the audience get to know at the end that the performance was based on the research. Perhaps if they could have known this before, they could have had the opportunity to challenge its presentation. Although Salimu (2008) complains about the unavailability of a paying audience (as we will see later), still the research and the findings were focussed on what to tell the audience, and not what the audience would like to see/hear. The research was on the problems of Vingunguti community rather than on what would the same community be

interested in watching. So this affirms the fact that I/NGOs use the concept of 'research' to pass on messages which the NGOs believe are important to people. Looking at *Zinduka* as a 'communication for social change', it takes the dynamic of a common communication model of sender-receiver dyad (Epskamp K. , 2006, p. 107). This implies that 'education' becomes the message, I/NGOs such as Plan International and TzTC become senders and the audience becomes the receiver. Hence the artists (Msonge) are acting as a 'medium' of such a message.

By using *Zinduka*, it is easy to see how I/NGOs use artists to communicate with the state, again based on 'research'. The structure of the performance and 'participation' of the audience paves a way for such a direct address of the I/NGOs' uncertainty of the state, especially regarding the ruling party Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM). For example, we see how when a member of the audience (a man approx. 35 years old) suggests that Pili consult the local government leaders about her problem, the audience claps massively as if that was the most preferable solution. The same happens when Pili asks the audience to help when her parents refuse to go with her to school, as per Mwalimu Kipenyo's request. Later, a woman (approx. 35 years old) suggests Pili report the issue to the 'top leaders', i.e. local government leaders. After that answer, the play resumes as if that was the proper solution for which they had been waiting.

On the issue of 'public' porn movie screenings, regardless of it being illegal, a man (approx. 30 years old) openly argues that it is the solution to unemployment. The audience members go on to openly mention the name of the person (Sancho) involved in the illegal screening, in front of the local government leaders. However even so, in the post performance discussion, the local government chairperson addresses those who 'will' continue to screen the videos and not those who 'have' screened or 'are' screening them at that time. Obviously the issue of unemployment and failure to implement the 'rule of law' directly shows the weakness of the state and its failure to execute its responsibilities. This is also evidenced when Salimu asks if the chairperson is there and if he is listening to the audience (community members') concerns. This scenario acts as a 'dramatic tool' because both Salimu and the audience knows he is there, sitting in the front row facing the stage.

Furthermore, the amount of money mentioned in the performance, 3000/-Tsh for fish and 50/-Tsh as an entrance fee (approx. 1.5 euro and 0.025 euro respectively) represents the social status of the Vingunguti people being of low income. Apart from being a low-income

place, the audience is also informed of the existence of nepotism in job allocation. This is achieved by the discussion between Peter, Pili and the other friend about which subject Pili should study as a priority. We also see Mama Pili openly accuses the poor education provision, "there are no schools in Tanzania nowadays. Schools were the ones which existed in ancient times" she concludes. Towards the end of the play we also see Baba Pili unsatisfied with the teaching and the examination results of the students, regardless of 'day to day' demands for salary increases by teachers. As in the case of Mlonganzila in Chapter Five, the audience will seldom regard themselves as a part of or responsible for the solution. Most of the time the solutions are pushed towards leaders who represent the state.

Zinduka on the other hand shows how the audience are conversant on or well informed about what is 'accepted' and what is not in their community, perhaps that is why at the end Salimu was comfortable to say *Zinduka* is a research based 'play'. The snapshot of the discussion between Salimu and the audience about where the students spend their time when they dodge classes can be used as evidence for this though it gave out mixed answers and descriptions. These 'unwritten laws' are also highlighted in two other incidences: firstly when Mama Pili suggests that Pili should spend the night in the male neighbour's room when they are chased by Baba Pili, and secondly when she insists Pili go and collect her money from the drunkard's home. In both incidents, the audience grumbles to signal that that is not the right decision.

Another message that is also communicated, is to do with gender relations and responsibilities. We see Baba Pili suggesting that he is only responsible for boys and not girls. However the whole play reflects Pili as the only child, the argued siblings (boys) were neither visible nor mentioned. Even though Baba Pili tries to defend his stance, he is directly criticized by his fellow men, especially the man who is approx. 60 years old, who regards 'patriarchy' as the old system. This process to allow the message to be communicated makes the *Zinduka* performance a piece of propaganda, because the message sent is designed to make the audience perform a certain action. Ogunleye (2001, p. 72) adds that:

> Indeed, propagandist plays must be able to pass across a message and convince their audience of their commitment and sincerity; otherwise, the audience will not be carried along. To this end, then, there is a conscious utilization of content and form to promote the propaganda intent. However, aesthetics considerations are sometimes subsumed under ideological considerations, but the form is basically used to enhance the impact of the ideological content (Ogunleye, 2001, p. 72).

ii. Melodramatic Edutainment

Apart from issue-based drama, to a greater extent the theatre supported by I/NGOs goes to education-entertainment (edutainment) or E-E, which uses the melodrama format. Edutainment or E-E is a communication strategy developed by Everett Rogers and Arvid Sighal in the 1980s. It is a social change mechanism to achieve development. By using entertainment, education is being transferred, "creating favourable attitudes, and changing overt behaviours" (Epskamp K. , 2006, p. 111). According to Sighal & Rogers (2002, p. 117):

> Entertainment-education, defined as the intentional placement of educational content in the entertainment messages, has received increasing attention from communication scholars in recent decades, mainly in the form of evaluation research on the effects of these interventions. Entertainment-education is not a theory of communication, but rather a strategy used to disseminate ideas to bring about behavioural and social change (Sighal & Rogers, 2002, p. 117).

With such edutainment performances, although they can be on different, multifaceted issues, 'education' is the key. This didactical use of theatre reduces its value to a 'medium of communication'. It is obvious that theatre as a cultural simulacrum has its own status, but it does not necessarily communicate or serve as a media type, although it can accommodate other types of media as Dapp (2008, p. 40) points out. Auslander (1999, p. 1) clearly outlines the relationship between theatre and mass media being of rivalry than partnership especially when the issue of cultural economy is concerned. Auslander continues to differentiate theatre as live performance and mediatised performances. He argues:

> An important consequence of thinking about live and mediatised performances as belonging to the same mediatic system is the inscription of live performance within the historical logic of media identified by Marshal McLuhan (1964, p.158): "A new medium is never an addition to an old one, nor does it leave the old one in peace. It never ceases to oppress the older media until it finds new shapes and positions for them" (Auslander, 1999, p. 1).

Looking at the way *Zinduka* has been presented, it is clear that the issue of education as an important path to development has been artistically 'overemphasized', starting with all four *ngoma* content, followed by the dialogue and the sequences of events in the performance. This means that the I/NGOs (both TzTC and Plan International), through Msonge artists believe that the audience could only understand the importance of their children's education by encompassing education in every act. This should not be the case as the audience is not like an 'empty pot' which needs to be fed. Audience has a reasonable level of understanding especially of the issues surrounding their living environment. And this is well demonstrated on how they respond and discuss issues in the inter performance discussions. Although *Zinduka* tries to maintain its position as a thesis play, the *ngoma* (as elaborated earlier) and

some of the actors' soliloquies, make it a typical social propaganda. For example Pili's repetitive question "What can I do? Help me please, my parents don't want to go with me to school, the teacher doesn't want to see me. Please, what can I do?" This approach forces the audience not only to propose a solution but also to pave a way for action to solve her problem.

The choice of melodrama as a genre to push the education agenda came out of various research projects which prove edutainment as one of the best approaches towards behavioural change. Villains as antagonists and protagonist characters were used to influence people's behaviours so as to influence them to opt for alternative positive lifestyles through self/collective efficacy and role models. The effectiveness of edutainment/issue-based drama on social change has been widely discussed in the works of various scholars such as Bandura (1995), Bakari & Materego (2008), Lihamba (1985b), Mngereza (2005), Papa, et al. (2000), among others. The critics of melodrama argue that when music is being used to emphasize emotion it makes the melodrama performance 'sentimental and escapist' (Etherton, 1982, p. 14). As earlier pointed out, *Zinduka* is accompanied by instrumental background music which is a combination of drums and xylophones from the beginning to the end.

iii. Use of Traditional Theatre Forms

In the *Zinduka* performance, Msonge Theatre Arts Group precedes the performance with four different traditional dances (*ngoma*). The history of *ngoma* is not new or peculiar to Msonge performances with I/NGOs. *Ngoma* have been used since time immemorial. We have seen the magnificence of *ngoma* in Chapter Two when it was used during colonialism and in the struggle for independence as a resistance mechanism. In Chapter Three we have seen *ngoma* being used as political propaganda. Chapter Four demonstrates how *ngoma* has been used for commercial purposes, while Chapter Five shows how *ngoma* has been used as a 'tool' for development in the Theatre for Development (TfD) process. Wamba (1991, p. 223) explains the reason behind such transformation. He argues that "[...], crisis forces people to fall back on their 'cultural heritage', reappropriate it – hopefully creatively – to seek for new solutions or ways of posing questions and reconceptualising the problems being confronted; doing so on the basis of what Wole Soyinka calls 'selective evaluation' of fundamental cultural elements" (Wamba Dia Wamba, 1991, p. 223).

The content of the *ngoma* has always been amended to suit a particular occasion. As Semzaba (1983, p. 18) points out, *ngoma,* which were used in the process of building national culture were those that were susceptible to change. The same applies to I/NGO theatre whereby those *ngoma* used are those which can encompass the message, especially in the Kiswahili language. The use of such traditional theatre forms should be taken with caution as both rehearsals and performances themselves keep on changing. For example, we see all four *ngoma* addressing the necessity of education. Generally *Zinduka* as a 'play' portrays a thesis nature of theatre, i.e. it shows a problem and builds up to propose a solution. *Ngoma*, especially the last three, show every characteristic of being propaganda. This means that the songs not only show the problem and propose the solution but importantly they also persuade people/the audience to take action. For example, in the *msewe* dance, we hear from M1 that "Vingunguti residents, it's a responsibility of every parent to take care of the child's education" or "it's your responsibility to inspect clean water here, are we together?". On the same note of propaganda, one can see how the artists praise the state (government), "Hurrah, we congratulate the government", but still during the inter- and post-performance discussion the audience raises several issues which require attention and solutions from the state. The combination of all four *ngoma, sukula* from Ukerewe, *msolopa* from coastal area, *msewe* from Zanzibar and *limpango* from Mbeya can be described a s the outcome of nationalization project. Nationalization went hand in hand with national culture reconstruction discussed in Chapter Three. Holistically they signify the nationalistic aspect of theatre in Tanzania.

Most of the theatre practices in Tanzania and also Africa, are based on 'oral traditions'. Most of the performances are not scripted. By giving financial support, donors or NGOs prefer detailed documentation of the activities, which fit within the logframes (LFAs) of the projects which means the emphasis is not on the theatre but the message of the theatre. It is obvious that this can only be achieved with performances, which emphasise the message. The message then has to tally with the project objectives. At the same time theatre performance has to reflect the mission and vision of the NGO. Hence aesthetics and the whole precedence of nurturing artistic excellence are ignored so as to allow the message to be communicated. That is why even *ngoma* are transposed to suit the key message. Although in most cases the African theatre forms are not separated, as Fiebach (2006, p. 5) shows that the boundaries between African theatre forms are 'fluid and dialogic' in *Zinduka* we see the separation between *ngoma* and a play. This separation can also be mentioned as one of the

characteristics of NGOs theatre which formalizes African theatre aesthetics to remain with 'pure' message.

iv. Free Entry to Performances

Contrary to commercial theatre, I/NGO theatre is characterized by free admission. People are invited to attend the performances using *ngoma* and other announcements. The free entrance is due to a number of reasons. According to Asha Salimu (2008), it is difficult to charge an entry fee for the *Zinduka* type of performance, because the group has been paid by I/NGOs to perform for free. Secondly, the content of the performance – development/education – does not interest many people, as there is not so much entertainment as education. "People can pay for entertainment but not didactics" adds Salimu (2008). From Salimu's argument it is evident that the audience turn out and perhaps participation in *Zinduka* is not is not necessarily because they want to watch *Zinduka*, but it is because they like theatre and since the only available option is deductive theatre, they find themselves inclined to such theatre.

Although most donors do not cover other production costs such as rehearsals, costume, props and set designs, actors are not allowed to collect admission fees to reimburse the uncovered expenses. This idea of free performances has caused damage to both theatre and artists. For theatre, it has created an impression that 'theatre' is for education and perhaps music for entertainment. This is the same attitude which theatre was perceived when it was used as a tool for nationalization in the post independence era. So if a group tries to stage a theatre performance and charge an entry fee, it becomes difficult as the audience attitude has been reshaped to see free edutainment performances as it was for political propaganda.

In terms of theatre artists, performing didactical performances has also made them dependant on donor projects. For artists, this is the only way to survive, as currently there is no government subsidy as there used to be for national arts groups. This approach has also made them less 'popular' when it comes to staging performances with gate fee (as the audience is used to seeing them for free), than other artists, especially those who work in the music, film and television industries (Masimbi, 2008; Mwinyi-Kayoka, 2008; Salimu, 2008; Waziri, 2008).

Knowing the need for having self-generating theatre performances, in 2005, Msonge Theatre Art Group for example, embarked on a self-motivated project to generate income to run their daily activities and minimize over-dependence on donors. The project aimed at collecting an

entry fee from the audience. They prepared short plays and comedies for children. They focused on children as they believed them to be the potential audience. They also wanted to give children an opportunity to see creative performances to kindle their interest in theatre. They organized and performed in CCM-owned halls for an entry fee of 50 shillings (0.025 euros) per child. Unfortunately, they could not continue with their ambition after their first performance. It was observed that children wanted to see the performances but their parents were not ready to pay for them and placed an emphasis on free admission (Salimu, 2008).

Several prominent theatre groups including Parapanda Arts, Mionzi Dance Company, Amani Ensemble and The Lighters, are attempting to build a paying audience but the results are unsatisfactory. People's free admission 'culture' to theatre has been identified as a major cause. For example, from 2000 to 2005, Parapanda embarked on a '*ujenzi wa hadhira'* (audience building) project in the urban areas, especially in Dar es Salaam. This aimed at building a culture not only for audiences to attend theatre but also to contribute/pay an entry fee. The amount charged was relatively low compared to the investment and production costs. For example the audience was expected to pay 500/- and 1,000/- or 2000/- (0.25, 0.50 and 1 euro respectively) per child and adult respectively. Parapanda went further to establish a market department that deals with the marketing of their products (performances and services). Although they continue to receive approximately the same individuals at every performance, Parapanda continues with their strategy (audience building). On the other hand, they continue to write proposals to donors, doing consultancy work especially in the area of Theatre for Development (TfD) and work on commissioned works (education through theatre) with various government ministries, departments and agencies (Mgunga-mwa-Mnyeyelwa, 2009).

