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Music and Nationalism in Tanzania: Dynamics of National Space in *Muziki wa Injili* in Dar es Salaam

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Introduction

Nationalistic projects normally influence the content, form, and performance practice of music. Similarly, music as a "system of cultural representation" (following Hall 1992) participates in the construction of nationalism and national identities and in the construction of "traditions" through which national identities are sustained (Askew 2002; Stokes 1994; Wade 2000; Turino 2000; Chitando 2002). Listening to *Muziki wa Injili* (Gospel Music) in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, one encounters a number of songs that are concerned with nationalism in various ways. In this article, I examine how nationalism is constructed with Muziki wa Injili in Dar es Salaam.

Muziki wa Injili is a church music genre in Tanzania characterized by employing body movements, incorporating improvisation, and featuring the use of electric guitars and keyboards. The music is performed in various popular music styles such as rumba, soukous, reggae, zouk, R&B, rap, salsa (*charanga*), and taarab, among others. Most of these features are uncommon in the mainstream or church art music that is normally performed either unaccompanied or accompanied by organ or electric keyboard. In addition, unlike church art music that is normally notated in either staff or solfa notation, Muziki wa Injili is largely composed, transmitted, and preserved orally and aurally (with a few exceptions). The music is performed not only in churches during services but also in evangelical meetings and in the increasingly common concerts of Muziki wa Injili in Dar es Salaam (Barz 1997, 2003; Sanga 2006a, 2006b, 2007). Apart from being performed by church choirs, Muziki wa Injili is also performed by individual musicians who record and sell their cassettes

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privately. That is to say, the use of the concept Muziki wa Injili is broader than that of *Muziki wa Kwaya* (Choir Music), a genre performed most typically by church choirs. Additionally, Muziki wa Injili is increasingly being broadcast in various television and radio stations in Tanzania, some of which are owned by church organizations.

This article is informed by ethnographic research in Dar es Salaam in 2004 and 2005. During the research, I conducted interviews with musicians of Muziki wa Injili from Lutheran, African Inland Church (AIC), Anglican, and Tanzania Assemblies of God (TAG) churches, and I joined the *Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Sayuni* (Sayuni Evangelical Choir) at Kinondoni Lutheran Church as a participant-observer. I rehearsed and performed with the choir as a singer, guitarist, and keyboardist. I also collected a number of recorded songs, some of which are analyzed in this article. In what follows, I begin by explicating a philosophical approach that I use to examine the construction of nationalism in Muziki wa Injili. Then I discuss various ways through which nationalism in Tanzania is constructed and represented in this music.

A Philosophical Approach to Nationalism in Tanzania

"Imagined communities" and "invented traditions" have become commonplace concepts in theorizing nationalism and national identities. The present usage of these concepts came as a critique of a growing belief that a nation was a community or group of people who shared common culture, language, history, territory, and more importantly, common ancestral background. For Kwame Gyekye these features would qualify the nations so formed as "ethnocultural communities" (1997:78–81). However, as Benedict Anderson (1991) and Eric Hobsbawm (1983) point out, this belief was not true with regard to the formation of many nations. Most people identified themselves as belonging to one nation even though that nation included people beyond the boundaries of a true ethnocommunity and even though it included people they would never know personally; hence these nations were "imagined communities" (Anderson 1991; Askew 2002). The creation of such communities in Europe during the nineteenth century was enhanced by the spread of literacy and print capitalism. With these developments people could "imagine their action being simultaneous with those of others located elsewhere" (Wade 2000:3). In the present time one would add the role of mass media such as radio and television as well as computer and information technology.

Another criticism is levelled against those traditions which are taken to be essential for national identities being represented as "primordial"

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or being "there from birth, unified and continuous, changeless . . . or eternal" (Hall 1992:204). As Hall explains: "In fact, national identities are not things we are born with, but are formed and transformed within and in relation to representation . . . National cultures construct identities by producing meanings about the nation which we can identify; these are contained in stories which are told about it, memories which connect its present with its past, and images which are constructed of it" (1992:204). Similarly, Hobsbawm theorizes nationalism by using the concept of "invented traditions." According to him, an "invented tradition" means "a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuities with a suitable historic past" (1983:1).

One does not hesitate to support these criticisms when considering African nation-states. Those people who identify themselves as Tanzanians by nationality, for example, are not of a single ethnic group: Tanzania has more than 120 ethnic groups. History tells us that while some groups migrated to Tanzania from the south (as it is the case with the Ngoni) others migrated to Tanzania from the north (as it is the case with the Masai). Secondly, the boundaries that the independent Tanzania (and many other African countries) adopted from colonial rule did not preserve ethnic groupings and boundaries. Hence some Masai, for example, found themselves Kenyans while their fellow kinsmen (belonging to the same clan) became Tanzanians. The same was the case with the Yao of southern Tanzania and those of northern Mozambique. Thirdly, there is a question of Kiswahili as a national language. No one can rightly deny the very important role that Kiswahili has played in the national unity that Tanzanians experience today (Askew 2002; Mudimbe 1988; Mulokozi 1995; Sogolo 1993). However, Kiswahili is a new language; its use by many people in Tanzania is a recent phenomenon and the propagation of it to its present status has been a painstaking undertaking. Sometimes it has involved the use of negative motivations such as devaluing other traditional languages as things of the past. In a rural school, for example, where almost all pupils were of one ethnic group, a poster reading "speak Kiswahili" would be hung on the neck of someone who was found speaking the local language instead of Kiswahili. For this reason making a claim that we are or should be one nation since we all speak Kiswahili, which was spoken by many Tanzanians even before colonialism (as is often claimed), is really an "invention of tradition." Finally, there

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is the issue of Tanzania as a union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar forming one nation but two states (Askew 2002). The two states have different parliaments and national anthems, and very recently a second flag (the Zanzibar flag) has been raised apart from the Tanzanian flag. Sometimes the union has been defended with claims that the people of these countries had good business relationships or intermarriages long before colonialism. But a critic might question whether there were no good business relationships and intermarriages with other neighbouring countries.

