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Source: *African Studies Review*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (DECEMBER 2010), pp. 61-76
Published by: Cambridge University Press
Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/40930966
Accessed: 14-03-2016 12:25 UTC

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Postcolonial Cosmopolitan Music in Dar es Salaam: Dr. Remmy Ongala and the Traveling Sounds

Imani Sanga

Abstract: This article concerns Dr. Remmy Ongala, a Congolese-Tanzanian musician, and the making of postcolonial cosmopolitan music in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. It argues that Dr. Remmy's music is shaped by the postcolonial consciousness and conditions of contemporary Tanzania. It also shows Dr. Remmy's cosmopolitan citizenship in his songs that address political and social issues. Focusing on his involvement in worldbeat festivals, it argues that he, like other musicians, enters into the worldbeat system not as a fully autonomous individual but as a constituted postcolonial subject, compelled to shape his music in accordance with the demands of the worldbeat system.

Résumé: Cet article a pour sujet Dr Remmy Ongala, un musicien congolais-tanzanien, et la musique cosmopolite postcoloniale à Dar es Salaam, en Tanzanie. Nous soutenons que la musique de Dr. Remmy est influencée par la conscience postcoloniale et les conditions de vie de la Tanzanie contemporaine. Il montre également l'influence de la citoyenneté cosmopolite de Dr. Remmy dans ses chansons qui traitent de questions sociales et politiques. En nous concentrant sur son engagement dans les festivals Worldbeat, nous soutenons que Dr. Remmy, ainsi que d'autres musiciens, entre dans le réseau Worldbeat non en tant qu'individu autonome, mais en tant que sujet postcolonial établi, désireux ainsi de façonner sa musique en accord avec les tendances de la musique Worldbeat.

African Studies Review, Volume 53, Number 3 (December 2010), pp. 61–76

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Born in Congo (formerly Zaire), Ramadhani Mtoro Ongala (known famously as Dr. Remmy Ongala, or Dr. Remmy) came to Tanzania in 1978. He became part of the Tanzanian music culture as a singer, guitarist, and bandleader of Orchestra Super Matimila, and he has been a very active performer of *Muziki wa Dansi* (Tanzanian urban-based popular dance music). In this article, I examine Dr. Remmy's contribution to the making of postcolonial cosmopolitan music in Tanzania, and Dar es Salaam in particular. I also discuss issues related to his involvement in worldbeat festivals in the U.K. and the U.S.

In his 2008 article, Alex Perullo provides a historical account of the migration of Congolese musicians to Dar es Salaam from 1968 to 1985. He examines a number of factors that led to the migration of these musicians, including (1) violence in Congo (Zaire) and particularly in the eastern part of Congo in the early 1970s; (2) the popularization of Congolese rumba through nationalistic policies (*authenticité*) in Congo during the Mabutu regime, which coincided with the nationalistic (Africanization) efforts in Tanzania (and other African countries); (3) the widespread impact rumba had in eastern and central Africa; (4) stiff commercial competition in Congo, and Kinshasa in particular; and (5) cross-border social networks, especially between Congolese-Tanzanian musicians and their fellow musicians in Congo (2008:296–312). Perullo also mentions various problems these musicians encountered once they settled in Tanzania, and he discusses strategies that they used in order to establish themselves in the Tanzanian music scene. Like other local musicians, they pursued a strategy of repositioning, continually moving from one band to another in order to renegotiate the terms of their contracts and improve their income and quality of life (also see Tsuruta 2001). They also actively pursued citizenship "as a means to solidify their connections within local communities, not as Congolese migrants, but as Tanzanian citizens" (Perullo 2008:315). And they strategically incorporated Tanzanian musical elements in their own music and addressed issues related to Tanzanian local politics in their lyrics. This was a period in which the Tanzanian government, as part of its nationalist policies and efforts to celebrate people's love and pride in Tanzanian culture, actively favored Tanzanian musicians. Therefore, in order to attract and appeal to Tanzanian audiences, it was necessary for the Congolese musicians to adopt elements of Tanzanian music. As the Congolese musician Chinyama Chiyaza explained,