The lack of playhouses and private venues means that rehearsals must be conducted in open venues where everyone can easily watch for free. Indubitably, audiences cannot pay entry fees to watch the final piece, as they already know what the play is all about (Salimu, 2008). In Euro-America, rehearsals are kept in seclusion and on set constructions, and strict rules and regulations for documentation (still pictures, video or audio) are enforced. Invited journalists who work as part of the critic jury in a planned media event are invited to a pre-planned event. Provision of both negative and positive commentaries 'uplifts' the performance. Parapanda and The Lighters on the other hand have tried to work according to

this model of seclusion, as they have their own premises for rehearsals situated in Mabibo Relini and Kimara Mwisho (in Dar es Salaam) respectively.

v. Unpredictable Audience

Like any other theatre, I/NGO theatre also focusses mostly on the audience. The target audience comes from a 'low class' socio-economic status. Looking at the cross-section of the audience it comprises of children and women, rather than adults and men respectively, self-employed/entrepreneurs (a euphemistic coinage for jobless) and low-income earners. Such audience excludes middle and high-income earners, especially working class (both formal and informal). This attendance signifies not only the social status but also the economic status of the I/NGO theatre audience. This refers to adult men as providers who do not have time to attend theatre performances. "I cannot waste my time to watch such performance. Nothing new" comments one respondent (Male 47 years, 2008). Indisputably, free performances attract more low-income earners, who take I/NGO theatre as an opportunity to enjoy themselves, have fun and refresh, i.e. it signifies leisure. "It depends on the area but people like performances so much. If you beat the drum they will assemble because it is also free. But if you charge them, they cannot afford. For example in my area [Vingunguti] youth are unemployed; old do not have stable income" adds Salimu (2008). This comment reflects exact the audience targeted by I/NGOs.

vi. 'Open Theatre' Performing Spaces

Although playing space signifies an important element of theatre, it is not necessarily a formal building but rather any space used by actors. Most of the I/NGO theatre is performed in open spaces. These spaces are the ones that are situated in the I/NGO project areas. In this particular *Zinduka* performance, the announcer urges people to use different roads, as the area is an open theatre. Apart from open theatre, I/NGO theatre is also characterised by multiple spaces performances following the target audience. We see *Zinduka* being performed at an open space in Vingunguti but we are informed that the performance has been performed in other places all over the streets of the ward of Vingunguti.

Supposedly, the use of open theatre is a good approach but there are challenges in choosing these areas. Some performing spaces are not sufficient for theatre performances, however as long as there is no entry fee, it serves the purpose. The relationship between audience and performers becomes more 'interactive'. Sometimes, the audience gathers around performers,

to some extent the audience occupies even the performing space and restrains actors from performing effectively. Most of the performances do not use elevated or curved stages so those who are standing need to devise a mechanism to see, probably by standing on the chairs and so on. Staged in an open area, I/NGO theatre specifically addresses anybody who appears, especially low-class earners. Salimu (2008) believes performing in such places devalues theatre and does not attract people who can pay for the performance. "If there were playhouses and performances are well prepared, people would be willing to enter and pay admission fee. Take for example *bongo flava*, *taarab* and live bands, it is a norm to pay sometimes up to 5,000 shillings (approx. 2.5 euros) per show and even more" adds Salimu (2008).

In spite of the message contained, the use of the microphone is also a challenging factor. Microphone use is notably preferred by I/NGOs as they place an emphasis on the audibility of actors. Using either wired or wireless hand-held microphones proves to be both challenging and controversial. In several incidences, protagonist and antagonist have to share the same microphone at the same time. For example, when Pili was exchanging words with Jamila, they were using the same microphone. This also confuses the audience and lowers actors' emotions and the quality of the performance. Actors have to adjust their moods and emotions regularly when exchanging microphones. In some cases microphones fall on the stage and get broken. In *Zinduka* for example, when the drunkard is talking to Pili, he is drinking from the bottle. While the performance continues, the DJ announces that the actor should take care of the microphone and not pour water on it. This seems to be a nuisance to both actors on the stage and the audience, as the announcement comes in the middle of the scene. Perhaps the most emotional fragmenting event is by calling the 'alcohol' which the audience has already perceived, water. This interference perhaps can be analysed as Bertolt Brecht *v-effekt* (alienation/distantiation effect). This implies that, the distraction caused by DJ's announcement can be regarded as emotional blocker so that the audience can perceive *Zinduka* as a 'play' and have time to critically reflect upon instead of being carried emotionally.

vii. Interactive and Participatory Theatre

Odhiambo (2008, p. 20) defines interactive theatre as theatre that brings education, research and performance together, and promotes interaction between actors and the audience in the discussion. It is during this interaction that the audience is invited to participate. For example

with *Zinduka*, it is clear that the performance has to be interactive so as to invite the audience to participate. The aim is to provide space for the audience to ask questions, discuss and opt for solutions. *Zinduka* has three sessions of audience participation on which the director has to brief the audience in advance, so that they can participate. Rehnema in Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman (2007, p. 42) shows that "participation is justified because it expresses not only the will of the majority of the people, but also it is the only way for them to ensure that the important moral, humanitarian, social, cultural and economic objectives of a more humane and effective development can be peacefully attained". Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman (2007, p. 42) directly criticize such model in which participation is implanted. They argue that "such a participatory focus is, by definition, highly contingent, sometimes slow and often unpredictable. Improvements in social conditions, services and skills are core activities around which human development can flourish, but must be accommodated to fit locally defined priorities, timeframes and constraints".

Since the director believes the audience would respond positively, perhaps it could be a different scenario if the audience decides not to participate at all. Even though *Zinduka* pretended not to offer a solution, the trend of the play is to push for a specific solution, especially when Salimu uses the opportunity to directly address the local government chairperson as a key player in providing a solution to the issues raised. Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman (2007, p. 41) show that:

> Many NGOs pride themselves on their support for local participation and their commitment to enabling local beneficiaries to identify development problems, plan interventions and carry out implementation. Most NGOs recognize that a failure to include participation and 'put people first seriously undercuts the effectiveness of projects that attempt to induce and accelerate development'. Information on local needs and conditions, buy-in by elites, officials or other community actors, and local monitoring are among the obvious advantages of including participatory elements in a project (Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, 2007, p. 41).

From this argument, it is clear that participation in the I/NGO performances is not because it is important to the audience. Participation becomes important because of the praise that the I/NGO receives for their project being 'participatory'.

viii. Improvisation

Most of the I/NGO theatre performances depend on improvisation rather than non-extempore (with preparation). This kind of theatre is created by looking at the I/NGO's demands and incorporating them, which is what Msonge has done, especially in the *ngoma*. One of the important element of improvisation is impromptu and flexibility. The extemporaneous nature

of this edutainment is in most cases done in such a way that it maintains 'impermanence' and 'change', as Lihamba (1985b, p. 36) argues. Furthermore she says:

> Improvisation in theatre, however, does not work where the performers do not understand their medium, their material and their audience. Improvisation becomes effective because it forces the performers to be creative within the framework of the content and form. It is a technique which creates its own rules for the creative performer, opening up vast possibilities (Lihamba, 1985b, p. 36).

Msonge, in their presentation of *Zinduka*, manage to effectively use improvisation. The performance seems structured as a non-improvised performance. There are many reasons for these outcomes. First, *Zinduka* has been re-performed several times and in various places. The 'original' *Zinduka* was called *Mama Pili,* when Msonge received money from Plan International and it was changed to *Zinduka* when the Tanzania Theatre Centre (TzTC) sponsored it. Secondly, perhaps it is the effect the director has on the group as a 'trained' artist. This means that she deploys 'professional' methods and characteristics of producing a theatre performance. This is demonstrated in the *ngoma,* whereby dancers in most cases maintained straight lines, facing the audience, whereas in the traditional version this was not emphasized.

ix. Use of Kiswahili Language

Zinduka performance uses Kiswahili language throughout. Ngugi (2006, p. 13) argues that, "language, any language, has a dual character; it is both a means of communication and a carrier of culture". Even the traditional dances, *sukula*, *limpango* and so on, have been transposed into Kiswahili carrying the education message. It is widely known that apart from Kiswahili being a national language, most people in Tanzania can fluently communicate in this language. As described in Chapter Three, this language has been the language of theatre and theatre has contributed to its growth and vice versa. So even I/NGOs have to directly support theatre that uses the 'common' language, in order to communicate their messages. But still if one is not conversant with the 'local' community, it is difficult to get the underlying meaning (codes) of the words or phrases. For example the word *magasa* is a slang word meaning village, rural or bush area. There is a situation when Pili asks Peter what *pilau* is and he just replies, "food for the eyes". This is the opposite to the real meaning of *pilau,* which is a form of rice cooked with various spices. Etherton (1982, p. 41) further argues that sometimes it is difficult for an outsider to have the same coding as that of the insider. The reason is the fact that some performances have been established earlier (prior to actual performance) and what is seen on the stage is sometimes the continuation.

x. Amateur/ Conventional Actors and Stereotype Characters

Apart from the way I/NGO theatre has been presented, the actors who are used as a 'medium' are also worth analysis. Actors represent the second major group of donor theatre stakeholders after the audience. The majority of the actors involved in I/NGO theatre are amateur or conventional actors. Msonge is similar in this respect, although the director has been trained in several art institutions, including TaSUBa (former Bagamoyo College of Arts) and the University of Dar es Salaam. The majority of the artists are not 'formally' trained but regarded as 'talented'. There is a difference between current 'talent' and pre-colonial talent, which was based on enhancement to create 'outstanding' thespians. Salimu argues that:

> Everyone wants to do acting. Some do not have skills and bad enough no investment is done to make their acting perfect. Our performances are locally made which make us disrespected and people are not ready to pay for a poor performance. Take an example of *taarab* or live band. There are investments done in terms of equipment, costume, advertisement and marketing. Failure to invest in theatre is what makes it to look cheap or free art (Salimu, 2008).

In most cases, trained actors prefer to be 'directors', while working with amateur or conventional actors. To a larger extent the use of 'formally trained' performers in community/interactive theatre was 'abandoned' when 'theatre to the people' and 'theatre with people' models were replaced by 'people's theatre' (TfD) as described in Chapter Five.

There are two levels of recruitment for artists/groups to work with I/NGOs. There is the possibility of using artists/groups from the community in which the project is being carried out or of using external actors/groups. Msonge is a combination of the two. The group itself is situated in Vingunguti and it has artists who come from other parts of Dar es Salaam. What is important is how the artists/group fits within the I/NGO's budget. Supposedly, the cheaper the artist/group, the 'better' for the project and the project owners. Some I/NGOs who commission works, exclude professional and trained actors, as it is said that they are aware of their rights and ask for more or higher payment as compared to others. As Nyoni (2008, p. 174) shows, there is an existing competition for donors' money amongst artists on various levels.

Generally the I/NGO theatre is not interested in improving actors' skills, rather the focus is on how the 'verbal' message has been conveyed. On the other hand it is difficult to discuss the ideological viewpoint of the director because his/her ideology is overridden by the I/NGO's project objectives and output and the actors have to conform to these. It is also

difficult to describe the acting style in I/NGO theatre because of its ephemeral nature. However, the so-called professional actors usually try to strike a balance between 'classical' and 'contemporary' ways of acting, though sometimes it doesn't work because of the nature of the performing space, and the target audience.

The other characteristic of I/NGO theatre in relation to actors has to do with characterisation. To a greater extent, the characterisation is stereotypical or what Kerr (1995, p. 152) and Krings (2004, p. 165) have referred to as stock characters. The stock characters in performing arts, are depicted in such a way that the audience is able to recognise them (Krings, 2004, p. 165). For example, in *Zinduka* we see men as oppressive and physically violent (Baba Pili), and women as subservient or compromising 'gender violence' towards fellow women (Mama Pili and Pili relationship). The other challenge of such I/NGO performances is the lack of names for main characters. In *Zinduka*, we also get to know the names of characters very late on, if at all. For example, it was during the last discussion when Salimu referred to Baba Pili as Mzee Macho. Throughout the play, he has been referred to as Baba Pili. Since the aim of donor or I/NGO theatre is to communicate information through characterization, the use of stereotypical characters becomes useful as it renders the communication easier.

xi. Advertising Tool

As stated earlier, the essence of I/NGO theatre has to conform to the demands of the one who provides the financial assistance, the 'payer and the piper' relationship. At the same time the theatre performances act as an advertisement tool for donors and I/NGO (mission, visions and goals). This is communicated through various means, such as character dialogues, scenery, costumes and so on. Donors or I/NGOs use different mechanisms to advertise their products. For example in *Zinduka* we see the banner showing the collaboration between Msonge and the Tanzania Theatre Center (TzTC). We also see not only the TzTC representative appearing to advertise TzTC but also Salimu takes the same opportunity to remind the audience of the initial idea of the play and how they worked with Plan International. This concept of using theatre performances as a place for donors or I/NGOs to advertise themselves is similar to the way corporate companies such as banks, breweries, telecommunication, tobacco and mining companies use theatre to advertise their products. In some performances, fliers are distributed followed by questionnaires so that the audience evaluates the performance message. This is one of the major differences between Theatre for

Development (TfD) discussed in Chapter Five and donor or I/NGO theatre which is basically Theatre in Development (TiD).

Costumes do not play an important role in donor theatre. Actors can wear whatever they can afford to get at that particular time. In some cases, donors prefer actors to use promotional materials with donors' logos and/or countries of origin flags printed on t-shirts or caps. Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman (2007, p. 41) show how in Uganda donors use promotional stands to show that the project is 'theirs', implemented by a subcontractor (INGO in Uganda). This implies that apart from the project being participatory and people-based, all decisions must have the 'blessings' of the donor before implementation and this is the alleged 'participatory and peoples' centred' theatre of development. For I/NGOs, theatre is used mainly for demonstration. Since the demonstration uses speech, props and make-up are considered less as part of the performance. This is different from pre-colonial theatre, whereby both props and make-up were used with skill.

6.3.2 Characteristics of I/NGO Theatre Groups

After seeing the features of I/NGO theatre, it is important now to examine the characteristics of the theatre groups involved in this kind of performance to compliment the process in which donor or I/NGO theatre is produced. The characteristics of theatre groups not only suit Msonge and their *Zinduka* performance but somehow they are reflected in other groups visited in 2008 such as Mapinduzi Culture Group and Dira Theatre Group from Morogoro. Vijana Cultural Movement and Singida One Theatre (SOT) from Singida. Hisia Cultural Group from Iringa, Angeninge Theatre Group from Tanga and Ufukoni Sanaa Group from Mtwara.

i. Donor Focused Establishment

The establishment of some groups targets specific donor or I/NGO requirements. According to Salimu, she established Msonge Theatre Arts Group in 2003 after graduating with a diploma from the former Bagamoyo College of Arts, currently the Institute of Arts and Culture, Bagamoyo (TaSUBa). Although initial demand came from her former Vingunguti Primary School students who wanted to enhance their artistic skills, the financial support was targeted towards the donor who was in Vingunguti at the time of establishment. "We had an idea, but still the idea was donor focused. We targeted Plan [International] who was there"

adds Salimu (2008). This is clearly reflected in the evolution of the *Mama Pili* performance through to *Zinduka,* which continues to target donors rather than the audience.

ii. Donor Driven Activities

Looking at various activities embedded in the theatre groups, it is clear that these groups are powerless over the direction they might take. The group can change its activities to suit donor or I/NGO requirements. In the *Zinduka* case, we see initially the play was known as *Mama Pili*. This was the time when Plan International gave financial support to Msonge. When they went to seek financial support from TzTC the play's title was changed to *Zinduka*. There are various issues here to take into consideration; perhaps the changing of the name would make the play appear new and different to both the donors and the audience. However according to Salimu (2008), the changing of the name from *Mama Pili* to *Zinduka* was self-motivated.

Chapter Five has shown how some groups have been created to access foreign aid and cater to donor requirements. Such groups are what Nyoni (2008, p. 175) describes as *pono* (torpid) groups. Nyoni deploys this term to mean the state of torpid fish. This kind of fish is said to be in a torpid state throughout unless there is an external force to move it. This means, if water pushes it to the beach, it will stay there until the water returns and pushes it back. Most of the so-called torpid groups come into existence when there is an advertisement of foreign aid or donor support channelled towards theatre. They do not work according to their planned activities (if they have any) but follow I/NGO or donor activities. According to Nyoni (2008, p. 175) these torpid groups have affected other groups that were previously not doing theatre for/in development to become 'torpid'.

iii. Mandatory Registration

According to the National Arts Council (BASATA) establishment Act of 1984, the registration by BASATA is mandatory for all practicing artists and groups. "We were told in order for the group to be recognized, it must be registered and given a registration certificate plus annual working license but we get nothing from this registration" replied Salimu (2008) when asked for the reasons for registering with BASATA. All groups visited in 2008 (except Vijana Cultural Movement and Singida One Theatre (SOT) from Singida), are registered by BASATA and submit their 'constitutions' as mandatory to registration. Moreover, in order to receive financial support from donors, groups must show their registrations from BASATA and Taxpayers Identification Number (TIN) from the Tanzania Revenue Authority (TRA).