In this article, however, nationalism is construed to be broader than the nationalism based on a nation-state, which is defined by Turino as "a group of people who recognize or come to accept bonds of some type as the basis of a social unit labelled 'nation' and deemed legitimately entitled to its own state" (2000:13). Using Henri Lefebvre's theory of spatial trialectics,[1] I consider nationalism to be a three-layered social space: physical, mental, and lived space (Lefebvre 1991; Soja 1996). The first layer of national space is the physical location, a certain circumscribed area on the face of the earth. One can travel physically to various places we identify as Tanzania and cross the borders of these spaces. The second layer, mental space, includes songs, dances, drumming, sculpture, masks, paintings, literary works (poems, drama or novels), names, and other forms of representation through which ideas about places like Tanzania or national identities are constructed. The third layer of national space, what Lefebvre calls "lived space," includes real experiences of individuals being identified or identifying themselves as Tanzanians. Emotionally, it involves the feelings that this identity arouses in a person carrying the identity. Edward Soja clarifies the distinction between the three layers of social space:

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

As I argue above, these three layers of national space in Tanzania are recent constructs. First, the physical spaces that we identify as Tanzania resulted from colonial conquests and from partitioning of spaces amongst the colonizers. Secondly, this process went hand in hand with the naming of these places. In the case of Tanzania the name has undergone a

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number of transformations. During the German colonial occupation at the end of the nineteenth century it was referred to as Deutsch Ostafrika (German East Africa). Later, during the British occupation (after the First World War) it was referred to as Tanganyika. This name continued to be used even after independence in 1961. But in 1964, with the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar, the name was changed to Tanzania. In other words, the unification of these physical spaces as one nation-state went hand in hand with the lexical unification of the names to form Tanzania. Thirdly, the experiences of people who dwell in this place which we identify as Tanzania have been shaped by colonialism, and the struggle for and the actual experience of political independence, among other things. Does one feel humiliated and ashamed or proud and dignified by being identified as Tanzanian? I posit that feelings aroused in individuals who are identified or identify themselves as Tanzanian are shaped by meanings that are constructed through the mental national space.

The present-day construction of nationalism or national identity in Tanzania is an effort to transform various meanings or images painted on the continent and its peoples mostly by western imperialists. The transformation aims at, as Shivji points out, regaining humanity, dignity, respect, and rights that have been and are denied to "Africans" who have experienced slavery and colonialism and are still suffering from neocolonialism and the present form of globalization (Shivji 2003). The construction of nationalism in Tanzania, as is the case with other African countries (especially those which suffered colonialism), is often continental in its scope. The reason is that the colonial mental space (i.e., negative images and meanings) it aims to transform is continental in scope. Frantz Fanon, who refers to this space as "colonial lies," puts this point thus:

> The native intellectual who decides to give battle to colonial lies fights on the field of the whole continent. The past is given back its value. Culture, extracted from the past to be displayed in all its splendour, is not necessarily that of his own country. Colonialism, which has not bothered to put too fine a point on its efforts, has never ceased to maintain that the Negro is savage; and for the colonialist, the Negro was neither Angolan nor a Nigerian, for he simply spoke of the "Negro." . . . Colonialism's condemnation is continental in its scope . . . The efforts of the native to rehabilitate himself and to escape from the claws of colonialism are logically inscribed from the same point of view as that of colonialism . . . Colonialism did not dream of wasting its time in denying the existence of one national culture after another. Therefore, the reply of the colonized peoples will be straight away continental in its breadth. (Fanon 1967:170–71)

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Mwalimu (teacher)[2] Julius Kambarage Nyerere, the first president of Tanzania and founder of a Tanzanian brand of socialism (Ujamaa), was one of the African leaders who advocated African nationalism. His statement that "African nationalism is meaningless, is anachronistic, and is dangerous, if it is not at the same time Pan-Africanism" has been frequently evoked to underscore the contitental nature of nationalism in Tanzania (Nyerere quoted in Shivji 2006:303).

Lefebvre argues that the three layers of social space (physical, mental, and lived space) "should be interconnected, so that the 'subject,' the individual member of a given social group, may move from one to another without confusion" (1991:40). Foucault shares this view; in his discussion of the role of architectural projects in human liberation, he argues that an architectural project becomes effective as a liberating tool only "when the liberating intentions of the architect coincide with the real practice of people in the exercise of their freedom" (Foucault 1984:246). To be sure, the liberating intention operates in a mental space, the real practice of people's liberation is a lived space, and an architectural design is a physical space. Similarly, in his book *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge,* Valentin Mudimbe shows that colonization of Africa took place in all three layers of space. For him, the complementary relationship between these layered spaces, which he calls the colonizing structure, made it possible for colonization to take place. In Mudimbe's words:

> I would like to suggest that in looking at this process, it is possible to use three main keys to account for the modulations and methods representative of colonial organization: the procedures of acquiring, distributing, and exploiting lands in colonies; the policies of domesticating natives; and the manner of managing ancient organizations and implementing new modes of production. Thus, three complementary hypotheses and actions emerge: *the domination of physical space, the reformation of natives' minds, and the integration of local economic histories into the western perspective.* (Mudimbe 1988:2, my emphasis)

In other words, the real colonial experience (exploitation through an integration of Africa into the colonial economic system) involved the reformation of Africans' minds, that is, making "the colonized person to admit the inferiority of his culture" (Fanon 1967:190), as well as the occupation of the physical spaces of Africa. It follows that the real liberation of African people from colonialism has to take place in all three layers of space. Another way of saying this is that the liberation of African countries from the occupation of their physical spaces and the setting up of governments is not enough for a real experience of liberation. Hence there is a need

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to liberate the mental national space or following Wiredu: to "restore to Africans their confidence in their own culture" (Wiredu 1992:60) since, as Nyerere puts it, "[a] country which lacks *its own culture* is no more than a collection of people without the spirit which makes them a nation" (Nyerere's speech to Parliament on December 10, 1962 as quoted in Askew 2002:268, my emphasis). For philosopher Godwin Sogolo, this kind of nationalism is conceived of as "the liberation of the mind of the colonized" (1993:202).

Aluta continua (the struggle continues), a slogan brought to Tanzania by Mozambican FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) freedom fighters who were taking refuge and military training in Tanzania, is echoed in the writings of Shivji (2001, 2003, 2006) who suggests that African nationalism (in its broad sense) is still relevant today in so far as imperialism still exists. It is relevant today in so far as globalization and many globalization projects operate against most people's rights, culture, dignity, and humanity. It is relevant today in so far as Africans need to regain these human values.

The manifestation of African nationalism has been evident in various walks of life, as well as academic disciplines such as literature (p'Bitek 1972; Cook and Okenimkpe 1983; Kezilahabi 1988; wa Thiong'o 2002; Mulokozi 1995), religion (Werbourn and Ogot 1966; Biko 2002), politics and philosophy (Wiredu 1980, 2004; Masolo 1994; Oruka 2002; Shivji 2003), and music (Herbst, et al., 2003; Flolu 1998; Nketia 1995), to name but a few. There are two main features shared by recent expressions of African nationalism. First, people aim to regain and cherish their Africanness and their African culture, both of which have been enormously affected by western colonialism, Christianity, and globalization. Secondly, they share the strategies of exploring African indigenous knowledge systems, African traditional materials, and African approaches so as to regain self-esteem and a sense of belonging among Africans. In short, they share an effort to liberate the mental or second layer of the national space.

Let me note here what Thomas Turino and Akhil Gupta refer to as a "paradox of nationalism" (Turino 2000:216; Gupta 2003:239). The paradox involves the negotiation between (smaller) ethnic identities, on the one hand, and (larger) national identities, on the other. On the one hand, Turino writes, "distinctive local groups are necessary because they provide the emblems that distingish the nation from other nations" (2000:216–17). As I will illustrate in the sections that follow, traditional music materials from various ethnic groups, in particular, have been used as tropes or emblems of Tanzanian cultural/musical nationalism.

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On the other hand, Turino continues, "because nations are abstract and because they require primary allegiance from a major number of citizens to function, their existence is simultaneously threatened by more concrete local groups" (2000:217). For this reason leaders such as Nyerere made a number of efforts to weaken the local ethnic identities in Tanzania. As Askew writes:

> With more than 120 distinct ethnic groups, his nation had much to fear from such processes. In an attempt to dull the edges of difference, he instituted social policies of unification such as the single-language policy that formalized Kiswahili's prevalence throughout the country by requiring it as a medium of instruction at the primary school level and the sole mode of political discourse. A second strategy was to systematically weaken localized social bonds and simultaneously strengthen national ones by moving and shuffling people throughout the country. Students admitted to state secondary schools are generally sent to schools far from their home regions, and the same holds true for national service cadets, army recruits, and teachers graduating from teacher's college. (Askew 2002:47)

In the section that follows, I analyze two ways in which nationalism has been constructed and/or expressed through Muziki wa Injili in Dar es Salaam, including the use of traditional music materials, and the addressing of nationalistic issues in the song lyrics.

Use of Traditional Music Materials and the Construction of National Space

I begin by discussing the use of traditional music materials in Muziki wa Injili through an analysis of two songs by the *Kwaya ya Uinjilisti Sayuni* (Sayuni Evangelical Choir). The Sayuni Evangelical Choir is one of the choirs at the Kinondoni Lutheran Church. During my research in the year 2004–2005, I joined the choir and became involved in various activities of the choir including rehearsals and performances. The two songs I discuss below include "Nayaweza Mambo Yote" (I Am Able to Do All Things) and "Masalaba EYesu" (The Cross of Jesus). I describe each of these songs and their performances and then I make some general observations to show how African nationalism is constructed through composition, performance, and the lyrics of the songs.

"Nayaweza Mambo Yote"

The song, "Nayaweza Mambo Yote," was performed by the Sayuni Evangelical Choir during the concert at the Chapel of the University of Dar es Salaam on January 2, 2005. The concert was organized by The

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Patmos (a music group based at the University of Dar es Salaam) and myself (since I wanted to film performances of some choirs and musicians). The song was one of the three songs that the choir performed during the concert. During the performance, the choir appeared in Masai uniforms (traditional dresses of the Masai). In addition, the choir members also had tee shirts under the Masai traditional dresses (see Figure 3 and Figure 4). The song was composed by one of the teachers of the choir, Mwalimu Sebastian Henry. It combines tunes, rhythms, and dances from two ethnic

Figure 1: The Haya tune and the rhythm played on a drum machine in "Nayaweza Mambo Yote" (author's transcription).