> The people of Tanzania, like people everywhere in Africa, love Zairean music, but they are very proud of things Tanzanian. I had to change our style a little bit to attract these proud Tanzanians. . . . We try to blend more on the dances—this is more the Tanzanian style . . . And in the songs, the people in Dar es Salaam want to hear about themselves. They want to sing of "Ujamaa na Uhuru" [socialism and freedom]. (Quoted in Martin 1980:63 and Perullo 2008:315)

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I would like to start where Perullo's account stops and proceed in two directions. First, I focus on Dr. Remmy's engagement with Tanzanian musical and social contexts and discuss his involvement in shaping postcolonial cosmopolitan music and consciousness in Tanzania. Second, I examine his involvement in worldbeat festivals in the U.K. and the U.S. and argue that Dr. Remmy and other musicians have entered into the worldbeat system not as fully autonomous individuals but as constituted subjects, compelled to shape their music in accordance with the demands of the worldbeat system. While I find the general historical picture given by Perullo very compelling, informative, and useful in understanding Congolese-Tanzanian music culture in Dar es Salaam, I believe that my focus on this one individual and his personal musical experiences will be an enriching supplement to the historical record. I am reminded here of Veit Erlmann's telling statement that "if an ethnomusicology of modern world system is to be formulated, it will have to be sensitive to both the macro processes of state formation, flows of financial capital, [and] media networks and to the micro level of individual experience within these structural coordinates" (1993:7). Let me begin, therefore, by sketching the theory of postcolonial cosmopolitan music on which this article is based.

Theorizing Postcolonial Cosmopolitan Music

Drawing from Thomas Turino, who construes cosmopolitanism as "a specific type of cultural formation and constitution of habitus that is translocal in purview" (2000:7), I understand the concept of cosmopolitan music as referring to music that travels easily from one locale to another. This travel is enhanced by what Turino calls "cosmopolitan loops" (2000:8), referring to various forms of mediation, contacts, and interchange whereby musical sounds from different locales are given a new context in a new home. Turino also notes that cosmopolitanism differs from other processes of cultural exchange (such as Westernization or Europeanization) because it is characterized by a distinctive process of internalization, whereby people in the new locales accept these traveling cultural formations and habitus not as foreign, but as "part of who they are" (2000:9). Another important aspect of cosmopolitan sounds is the localization of these sounds in the new contexts. Kwame Appiah's (1997) concepts of rooted cosmopolitanism and the cosmopolitan patriot, Tejumola Olaniyan's (2001) concept of cosmopolitan nativism (2001), and Roland Robertson's (1992) notion of "glocalization" (i.e., globalization plus localization, denoting a process shaped by both forces) are all useful here, drawing attention to the workings of local agency and the processes of translation, mutation, and indigenization of cultural imports (also see Stokes 2003).

The subtitle of this article invokes Edward Said's 1983 essay "Traveling Theory," in which Said discusses the way theories travel from one cultural context and situation to another, while losing some of their original power

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in the process. In a later article titled "Traveling Theory Reconsidered" (2000), Said revises this "incomplete and inadequate" conclusion (as he calls it) and shows that there are also cases in which a theory gains *more* power in a traveling process. Like Said's traveling theory, Dr. Remmy's traveling sounds are transformed by the traveling process as they are influenced and shaped by conditions in their place of origin or points of departure, in the routes traversed, and in the new location—the point of arrival where these sounds are finally adopted. Note that what we call a point of arrival of particular sounds is also a point of departure for other sounds that have been generated there, because most sounds are always in transit.