Group members argue that donors have set these conditions as part of 'accountability', whatever that might mean (Hussein, 2008; Matola, 2008; Waziri, 2008).

iv. 'Political' Administrative Structure

Most groups have adopted the former national arts groups (NAGs) management format/constitution of having a chairperson, vice-chairperson, secretary, disciplinary person and treasurer. This 'political administrative structure was originally copied from TANU/CCM constitutions. While struggling to reaffirm to their political administration, some groups also suffer from 'founders' syndrome'. This 'disease' has significantly reduced the ability of other members to contribute to the improvement of their group's well-being. Groups such as Msonge, Mapinduzi, Hisia and Ufukoni have clearly shown the necessity of implementing or favouring founders' syndrome. All of the group leaders believe that without their leadership, the groups will collapse. Secondly, as leaders and founders they are keen to protect time investment which they have deployed since the establishment of the group. Moreover, the group leaders are firmly of the opinion that all financial matters must benefit the founders rather than newcomers. From such stand one can argue that since the founders have devoted most of their time in establishing the group, having an upper hand is a matter of justest.

v. NGO Syndrome

When asking theatre groups what their future prospects are, all of them are keen to transform themselves into NGOs. Mapinduzi, for example changed their name and status to Mapinduzi Theatre Trust in 2008. They have also acquired a new office for the NGO. Also Msonge and Angeninge are in the process of transforming themselves into NGOs. This can be seen as a positive change in theatre. The danger has always been the role of NGOs and their funding, which always include donor's policies. Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman (2007, pp. 38-39) indicate that:

> The reality of donor power and the urgent of local NGOs to access scarce funding means that most people at every level have an interest in buying into the dominant paradigm of how to manage development in 'aidland'. [..] The current ahistorical and apolitical, universal approaches to planning and accounting for aid in contexts of poverty that are hugely diverse. While this standardization makes little sense in a differentiated world, the way power and funding work together mean, [...] that it is in everyone's interests to subscribe to the accepted way of doing development work. Attention to politics and power would require challenging the norms, and development practitioners would have to broaden their repertoire of skills and approaches. The reality is that 'development management is inherently political and requires the diagnosis of political context and organizational politics is more than techniques' but the tools attempt to ignore that, iron out complexity and create a sense that universally

> applied approaches can bring the solutions needed if everyone works to the dominant agenda (Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, 2007, pp. 38-39).

Perhaps, moving from group status to NGO status would be more appropriate if these groups were focusing on enhancing theatre production. Otherwise they might end up like what Akpabala (in Gibbs 1999, p. 125) describes as imperialists "use [of] theatre as a neo colonization method". Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman (2007, p. 27) warn of the glorification of NGOs. They contend that, "although many NGOs continue to have misgivings about the nature of globalization and the spread of IMF and World Bank economic paradigms around the world, they often find themselves distanced from the new social movements".

6.4 State's Political Propaganda versus Donors' Social Propaganda

According to Ogunleye (2001, p. 68), "propaganda [...] is not a mere attempt to spread an ideology. It implies a systematic and organised modus operandi, a planned operation with definite sets of goals. The ultimate goal is to persuade the target audience to think or act in a specified way". This implies that 'theatricality as a medium' is used as a propaganda tool due to its ability to persuade the target audience. Apart from 'new media', theatre remains as the 'oldest hidden persuader' because it uses both audio and visual elements which are presented live on the stage by the use of actors' bodies and/or props. Both Chapters Three and Four explicitly describe the scenario where theatre is used as political and economic propaganda. Using two dances performed by Msonge in the *Zinduka* performance, i.e. *msolopa* and *msewe*, it is evident that there is a correlation between the political and economic propagandas.

In implementing the Arusha Declaration and *ujamaa*, Muungano Cultural Troupe produced the following *msolopa:*

Ndugu Nyerere baba	Comrade Nyerere father
Nyerere baba	Nyerere father
Tusidi kuendeleza	Let us continue to develop
Vijiji vya ujamaa	*Ujamaa* villages
Wazururaji mjini	The loiters in town
Warudi vijijini	Should go back to the villages
Ili tuendeleze	So that we can develop
Vijiji vya ujamaa	*Ujamaa* villages

(Lange, 1995, p. 42)

Looking at the Msonge version of *msolopa* which dwells greatly on education and Muungano's version which addresses the issue of *ujamaa* villages, it is evident that there is a direct relation between the two. The key messages i.e. *ujamaa* villages (the loiters in town should go back to the villages) versus education (all residents of Vingunguti are urged to take care of children) have been presented and concluded in a propagandistic manner i.e. calling or urging for implementation.

Furthermore, similar comparison can also be inscribed from the National Service version of the *msewe* versus Msonge version.

Taifaa aa taifa aaa	Nation oh nation oh
Bendera inapepea	Let the flag flutter
Afrika bara letu	Africa is our continent
Mabeberu ang'angania	The imperialists stick to it
Sisi tumeshahamaki	We are already angry
Mabeberu waondoke	Let the imperialist leave
Walihame bara letu	Let them move out of our continent
Tutapigana vikali	We shall fiercely fight
Kukomboa Africa	To Liberate Africa
Ni bara letu halali	It is our right
Hatukukopa kwa mtu	We did not borrow it from anyone

(Lange, 1995, p. 44)

The performance of this *msewe* signifies the post-independence period whereas Tanzania under Nyerere was concerned with imperialist expansion in Africa, especially in the drainage of resources. Since the focus has shifted from liberation to liberalization, the focus of the song has also been shifted by Msonge to reflect the propagated global policy. Looking at both dances *msewe* and *msolopa*, it is clear that Lange (1995, p. 141) was not correct to state that *lizombe* is the only informative dance.

From another angle, it is important to note that in the play there are some phrases, which although seemingly 'normal', they strategically address the state. For example, when Mama Pili argues that "there are no schools in Tanzania nowadays". She refers to education being better in ancient times, perhaps she refers to the peak of *ujamaa* when the quality of education was said to be better, regardless of it being free, as compared to now when parents have to pay/contribute. This can also be evidenced when she associates the letter from the school with school contributions. Towards the end of the play we also hear both Baba Pili

and Mama Pili accusing teachers/schools of demanding salary increases while the examination results are poor. These three issues – poor quality of education, cost sharing and salary increases for teachers – have been debated for years by teachers and education activists who request major reforms in the education sector in Tanzania. Perhaps *Zinduka* also takes into consideration this ongoing debate and tries to join the 'bandwagon' to send the same message to the state.

6.5 Conclusion

It is important to argue that *Zinduka,* as with many donor or I/NGO theatre performances, has shown the way in which people can address the state through theatre. Analysing the discussion sessions, it is evident that the state has failed to function outside of the global dominant pressure which is passed through the I/NGOs. In such a way, theatre has emerged as central to addressing issues which 'people' think important, though which are actually pre-defined at the 'centre'. Looking at the way I/NGO theatre operates, it is patently obvious that the marketisation of the arts has made theatre not only a commodity but also an advertising and promotion tool for global agendas. This is also verified by looking at the two examples of dances, *msolopa* and *msewe* and how they have managed to promptly correspond to political and social propagandas as and when required. From this observation it is important to address the issue of theatre support from multiple dimensions, however the bottom line remains the issue of dominant neoliberal policies which influence the superstructure of many 'poor' economies.

7. Theatre for [Donor's] Development

> Due to certain historical circumstances, there is a lot that is said about us that is 'really' there. But, even if it is not there, it is coming because of our own making [...]. Surely we don't have to make history work against us.
>
> Chambi Chachage (2009c)

This chapter tries to consolidate various aspects of the interrelation between theatre, communication, donor funding and the need for development. It reflect the main thesis of the study in that, 'who pays the piper calls the tune'. This has both negative and positive impacts on the development of theatre in Tanzania just as elsewhere. The chapter also challenges the way donors fund theatre, especially in the post-independence era. It is clear that the economic crisis of the 1970s led the country to respond to the IMF and World Bank pressure to adopt Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs). The period between 1985 and 2005 became the time of 'everything liberalization', from economy to politics. This liberalization did not take into consideration the effects that SAPs had already had on the social life of people. The proposition of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to replace the state was seen as a more democratic and less authoritative approach to development (Igoe & Kelsall, 2005, p. 2; Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, 2007, p. 28). Most of the supported activities became those that are linked to development or that are in the position to bring about development. Therefore, even theatre that is supported by donors is that which is linked to or addresses 'development'.

This chapter therefore uses a performance known as *Varangati* performed in Pangani, Tanga in 2009 as point of departure. *Varangati* is a slang Kiswahili word used to connote chaos, disorder or havoc. So far, there is no direct equivalent English term to encompass the meaning of this word. The performance is co-ordinated by a non-governmental organization known as UZIKWASA (Alive through Art). UZIKWASA headquarters are in Pangani, Tanga. To facilitate the production of the performance, UZIKWASA receives funding from various institutions such as Oxfam (Ireland) among others (Oxfam, 2009). In most cases, funding institutions have their own objectives, mission and goals to fulfil. Logically it is difficult for an institution to fund activities 'for the sake of it' or which are contrary to their mission. Activities funded should tally with the internal motive of the institution and more importantly, the outcomes should benefit or secure the interest of the funding institution. The aim of this chapter is not to evaluate the authenticity of the funding NGOs or International NGO's mission and vision but rather to examine the crux of the matter, why donors only fund theatre that is associated with development?

7.1 Rukia's Story

Rukia is a girl of thirteen years living in Pangani district in the Tanga region of Tanzania. Rukia's father and aunt decide to marry her off regardless of the fact that she has passed her primary examinations to join secondary school. Rukia's mother resists her husband's mission but in vain. She decides to report the case to the village chairperson. Threatened by Rukia's father and aunt, the village chairperson decides to leave the matter to be sorted out by the family members. In the process Sheikh Ubwabwa is used to sanctify the marriage between Rukia and Side. Side is among the rich village business people, as he owns a small shop. Previously another sheikh refuses to sanctify the marriage as it is illegal. After a few years, Asha (Rukia's friend), who passed her exams at the same time as Rukia but who managed to continue with her secondary education right up to college, returns to the village. As a successful teacher, she visits Rukia. She finds Rukia in a devastating situation, pregnant and with two children. Side is no longer rich, he is a poor farmer, the shop has collapsed due to his mismanagement. The play ends with the tableau of Rukia hugging Asha while crying, accusing her father for what has happened to her life. This is what is considered as *Varangati.*

Varangati's idea was born out of the research conducted by UZIKWASA in 2007/2008. The NGO also selected three key messages of the play, i.e. the role of parents in families, the consequences of early and forced marriages and the role of leaders (both political and religious) in reinforcing various laws and policies pertaining to the welfare of their society. In the process of making the original version of *Varangati,* 28 artists from eight groups were involved. Two theatre teachers from the Institute of Arts and Culture Bagamoyo (TaSUBa) were the main trainers. The aim of using theatre experts is to produce a quality performance using native artists (*wasanii wazawa*). By the use of ethos (characterization) and hamartia (tragic flow) as used by Aristotle in the *Poetics* (Wilson & Goldfarb, 2004, p. 39), *Varangati* is expected to build empathy amongst its audience. Performed by artists from Pangani, *Varangati* is considered by UZIKWASA to be 'Theatre for Development' (TfD).

For years, donors have used theatre as a communication tool for behaviour change that can lead to development. There are many theories about the relationship between communication and behaviour change. Among them is the social learning theory developed by Albert Bandura of Stanford University, which can be regarded as a fundamental theory that links drama/theatre to society (Bandura, 1997a; Bandura, 1997b). According to Bandura, human behaviour can be influenced by the modelling that takes place when people identify with

someone they like and admire. People will therefore strive to imitate that person. Unlike pure entertainment, education-entertainment (edutainment or E-E) is based on the idea of promoting functional learning that relates in some practical way to the lives of audience members (Epskamp K. P., 2006, p. 111). TfD has taken the same approach since its inception, for animation and raising consciousness. The process of incorporating education information in entertainment to enhance people's change of attitude and behaviour has become popular in the 'global' strategies of poverty reduction, HIV/AIDS prevention, family planning, gender equity etc.

Most entertainment-education (edutainment) programs fall under melodrama, which is a kind of drama that became popular in Europe around the 19th century. As elaborated upon in Chapter Six, one of the major characteristics of melodrama is the use of villains and heroes as main characters. Melodrama brings out an ambiguous confrontation between good and evil, "it strives to create as strong an emotional expression as possible on its audience" (Crow, 1983, p. 145). Characterization in melodrama is mostly shallow and stereotypical. The major theme of melodrama is usually based on moral conflict, whereas action and violence are prominent. At the end, the good triumph over the evil (Rogers, et al., 1997, p. 194).

Similar to performances designed for entertainment purposes only, edutainment programs use performing and dramatic arts to engage the audience members. The main purpose is to intervene with the knowledge, attitudes and behaviour of the audience members on a specific issue. This melodrama doctrine that theatre can intervene people's lives and change their behaviours is similar to propaganda. As Ogunleye (2001, p. 73) points out "dogma or creed which forms the crux of propaganda, is usually reflected in the thematic focus of the plays". The use of dramatic art offers creative ways to educate the public, encourage social change and influence positive knowledge and behaviours among targeted populations in many places in the world (Shule, 2004, p. 1). This implies that when theatre is used either for or against people, or whether funded by the state or foreign donors, it will certainly alter their behaviour.

Schininà (2004, p. 27) is sceptical about the underlying factors for donor support and the use of theatre for development purposes. He analyses his experience of working with the United Nations (UN) and NGOs as 'tyrannical'. He argues:

> [...] too often I have had the feeling that my projects only get funding when they are deemed useful of functional for achieving of fitting into some larger, general strategy with which the groups I am

> working must not interfere. Sometimes I assume I am being sent to work on institutional limitations in order to raise awareness and include marginalized people in a democratic dialogue, but once I am in the field, I discover that I was actually sent only to 'calm these people down'. To what extent should functionality be our goal? How are we able to know that our work is serving to change things and not merely being exploited for its strategic 'usefulness'? (Schininà, 2004, p. 27)

Schininà observation shows clearly the magnitude to which money is offered to 'calm people down' through theatre. On the same note, Wamba (1991, p. 224) questions the cultural element introduced by foreign imperialists.

> No distinction has been made between revolutionary aspects of African traditional society and its accommodating and reactionary aspects, so that the foreign imperialist introduced cultural element has been viewed as the key to Development. Have Africans simply survived by the philanthropy of slave traders, colonialists and their soothing ideologies? As capital has not been able to even pay for the reproduction of African cheap/forced labour for centuries, who has been paying for it? How then, have those cultural forms guaranteeing the reproduction of African cheap labour become obstacles to development? The truth is that those forms have been instrumental in reducing cost capital, i.e. increasing the rate of imperial profit (Wamba Dia Wamba, 1991, p. 224).

Wamba's remarks open up an avenue to link donors' and imperialists' behaviours. This shows that donors and imperialists complement each other when it comes to the issue of aid/ support to culture/theatre. This implies that the process of giving aid brings more profit to imperialists than slavery and colonialism. Furthermore Diagne & Ossebi (1996, p. 31) question how people can discuss the development dimension using culture that emerges within the framework of a global market economy (globalization and neo liberalism) and which does not provide any alternatives.