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Figure 2: The Hehe tune and the rhythm played on a drum machine in "Nayaweza Mambo Yote" (author's transcription).



groups in Tanzania (the Haya of Kagera northern Tanzania and the Hehe of Iringa southern Tanzania). The first part of the song, which used a Haya tune, was sung by two soloists: soprano and tenor (see Figure 1). I sat in the audience during the performance of this song with a friend of mine, Dr. Aldin Mutembei, who is a Haya. He has been active in church choir music as a choir teacher, singer, and drummer in Dar es Salaam, Morogoro, and Kagera. During this section of a song, Mutembei turned to me and excitedly he told me that he knew the Haya song from which the choir took the tune. A transition followed the two soloists in which the instruments stopped playing and the choir members turned to each other and spoke loudly, each in his or her own local language. A few people spoke in Kiswahili, which I was able to understand: "Nayaweza

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mambo yote katika yeye anitiaye nguvu" (I can do all things in Him who gives me strength). Then they turned to the audience and shouted: "Haleluya" (Hallelujah). The instrumentalists began to play a second tune and the choir joined by singing a song which was derived from a Hehe traditional song (see Figure 2). The choir also changed the dancing style from a Haya dance to a Hehe dance. Additionally, they performed some actions in relation to the words of the song. For example, they swayed from one side to another when they sang words about standing firm in Jesus and not shaking as if saying through action: "Not shaking like this." They also pointed above with their right hands when they sang about trusting in the Lord.

"Masalaba EYesu"

"Masalaba EYesu" was composed by another teacher of the Sayuni Evangelical Choir, Mwalimu Archbold Tesha, in July 2003. The song was composed using a Masai tune and in some parts with Masai language. When Mwalimu Archbold Tesha invited me to his home to discuss his compositions he gave me a copy of the score of this song. Tesha had written most of his compositions using a computer program, Music Write, that had playback capability, and he played the song from the computer so that I could hear how it sounded.

The song was one that the choir performed during a yearly *tamasha* (concert) of evangelical choirs of the Lutheran Church in Kinondoni province. The concert took place on August 15, 2004, at Msasani Lutheran Church. During the performance of this song the choir appeared in Masai uniforms. In addition to the Masai melody and uniform, the choir also danced a Masai traditional dance by moving their necks and heads forward and backward in relation to the rhythm of the song. Also, some choir members danced in a Masai jumping style when the choir sang "*inaruka kwa furaha*" (we/I jump in joy).

There are a number of interesting issues concerning the use of Masai music materials in this song. With regard to rhythmic organization, the song can be divided into two main parts. In the first part each measure has five quarter note beats while in the second part each measure has four quarter note beats. The composer of this song, Archbold Tesha, said that in the first part he used the rhythm of the Masai traditional song he had adopted while in the second part he decided to change the rhythm so as to make this part sound "normal" like many other songs of the choir (p.c., Archbold Tesha, 22 December 2004). During the performance of the song, one could notice the change from a five beat rhythm to a four beat rhythm that the choir played in *zouk* style (a style commonly used

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Figure 3: A photograph of the Sayuni Evangelical Choir in the Masai uniform during the concert. (Photograph by Dr. Aldin Mutembei)



Figure 4: A photograph of the instrumentalists of the Sayuni Evangelical Choir during the concert. (Photograph by Dr. Aldin Mutembei)



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in popular dance music in Tanzania, see Figure 5 and Figure 6). In addition, most of the phrases in the first part of the song are five measures long while those in the second section are four measures long.

Two languages are used in this song. In most parts of the song the choir sings in Kiswahili. In a few sections they sing in Kimasai (the language of the Masai). During the interview Tesha said that he normally used not only traditional tunes but also traditional languages to make the songs sound like the traditional songs of the ethnic group from which he had taken the tune. The choir sings an interesting kind of Kiswahili in that it seems to imitate that of a Masai who is not yet fluent in Kiswahili, that is, a Kiswahili which sounds like Kimasai. This is not a unique incident. A number of popular musicians in Tanzania who use traditional tunes in their songs either sing in the traditional language of the people from whom they have taken the tunes or use Kiswahili with the accent of those

Figure 5: The singers' melody and the drum machine rhythmic configuration in the first five measures of the first section of "Masalaba EYesu" (author's transcription).



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Figure 6: The singers' melody and the drum machine rhythmic configuration in the first four measures of the second section of "Masalaba EYesu" (author's transcription).



people. A famous Swahili rap musician, Mr. Ebo (famously known by his song "Mi Mmasai," which means I am a Masai), is a good example. He is a Masai and he sings his rap songs using Kiswahili with a Kimasai accent that normally arouses laughter in the listeners. Mr. Ebo prides himself on being a Masai and to show that he is a Masai he uses a Masai accent. Following Ali Mazrui, this practice can be considered to be "linguistic nationalism." According to Mazrui: "Nationalism is sometimes a combination of culture as *identity* and culture as *communication*. When the nationalism and the language are either completely or substantially fused, what we get is linguistic nationalism. The focus of the nationalism is substantially pride in one's language" (Mazrui 2004:473, emphasis in original).