The cosmopolitan music in Tanzania, as in other African countries such as Zimbabwe (see Turino 2000), South Africa (see Erlmann 1999; Meintjes 1990, 2003), and Nigeria (see Olaniyan 2001, 2004), to name a few, is shaped by what I call "postcolonial consciousness," that is, an awareness of the postcolonial condition and the sense of subjugation brought on by what Achille Mbembe refers to as the "materiality of the postcolony" (2001:5): the totality of political, economic, environmental, and social factors that shape day-to-day experiences of postcolonial subjects. It is important to note that postcolonial consciousness is a complex and sometimes even ambivalent consciousness. On the one hand, it includes a desire to break away from what Kwasi Wiredu calls "colonial mentality," a habit of thought that "makes a formerly colonized person overvalue foreign things (including modes of thoughts and behavior) coming from his erstwhile colonial master" (1992:62). In this sense, postcolonial consciousness entails efforts to overcome this sense of inferiority and otherness relative to one's former colonial master. On the other hand, postcolonial consciousness also incorporates this sense of inferiority and otherness, and manifests itself in efforts on the part of the formerly colonized subject to act and behave in the supposedly superior manner of the erstwhile colonizer. We may compare this sort of postcolonial consciousness with what Paul Gilroy, applying a Nietzschean phrase to the work of Richard Wright, calls a "frog perspective": "an angle of vision . . . held by oppressed people" that consists of "looking upwards from below" (1993:160). It should be noted that in both senses, postcolonial consciousness is an intersubjective consciousness involving the mentality of postcolonial subjects in relation to both their former colonizers and their current neocolonial masters.

Cosmopolitan music in Tanzania is a product of the musicians' engagement with this complex and multifaceted consciousness. As I illustrate in this article, the production of cosmopolitan music is a way through which these postcolonial subjects reposition themselves and assert their national, ethnic, racial, and other identities or attachments, especially those degraded by colonialism and neocolonialism. For the Congolese-Tanzanian musicians like Dr. Remmy, the issue is particularly complex because their processes of negotiation and repositioning involve an engagement with the

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Tanzanian musicians' and audiences' own postcolonial consciousness as well.

Dr. Remmy Ongala and the Music Culture in Tanzania

Dr. Remmy was born in the Kivu region of the Eastern Congo in 1947 (for these and other biographical details, see Graebner 1997; Mduma 2004). Soon after his birth his family moved to Kisangani. His father died in 1952, leaving only his mother to take care of the family. In 1964 his mother also died and Dr. Remmy had to look after and feed his younger siblings. He says that he began his musical activities in 1964 in order to raise money to feed his family. In Congo he performed as a guitarist, drum player, and a singer with a number of bands such as Succes Muachana and Grand Mickey Jazz. In 1978 Mzee Makassy, his uncle and a famous musician, who had been in Tanzania since 1976, persuaded Dr. Remmy to join him there. For decades now Dr. Remmy has been living in Dar es Salaam at Sinza Kwa Remmy (Remmy's Sinza), a locale now famously known by his name, and his imprint has been even more prominent in the contemporary musical scene. He has been actively involved as a singer, guitarist, and bandleader in *Muziki wa Dansi* (Tanzania popular dance music) and since 2004 in *Muziki wa Injili* (gospel music). In 1978 he began performing with Orchestra Makassy. Then in 1981, when Mzee Makassy moved to Nairobi, Dr. Remmy joined the Orchestra Super Matimila, a band owned by a local businessperson, Ambrose Mvula. When Mvula died, Dr. Remmy became the leader of the band (interview, Oct. 25, 2004, Dar es Salaam).

Like most musicians in Tanzania, he found an audience largely through the medium of radio (in the 1970s and 1980s RTD, the national radio station, was the only station in the mainland Tanzania), but even more important were his live performances. As he says, "I have performed in Songea, Mwanza, Bukoba, Morogoro, Dodoma.... I have traveled all the way to Sumbawanga..." (interview, Oct. 25, 2004, Dar es Salaam.

The cosmopolitan nature of Dr. Remmy's music is partly enhanced by the nature of the collaborative composition process he uses when working with his band members.

> I start by playing a given "beat," my beat. When I have already composed the beat I tell the musicians that this is the beat, I play it this way. Can you play it with me? Because... they are very young and their heads work very well, you find them playing it very nicely. Sometimes they play even better than me. So we work together and the result becomes a unified one thing. (Interview, Oct. 25, 2004, Dar es Salaam)[1]

Dr. Remmy's "beat," in other words, is not taken as sacrosanct, and it does not enter into empty heads. Quite the contrary, it interacts with other musi-

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cal aesthetics and skills that these Tanzanian young musicians have already acquired, both from their own culture and from other cultures that have reached them through other "cosmopolitan loops." Through this engagement with Tanzanian local music culture, Dr. Remmy's music undergoes transformation and localization.