Both Schininà, Wamba and Diagne & Ossebi pose similar arguments, which this chapter tries to address. Actually there is a difference between Theatre for Development (TfD) and Theatre in Development (TiD) as Nyoni (2008, pp. 170-172) shows. With the latter (TiD), a small number of individuals perform in the process of advocating for development instead of people taking the lead in proposing, creating and performing their own theatre. Furthermore, taking people's theatre approach and 'pretending' to empower people on the surface level, while disempowering them subsurface is what Schininà calls a mechanism to "calm these people down". Which means such TfD and its initiative can only be described as Theatre for Donors' Development (TfDD) or social propaganda.

7.2 *Varangati*: A Social Propaganda

This chapter refers to eight different performances of *Varangati* performed by eight different groups in May 2009 (see the summary table below), in various streets and villages of Pangani district. To avoid confusion, the performance will bear the theatre group name. These eight

performances were created after group members watched the 'original' *Varangati* in March 2009. Each group was supposed to reproduce a replica of *Varangati* and perform it before 'theatre teachers' together with UZIKWASA personnel ('a team of experts') for comment and improvement before the final competition scheduled in June 2009. The winning groups were expected to be commissioned to perform in all villages in Pangani after the official launch of the UZIKWASA communication strategy in July. As part of the three yearly communication campaign, the chosen groups have to make sure they perform twice monthly in every village they are commissioned to work on.

	Group	**Division**	**Ward**	**Village**	**Street/Hamlet**
1.	Angeninge Theatre Group	Pangani	Pangani Magharibi	n/a	Pangani Magharibi
2.	Mkwaja Star	Mkwaja	Mkwaja	Mikocheni	Shirikishoni
3.	Onyo Kali	Mwera	Mikunguni	Stahabu	Kambona
4.	Sange Star	Mkwaja	Mkwaja	Sange	Sange Kijijini
5.	Mkalamo Star	Mkwaja	Mkalamo	Mkalamo	Sokoni B
6.	Buyuni Star (Kazabuti)	Mkwaja	Mkwaja	Buyuni	Buyuni Kuu
7.	Atomic Theatre Group	Madanga	Bushiri	Msaraza	Sahanini
8.	Kumekucha Drama Group	Madanga	Madanga	Madanga	Barabarani

Figure 10: Summary of the groups that performed *Varangati*

7.2.1 Plot

In *Varangati* we see the presentation of individuals who are pro early marriage, irresponsible parents and corrupt leaders as the representatives of villains. Those who are against the villains are built as good characters or 'role models'. Good characters are expected to give Pangani people education on how they can best run their lives so as they can develop. We see how Rukia's father (henceforth Baba Rukia) and Rukia's aunt (henceforth Shangazi Rukia) actively participate in physical, psychological and emotional violence towards other good characters such as Rukia, Asha and Rukia's mother (henceforth Mama Rukia).

The return of the successful Asha is the victory of good over evil as it is said, "melodrama makes us feel, and typically we feel sympathy and admiration for the hero or heroine and contempt and fear for the villains" (Crow, 1983, p. 145). *Varangati* can also be categorized as a tragedy, as we see the 'scream' of Rukia, the main character when she ends up in a bad situation. *Varangati* can only be seen as a tragedy (although the main character does not die) because of the last tableau when Asha hugs Rukia. Schechner (1977, p. 5) This describes tragedies stories to be "about broken lives, early death, unfulfilled promises, remorse, maimed ambitions and tricks of fate". The creation of *Varangati* as tragedy was purposely done to give the room for the *manju* (joker) to pick up the discussion with the audience,

starting with the common closed-end question, "what you have seen in the play, does it happen here?" Therefore, it is important to note that the behaviour of edutainment role models and the fates of the characters serve as vicarious learning experiences regarding the realistic consequences of alternative behaviours (Shule, 2004, p. 12).

Varangati play is organized in the 'classical' three acts, i.e. exposition of the conflicts, climax and catastrophe. This classical way of organizing development/issue-based drama is derived from the Bandura model of social learning, whereby one as an audience has to have the chance to see the development of the character's actions so as to identify him/herself in what is referred to as self-efficacy. There is also a collective efficacy, which targets the change of behaviour of a group, i.e. a changed collective point of view (Shule, 2004, pp. 40-41). For example in *Varangati,* Rukia's last words in addressing her father "all this is because of you" (the mistake her father made marrying her off at early age) are expected to create a collective efficacy between men of Baba Rukia's calibre and women such as Shangazi Rukia. In explaining the essence of the storyline/plot in propaganda plays, Ogunleye (2001, p. 75) argues that, "the propagandist should however ensure that his[/her] message is not trivialised, the choice of the entertainment media does not automatically ensure a captive audience. The propaganda play should be able to hold the audience through sheer skill, the generation of a compulsive storyline is an absolute necessity".

In most cases edutainment and other issue-based dramas tend to have titles that reflect the content of the play. The case of *Zinduka* (Wake up) in Chapter Six and its call to 'awake' Vingunguti's ward community is one such example. Other examples are derived from radio plays (funded by United Nations Population Fund-UNFPA) such as *Twende na Wakati* (Let's go with times) and *Ushikwapo Shikamana* (When you are supported, support yourself), which had similar objectives of targeting behaviour change in Tanzania and Kenya respectively (Shule, 2004, pp. 2-5). The title of the performance *Varangati* was derived in consultation with artists who participated in the making of the original play in March 2009, and it is expected to deliver the main concept of the play – the social and political disorder of Pangani people.

7.2.2 Setting

The setting of *Varangati* is in Pangani district, 45 kilometres south of Tanga city. Tanga is among the coastal regions of Tanzania and has seven districts, Pangani being one of them. It

is named after the river (Pangani) that runs directly into the Indian Ocean. The inhabitants of the coastal areas of Tanzania are descendants of people who migrated there from various parts of Africa around the 15th and 16th centuries. These include the Nilotic pastoralists, the Cushitic herders, the Khoisan hunters, ironsmiths, and the Bantu agriculturalists. Therefore, the colonial migration to sisal plantations is considered as the first forced migration in coastal areas such as Pangani. In 1914, fifty-two different ethnic groups were already settled in Pangani. These ethnic groups came with their traditional performances such as the snake dance (*bayeye*) of Wasukuma and Wanyamwezi and the mask dance of Wamakonde. New artistic evolution came out of the German labour policy, which forced people onto sisal plantations. Apart from *beni* (discussed in Chapter Two), there was *robota* dance depicting activities of boiling sisal and *lelemama,* which was popular among women (Lihamba, 2004, pp. 234-235). Currently Pangani, just as Tanga, is predominantly occupied by Wazigua, Wabondei and Wadigo, who are seen as 'natives' and a sizeable population of Wasukuma, Wasangu, Wahehe, Wangoni, Wanyamwezi and other ethnic groups who were moved there during colonialism to work on the sisal plantations.

Apart from sisal plantations, other economic activities of Pangani include fishing and tourism. According to the 2002 Census, Pangani has 44,107 people, of which 22,224 are male and 21,883 are female. Out of the total population, only 6,908 live in an urban area, this is about 15.7% (United Republic of Tanzania, 2009). The pre and post history of Pangani can be seen through the naming of the wards, villages and streets. For example the Bushiri ward, where the Atomic Theatre Group reside is the place where Chifu Abushiri bin Salim was hanged in 1889 in his struggle to protect his empire from foreign occupation and colonisation. Askew (2002, pp. 42-43) also provides more information about colonial retaliation in Pangani. Kambona, the hamlet where the Onyo Kali group reside, is one of the villages created during *ujamaa* 'villagelization'. Oscar Kambona was one of the first cabinet ministers after independence in 1961. The village setting is reflected in the way the houses are arranged, which is partially in a circle with an open space in the middle that acts as a market, a meeting ground and an 'open theatre'.

The time of *Varangati* is 'now', depicting what is happening in the Pangani suburbs where the performance occurs. In general the story of Rukia is not unusual; it is common to some Tanzanian girls. *Varangati* is based on realist presentation, whereby the actors use make-up,

props and costumes that are used in their daily lifestyle. The body presentation of the characters is more real in the sense of acting being 'reality plus one'.

7.2.3 Characters and Characterization

Varangati has three major categories of characters, negative (evil), positive (good) and transitional. As explained earlier, *Varangati* is a melodrama. From the set of characters, those that are evil are supposed to set a bad example for the audience to hate. The good on the other hand have to create a positive image for the audience to learn from and acquire individual or collective efficacy. In describing the outcomes of teledrama propaganda plays, Ogunleye (2001, p. 71) shows that:

> One way of tilting the parade [actions] in favour of the dogma is through portrayals of models and anti models. One of the qualities of television is its ability to provoke imitators of behaviour depicted on screen. This is known as observational learning. The positive models are imbued with good character and although they may be afflicted with diverse problems, they usually end up triumphant; the anti-models, on the other hand, might prosper in their evil ways for some time. They, however, end up with their vices being punished (Ogunleye, 2001, p. 71).

The transitional are those characters that move from being negative to positive. In edutainment it is seldom that transitional characters are characterized in such a way that a positive character turns negative at the end of the play. This is the 'illusion' of the edutainment plays, to resist the 'nature' of having good people who turn out to be bad during their lifetime. The system of avoiding good turning bad is done to avoid not only a regeneration of negative efficacy but also to minimize the Archie Bunker effect (Shule, 2004, pp. 55-56). According to Sherry (in Shule 2004, p. 56), edutainment interventions sometimes bring negative impacts. This happens when some members of the audience identify negative characters as their role models. This situation is known as the Archie Bunker effect. I will further discuss the Archie Bunker effect in the shortcomings of the *Varangati* as a performance.

In order to understand the relationship between character and characterization in *Varangati*, each character and his/her attributes are presented. The following list of the characters is arranged in order of appearance in the performance.

i. Rukia

This is the first character to appear onstage. She is the main protagonist, depicted as a positive character. She is obedient and a model of a good 'traditional' girl in terms of doing

house chores. We see her as a representative of girls who believe in a future career and have dreams of being successful in their lives. She has a good voice for singing and narrating poems. Her costumes – a worn out dress and *khanga* – represent the low class to which she belongs.

ii. Mama Rukia

Rukia's mother is a hardworking and committed wife. We see her carrying a hoe going to farm while condemning her husband (Baba Rukia) for being lazy. She openly tells him to stop going to play *bao* (draughts) at the *maskani* ('jobless corner') where he prefers to go and drink *gahawa* (slang for coffee) is useless. She argues that "men who gather at *maskani* are doing nothing apart from gossiping and discussing women who cross their eyes". Mama Rukia stands as a representative of women who are vulnerable to submission. She understands governing laws and tries to follow them but some laws are subject to corrupt systems in such a way that the situation makes her a victim instead.

iii. Baba Rukia

He is Rukia's father and the main antagonist of the play. In some cases when addressing other people he refers to himself as Mzee Timba. He represents irresponsible and lazy parents. He seems to be 'gender' violent and insensitive. He believes in *uchawi* (witchcraft) and he uses it to antagonize both political and religious leaders when they question his behaviour. For example, he warns Mwenyekiti (the village chairperson) that he will offer him scrotum elephantiasis (*busha*) if he continues to interfere in his mission to marry his daughter Rukia off.

iv. Asha

A friend to Rukia, who is depicted as not as intelligent as Rukia. She grew up in a good caring family, but economically no different from Rukia's family. She believes Rukia is more talented in academic matters and in the art of composing poems. She has a career dream just as Rukia does and she successfully fulfills it.

v. Shangazi Rukia

She is Rukia's aunt and the second antagonist. Physically 'beautiful' as she keeps 'beating her own drum'. She manages to fabricate a lie that Mwenyekiti (the village chairperson) is

having a sexual affair with her sister-in-law (Mama Rukia). This lie alone makes Mama Rukia and Mwenyekiti speechless and powerless respectively. Empowered and an expert in conspiracy, she believes herself to have equal or more power as an aunt in deciding Rukia's destiny. She has a very high tone of voice, which she uses to impose her thoughts. She is fashionable and likes to buy things on credit. The make-up and jewellery she wears represent the class to which she pretends to belong but her speech and acts contradict this and portray her inner character to be poor.

vi. Mbilimbi

He is one of the transitional characters in the play. As a young man he wants to marry Rukia. Later he changes his mind after receiving the news that Rukia has passed her exams to continue with secondary education. After he realizes that he cannot marry Rukia, he demands the refund of money that he gave to Baba Rukia as a 'bribe' when proposing to marry Rukia. He is later portrayed as a model of young men who are caring and respectful of the law and of society.

vii. Side

He is a famous business person in the village. He owns a small shop and rumours go that will soon buy a motorbike. He is a friend to many people in the village, including Shangazi Rukia and Mwenyekiti. Side marries Rukia after corrupting both political and religious leaders. In the process of marrying Rukia, Baba Rukia and Shangazi Rukia force him to pay the cost of the marriage, including the money to refund Mbilimbi. At the end of the play we see him as a bankrupt business person who turns to being a farmer as farming is considered to be the job of the poor. The play portrays him as a villain who is punished 'naturally' for being negative.

viii. Mwenyekiti

He is a controversial, corrupt and selfish village chairperson. He understands the laws and knows how to manoeuvre within his leadership position. He believes in witchcraft but he is afraid of being cursed. He represents a category of state leaders who rule others instead of leading them. For example, he prefers to threaten people with "*ntakutia ndani*", to mean "I'll put you behind bars or in jail", especially if someone challenges his 'unacceptable' behaviour and powers.

ix. Baba Asha and Mama Asha

They are Asha's parents. They represent a good family model of parents who believe in education. They know the laws and follow them accordingly. Baba Asha is a friend of Baba Rukia but with opposite behaviour. He tries to persuade Baba Rukia to change his behaviour but without success.

x. Sheikh

He is a representative of a good religious leader who understands both religious and state laws. He prohibits the marriage between Rukia and Side. Since the system is too corrupt, he is not able to block the marriage either.

xi. Sheikh Ubwabwa

He is a corrupt and selfish religious leader. He understands both religious and state laws but he uses his religious 'knowledge' to manipulate them for his benefit. He sanctifies the marriage after receiving a sum of money from Side, which is paid to him by Shangazi Rukia. The term *ubwabwa* (rice gruel porridge) represents his eagerness for food. This kind of sheikh is 'well equipped' as he travels with all necessary 'tools' for sanctifying marriage in his coat or bag, just in case he finds one to sanctify along the way. The term Sheikh Ubwabwa is not only common in Pangani but also in various parts of Tanzania.

Apart from the Angeninge performance, other versions of *Varangati* have additional characters. These include Rukia's younger brother, Makamba (Rukia's eldest son), Mchumba wa Asha (Asha's fiancé), and Vijana wa Kijiweni (a group of young people) staying at *maskani*. Apart from Rukia, Asha, Mbilimbi, Side and Makamba, all other characters have generic names in Kiswahili, which represent their social position. For example, Mwenyekiti means chairperson, Baba means father, Mama means mother, Shangazi is aunt and Mchumba means either fiancée or fiancé. In such performances (edutainment), it is important for the audience to be able to recognize themselves through the characters of the play. So instead of Baba Rukia being called Mzee Timba, it is easy to call him Baba Rukia perhaps to remind the audience of the responsibilities of being a father in contrast to his behaviour on the stage.