In "Masalaba EYesu," the Kiswahili used has been altered in two main ways. First, there are Kiswahili words that are pronounced with a Masai accent. For example, the word *msalaba* (cross) is pronounced *musalaba* or *masalaba,* the word *dhambi* (sin or sins) is pronounced *sambi* and the word *hawezi* (he/she cannot) is pronounced *haiwesi*. Second, there

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are syntactical alterations. Some sentences use the subject incorrectly. For example, a sentence: *Iko na furaha* in this song, in standard Kiswahili would have been, *Ninafuraha sasa* or *Sasa ninafuraha* (I am now full of joy). Other sentences lack the subject and object. For instance, a sentence *Kwa mukono muguu toboa* in standard Kiswahili would have been, *Walimtoboa katika mikono na miguu yake* (They pierced Him on His hands and legs).

In Tanzania, the Masai are often considered to be one of the ethnic groups who have resisted western cultural influences and have shown strong commitment to their culture. Hence their language, dress, songs, and dances have been evoked by many cultural groups as representative of Tanzanian cultures. Werner Graebner gives an example of this practice with reference to a famous popular musican in Tanzania, Dr. Remmy Ongala, and his band, Orchestra Super Matimila. He writes: "During a recent Europian tour of Remmy Ongala and Orchestra Super Matimila, first ever by a Tanzanian dance-band, the musicans dressed in Masai clothes during their performances because as Remmy explains, the Masai are the ones in Tanzania that show the strongest commitment to African culture and life style, an image he considers worth portraying" (Graebner 1997:110–11).

Four general comments can be made with regard to the use of traditional music materials in Muziki wa Injili as exemplified by the two songs described above. First, the Tanzanian nationalism that the choirs construct and experience through this process is a meta-ethnic one, that is, it transcends ethnic boundaries. In the first song the Haya tune and dance are followed by the Hehe tune and dance. In the speech section every member of the choir speaks in his or her ethnic language. A few individual singers during the performance of this song use Kiswahili which is itself a meta-ethnic language. In addition, the choir performs this song while dressed in Masai uniforms (the traditional dress of another ethnic group in Tanzania). In the second song, based on a Masai tune, the choir sang mostly in Kiswahili which is shared among most Tanzanians. In his article on "Disaffection and Spirituality in Tanzanian *Kwaya* [a Kiswahili word for choir] Music," Barz observes a similar case. The song is "Twendeni kwa Yesu" (Let's go to Jesus) by the Kijitonyama Lutheran Choir. The lead singer mentions numerous ethnic groups of Tanzania and the choir responds in the languages of the ethnic groups that are invoked. For Barz, it is a "significant gesture for a contemporary choir to present multiple local languages within a song," and this seems to reflect "the growing acceptance of multiple-ethnic awareness in contemporary Tanzania, moving beyond the mere need for local languages to be employed" (2005:22).

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Secondly, the practice of using traditional music materials in the context of Muziki wa Injili is a way through which local music aesthetics interact with foreign music aesthetics. The songs are performed using foreign instruments such as electric guitars, keyboard, and drum machine. In addition, some parts of the songs were sung in four-part harmony. Likewise, in the second song, "Masalaba EYesu," the composer decided to organize the second part of the song in a popularly used rhythm. So this part is played in the foreign zouk style.

Barz theorizes the use of African (and particularly Tanzanian) indigenous music materials and local languages in Tanzanian church choir music by using the concept of disaffection (2005). He points out that disaffection is an ongoing dialogic process of cultural and religious exchange within Christianity. Referring to the work of Steven Kaplan (1995), who characterizes such practices as "indigenous responses to Western Christianity," Barz points out that disaffection is performed daily "as individual kwaya communities musically perform their religious discontent, alienation, and even disloyalty to the historical and existing authority of church government" (2005:8). Apart from the fact that the process is a dialogue between various spatial cultures (e.g., music of Europe and music of Africa), Barz identifies disaffection as a dialogic process in which multiple "temporal cultures" including the colonial/missionary past and the independent present are involved. He writes "when hymnody is transformed within contemporary kwaya performance, it becomes a vehicle for negotiation between two moments in time—colonial/missionary past and independent present, creating a new chapter in the history of contact between Africa and Western world" (Barz 2005:7).

With reference to the practice of Muziki wa Injili in Tanzania, I would like to add a third temporal dimension normally evoked in the day-to-day practice of contemporary choirs and independent musicians in Tanzania (and other parts of Africa, of course): Africa's "imagined" pre-colonial past. In their attempts to make their music sound local, musicians try to use music materials which they believe are indigneous. To use a temporal metaphor, they try to do away with colonial time or colonial stamps.

Thirdly, the practice transfers the music from its original cultural context into a new cultural context. I posit that this transfer transforms not only the music but even the context and people's experiences of the context. On the one hand, the music changes in terms of its structural organization, language, instrumentation, costume, and performance organization. On the other hand, the musical change leads to a change in people's experiences of Christian religious spirituality, since it is through these "externals of religion" (Wiredu 1992:64) that people experience inner spirituality. Historically speaking, there have been changes in musi-

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cal practice in church music, and the meanings associated with them in Tanzania and in most other African countries. For example, the music that was used in the church during the late nineteenth century was exclusively European (with lyrics translated into local languages). Traditional tunes of the indigenous people were eschewed. So too, their musical instruments, such as drums or musical bows, and their dances were dismissed or avoided. The reason for this was that these tunes, instruments, and dances were associated with traditional religious practices and considered satanic (Weman 1960). The point was that if those tunes, instruments, or dances were used in church, people would associate the music with their former pagan experiences because, as Louw puts it, "all music of the past had its own associations and meaning and could not just be transferred into a new experience" (Louw 1958). By the 1970s, the use of traditional tunes and instruments became common in some churches. The practice is even more common in the present time in most churches in Africa (Euba 1989; Mbunga 1963; Barz 2005; Dor 2005; and Wiredu 1992). My argument is that these musical changes lead to changes in people's lived religious and national experiences. Wiredu observes changes in people's religious experience:

> One should not underestimate the gains that have been made in Africanization of these aspects of the Christian religion. It is not so very long ago that an African preacher in the Presbyterian Church was disciplined for mounting the pulpit in his native attire. Now, in the eighties, even the Catholic Church permits songs in African rhythms and idioms, actually punctuated with drumming, right in the process of worship, a phenomenon which, a few years ago, would have seemed more inconceivable than that a donkey should transport itself through the hole of a needle. No one who observed the subdued demeanor of Africans during worship in the more rigidly colonized modes can help noticing the contrasting spontaneity and joy with which many of our people participate in Christian worship electrified with African music. (1992:64)

This leads me to the fourth and final comment, namely the nationalistic nature of the practice. In many African countries, Christianity has been associated with other forms of western cultural domination, particularly with its prohibition of a number of cultural practices and labelling of traditional music as heathen or satanic. In this way the Christian religion has been taken to be a way of cultivating a "colonial mentality" among Africans. "Colonial mentality" is defined by Wiredu as "the mentality which makes a formerly colonized person over-value foreign things (including modes of thoughts and behaviour) coming from his erstwhile colonial master" (1992:62). Political independence or liberation of the physical spaces of Africa from foreign occupation seems to be incomplete if Africans who are Christians still believe in the inferiority and impurity of their cultural

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practices relative to those of the former colonizers. For Wiredu the answer to this dilemma lies in "Africanizing Christianity" (1992:64). With this process, following Aylward Shorter, the church is seen to be a "plurality in unity," and Christian spirituality is experienced and practiced in multiple traditions since there are multiple cultures (Shorter 1978:22). The practice of Africanizing Christianity is normally theorized by using a concept of "incarnation" that refers to the experience of Christ using one's own cultural traditions (Shorter 1978; Mudimbe 1988). According to Shorter: "We are back again to the concept of incarnation, for Christianity must become incarnate in African cultures. Christ is present in every human situation, in every community and every human tradition, and this fact must be rendered explicit. Africans must experience Christ in their own communities and within their cultural traditions; they are not asked to react to someone else's experience of Christ" (1978:22).

Writing about a similar practice in literature, Ngugi wa Thiong'o celebrates the practice because, "it did point out the possibility of moving the centre from its location in Europe towards a pluralism of centres, themselves being equally legitimate locations of human imagination" (2002:55).

A famous independent musician in Tanzania, Bahati Bukuku, objects to the tendency to perform Muziki wa Injili by borrowing styles that seem to be foreign to Tanzania. She says:

> I have been observing that many singers in Tanzania do not like to create their own things. If a person hears the music of Brenda Fasi he or she wants to sing like Brenda Fasi. Now how can a person in *Sauz* [South Africa] listen to your music? Again if I like to sing like an American, how can an American listen to me while I want an American "beat"? *But I ought to use my own music which is African; the music which sounds like the music of a place where I come from.* Even those people in South Africa or elsewhere can know that the person who sings is a Tanzanian. They should know that this is a Tanzanian "key."[3] (p.c. Bahati Bukuku, 27 September 2004, my translation and emphasis)

Alex Kachelewa (2004) expresses a similar sentiment in his article, "Juhudi Ziongezwe Kupata Muziki Wenye Asili ya Tanzania" (More Efforts are Needed to Create Music of Tanzanian Origin). He writes: "Even the artists of *muziki wa kizazi kipya* [music of the new generation, referring to newer forms of popular music in Tanzania such as rap and hip-hop], what they call *muziki wa kizazi kipya* has its origins in the USA. So it is not something to be proud of that one is musically talented. The reason is that you just advance the work of the colonialists. We need to work hard to advance our own things" (Kachelewa 2004:14, my translation).

In expressing their discontent with the adoption of foreign musical elements among Tanzanian musicans, both Bukuku and Kachelewa

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advocate the use of Tanzanian traditional music. As noted earlier, they advocate the use of traditional music materials in the name of "Africa" as opposed to "colonizers." Barz noted similar sentiments among musicians he interviewed and he writes: "'Africa' thus becomes a marker for many kwayas, distinguishing 'us' from 'them,' colonized from colonizer. For many kwayas this is not a new forum for performing cultural dissafection, for a musical 'Africa' and a musical 'Europe' have long been mapped onto the socio-political landscapes of post-independent Tanzania and imperialist Europe" (Barz 2005:22). Succinctly put, the process of Africanizing the church with the use of traditional music elements in Muziki wa Injili such as in the two examples I have described, seems to be a way of liberating the national mental space from colonial mental space or "colonial mentality."

Lyrics of Muziki wa Injili and the Construction of National Space

Another way in which choirs and independent musicians of Muziki wa Injili express and construct nationalism is through addressing various nationalistic issues in their songs. These issues include national unity, peace, prosperity, pride in national reserves and landscapes as well as resisting pervasive constructs that associate Africa or individuals in Africa with poverty or inferiority. In what follows, I analyze the lyrics of two selected songs and discuss the way each one of the songs addresses these issues. The songs selected are "Tumshukuru Mungu" (Let's Thank God) by Cosmas Chidumule (on his second album, *Kimbilia Kwa Yesu*), and "Maombi ya Yabesi" (The Prayers of Yabesi) by Kinondoni Revival Choir (on their album, *Maombi ya Yabesi,* vol. 6). (* Denotes the name of a person, and # denotes the name of a village in Songea.)