A particularly notable aspect of that localization is an engagement with the postcolonial consciousness of the Tanzanian audience and the politics of nation-building. In order to win a Tanzanian audience, and in order to get their songs aired on RTD, most Congolese-Tanzanian musicians deliberately incorporate Tanzanian musical elements. They also address Tanzanian local and political issues in the lyrics of their songs. Perullo (2008) notes a few instances in which lyrics were actually provided to bands by the government, and in which Congolese-Tanzanian artists were encouraged by the government to sing in Kiswahili. In other instances musicians were compelled to perform patriotic songs because of threats from local immigration officials. However, Perullo points out that most Kiswahili lyrics are written willingly by the artists themselves because this provides them with access to local markets. As Perullo puts it, "Since artists depended on live audiences, their ability to quickly acknowledge and respond to national issues through their compositions [gives] them opportunity to connect with local listeners" (2008:316).

It should be noted here that Dr. Remmy's characteristic composition also enables him to connect with local listeners and to sing about local issues and politics.

> I do not compose my songs like my fellows. Up to this day I have never sat down with a piece of paper... to compose songs like [he looks at me and smiles] *wasomi* [the educated ones]. I do not think... like, let me compose this way or that way. No. When I walk along and see things happening... I am like a journalist. If I see somewhere people shouting, 'Thief, thief,' I have to go and ask, 'What has this person stolen that you beat him or her this way? I listen to them. They tell me what has happened. When I go home I pick up my guitar and start to play, composing lyrics about the incident. (Interview, Oct. 10, 2004, Dar es Salaam)

A number of scholars have analyzed the political and social content of Dr. Remmy's songs, including the subjects of poverty, social and economic inequalities, unemployment, and oppression of women in songs such as "Pesa" (Money), "Mnyonge Hana Haki" (The Poor Have No Rights), "Maisha" (Life) and "Wanawake ni Wanyonge" (Women Are Oppressed) (see Graebner 1997). Annemette Kirkegaard (2004) analyzes Dr. Remmy's well-known and controversial song "Mambo kwa Soksi" (Things with Socks), in which Dr. Remmy advises people to use condoms ("socks") in order to combat HIV/AIDS. In a recent article concerning the relationship among music, politics, and history, Mathayo Ndomondo (2008) translates and provides

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a detailed analysis of Dr. Remmy's song "Mrema," composed in honor of Augustin Mrema, the then Minister for Home Affairs (1990–94) who later became a leader of the opposition party (NCCR Mageuzi) and one of presidential candidates in the 1995 and 2000 general elections. As Ndomondo observes, the song praises Mrema for waging war against robbery, corruption, racketeering, smuggling, and exploitation on the part of civil servants and political leaders and commends Mrema in the fight against these injustices.

All of the songs discussed in the above-mentioned studies are from Dr. Remmy's repertoire of Muziki wa Dansi. I would like to contribute to this scholarship by pointing out that his engagement with social and political matters is evident even in his songs of Muziki wa Injili. Dr. Remmy is not unique in this regard, because the practice of addressing social and political matters is also common among other gospel musicians in Tanzania (see Bjerk 2005; Sanga 2007, 2008). In his treatment of these issues Dr. Remmy draws insights from Christian moral beliefs and teachings, and in this area as well his collaborative approach to music-making facilitates his composition. One of the church musicians who has collaborated with Dr. Remmy is a Congolese-Tanzanian musician named Modest Mogan, who for the last two decades has been performing and recording with the Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Kijitonyama (Kijitonyama Evangelical Choir) in Dar es Salaam. In 2004 Dr. Remmy and Moderst Mogan recorded and released an album titled *Kwa Yesu Kuna Furaha* (There Is Joy in Jesus). One of the songs, also titled "Kwa Yesu kuna Furaha," which is explicitly devoted to Dr. Remmy's narration of how he became "saved," also contains pointed criticisms about corruption (*mizengwe*) and high taxes which make life difficult for ordinary people in Tanzania:

> *Kwa Yesu hakuna mizegwe.* [There is no corruption in Jesus.]
> *Kwa Yesu hakuna bili ya maji.* [There is no water bill in Jesus.]
> *Kwa Yesu hakuna TANESCO.* [There is no TANESCO in Jesus.]
> *Kwa Yesu hakuna LUKU.* [There is no LUKU in Jesus.]
> *Kwa Yesu hakuna kodi ya maendeleo.* [There is no development tax in Jesus.][2]