7.2.4 Language

The language used in *Varangati* is 'simple' for Kiswahili speakers to understand. Both the main and supporting characters are provided with an unlimited avenue in the use of language. This ranges from figurative speeches, poetic language, special greetings, similes, satire, symbolism and ironies. There is also a wide range use of proverbs, personification, metaphors, rhetorical questions and imageries. The well-noted figurative speeches are *ntakutia ndani* and *ntakushusha*. In a direct translation, the first means to put someone inside and the latter means to bring someone down. But the way the phrases have been used has a deeper meaning. We see in the play that Mama Rukia brings Mwenyekiti to stop Baba Rukia and Shangazi Rukia from marrying Rukia off. In the heated debate Mwenyekiti argues that if they proceed in marrying Rukia off, he will send Baba Rukia to jail, threatening *ntakutia ndani!* Baba Rukia furiously answers that he will 'offer' him a scrotum elephantiasis *ntakushusha!* instead. Elephantiasis is a common disease in the coastal regions. The disease affects both men (swollen scrotum and legs) and women (swollen legs and breasts in some cases). However, there is a myth that if a man misbehaves or turns immoral, then there are people (like Baba Rukia) who have the power to 'offer' scrotum elephantiasis. Of course, many men fear the disease. The same threat makes Mwenyekiti leave Baba Rukia's house like a 'wounded lion'.

The play's tone is poetic. People in the coastal region have a different Kiswahili tone. The pronunciation is more melodic and in most cases it omits some phoneme such as 'i' in first person singular verbs. For example, the word *ntakutia ndani* and *ntakushusha* should be *ni**i**takutia ndani* and *ni**i**takushusha* respectively. We also hear the poetic way of repeating certain phrases. For example, Mama Rukia when talking to Baba Rukia she keeps on saying *…mume wangu wewe sio wa chai wala wa chakula, mume wangu* and so on. *Mume wangu* means my husband and in most of the sentences she adds this phrase. Somehow it helps the audience to easily identify the relationship between characters on the stage. Shangazi Rukia on the other hand seems to be more poetic. For example when accusing Asha for coming to disturb Rukia she says *imekuwa utenzi, Rukia, mashairi Rukia, nyimbo Rukia!* Here she questions Asha as to why everything, from epic poems to songs has to be done by Rukia. Talking to Rukia, Shangazi Rukia accuses her mother of being anti-social…*mama yako amekuwa si mwanamke wa rusha roho, sio wa vidole juu* (your mother has been anti-social. She does not attend any dance occasion).

In the performance, the greeting *assalamu alaikum* (peace be unto you) and the reply *alaikum assalam* (and upon you be peace) is widely used when characters meet. These are Arabic words and it is not surprising to hear such a greeting in *Varangati,* as the setting of the play (Pangani) historically has an Arabic influence. Currently the greeting is used amongst Kiswahili language speakers to mean the same thing although it is not as popular as it is in the coastal area.

The play uses several similes and they are mostly included in Shangazi Rukia conversations. For example, when she arrives at her brother's house and finds Mama Rukia and Rukia celebrating Rukia's examination results, she becomes furious. She complains, "Baba Rukia you are making this house like a market!" (*Baba Rukia, hii nyumba mnafanya ka soko!*). On the other hand, we see the use of abusive language, especially by Baba Rukia. He abuses Rukia, Mama Rukia and even Mwenyekiti. On several occasions, he utters the word *mshenzi,* which means uncouth or barbarous. It is likely that he uses this to threaten others so that they will be afraid to question his 'uncouth or barbarous' behaviour.

A prominent symbolism in *Varangati* is the use of Sheikh Ubwabwa as compared to the trusted Sheikh. Sheikh Ubwabwa symbolizes those religious leaders who perform religious acts in an unethical manner for economic gain, while the trusted Sheikh symbolizes social and religious righteousness. Furthermore, throughout the play cash, food and clothes are used as forms of bribery. At the beginning of the play, Mbilimbi brings rice from Kyela and a new *kanzu* (a long garment worn by men, predominantly white in colour) from Dubai, to Baba Rukia. Kyela is a district in Mbeya region in Tanzania where it is said that the best rice is grown, while Dubai symbolizes the richness of the Arab world and the centre of 'global' trade in the Middle East. Talking to artists who were involved in the process of creating the original *Varangati,* they argue that by mentioning *kanzu* from Dubai and rice from Kyela it immediately creates an image of the wealthiness of Mbilimbi. The *Kanzu* is also meant to show the religious righteousness and respect in which Mbilimbi holds his future father-in-law. *Varangati* is also full of allegories. By bringing rice, fish and *kanzu*, Mbilimbi signifies that he is a responsible potential son-in-law, wealthy enough and religious. The same happens with Side, whose wealth is defined by the small shop he owns and the rumours that he is going to buy a motorbike.

In the Sange Star performance, Mama Rukia uses satirical expressions to condemn her husband's behaviour. She says, "…*mume wangu wewe si wa chai, si wa chakula*..." If one

translates the sentence directly, it means “my husband you are neither for tea nor for food”. In other words, Mama Rukia is stating directly that her husband is useless. Using satire in this case has a two-fold meaning. Firstly, probably she knows that if she uses the word ‘useless’ she could end up with a beating, as Baba Rukia is portrayed as a violent character. Secondly, there is a possibility that through her upbringing, she was taught to use ‘parables’ instead, as a sign of respect to her husband.

In the play, there are several incidences of irony. For example, the whole scene when Sheikh comes to sanctify the marriage is ironical. The Sheikh finds Rukia crying. He asks why she is crying and Rukia answers that it is because she does not want to get married. So the Sheikh says “according to the Islamic law, if the woman is not willing to be married, then the marriage becomes void”. In defending their decision to marry Rukia off, Shangazi Rukia politely replies, “*hata mama yake wakati anaolewa alilia siku saba. Ila akazoea. Si unamwona bado yupo tena na furaha tele? Amerithi!*” which means “even her mother [Rukia’s mother] at the time of her marriage, she cried for seven days. After sometime she got used to it. Can’t you see, she is still around with us, even happier? She [Rukia] has inherited that [behaviour of crying during marriage]”. It is not true that the crying was inherited, but Shangazi Rukia has to find a perky answer to ease the situation. Then after the Sheikh has rejected the proposition to sanctify the marriage, Shangazi Rukia and Baba Rukia urge the Sheikh while showing him the way to the door, “*asante baba, samahani sana kwa kukupotezea muda wako. Uende salama*” to mean, “thank you ‘father/elder’, we are very sorry to waste your time. Go in peace”. Although the words seem to be diplomatic and humane, they do not really mean what they say. Their faces are full of anger and their mouths are scrunched as if they are about to spit, hardly corresponds to their speeches. To conclude their anger after the sheikh has left, both Rukia and her mother are forced to stay inside to receive orders, as their presence, especially that of Rukia crying spoilt the marriage ‘deal’.

Both sheikhs use quotations from the Quran, which show how a girl can be married after she has reached puberty. However what differs is the interpretation of the quotations. The use of faith-based language (mostly in Arabic) adds another dimension to the play as both sheikhs use that to defend their arguments and win respect from other characters on the stage. On the other hand, it can be argued that, by showing the knowledge which both have on religious issues, it helps to convey the challenges that a society such as Pangani presents for the misinterpretations made by people like Sheikh Ubwabwa.

7.2.5 Poems and traditional dances (n*goma)*

The play has two scenes that are accompanied by epic poem (*utenzi*) and dance (*ngoma*). At the beginning of the performance, there is a scene when Asha comes to ask Rukia to show the poem which she has composed for graduation. Although *utenzi* (epic poem) is long, the selected stanza represents an overview of the whole poem.

Kina dada muwe macho,	Girls you should be aware,
tumevamiwa kundini	our flock has been invaded
Ndoa za mapema,	Early marriages,
Wanavyozishangilia	they are celebrating [them]
Bila ruhusa ya mama,	Without mother' permission,
mahari wameshachukua	they've already collected the dowry

In all eight performances Rukia and/or Asha are portrayed as good singers. Although Rukia is supposed to be the lead singer, in the situation where Rukia cannot sing, Asha is made to be the lead singer.

The other scene that encompasses a dance, is the one in which women are going to a wedding ceremony (not Rukia's). The scene is accompanied by a wedding song, either *Kuyu* or *Kenge* depending on the choice of the group.

Kuyu

Kuyu kuyuga	Fig-mulberry fruit are ripe, falling
Funga mlango tule uhondo	Close the door so that we can enjoy [sex]
Katunyu katunyulengoma	
Machicha waa waa	Dregs waa waa

Kuyu is a Bondei wedding song meaning that the fruits are ripe and they have fallen to mean a girl is mature enough for marriage and sex. *Machicha waa waa* is used to describe ejaculation.

Kenge

Kenge mwaliona hilo kenge	Monitor (lizard), do you see the monitor
Laburuza mkia	Dragging the tail
Wakubwa kwa wadogo,	Old and young,
mwaliona leo kenge	do you see the monitor today
Laburuza mkia	Dragging the tail
Kenge hilo latoka te?	Where does the monitor come from?
Latoka kwa mwanaume,	From men,
latafuta mirija linyonyonye	looking for tubes to suck
Kenge mwaliona hilo kenge	Monitor, do you see the monitor
Laburuza mkia	Dragging the tail

Kenge (monitor) represents penis and *mirija* (tubes) vagina. When talking to various women (and men) about these two songs, they believe that they are simple enough for people to understand them. One man (approx. 35 years old) joked by saying, "even a child understands what they mean". Regardless of the explicit sexual content, it is obvious that these songs demonstrate how women can communicate amongst themselves and across people who they share traditions with.

Both poems and *ngoma* are performed by women. Women *ngoma* societies along the coast, have a long history, since the 19th century (Ranger T. , 1975, pp. 19-20). Askew (2002, p. 83) shows how, besides entertainment, "women's *ngoma* societies took a highly proactive role in redefining social relations in Swahili society. The same proved true elsewhere along the coast".

Figure 11: Sange Star actors performing Kuyu dance

Figure 12: Mkwaja Star actors performing Kuyu dance

7.2.6 Spectacle

At the beginning of the performance, most of the groups start the performance with the introductory greeting "A*ssalamu alaikum. Tunawaletea mchezo wa kuigiza unaojulikana kama Varangati"* (Peace be unto you. We bring to you a play called *Varangati*). The following pictures represent the setting of the performance by all groups, in various scenes and sessions.

Figure 13: Angeninge Theatre Group. Baba Rukia (second right) and Shangazi Rukia (second left) are furious when Rukia bluntly says she wants to continue with her studies instead of getting married

Figure 14: Mkwaja Star. Part of the audience that attended the performance

Figure 14: Onyo Kali. This was the post-performance discussion between Onyo Kali actors and UZIKWASA personnel and theatre teachers

Figure 16: Sange Star. Baba Rukia (left) reports to Rukia (centre) and Side (right) the destruction which Makamba (Rukia's eldest son) has done to his farm

Figure 17: Mkalamo Star. Sheikh (second left) explains to Baba Rukia (right) why he cannot marry Rukia (left) while Side (second right) is watching

Figure 19: Buyuni Star (Kazabuti). A scene where Asha and her fiancé (left) visit Rukia. Both Side (right) and Baba Rukia (centre) are puzzled by Asha's achievements

Figure 18: Atomic Theatre Group. Sheikh Ubwabwa (left) negotiating the marriage fee with Baba Rukia (centre) and Shangazi Rukia (right)

Figure 20: Kumekucha Drama Group. Baba Rukia (with a cane) chases Rukia out of Baba Asha's house where she went to study in preparation for her exams

Looking at the pictures in this chapter and also in the previous chapter, it is clear that they might set a different tone to an observer beyond the explanations provided. This perception of the observer is due to what Bathers (in Dorfman, 2009) refers to as *studium*. "The *studium* is the spectator's attraction, because of cultural background, interest, curiosity, to an image". Nonetheless, the spectacle that *Varangati* presents, is based on the 'real' lifestyles of Pangani people, ranging from those who work on the sisal plantations, in the tourism industry and in fishing, to those in *maskani* (jobless corners).

7.3 The Content of *Varangati*

On my arrival in Pangani, I was pre-informed about the content of the play by theatre teachers and UZIKWASA personnel. This pre-information perhaps reshaped my thinking and created a 'bias' to my observations. The content of the play circled around UZIKWASA's messages, i.e. the role of the parents in families, the consequences of early pregnancies and forced marriages and the role of leaders (both political and religious) in reinforcing various laws and policies pertaining to the welfare of their society. These messages were identified in the research conducted by UZIKWASA in 2007/2008. So, the UZIKWASA communication strategy, which *Varangati* is a part of, was formulated to address these three key issues in the three-year project plan. During the performance, it was evident that the messages were well portrayed and somehow re-emphasized.

Marriage is the central theme to show the need for 'gender empowerment' and 'gender parity' in education. At the end of the play, we see Asha returning to the village from the city. Asha represents a 'clique' of empowered, educated middle class women with better jobs and probably equal opportunities in decision-making bodies. This ending reflects the common ending of any propaganda performance/play whereby it also signifies the beginning of the evaluation of the effectiveness of the propaganda. Ogunleye (2001, p. 76) says, "the plays serve as advocates for the dogmas or creeds involving viewers in ethical choices. Some of the plays end in an open-ended way encouraging the viewers [audience] to make their own choice after the events have been paraded before them. It must be noted however, that the events paraded are titled generously in favour of the dogma being propagated".

From the beginning, *Varangati* shows marriage as a multi-faceted act. The definition of marriage, whether termed as forced or early, continues to mean marriage according to Pangani people. Looking at the Pangani setting and in discussions with members of the community, it is difficult to conclude whether what happened to Rukia was forced or planned. For them the vocabulary of forced or early marriage does not exist as it is brought by 'activists'. On a broader perspective, the issues of gender empowerment and gender parity in education have been identified as priorities in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of the year 2000 (United Nations, 2009). The main question here is who formulated these goals and what are the surface and underlying factors for the 'huge' donor support and their 'aggressive' implementation through NGOs? Without opposing the gender activism movement 'in the periphery', it is equally important to challenge it where policies are created and 'dropped' for implementation. Such research conducted by UZIKWASA may show the need for some intervention in Pangani so as to bring development. Still the choice to use *Varangati* was not necessarily motivated by Pangani people as a way to address their problems but rather a choice by UZIKWASA. Such a 'global' approach to social issues is the same as a top-down approach. Perhaps for Pangani people 'marriage' is not as complicated as it has been portrayed in *Varangati* but rather an enjoyment as described in the *kuyu* song.

In the play we see how modern religion (Islam) is used to express the challenges and fate of young girls in Pangani. We see how Baba Rukia and Shangazi Rukia use this religion to make their decision. The controversy appeared during the discussion after the performance with Atomic Theatre Group artists about the exact lawful age for a girl's marriage. According to Islamic religion, a girl can be married soon after her first menstruation. Since nobody is

sure of the marriage age for girls according to Tanzanian law, it was agreed to leave that to be discussed by audience members. This decision was based on the assumption that artists are only animating the audience to discuss and not necessarily providing facts. From this, I can argue that artists are not 'teachers', 'policy makers' or 'lawyers' but artists.

To fully understand the dilemma of the Atomic Theatre Group artists, it is important to outline the basic facts of the Tanzanian Law of Marriage Act of 1971. The law states that girls may be married at the age of just 14 years old with the consent of the court and at 15 years old with the consent of a parent or guardian. This act has been controversial since the beginning of the rigorous activist movement in the early 1980s. Arguably the law undermines the rights of girls and women and sometimes leads to forced early marriages, which is detrimental to young girls (CCPR Centre, 2009, p. 35). Practically there is some controversy between the Marriage Act of 1971 and the Penal Code. The Penal Code, (Cap. 16) defines rape as forced intercourse with a girl below 18 years of age. For this clause alone, it is clear that marriage even with a parent's consent (Section 17 (1) of the Law of Marriage Act) below the age of 18, is defined as rape. The so-called parental consent is the 'legal' right that parents (in most cases fathers), can decide on their daughter's marriage, even below the age of 18 (and even without the girl's consent). The same law Section 13(1) provides two different 'lawful' marriage ages for male and females, which are 18 and 15 years old respectively. Furthermore, the same act allows African girls of Asian origin to marry at the age of twelve years using a consummated approach to the lawful age. The court on the other hand has the discretion to allow marriages for both parties at the age of 14, if the purpose of the marriage is desirable (CCPR Centre, 2009, p. 31).