"Tumshukuru Mungu"

By Cosmas Chidumule from his album, *Kimbilia Kwa Yesu* (author's translation).

Stanza 1

Leader: Mshukuruni Mungu kwa kuwa mwingi wa rehema kwetu.
Choir: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.
L: Mshukuruni Bwana Tanzania kuna amani tele.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.
L: Yeye ni Mungu hata kwa wanasiasa.

Stanza 1

L: Thank God because He is so merciful to us.
C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: Thank God we have peace in Tanzania.
C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: He is God even to the politicians.

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C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.
L: Yeye ni Mungu kwa watu wote Tanzania Oh.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.
L: Mshukuruni Bwana Injili inahubiriwa kwetu.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.
L: Tukipiga magoti Baba anajibu maombi yetu.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.
L: Mshukuruni Mungu kwa kuwa twapata mvua jama.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.
L: Mshukuruni Mungu mboga na matunda barabarani tele.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.
L: Yeye ni Mungu. Ametupa wanyama pori.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.
L: Kilimanjaro kweli inapendeza machoni baba.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.

Stanza 2

L: Mshukuruni Mungu Tanzania mshikamano jama.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.
L: Unguja na Pemba Tanzania bara amani.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.
L: Tumbe Mungu viongozi wapewe hekima tele.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.
L: Tanzania yetu kweli ndio kimbilio.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.
L: Maziwa makuu wote wanajua hayo jama.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.
L: Afrika nayo kweli inajua ukweli huo
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.
L: Mtukuzeni Bwana vijana Mungu anawapenda wote.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.
L: Mtukuzeni Mungu Wamasai ng'ombe wanazaliana.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.
L: Mshukuruni Bwana wanyakyusa ha-ha mbasa.

C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: He is God to all Tanzanians Oh.
C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: Thank the Lord that the gospel is being preached to us.
C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: When we kneel, Father, you answer our prayers.
C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: Thank God that we receive rains.
C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: Thank God that there are plenty of vegetables.
C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: He is God. He has given us wild animals.
C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: [Mount] Kilimanjaro looks attractive.
C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.

Stanza 2

L: Thank God for unity in Tanzania.
C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: Zanzibar, Pemba and mainland Tanzania there is peace.
C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: Let us pray that our leaders are given wisdom.
C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: Our Tanzania is a refuge.
C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: All the people in the great lakes area know this.
C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: Even Africa knows this fact.
C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: Praise the God that He loves all the youth.
C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: Praise God for the cows of the Masai are reproducing.
C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: Praise the Lord for the Nyakyusa, ha-ha, yams.

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C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: Yeye ni Mungu usiku na mchana naimba.	L: He is God day and night, I sing.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: Yeye ni Mungu kiangazi na masika.	L: He is God during the dry and the rain season.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: Yeye ni Mungu Baba ameumba vyote sikia.	L: He is God for He created everything.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: Yeye ni Mungu wetu kamleta Yesu tuokoke.	L: He is our God for He brought Jesus for us to be saved.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: Mtukuzeni Bwana furaha mioyoni tele tele.	L: Praise the Lord for our hearts rejoices.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: Yeye ni Mungu ametukusudia mema.	L: He is God. He intends good things for us.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.	C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
Chorus	*Chorus*
C: Tumwimbie leo.	C: Let us sing for Him today.
L: Shangwe ee	L: Let us sing
C: Tumwimbie Bwana.	C: Let us sing for the Lord.
L: Tuimbe	L: Let us sing
C: Tumwimbie leo.	C: Let us sing for Him today.
L: Watu wote	L: All people
C: Tumwimbie Bwana.	C: Let us sing for the Lord.
L: Kayoko	L: Kayoko*
C: Tumwimbie leo.	C: Let us sing for Him today.
L: Asikilovoko	L: Asikilovoko*
C: Tumwimbie Bwana.	C: Let us sing for the Lord.
L: Asigauka	L: Asigauka*
C: Tumwimbie leo.	C: Let us sing for Him today.
L: Mzee Masye	L: Mzee Masye*
C: Tumwimbie Bwana.	C: Let us sing for the Lord.
L: Mzee Mbeko	L: Mzee Mbeko*
C: Tumwimbie leo.	C: Let us sing for Him today.
L: Yoaye	L: Yoaye*
C: Tumwimbie Bwana.	C: Let us sing for the Lord.
L: Mfaranyaki yote	L: The entire Mfaranyaki#
C: Tumwimbie leo.	C: Let us sing for Him today.
L: Tuimbe leo	L: Let us sing today
C: Tumwimbie Bwana.	C: Let us sing for the Lord.
L: Hata Bombambili	L: Even Bombambili#
C: Tumwimbie leo.	C: Let us sing for Him today.
L: Tuimbe leo	L: Let us sing today.