In his discussion of the political and social protest in the songs of Dr. Remmy and those of young urban rap and hip-hop musicians in Tanzania, Pieter Remes (1999) draws on the Foucauldian concept of *parrhesia*, referring to an act of speaking truth without fear. According to Foucault, the term *parrhesia* in Greek texts

> is a verbal activity in which a speaker expresses his personal relationship to truth, and risks his life because he recognizes truth-telling as a duty to improve or help other people (as well as himself). In *parrhesia* the speaker uses his freedom and chooses frankness instead of persuasion, truth instead of falsehood or silence, the risk of death instead of life and secu-

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> rity, criticism instead of flattery, and moral duty instead of self-interest and moral apathy. (2001:19)

As Siri Lange (2002), Annemette Kirkegaard (2004), and Mathayo Ndomondo (2008) point out, Dr. Remmy's involvement in politically sensitive topics has led to censorship of some of his songs and threats of deportation. For example, RTD refused to give air play to Dr. Remmy's song "Mrema" because it was used by the NCCR Mageuzi party during the 1995 election campaigns. In addition, Dr. Remmy was threatened with deportation in 1999 when he performed his song "Kilio Cha Samaki" (The Cry of Fish) before an audience that included the president because the song was interpreted as critical of the ruling party CCM (see Lange 2002; Kirkegaard 2004).

Dr. Remmy's musical practice of parrhesia is consistent with the notion of cosmopolitan ethics outlined by Appiah in *The Ethics of Identity* (2005). Appiah argues that to be a cosmopolitan—a citizen of the world—one should not only be willing, able, and free to live anywhere in the world, but one also must have a sense of duty for making that particular place a better place for oneself, one's contemporaries, and generations to come.

> A citizen of the world can make the world better by making some local place better, even though that place need not be the place of [one's] literal or original citizenship.... When our father told us we were citizens of the world, he went on to tell us that we should work, for that reason, for the good of the places where—whether for the moment or for a life time—we had pitched our tents. (2005:241)

To be a citizen of the world one must assume certain freedoms and duties: freedom to tell truth or criticize without fear, and the duty to make the world a better place. Through his involvement in Tanzanian local political issues, in struggles against women's oppression, in struggles against corruption in government, and in the fight against HIV/AIDS in Tanzania, Dr. Remmy fulfills his duties as a responsible cosmopolitan citizen.

Dr. Remmy Ongala and the Politics of Worldbeat

In 1988 Dr. Remmy and his band, Orchestra Super Matimila, along with the late Hukwe Zawose, a Wagogo musician, represented Tanzania in a festival tour organized by WOMAD (World of Music and Dance) in the U.K. (Liverpool and Reading) and the U.S. (including Las Vegas and San Francisco).[3] Dr. Remmy's description about his music for the tour points to a number of issues related to the aesthetics and politics of worldbeat.

> I have been playing rumba style, *charanga* [salsa]... [and] I have been combining the styles together: the style of Zaramo, *mdundiko* [music-

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> dance, or *ngoma,* of the Wazaramo of eastern coast Tanzania]. . . . Hukwe Zawose [and my band] were . . . [invited] to Europe . . . because our beats were different from the beats of other bands. *Wazungu* [Europeans] are fond of things that are different from those of others. If you play what they normally hear, next time they don't invite you. They invite a person who has something of his . . . own. So [in composing] my beat I took [a style] from Zaramo music, I mixed it with charanga and rumba and came up with something different. (Interview, Oct. 25, 2004, Dar es Salaam)