Looking at this 'simple complex' analysis of the Law of Marriage Act and Penal Code, leaving aside the complexity of Bride Price (in The Law of Persons Act of 2002 Cap. 358), it is clear that even the law-makers and activists are struggling unsuccessfully to harmonize them. Trying to narrow an almost three decades long debate in a 'TfD' performance makes the situation even more controversial. Perhaps after the performance even the audience members will be more confused. Although not officially accepted, there is some consensus on the proposed age for marriage to be no less than 18 for both men and women.

In the play, both leaders (state and religious) show a high degree of corruption, which is in opposition to the expectation that leaders will be faithful and set an example for the ideal community. Corruption, in its various forms is the cause of ongoing conflicts in the

performance. If Mwenyekiti was not corrupt, then probably the play could have ended when he evidently found Side seducing and harassing schoolchildren, which is unlawful. Perhaps he could have used his power to prosecute him using the Tanzanian Sexual Harassment Law of 1999. The same applies to Sheikh Ubwabwa. If he was not there, perhaps the play could have ended when the real sheikh warned Rukia's family on the religious and state legal consequences of the forced marriage, which was about to take place. Since these conflicts are central to the play, they suffice in pushing the play to the end.

Apart from the intended themes, *Varangati* also has other themes. These emerging themes are the underlying factors of the situation in Pangani, which compliment the UZIKWASA's main themes. The performance seems to put poverty as the central theme, though this is not within UZIKWASA's key messages. We see poverty as the cause of disharmony and all conflicts are built on poverty. For example, Shangazi Rukia wants to marry Rukia to a rich person who can pay off her debts. On the other hand, Baba Rukia is tempted to marry Rukia to Mbilimbi because Mbilimbi has already provided him with support and cash (the *kanzu* from Dubai and rice from Kyela). These offers justify Rukia's marriage; although they are not provided as a dowry, they set a precedence for the dowry value. This can be assumed as a symbol of material gain, over humanity and dignity. But members of the audience who attended the performance believe the information is 'factual'. This implies that the Pangani social and economic landscape is reflected by 'rice and *kanzu*', which are worth more than a young girl's education. The discussion about Side's clothes and young people in *maskani* (jobless corners) also reflects the level of poverty and the struggle of young people to position themselves among the upper class in a community. Owning a small shop and speculating about buying a motorbike means that Side is considered to be among the wealthy of the village.

The play uses Sheikh Ubwabwa to represent the 'immoral' acts which are going on in Pangani. Although it is sometimes difficult to draw a line of what is moral and what is not, the comparison between the two sheikhs gives a base for the immorality argument. For example, Sheikh Ubwabwa knows it is against the Quran to sanctify the marriage between Rukia and Side, but because of his greediness, or because of 'poverty' he does it anyway.

The story of *Varangati* is made to glorify urban life. This glorification goes beyond showing city life as the 'best'. The best city life as defined by characters in the play, is the ability of Asha to obtain a college education and get a job as a teacher. Moreover, Asha manages to get

a fiancé who works in a bank in the city. The quest for young people to migrate to the city as depicted in the play shows that life can only be better in the city because everything that is good can be obtained in the cities. This is evidenced also by the Pangani setting. More than 84% of the Pangani population lives in the rural areas. At the same time, some of the villages such as Mkalamo and Buyuni, do not have basic social services such as transportation, electricity, clean water, health services and education. The lack of such services justifies why young people should migrate from a rural to an urban setting, or from towns to big cities, for better opportunities.

Hypocrisy for both religious and political leaders emerges as an underlying theme. After pretending to warn Side about his behaviour in seducing schoolchildren (in the Angeninge Theatre Group), Mwenyekiti asks Side for maize flour to make *ugali*, as he has nothing to cook at home. In response Side not only offers him maize flour but also some money to buy *kitoweo* (a side dish) somewhere else as he is out of stock. After receiving the flour and the money, Mwenyekiti praises Side as the best young person in the village. He adds that Side stands to be a role model for young people to admire. The same applies to Sheikh Ubwabwa in the Atomic Theatre Group's performance. After receiving money from Baba Rukia as a fee to sanctify the marriage, he starts to praise Baba Rukia as an example of one of the best men in the village as he is someone who is firm on issues and religious righteousness.

Laziness and unemployment are other sub-themes in *Varangati.* Baba Rukia and young people at *maskani* are depicted as lazy and unemployed. As established earlier, Pangani depends on agriculture, fishing and tourism. So apart from business people like Side, other Pangani people are expected to participate in the afore-mentioned activities. That is why Mama Rukia continues to emphasize that Baba Rukia is lazy for abandoning farming. But Baba Rukia does not see farming as a suitable job for him. He argues, "it's a shame to dig with a hand hoe. Everyone has employed people to do that". After that statement, he proceeds to go to *maskani* to play *bao*. However could Baba Rukia be used to represent the idea that the underlying factor for Pangani poverty is laziness? This is one of the unanswered questions that *Varangati* leaves. There is also a group of young people staying at *maskani* near Side's shop. They are portrayed as jobless people who do not want to work but instead wish to sit and gossip, as Mama Rukia insists. The performance emphasizes the existence of *maskani*, so was it intended to use these young people at *maskani* as a symbol of unemployment?

Although *Varangati* does not provide a simple answer to them remaining at *maskani* as jobless, it seems sitting at *maskani* is a 'tradition' for Pangani people.

Walking around Pangani town and its suburbs one can witness several so-called *maskani* (jobless corners) full of young people from morning to the evening. Most of these *maskani* are located along the bank of the River Pangani and the Indian Ocean beach, on the corners close to the markets, to video parlours and shops. These *maskani* are predominantly occupied by men, who play *bao* or cards. The discussions that occur, apart from what Mama Rukia refers to as gossiping, focus predominantly on football and politics, from national to international levels. At some *maskani* (some of them) there is a board that provides the timetable for various football matches in various countries. On the same board there is also a column or strip for what is called *wazo la leo* (today's thought). These are predominantly Kiswahili idiomatic expressions, for example *nyuki hakumbatiwi* (you cannot hug a bee), *yatima hadeki* (orphans do not show conceit or demand attention) and so on, used to express individual perceptions/views on life.

The setting and atmosphere of *maskani* indicates another dimension of social setting, men versus women, or what I have defined as the role and position of women in the Pangani society portrayed in *Varangati*. In the play we see excessive cross-gender superiority and violence, both physical and verbal. For example, when Mama Rukia accuses Baba Rukia for being lazy (not going to farm), Baba Rukia amplifies his voice arguing, "*unanitukana mbele ya mtoto, nimeshakukanya uache tabia hiyo*" (You are insulting me in front of the child, I have warned you to stop that behaviour). In the play, we see Baba Rukia not only verbally violent, but also physically (see the pictures below). When he goes to look for Rukia at Baba Asha's house, he arrives with a cane. Before Rukia realizes it she receives a stroke and avoids several others. Although Mwenyekiti and Baba Asha warn him on his excessive violence to his daughter, Baba Rukia arrogantly warns "if you continue to argue over my family you will receive the same".

Figure 21: Baba Rukia (right) in Angeninge Theatre Group

Figure 22: Baba Rukia (centre) in Mkalamo Star

Before Baba Rukia and Mama Rukia's argument over farming and laziness, we are exposed to another debate between Rukia and her young brother. The young boy wakes up late and decides not to help with either household chores or farm work. Although Rukia asks him to help, but he calls them female jobs, whereby as a boy he is not supposed to do them. He further compares himself to his father, arguing that if his father does not do the house chores, he is also exempt. Shangazi Rukia again shows her prowess over her sister-in-law (Mama Rukia) and her niece Rukia. In the debate on who should decide which man will marry Rukia, she asks her sister-in-law to keep quiet otherwise she will send her back to her parents. She continues to accuse her brother of failing to discipline his wife, concluding that "if you have failed brother, I can help you to discipline her".

Looking at the content of *Varangati*, it is evident that it 'reflects social reality' and it has 'social relevance'. In designing any propaganda, Ogunleye (2001, p. 75) states "the issue of social relevance is also another strong factor in the design. It is easier to capture and retain the audience's interest if the play has a social relevance".

7.4 *Varangati:* Strengths and Weaknesses

Varangati as a theatre performance has several strengths. These include the ability to address contemporary themes (social relevance), the use of 'people's' language and most importantly the plot, which is stimulating, catchy and crisp. However looking at *Varangati* from a critical perspective, there are conflicting elements to do with the creation process versus the product on stage.

Some scenes are 'loose'. For example, the scene where Rukia and Asha are rehearsing for *utenzi* (epic poem) is long and monotonous. The poem is full of 'crude' messages and they sound like parrots. Generally the poem itself could encompass the whole play as it contains information on all of the major themes. In this case, it also pre-empts the content of the play as it suggests what will happen during the play. It would be ideal to shorten it by singing it once up to where Shangazi Rukia interrupts, and discard the second part after Shangazi Rukia has left. Again the repetitive laughter by Asha and Rukia after Shangazi Rukia has left does not show any correlation to the scene.

There are several 'unnecessary' characters in the performance. I refer to them as unnecessary because the performance could be completed in their absence. For example, what Rukia's young brother is talking about is a repetition of his father's earlier argument. The presence of Rukia's young brother is probably to reinforce the existence of cross-generational male chauvinism. Makamba (Rukia's eldest son) is another redundant character. Before he appears on the stage we are already informed of his character being naughty and unmanageable and when he appears he simply confirms this. The young men at *maskani* form a group of characters whose actions and dialogues are summarised by Mama Rukia before they appear onstage as being lazy and gossipy. Asha's fiancé is another character whose appearance on the stage does not add value to the performance. Instead he could be replaced by Asha simply talking about him. Of all the groups, the Angeninge Theatre Group managed to exclude all of the above-mentioned unnecessary characters and still maintain the flow of the play. Where do all these 'redundant' characters come from? The original *Varangati* performance had 28 characters. These were all workshop participants and it was important to develop a mechanism to ensure that they all appeared onstage, despite the fact that some of the characters were not necessary to the working of the play.

Figure 23: Young people gossiping at *maskani* in Atomic Drama Group

Figure 24: Young people at *maskani* seducing women in Kumekucha Drama Group

Observing the audience reaction, there is a possibility of the Archie bunker effect in *Varangati.* In most cases when Baba Rukia, Shangazi Rukia and Sheikh Ubwabwa (villains) appear on the stage the audience tends to cheer loudly. This might be due to their humorous appearance but on the other hand, it could suggest the effectiveness of such characters in the community. Sometimes the cheer might suggest the possible identification of the character amongst the audience members. For example, one of the Sheikh Ubwabwa actors is better than others actors who play the same character and it is said that he is for real: "*...si unaona hata bei ametaja?"* (didn't you see he even mentioned the price?) argues a woman amongst the audience. Still, there is a need to analyse and prove the Archie Bunker effect (if any) in the three years allocated to the project.

The 'brief' singing and dancing in *Varangati* shows how Pangani people cherish their traditional values encompassed within the dances. In most cases when singing, women become humorous and seem to enjoy the singing and dancing; they get into their characters. By encompassing *utenzi* (epic poem) as part of the performance it intends to show clearly that singing, especially *taarab* is part of the coastal people's culture. Askew (2002, pp. 79-85) also observes the singing and dancing culture or dancing societies amongst people in the Tanga region. Historically Ranger argues (1975, pp. 19-20):

> These 'traditional' dance societies – or *beni* itself for that matter – are very inadequately describes *just* as dance societies. They were a way of recasting the network of relationships within a moiety or quarter; they were an expression of most of the existing values of Swahili urban society; and they were also mechanism of innovation (Ranger T. , 1975, pp. 19-20).

Looking at the performance, there is a difference between the 'inflicted' versus 'non inflicted' content. The dances seemed to be more 'artistically' pleasing than some of the dialogues. In *Varangati*, the voice of Pangani 'people' is immersed in the content. For

example, sometimes some actors stammered to get the content right, repeating the same sentence several times, which made them look tense. This was probably also caused by the fact that they were in 'competition'.

Another weakness of *Varangati* is to follow a stereotypical way of casting characters. Such stereotype casting in some ways contradict with the intended messages of UZIKWASA. In describing the consequences of stereotype casting, Lihamba (2007, p. 3) argues that:

> Studies and experience have shown that African culture and the arts have provided an inheritance, which in many cases, favoured the legitimisation of the status quo rather than agitating for change. In as much as the individual was given meaning primarily within the community and the social fabric that one was inter woven with, individuality and the straying away from the social norm were tolerated only if they brought honour and distinction to the society otherwise they were neither tolerated nor given much space in cultural life (Lihamba, 2007, p. 3).

Lihamba's argument reflects the characterization in *Varangati*. For example, corrupt leaders are men, such as Mwenyekiti and Sheikh Ubwabwa as state and religious leaders respectively. The performance shows Pangani as a place with more male than female leaders. In terms of the population, men constitute 50.7% while women constitute 49.6%. This margin is very small to be used as the justification for having more men as leaders (United Republic of Tanzania, 2009). By looking at the religious perspective, it is clear that sheikhs are the ones who can sanctify marriages and this can justify why religious leaders portrayed in the play are male.

Figure 25: Shangazi Rukia (left) talking to Baba Rukia (right) about her position as Rukia's Aunt in Angeninge Theare Group

Figure 26: Shangazi Rukia (right) negotiating with her brother Baba Rukia (left) on the way forward after Sheikh refuses to sanctify the marriage in Atomic Theatre Group

The stereotype casting sometimes denies the fact that women are also corrupt. Thus, though Shangazi Rukia seems corrupt by engaging in the negotiation of Rukia's marriage, her corruption is seen and described as normal (social corruption) because of her status of being an aunt. Moreover, in the role of parents taking care of their families, we see Baba Rukia as the irresponsible parent and Mama Rukia as the responsible parent. This seems to be the glorification of women as the best family caretakers. The presentation of Baba Asha and Mama Asha also looks artificial, as they have been kept to strike the balance in melodrama of good versus bad characters. If one makes a gender analysis of the power struggle and responsibility in *Varangati* (as a representation of reality), it is clear that the conclusion will arrive at the 'patriarchal' system as the main problem of Pangani and not leaders, parents or poverty.

7.5 *Varangati*: Whose 'tune' is this anyway?

Reading from the UZIKWASA brochure it is evident that, as an NGO, it identifies Theatre for Development (TfD) as one of their development approaches. The brochure states that:

> We [UZIKWASA] believe in the effectiveness of participatory approaches for long-term development and we promote self-reliant projects that reflect the needs of the people concerned. Theatre for Development (TfD) is such an approach that puts people at the centre of their own development. For example, the active involvement of the audience in a theatre play stimulates people to reflect on their problems and to come up with solutions for themselves. Being convinced of the effectiveness of TfD in bringing about change, UZIKWASA widely uses TfD in its research, community participatory planning and behaviour change communication projects.

From the beginning of this chapter, I have avoided directly referring to *Varangati* as Theatre for Development (TfD), rather using terms such as edutainment, issue-based drama, melodrama or tragedy to define its characteristics. This is not by accident, it is rather intentional. UZIKWASA personnel in charge of the communication strategy and the theatre teachers refer to *Varangati* as Theatre for Development (TfD). Referring to the TfD model discussed in Chapter Five, *Varangati* does not qualify to be called TfD due to various reasons.