The worldbeat is thus a mosaic of numerous specific local musical elements from around the world. But at the same time, the production of worldbeat demands that these local music sounds fit into familiar global music styles. Dr. Remmy's "beat" is created by mixing Zaramo musical elements with worldwide music styles such as *charanga* and rumba. As Philip Bohlman observes, as "local musicians become dependent on the global music industry . . . [,] traditional melody and functions must undergo transformation in order to be mapped on Western harmony and repackaged for global consumption" (2002:21). Hence, the process of creating worldbeat plays not only with difference but also with sameness (see Erlmann 1993). Thomas Turino argues that the use of global styles in the production of worldbeat is intended to make the music accessible to other cosmopolitans in spite of its exotic difference: "Within worldbeat the indices of foreign societies are either selected because they already include aesthetic familiarity within the style, or foreign stylistic differences are tempered by transformations which make them accessible to cosmopolitans" (2000:335). Thus the search for difference and the need to make the music accessible to other cosmopolitans lead musicians to select a few musical aspects that act as tropes, emblems, or representatives of their specific local cultures while using global styles. In some cases, the selection of these representative local music elements is a creative decision made by artists themselves. The *mdundiko* beat from the Wazaramo of eastern Tanzania, for example, was chosen by Dr. Remmy and his band to represent Tanzanian music. In other cases the selection of local musical elements is shaped by already circulating knowledge and myths about that place's music. Thomas Mapfumo for example, uses a mbira as a trope of Zimbabwean music (see Turino 2000).

Another trope of Tanzanian cultural identity regularly used by Tanzanian musicians is the Masai traditional dress. A number of music groups including choirs, urban-based dance groups, and rap and hip-hop musicians wear Masai traditional dress as a way of representing Tanzanian culture even when the music they perform is not from the Masai people (see Sanga 2008; Thompson 2008). In response to one of their appearances during the WOMAD tour, Dr. Remmy and his band were criticized by *Uhuru* (Freedom), the then government-run daily newspaper in Tanzania, for such a practice, which according to the editorial writer, involved "performing with 'naked and rounded stomachs,' . . . [which] . . . gives a wrong image of Tan-

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zania and fits in well with prejudiced reporting on famines and underdevelopment in the Third World current in the Western press" (Bawazir 1988:11, quoted in Graebner 1997:111).[4]

Such a criticism of Dr. Remmy—the charge that the performative act of wearing traditional Masai dress embraces, confirms, and disseminates Western ideological prejudices about Africa—is implicitly part of a conversation initiated by scholars such as Vilentin Mudimbe, Ali Mazrui, and Edward Said. In *The Invention of Africa* (1988) and *The Idea of Africa* (1994), Mudimbe unearths and interrogates such ideologically biased images in texts ranging from those written by Western anthropologists and missionaries to those written by African politicians and philosophers. Mazrui (2005), who connects Mudimbe's project to that of Said's *Orientalism* (1978), recontextualizes Said's terminology and perceives the construction of negative and exotic images about Africa in Western scholarship (some of which are adopted uncritically by African writers) as an "orientalization of Africa." Using this formulation, we may perceive the *Uhuru* writer's criticism as a rejection of the "orientalization of Africa."

Dr. Remmy, for his part, wears Masai dress in order to appear different from musicians coming from other countries and hence to attract the attention of his worldbeat festival organizers and audiences. But why did he choose the Masai dress and not any other traditional dress from other ethnic groups in Tanzania? In an interview with Werner Graebner, Dr. Remmy argued that he chooses the Masai dress because "the Masai are the ones in Tanzania that show the strongest commitment to African culture and lifestyle," and this is an image he considers worth portraying (Graebner 1997:111). Through this act Dr. Remmy joins many contemporary Tanzanian musicians who try to assert and cherish their African identity by exploring and incorporating Tanzanian indigenous materials in their contemporary musical productions.[5] At the same time, this process of revitalizing African identity in postcolonial cultural productions is not an attempt to do away with all traces of foreign or Western culture. As Olaniyan observes in connection to the late Fela Anikulapo-Kuti, "Nativism in postcolonial production is not a rejection of the encounter with Europe or of modernity as such; it does not fear openness, and hybridity is not alien to it" (2004:165). Instead, postcolonial nativist musicians try to subvert the supremacy of foreign, Western, or European music among postcolonial subjects. According to Olaniyan, what these postcolonial cultural producers challenge "is the 'forced necessity' of the native to capitulate, appropriate, or borrow: a characteristic condition of capitalist modernity that rules out equality in advance" (2004:165). Thus postcolonial "cosmopolitan nativists" (to use Olaniyan's concept) often borrow tools from cosmopolitan circles and fuse them with elements from their local musical cultures in order to assert their African identity and culture.

Inevitably, these "antinomies of postcolonial cultural production" create controversy, although each of the judgments or positions seems to be just "as

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valid, coherent, or essential as the other" (Olaniyan 2004:157,158). On the one hand, the wearing of ethnic clothing can be viewed as a positive strategy of asserting Tanzanian and African identity. On the other hand, it can be seen as conforming to negative images of "primitive" Africa for Western worldbeat audiences and organizers. The wearing of Masai dress in particular complicates the matter even further because of the contradictory images that people in Tanzania have of the Masai. Dr. Remmy argues that the Masai are valued for successfully having preserved their culture despite the threats posed by Western cultural influences. However, Katrina Thompson (2008) points out that a widespread negative attitude has developed toward the Masai because of their seeming resistance to change and modernization processes. Writing about the Tanzanian hip-hop group X Plastaz (which uses Masai dress and chanting style), Thompson notes that while the group capitalizes on its Masai image for international promotional materials, it normally distances itself from the label Masai in "locally-oriented materials and private interviews" (2008:37–38). Perhaps this is the reason that the writer in *Uhuru* objected specifically to the use of Masai costume by Dr. Remmy and his band.

Intersubjectivity and Power in the Production of Postcolonial Cosmopolitan Music

In this section, I would like to reflect on the nature of intersubjective relations and the power involved in the production of postcolonial cosmopolitan music. In his involvement with both the Tanzanian local music scene and the international worldbeat scene, Dr. Remmy engages with the desires of his fans. In other words, he shapes his music partly in order to respond to what he thinks his fans like to hear from him. In Tanzania Dr. Remmy (like other Congolese-Tanzanian musicians) is compelled to use Tanzanian musical elements, address Tanzanian local issues, and sing in the Kiswahili language in order to attract Tanzanian audiences and make them understand his songs. In worldbeat circles, Dr. Remmy and his band respond to what they consider to be the desires of audiences and organizers of worldbeat festivals, such as by employing the *mdundiko* beat from the Zaramo and wearing Masai dress. It may be argued, therefore, that Dr. Remmy's involvement in the production of postcolonial cosmopolitan music in Tanzania and in the worldbeat circles has been shaped partly by his engagement with the desires of the "Other" (to use Lacanian language), whether in Tanzania or on the world stage. It should be noted that these desires of the Other are not imposed on postcolonial subjects by force or coercion. On the contrary, the Other's desires are imposed on postcolonial subjects through the subjects' own desire to be recognized by the Other: to market their music, to attract audiences, and to be invited to the worldbeat festivals. In other words, the desire of postcolonial subjects to exist and be recognized according to categories or norms fashioned by the Other (both in terms of financial rewards and social status) are the cause of their subjugation to the Other.

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This intersubjective relation brings me back to the concepts of postcolonial consciousness in relation to Wiredu's definition of colonial mentality and Gilroy's concept of "frog perspective." As Judith Butler writes, in supposing that one's existence or recognition is granted by the Other, one subjects oneself to the supposed desires of the Other.

> How is it that the subject is the kind of being who can be exploited, who is, by virtue of its own formation, vulnerable to subjugation? Bound to seek recognition of its own existence in categories, terms, and names that are not of its own making, the subject seeks the sign of its own existence outside itself, in discourse that is at once dominant and indifferent.... Subjection exploits the desire for existence, where existence is always conferred from elsewhere; it marks a primary vulnerability to the Other in order to be. (1997:20–21)

The desire of the subject to be recognized by the Other, the desire to exist—when existence is conferred from outside the subject by the Other—can be understood by means of the Lacanian concept of *petit object a* (the first letter of a French word *auter*, or "other"), which denotes a little "other" as opposed to the big Other. While the big Other "represents a radical and irreducible alterity" (Evans 1996:125), the small "other" denotes the other that is not really another at all, but is rather what Slavoj Žižek calls "something in me more than myself on account of which I perceive [and structure] myself as worthy of the Other's desires" (1997:9). The postcolonial *petit object a*, in this formulation, is born within the postcolonial subject itself when the subject tries to respond to its own question: "What do others want from me?" Although it may seem that in most cases decisions to use certain musical styles and costumes are made by the musicians themselves, these musicians, insofar as these decisions are made in response to this question, become not fully autonomous.