The first criticism of the UZIKWASA's approach of TfD in *Varangati* is in its training process. TfD is regarded as theatre of the people, from the people, by the people for the people. TfD uses facilitators or animators instead of theatre teachers/trainers. The interaction between animators/facilitators and members of the society is a two-way interaction rather than just one-way, i.e. it is bottom-up rather than top-down. Observing *Varangati* it is clear that there is a gap

between the artists and the 'team of experts'. The artists are more interested in hearing the suggestions given by theatre teachers than contributing their own artistic skills.

The eight performances of *Varangati*, are taken as 'drafts' which have to be improved on for the final competition/judgment. In most cases, artists have been more creative when given a chance to explore several possibilities of creativity rather than following 'rigid' rules of creativity. This means if *Varangati* has to qualify to be TfD, it should not put an emphasis on artistic skills but rather target to communicate messages. The TfD approach to theatre is similar to the 'vulgar sociological' way of perceiving arts. Vulgar sociologists believe that form and content should be created together, but at the end, the content has to determine the form (Kadeghe, 2005, p. 10).

Ngugi (2006, p. 43) believes that language is central to the creation of the people's theatre. Although *Varangati* uses Kiswahili, that still does not make it people's theatre. There is more to it than the surface language. For example, the 'message' carried by the language has to bear the people's message and not an imposed message in the people's language. The process of making *Varangati* is similar to the earlier travelling or itinerant theatre model, which was abandoned in the 1970s. In travelling theatre, skill and artistic creativity were emphasized. Artists have to stay in seclusion to prepare theatre and then bring it to the people. Furthermore, such travelling theatre was based on propagating certain creeds and ethics. Taking Yoruba travelling theatre as an example, it was propagating Christianity (Fiebach, 2006, p. 1). Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman (2007, p. 43) contend that:

> In contrast, more instrumental approaches to participation appear to take a view of change that is relatively easily contained within the overall management approach based on controlled linear change, with clear and politically unproblematic roles for local people and agents for change, and often externally set indictors for success. The quality of change is understood to be improved through the involvement of local people in largely externally documented projects and programmes, but their participation does not fundamentally question or overturn the assumptions or understanding of change contained within them (Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, 2007, p. 43).

TfD follows various stages, as outlined in Chapter Five. For this matter, the aim of TfD should be clear to both the animators and the community members. In the production of *Varangati,* let us assume that community members are the artists. The outcome of TfD is not determined at the beginning of the process but in this case the 'team of experts' knew exactly what the outcome of the process was going to be – the performance. Furthermore, *Varangati* employs a competition model. This means that the best groups out of all eight groups are to be commissioned to perform

in all 133 Pangani villages. The eight groups involved in the UZIKWASA project are to compete in order to secure the project contract to perform in allocated villages for three years. TfD is not based on competition. Mlama (1985, p. 16) warns against the tendency of using competition as a mode to develop arts in general. "It has been proved that unless there is aesthetic uniformity, it is unwise and often difficult to make artists of different aesthetics and cultural backgrounds compete against each other". Perhaps because all groups are preparing the same performance – *Varangati* – then it can be held that there is 'aesthetic uniformity'. All in all, it is difficult to set TfD within a competition model because of its lack of emphasis on artistic skills and emphasis on the message (Kerr, 1995, p. 155).

The competition mechanism for *Varangati* emerged as a means to 'put pressure' on the groups to be serious in their preparation, even though all of the groups would be a part of the project. This justification raises more questions, as TfD does not focus on aesthetics but rather on the message. Similarly, the TfD performance has also been considered as an ongoing creativity, which means there is no need to have a complete performance. If TfD turns into a product for competition, then this completion aspect alone disqualifies the fundamental aspect of classing TfD as people's theatre. By reinforcing *Varangati* as people's theatre, it sounds like a 'cultural inversion'. Cabral (1980, p. 140) sees such attempts as foreign domination.

> The ideal for foreign domination, whether imperialist or not, lies in this alternative: either to eliminate practically all the population of the dominated country, thereby excluding the possibilities of a cultural resistance or to succeed in imposing itself without damage to the culture of the dominated people, that is to harmonize economic and political domination of these people with their cultural personality (Cabral, 1980, p. 140).

The creation and the performance structures of *Varangati,* do not reflect the theatre culture of Pangani people. The performance is full of dialogues. According to Askew (2002, p. 79), Tanga is famous for modernized traditional dances (*ngoma*), which reflect power and Swahili identity. Apart from *utenzi*, the whole play (that lasts for one hour) has only one wedding song. As previously explained, the content of the songs emphasize the beauty and pleasure of marriage and sex. When critically analysed, these songs seem to be in contradiction with UZIKWASA rhetoric about the consequences of early and forced marriages.

Currently the practice of Theatre for Development (TfD) in Tanzania has reshaped itself to fit within donors' frameworks and it has managed to establish itself as people's theatre. Giving

donors the driving seat in theatre is a '*débâcle*' as it will be used as a mechanism 'to calm these people down' as Schininà (2004, p. 27) complains. Boal for example, sees theatre as a 'tool' for oppressed people. People themselves should use this tool to emancipate themselves (Bakari & Materego, 2008, p. 34). Therefore, if community participation is pre-planned, pre-informed and pre-determined, it is clear that theatre is being used as a tool for continuous suppression and underdevelopment. The assumption of such theatre is to teach community members as if they know nothing; they are mere 'empty pots'. Mlama (1991, pp. 67-68) reminds us that:

> A Popular Theatre movement has emerged in Africa as a conscious effort to assert the culture of the dominated classes. It attempts to create a way of life where people at grassroots level are aware of the forces at work in determining their living conditions. It aims to make the people not only aware but also active participants in the development process by expressing their viewpoints and acting to better their conditions. Popular Theatre is intended to empower a common [person] with critical consciousness crucial to the struggles against the forces responsible for his[/her] poverty. It is an attempt to enable the masses to break free from the culture of silence imposed on them and reawaken or strengthen their latent culture of resistance and struggle, which needs to be part of the process to bring about their development (Mlama P. , 1991, pp. 67-68).

Mlama's arguments challenge the whole notion of *Varangati* as a mechanism to challenge Pangani people to rethink about 'pre/forced marriages' and perhaps take action. Their elimination during the creation process can lead to the misconception that *Varangati* is merely entertainment. Community participation in Theatre for Development (TfD) is not only to make people participate, but mainly to give them a chance to see problems (if any) in their magnitude (root causes versus possible solutions).

Figure 27: The last scene, Rukia (right) hugs Asha (left) in Angeninge Theare Group

Figure 28: Rukia (right) crying seeing Asha (left) in Sange Star

Created as a melodrama, *Varangati* ends up with the return of Rukia's friend Asha, who managed to obtain a college education. When she returns to the village she finds her friend Rukia

pregnant and with two children already. The last scene whereby Rukia hugs Asha is accompanied not only by painstaking words but also lamentation and tears. "Dr.Vera *anapenda michezo ya kuliza. Anataka baada ya onesho watu walie…"* to mean Dr. Vera Pieroth (the Chief Executive Officer of UZIKWASA) likes plays which make people cry at the end. Making people cry is not the essence of TfD. TfD aims at empowering, emancipating and making people conscious, not disempowering them. This 'emotional victimization' created by propagandist performances, is what Ogunleye (2001, p. 72) warns against. Brecht also criticizes this Aristotelian theory of catharsis. Instead he proposes audience to be allowed to think or reason (*v-effekt*) rather than being subjected into emotional subjugation (Ibemesi, 2007, p. 93).

Addressing the role of parents in family care, it is obvious that UZIKWASA is trying to play the 'mid-wife' position. Rukia aunt insists that a girl should be married as soon as possible otherwise she will bring disaster to the family, such as giving birth at home without a proper husband and so on. So if Rukia's father and aunt have agreed to marry the child off, who should intervene? The state or NGOs? The problem of early and forced marriages seems not to bother many people of Pangani. This is evident by the fact that all eight characters who played Rukia had children before the age of 14 and none seemed to see it as a problem. To some Pangani people, if a girl reaches the age of 20 years and is still childless, it raises 'eyebrows', pointing to infertility.

On the issue of leadership, both religious and government leaders are chosen by Pangani people themselves. Although there are Sheriffs who are generational leaders (not elected but based on religious virtue), the majority of leaders are those who have been elected. Therefore, what leaders are doing is what those people expected them to do because they are also part of the same community. We see the village chairperson representing them. He accepts bribes so as to allow Side to have affairs with young schoolgirls. If the majority are not comfortable with such leaders why are they are not in the process of changing them? Shivji (2007, p. 3) argues that, "the state cannot liberate the people; people have to liberate themselves". From the same thesis, it is clear that donor theatre such as *Varangati* cannot liberate or empower people because it is imposed. Nsekela (1984, p. 55) shows clearly the limit to which community members become the engine of change and development.

> Responsiveness to the development tasks and active participatory in the development process are essentially function of knowledge and technology, the comprehensibility of these to the masses both in

> terms of learning skills and their application to the development process and ability to control both individual decision and pattern of social relations. What is acceptable to the broad mass of the people develops in time into a way of life – their culture – unless rejected by them later (Nsekela, 1984, p. 55).

Most of the donor-funded theatre performances have acquired parrot behaviour by nature. The emphasis is on the donor's development message. Regardless of the pressure to use theatre as a tool of communication, "many observers and researchers stress that there is no guarantee that greater access to information will automatically lead to increased participation in development" (Epskamp K. P., 2006, p. 109). Understanding such social dilemma in a capitalist system requires the understanding and operation of capitalism. Frank (1975, p. 86) argues that:

> Capitalism is then unitary but dialectic (dual but not in the sense of the two separates of the dual society thesis but of a double sided or sectored single system). Its structure and development is one of a two-class antagonism, exploitation, and development-underdevelopment, overlaid by multiple social strata, diffusion and degrees of development. It is important indeed, to understand the connections and relations between the single indivisible entity and its distinct variables [...], between social class and social stratification, between exploitation and diffusion, between underdevelopment and development, and between the relations among class-exploitation-underdevelopment and those among stratification-diffusion-development; but if it is important to understand these relations, it is important not to confuse them as the conventional wisdom systematically does (Frank, 1975, p. 86).

Some of the prominent theatre directors such as Schininà (2004, p. 27) have been struggling in vain to find their way out of the vicious cycle of donor theatre. Donor-supported theatre is no different to state political propaganda in the post-independence era. In the process of support, donors ignore the creative part of theatre by looking at it as a tool of communication. Thus if theatre does not communicate development issues, it is not worth supporting as theatre. The desire for financial support is what makes many directors get involved with donors, although they know perhaps it is not what they would like to do.

Theatre for Development (TfD) survival on the other hand depends on its 'devil advocate' approach of empowerment on one hand and disempowerment on the other. During colonial time, British colonial administrators allowed the performance of traditional theatre because they were using it as an advertising tool to push audiences to buy their products. Today's donor product is development. On the same note Frank (1975, p. back cover) warns us that "underdevelopment no less than development itself is the product and motive power of capitalism". The donor emphasis is on empowerment, development and the reduction of poverty. In this kind of donor-initiated and imposed TfD, discussions about obstacles to development are highly encouraged, while most of the development solutions lie at the mercy of the donors or the international community which

Shivji (2009a, p. 56) describes it as euphemism for US-led imperial block. The main question remains; who owns TfD? Mlama (1991, p. 15) is concerned that:

> A variety of cultural tools are operating in Africa imposing and developing a capitalist structure vital to the entrenchment of capitalism. The development of capitalism, therefore, has been supported by a consciously designed development of a supporting capitalist culture. To imagine that the agents of capitalism would attempt to penetrate Africa without developing a cultural system to support the system is to underrate the powers of capitalism (Mlama P. , 1991, p. 15).

Looking from a wider perspective, TfD has been turned into such a theatre obsession, a tool for destruction rather than for empowerment. Kerr (1995, p. 171) argues that, "one of the follies arising from aided projects is that, in the glossy brochures which are usually produced after the theatre projects, there has been a tendency to point a glowing optimistic picture of the projects so that the donors would continue to give funds in the future". Plastow (2009) refers to TfD as both a 'business opportunity' and a 'tool for oppression'. In addressing the contentiousness of empowerment and development, Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman (2007, p. 43) argue:

> Change in the empowerment approach is defined as contingent and unpredictable; true development is seen as constructed locally, incrementally and with the consent of those whom it most affects. Change rests upon individuals comprehending their local and personal experiences in new ways that allow them to develop the capabilities to act and shape their own future; change also rests on transformations at other levels, from the individual and household to structural, though the latter is not always incorporated. As a consequence, change is political in profound ways, and multiple levels, from the individual's own sense of self to his or her relationship to society and wider political and socio-economic processes. Moreover, much change is unanticipated and outside defined project boundaries; causality is multiple and difficult to discern or assign (Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, 2007, p. 43).

Using *Varangati* to address the underlying and varied problems of the Pangani people is an oversimplification of the situation on the ground. In analysing television drama, Ogunleye (2001, p. 78) warns "teledrama can be very potent in propaganda dissemination for good and for evil. In the right hands, it can be used to build a united and morally upright society. In the wrong hands, however, it can be a time bomb, which when detonated can blow a whole society apart". *Varangati* is at the highest level of utilitarian performance (propaganda) whereby it offers a solution and urges people to take action. If *Varangati* is a coherent model of TfD, presumably one can conclude that there is no people's theatre in the sense of it being owned by the people themselves in a capitalist economy.

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter tries to show how the concept of Theatre for Development (TfD) is flamboyant and how its effectiveness is 'blown out of proportion'. For this matter, it gives the illusion that any theatre created to address development issues, is automatically TfD, whereas the truth is that this is not the case. Perhaps it can be called Theatre in Development (TiD). Nyoni (2008, pp. 170-172) elaborates the difference between the two. On the other hand, it is clear that TfD has become the donors' 'trade mark' for support, i.e. 'this is what people talk about as being the best participatory method for a development project'. Such misconceptions benefit neither theatre nor the people it pretends to empower.

When donors, through I/NGOs, stand to speak on the effectiveness of TfD or other participatory and empowerment methods, it is obvious that they shift the dimensions of what participatory and empowerment are in an actual sense. They drive these formidable acts away from the mainstream of TfD to make people think TfD is a donor initiative and hence should address donor issues. This approach by donors also puts some theatre directors and producers in a dilemma over which way to pursue – people or donor theatre. So if *Varangati* is to be classed as a true TfD, it should emphasize community participation at all stages, including theatre creation, rehearsals, performance and also in the post-performance discussions. Failure to incorporate community members in theatre creation results in the return of the wall between the audience and performers.

It is also important to know that artists involved in such branded 'TfD' might be the very victims of 'underdevelopment', but they still do not consider themselves as part of the target community. This is different from the 'classical' TfD in which community members take the lead in running the whole TfD process, assisted by facilitators/animators. To make such observations, it is important to clearly separate TfD (Theatre for Development) and TiD (Theatre in Development) because the processes and products are quite different and they also provide different results in relation to development.

Conclusion: Towards Post-Neoliberal Theatre

> No theatre can make revolution.
>
> Michael Etherton (1982, p. 321)

Theatricality has been one of the major concepts to define theatre in Africa. Using theatricality as a point of departure seems to reduce the historical discrepancies of theatre as a concept. On that basis, it is important to link theatre and the culture in which theatre is being produced. By linking the two it gives grounds to analyse the national and international superstructures, which determine the socio-political and economic atmospheres. Since the 'global' trend leans on neoliberal policies, it is obvious that one cannot discuss theatre in the absence of neoliberalism. That is why this study explores the influence of neoliberal policies, especially through foreign aid, on theatre in Tanzania. The study establishes the link between the produced theatre and the various dominant policies from nationalism to neoliberalism. Such a link shows how difficult it is for theatre to avoid the superstructure that produces it. This means that since neoliberal policies have all shown symptoms of oppression, suppression and exploitation, it definitely reproduces oppressive, suppressive and exploitative theatre, which I refer to as theatre (neo)liberalism. This is a kind of theatre that appears to be apolitical but in fact struggles to survive under neoliberal policies of free market and subsidy removal.