Appiah has defended a form of cosmopolitanism that is based on liberal ethics in which the individual's autonomy is a fundamental concern and one engages in cosmopolitan practices as a matter of choice, out of one's own free will rather than because of any external compulsion. Appiah puts it thus:

> The cosmopolitan's high appraisal of variety flows from the human choices it enables, but variety is not something we value no matter what. There are other values.... But the fundamental idea that every society should respect human dignity and personal autonomy is more basic than the cosmopolitan love of variety; indeed, as I say, it is the autonomy that variety enables that is the fundamental argument for cosmopolitanism.... Cosmopolitans value cultural variety, but we do not ask other people to maintain the diversity of the species at the price of their individual autonomy. We can't require others to provide us with a cultural museum to tour through or to visit on satellite television's endless virtual safari. (1997:635)

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The nature of the involvement of Dr. Remmy in Tanzanian music scene and in worldbeat festivals seems to be far from providing this most fundamental value that is inherent in the cosmopolitanism defended by Appiah. In both cases he is not a fully autonomous individual. He is, instead, a constituted postcolonial subject who is compelled to shape his music in accordance with what he perceives to be the desires of his audiences and festival organizers.

Conclusion

In this article I have discussed Dr. Remmy's involvement in the making of postcolonial cosmopolitan music in Tanzania and in worldbeat festivals in the U.K. and the U.S. I have argued that in both contexts Dr. Remmy's music is shaped by cross-cultural hybrization. The process is enhanced and necessitated by the collaborative nature of a composition process that allows his Tanzanian band members to contribute their musical ideas and by his desire to win a wider audience and impress worldbeat festival organizers. Certainly, in both contexts the cross-cultural hybrization enriches his music and makes it appeal to a wider audience. He also has taken advantage of his popular visibility to speak out on sensitive political issues. However, what this article has tried to demonstrate is that the postcolonial conditions within which Dr. Remmy operates makes him a not fully autonomous individual, as he is compelled to adhere to the demands of his postcolonial Tanzanian audiences (themselves shaped by their postcolonial consciousness and condition) and to the demands of worldbeat system. This de-centering of postcolonial subject does not take place through coercion and corporeal force but through the postcolonial consciousness of the postcolonial subject itself as it seeks recognition in terms set by the Other.

It should be noted, though, that this de-centering of postcolonial subject does not leave the postcolonial subject without any degree of power and agency. I have shown in this article, for example, that Dr. Remmy actively participates in shaping the postcolonial condition and consciousness in Tanzania. His music also reciprocally participates in shaping the worldbeat and the way people perceive it.

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Notes

1. Although the interview was in Kiswahili, Dr. Remmy used this English word *beat,* which has acquired an expanded meaning in Tanzanian popular music culture, to refer to music in general (including melodic lines, harmonic patterns, rhythm configurations, and musical styles). All comments from Dr. Remmy have been translated by the author.
2. TANESCO is an acronym for Tanzania Electric Supply Company, Limited, a government-owned company which is the only supplier of electricity in Tan-

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zania. For a long time the experiences of Tanzanians with TANESCO has not been a happy one because of its intermittent operation and because, as with many other institutions, there have been allegations of corruption. In recent years the management of the company has been privatized to South African investors (the Net Group) with the aim of making services better. But while bills for electricity increasingly rise, electric supply continues to be unreliable.

LUKU is a new kind of electric meter, but it has not made things better, either in terms of poor services or corruption.

There are allegations of corruption among most institutions in the country, including those dealing with revenue. "Development tax," in this context, is viewed as a way through which a few civil servants and government officials swindle money from people.

3. The late Hukwe Zawose, who taught music at the Bagamoyo College of Arts, is famously known in Tanzania for his skills in playing the *marimba ya mkono* (mbira) and the *izeze* (a stringed bowed instrument) of the Wagogo as well as employing the traditional singing styles of the Wagogo.
4. Masai clothing typically leaves part of the torso exposed.
5. See Mbunga (1963); Askew (2002); Barz (2003, 2005); Edmondson (2008); Sanga (2008).

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