On the other hand this study attempted to establish the concept of 'theatre as propaganda' in its widest sense. This multifaceted nature of propaganda, from political, economic to social, has been captured throughout the study. This brings us to the conclusion that all types of theatre propaganda are the same, as they "present a mode of persuasive communication used to influence a target audience" (Ogunleye, 2001, p. 67) either to acquire certain products or services. In such a situation, it is clear that propaganda works better when one party wants to suppress or influence the other. In the situation whereby the confronting parties are 'developed' versus 'developing', the scenario returns to the dependency theory. Offiong (1980, p. 75) shows that:

> Dependency relations have also shaped the social structure of underdevelopment. In our discussion of imperialism it was stated that when the imperialists powers could not continue their occupation of their former dependencies, they decided to quit but made sure that they left their reins of power in good hands. They made sure that they handed power over to their internal collaborators. They did not hesitate to create and finance political parties in opposition to real nationalist ones; and they also rigged elections and used

> various other means to make sure that they handed over to those who would continue with the colonial policies (Offiong, 1980, p. 75).

Tracing the historical timeline, it is evident that colonialism was both a weapon for theatre destruction and an avenue for new theatre forms to evolve. Resistance theatre such as *beni ngoma,* which evolved in opposition to and in compliance with colonialism, played a major role in bringing about independence. Ironically, *beni* became one of the theatre forms to be accepted by the colonial administration despite its resistance nature, simply because it imitated British military drills. As the British government realised that *beni* was working beyond glorifying militarism and towards unification, the struggle for independence was at its peak and there was no option to revoke this. The denial which African theatre faced in the eyes of colonialists resulted in the post-colonial debate on whether what existed in Africa classed as theatre or not. The evolution of theatricality as a discourse seems to resolve most of the ambiguities.

After independence, we see how the state tried to institutionalize theatre in the process of strengthening nationalism and enabling people to regain their pride. Under the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) and later Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), state supremacy misled the whole process by using theatre as a political propaganda for *ujamaa* (socialism). There was a need to work on a clearly cultural policy, which could build theatre out of political propaganda. This is due to the fact that any strong economic model is constructed on the culture which supports it. This implies that *ujamaa* was supposed to be supported by the socialist cultural policy.

The downfall of *ujamaa* went hand in hand with the downfall of political theatre. It is evident that the process of institutionalizing culture through theatre was abandoned after the imposition of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank development conditions, especially the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) of the 1980s and later the Poverty Reduction Strategies (PRSs) in the 2000s. Such an idea of development is what Chachage (1986, pp. 1, Introduction) refers to as an "ideology of capitalism in the post–World War II period". In comparison to the era of colonialism and nationalism, theatre seemed to absorb changes positively. For example Lihamba (1985a, p. 479) shows how post-*ujamaa* playwriters changed their way of addressing issues from national to international levels as a 'self-censorship' mechanism. Plays such as *Ayubu* (Job) produced by Paukwa Theatre Associations is one such

example as it addresses the outcomes of capitalist oppressive regimes from a global perspective. This implies that theatre acts as a reflection of a deep-rooted social status that was pre-determined by both economic and political governing policies.

Chapter Four shows clearly the problem that theatre experienced in the transition from socialism to capitalism. The established national arts groups (NAGs) in the 1960s and early 1970s had to be dissolved due to socio-economic reasons caused by neoliberalism. Ex-national art group members formed groups such as Muungano Cultural Troupe and Mandela Cultural Troupe. These groups, including Tanzania One Theatre (TOT), became popular especially when they succeeded in adopting the former national arts groups' (NAGs) performance format, only this time in an apolitical context. The existence of such 'popular' theatre groups very much depended on the former national arts group's portfolio, which some of its members had to carry on, though this time 'praising' capitalism and all of its manifestations.

The implementation of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank economic and political conditions brought about the notion of foreign aid and donors, in theatre as in other sectors, though this time with a neoliberal outlook. Theatre for Development (TfD), which surfaced as a resistance theatre in the post-independence disillusionment, became a tool to negotiate people's voices being heard by the state, i.e., a tool for conscientization. Furthermore, TfD became a social-donor propaganda to negotiate for more interactive and participatory methods for people-centred development.

In analysing the genesis of Theatre for Development (TfD), Chapter Five shows clearly what TfD is and what it is not. For this case Nyoni (2008, p. 174) manages to differentiate between Theatre for Development (TfD) and Theatre in Development (TiD). The latter implies that what NGOs, International NGOs and donors have been funding in most cases is not Theatre for Development (TfD) but rather Theatre in Development (TiD). This business of funding theatre in development has created major artistic setbacks in theatre, especially in the prevention of its ability to exercise freedom of creativity (Plastow, 2009, p. 17). Donors and some artists 'strike deals' on how to execute a donor's responsibilities in the cheapest and fastest way in what donors regard as 'result-oriented' activities. These artists do not engage themselves in substantive preparations or rehearsals, as they do not need to satisfy their audience but rather

their donors. Nyoni (2008, p. 174) provides examples whereby theatre is defined as "an oral discussion of actors on the stage which means the talking has been the acting".

As seen in Chapter Seven – *Varangati* performance, Theatre for Development (TfD) has remained a brand name to attract foreign aid and a response to donors concerns. Although the elite/intellectuals (who were the earliest proponents of TfD) provided a clear procedure for conducting TfD from early 1990s, donors who fund the projects have remained as key players in dictating the terms and the outcomes. The concept and logic of having Theatre for Development (TfD) as a people-based theatre has been changed and adapted to fulfil donor and NGO demands. The analysis of *Varangati* proved it to be donor and NGO propaganda, similar to the case of *Zinduka* as explored in Chapter Six. This means that TfD is no longer owned by society because its existence and sustainability is at the mercy of donors, NGOs/International NGOs or research institutions (Epskamp K. P., 2006, p. 63).

Perhaps I should point out here my standpoint about Theatre for Development (TfD). I am not against TfD or popular theatre by the definition of having people themselves on the 'driver's seat'. What I am opposing is the misuse of 'people' or TfD as a brand name for personal gains by donors, NGOs, International NGOs, research institutions or state. The new colonial regime built under people's theatre or popular theatre should be fought against and perhaps going through the process of liberating theatre from neoliberal suppression and exploitation bearing in mind that "imperialism is the enemy of liberation" as Shivji (2009c, p. 6) succinctly points out. In the midst of neoliberalism there is a need to redefine the whole concept of TfD so that it can address the current global political and economic superstructure. Practitioners such as Materego (2002, p. 149) call for animators to develop strategies that can facilitate TfD at the grassroots level. The fundamental question is how? Seers (1983, p. 141) cautions that "cultural dependency not merely determines in large part the pattern of consumption and the choice of technique in every field and increases the 'brain drain', it also shapes, in some degree, government development policy and thus the whole economic structure". It is therefore difficult to use theatre that is foreign-made and funded to address the issue of development.

It is evident that foreign aid and donor policies have destroyed the theatre 'business' to a great extent. Nyoni (2008, p. 174) showed how groups that have been caught in the NGO and donor

trap, have stopped producing theatre that is not targeted at executing donors' responsibilities. These groups sometimes produce poorly-rated theatre, as they do not need to seek a market; the donors are their targeted market. In some cases as Nyoni (2008, p. 174) continues to argue, donors or their representatives do not know what theatre is, so long as actors appear on the stage to talk about what they are interested in hearing, then it is considered to be theatre.

Nyoni (2008, p. 175) also describes the rise of 'briefcase' groups and *wasanii* (artists) who are not real artists but cheaters and liars as a result of donors and foreign aid in theatre. In some cases funding is dispersed through tender whereby the lowest bidder usually receives the tender to execute donor responsibilities. In this process, many people have used the concept of Theatre in Development (TiD) to mean Theatre for Development (TfD) and obtain support. What is happening on the ground in the process of obtaining funding is what I can describe as a lack of skills to run the TfD process but an ability to access foreign aid and present proposals to donors. Makoye (2008, p. 4) shows how artists are caught in 'project syndrome'. By fulfilling International NGO and donor demands, thespians are forced to include terminologies such as 'community support initiatives', 'community participatory approaches', 'grass-root communication approaches' and so on, so as to comply with funding requirements. The challenge of such an approach to theatre has destroyed artists' skills with regards to how to survive in the neoliberal world. Such stagnation crates poorer artists, as they can do nothing but donor projects. Songoyi (1988, p. 28) sees this challenge and calls for a paradigm shift on how to perceive art and theatre in capitalist-led economies. According to Lihamba (2007, p. 7):

> The cultural flux from which many Africans emerged from the colonial has continued to grow and as global demands and needs change there is even more confusion. This is especially so as regards the ruling groups which have been mandated not only to govern but also to initiate and facilitate policies to enhance national development in all sectors (Lihamba, 2007, p. 7).

The experience of working with various theatre institutions that were highly dependent on donors showed every indication that such institutions could not survive independently of donors. The 'collapse' of the Eastern Africa Theatre Institute (EATI) and Southern Africa Theatre Initiative (SATI) in mid 2000s, which were both initiated on advice from the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) in the late 1990, are good examples of this phenomenon. In practice, the interference in theatre by external forces should be monitored and regulated. The imposition of neoliberal policies has created and deepened poverty instead of

alleviating it. Neoliberalism has created artificial theatre institutions, which are donor-dependent and unsustainable. In some cases, these 'surrogate' theatre institutions have raised to the ground even the little initiative done by thespians before the donor 'inversion'. It is obvious that the so-called donors act as 'shock absorbers' in the case of weak and drained economies on the brink of collapse. The total collapse of weak economies is not good news for strong economies, as it can result in the situation whereby strong economies become unstable due to their dependence on weak economies for raw materials and as potential markets.

From a broader perspective, Africa is used as a 'scapegoat' to cover the negative effects of neoliberal policies. Adujie (2009) argues:

> Africa is presented in humiliating terms, as the recipient of the bulk of foreign aid. Westerners proclaim loudly, that they have poured aid into Africa, but it has not changed Africa's lot. The truth about foreign aid is that, Africa is not where foreign aid really goes. The bulk of foreign aid, in reality, flows elsewhere and not Africa (Adujie, 2009).

The Adujie argument takes the issue of donors and foreign aid further, by showing the dimensions and machinations of neoliberalism even in theatre. This means that challenges to encapsulate the governing forces within theatre should not be analysed separately from imperial policies. Theatre as any other genre cannot be isolated from capitalist influences. The validity of theatre can only be discussed when it can obtain and sustain its inner freedom from foreign economic ties. This enforces the argument that so long as the Tanzanian state continues to depend on donor support, one cannot analyse theatre without taking the dependency theories into account.

As Shivji (2009a, p. Cover page) argues, there is a need to advocate for the "new Africa-centred line of thinking that is unapologetic of the continent's right to self-determination". Wamba (1991, p. 223) adds that there is a need to look at the "African contribution to human development [...which] they have often been denied". This means that regardless of the amount that donors contribute, they do not have the right to interfere in the sovereignty of any state or to try and impose new systems, as if the existing ones are atrocious. If the need be, aid should be modelled within solidarity of peoples' as Amin (2010) suggests. Furthermore, theatre practitioners should avoid the TINA syndrome that 'there is no other alternative' to global capitalism than embracing it. As Chachage (2004, p. 30) argues, such an attitude is absurd. Samir

Amin (2010) believes that economic success can be obtained only by the "refusal of commodification of the world as necessity [to development]" as China has done.

Makoye (2008, p. 106) points out that external influences have made theatre fail to develop fully. This means both central and local governments are responsible for the growth and sustainability of theatre. Just as any other important sector, theatre should be subsidized so that it can reach self-sustainment. The subsidies should target building supportive infrastructures, which enable thespians to 'showcase' their products to a wider range of audiences. The model that has been offered by the state to provide subsidy for film equipment should be modelled to include and subsidize theatre too. Through the Tanzania Revenue Authority (TRA), the state should also concretize the tax collection mechanism so as to appreciate artists' contribution to the national economy. The enhanced tax collection system will also reduce piracy, which is another burden to the general creative industry in Tanzania.

Perhaps after looking at the challenges of the Theatre for Development (TfD) and Theatre in Development (TiD) genres struggling to represent people's/popular theatre, it would be interesting to know if there is/has been a 'true' people's theatre from Brecht's and Boal's perspectives. I will cite an example form Bakari & Materego (2008, pp. 18-20): on the 9th of December in 1979 there was an *uhuru* (independence) celebration in Kirare village in Tanga. The village leadership invited several groups to perform. Among the invited groups there was a female group, which performed the *ndombi* dance. As part of the celebration, food was prepared for the invited people. Unfortunately, the female group, which was sitting closer to the village authority office, missed the food. Later, food was served to the village authority, which was sitting in the office. As they started to eat, the women began to sing:

Lead singer:	Wale wale (pointing at the office)	Look at them
Chorus: Wale		Them
Lead singer:	Wale wale	Look at them
Chorus: Wale		Them
Lead singer:	Wameketi ofisini	They are sitting in the office
Chorus: Wale		Them
Lead singer:	Wamefunga mlango	They've closed the door
Chorus: Wale		Them
Lead singer:	Wanakula chakula	They're eating
Chorus: Wale		Them
Lead singer:	Sisi tuna njaa	While we are hungry
Chorus: Wale		Them

(Bakari & Materego, 2008, p. 19)

The song continued for some minutes before the village authority realised the message was aimed at them. They came out of their office and made arrangements so that the women's group was given food. What does this dance imply? This shows that the concept of people's theatre has to do with people's initiatives to address their own issues at a particular time and place. The concept of 'people's' theatre exists within people's living environment and it is self-prompted or organic, so to say. This scenario dating back to 1979, shows the existence of people's theatre separate from donors and foreign aid, which is 'result-based'. Although Michael Etherton (1982, p. 321) points out the difficulties which theatre faces in bringing change about, it is important to know that theatre can instigate change.

I should end by referring to Freire's argument on how to bring changes or development to the targeted community. Freire (in Bakari & Materego, 2008, p. 32) sees education as key to any development. Instead of telling people what they should do, which is what he calls 'cultural invasion', they should be educated to see the issues from a wider perspective and decide on by themselves which way to pursue. This implies that in Tanzania, as in many 'developing countries', theatre that is initiated by donors or funded by foreign agencies has failed to bring the desired change due to its bottom up approach, or what Rodney (1972, p. 312) refers to as the vicious cycle of foreign investment. Auslander (1999, p. 7) points out clearly that "if live performance [theatre] cannot be shown to be economically independent of, immune from contamination by, and ontologically different from mediatised forms", it is difficult for such "liveness [to] function as a site of cultural and ideological resistance". Hence education and training should be considered as vital. Importantly, such education should address or prepare people to be mentally and physically independent, in order to be able to decide their destiny, or what Nyerere refers to as education for self-reliance (Ishumi & Maliyamkono, 1995, p. 51).

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Erklärung

Hiermit erkläre ich, Vicensia Shule, dass ich die eingereichte Dissertation selbständig, ohne fremde Hilfe und mit keinen als den darin angegebenen Hilfsmittel angefertigt habe, und dass die wörtlichen order dem Inhalt nach aus fremden Arbeiten entnommenen Stellen, Zeichnungen, Skizzen, bildliche Darstellungen und dergleichen als solche genau kenntlich gemacht sind.

Die Arbeit ist noch nicht veröffentlicht in gleicher order anderer Form an irgendeiner Stelle als Prüfungsleistung vorgelegt worden.

Mainz, den Mai 2010

Vicensia Shule