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C: Tumwimbie Bwana.
L: Lizaboni kule
C: Tumwimbie leo.
L: Kucheza ngoma jama
C: Tumwimbie Bwana.
L: Msamala
C: Tumwimbie leo.
L: Dunia yote
C: Tumwimbie Bwana.
L: Matogolo
C: Tumwimbie leo.
L: Tuimbe
C: Tumwimbie Bwana.
L: Matambilako
C: Tumwimbie leo.
L: Mauki
C: Tumwimbie Bwana.
L: Tuimbe

C: Let us sing for the Lord.
L: There in Lizaboni#
C: Let us sing for Him today.
L: To dance
C: Let us sing for the Lord.
L: Msamala#
C: Let us sing for Him today.
L: The whole world
C: Let us sing for the Lord.
L: Matogolo#
C: Let us sing for Him today.
L: Let us sing
C: Let us sing for the Lord.
L: Matambilako#
C: Let us sing for Him today.
L: Mauki*
C: Let us sing for the Lord.
L: Let us sing

Spoken words

Hakika Mungu wetu analipenda taifa letu la Tanzania.
Ukienda kule Muheza machungwa ni ya kumwaga mafungu mafungu.
Kila aina ya matunda.
Sasa jaribu uende Karagwe.
Ndizi ni kama mkonge.
Ah jamani hebu tumwabudu Mungu wetu.
Tumshukuru usiku na mchana.
Nenda Kigoma dagaa kama mchanga.
Inashangaza ni upendo wa namna gani!
Nenda Matombo raha baridi.
Sasa ufike Dodoma mnadani.

Spoken words

Surely our God loves our nation Tanzania.
If you go to Muheza [there are] plenty of oranges in bunches.
Every kind of fruit.
Now try to go to Karagwe.
Bananas like sisal.
Ah! let us worship our God.

Let us thank God day and night.
Go to Kigoma fish like sand.
What a wonderful love!
Go to Matombo comfort, cool.
Now Go to Dodoma auctioning markets.

Stanza 3

C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.
L: Yeye ni Mungu wetu jamani sikieni.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.
L: Achani fitina na kidomodomo mioyoni mwenu.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.
L: Tulitunze taifa letu tulipende jamani.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.
L: Kila mmoja na shughuli zake lakini Mungu wetu mbele.

Stanza 3

C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: He is God, listen.
C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: Stop your mischief in your heart.

C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: Let us keep our nation. Let us love it.
C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: Everyone with his/her business but our God first.

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C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.
L: Enyi wasomi, sikia.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.
L: Na wazee acheni mambo ha-ha.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.
L: Enyi waganga waongo tupa vibuyu vyako tupa kabisa.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.
L: Yeye ni Mungu hapendi uchafu nasema.
C: Uu Uu Tanzania yote kwa Yesu.

C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: You the educated, listen.
C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: And you elders stop your things.
C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: You cheating healers throw away your gourds throw them.
C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.
L: He is God. He doesn't like dirtiness.
C: The entire Tanzania [turn] to Jesus.

Generally speaking, in this song Cosmas Chidumule calls upon Tanzanians to thank God for His love and grace to our nation Tanzania. He says that God's love has manifested itself through a number of things that give Tanzanians a sense of pride in being Tanzanians. These things include peace among Tanzanians themselves and peace with the neighbouring countries. He points out that because of this peace Tanzania has become a refuge for many people, a fact that is well known not only to the countries in the great lakes area but also to the whole of Africa. Secondly, Tanzanians are proud of their national unity. He gives an example of the union between Zanzibar, Pemba, and the mainland of Tanzania. Thirdly, he calls on Tanzanians to be proud and thankful to God because of the material prosperity including the plentiful availability of food from fruits, cows, fish, and goats (as implied by mentioning the Dodoma auctioning market or *mnada*). In addition, Mount Kilimanjaro and the wild animals in national reserves are said to be sources of people's pride in their nation, Tanzania.

The song employs Ngoni and Ndendeule traditional rhythms. Both ethnic groups live in Songea in the Ruvuma region of Southern Tanzania, which is the home place of Cosmas Chidumule. The basic configuration of the rhythm played on the drum machine is transcribed in Figure 7. In a traditional context the kick rhythm is normally played by a big drum and the snare rhythm is played by striking a hoe with a small iron rod.

Figure 7: The rhythmic configuration in "Mshukuruni Mungu" (author's transcription).



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In the chorus section both the lead singer and the backup vocalists sing a traditional Ngoni tune. Chidumule sings this section by mentioning the names of various villages in Songea including Bombambili, Mfaranyaki, Msamala, Lizaboni, and Matogolo. In addition, in this section he mentions the names of people, most of whom have Ngoni names. Then Chidumule calls upon all people and all these villages to thank God for all the good things He has done for our nation Tanzania.

"Maombi ya Yabesi"

Song by Kinondoni Revival Choir from their album, *Maombi ya Yabesi,* vol. 6 (author's translation).

(In Blues Style) *Solo section 1*	*Solo section 1*
Jina lako la huzuni ulilopewa na watu	That name of sorrow which people have given you
si kipimo cha maisha yako ndugu.	is not a measure of your life brother/sister.
Mahali pale pa aibu watu walipokuweka	That shameful place where they have placed you
si kipimo cha baraka zako.	is not a measure of your blessings.
Mimi nilizaliwa kwenye shida na mateso.	I was born in distress and sufferings.
Mama yangu kaniita Yabesi.	My mother called me Jabez.
Maana yake ni huzuni, mateso na masumbufu,	Jabez means distress, sufferings and disturbances.
kumbe Mungu aniwazia mema.	But God had a good intention for me.
Nikaanza kutafuta ahadi zangu kwa Mungu.	I started to look for my promises from God.
Nikamwona yeye hana upendeleo.	I found that He had no favoritism.
Nikalia sana.	I cried deeply.
Neno likaniambia kumbe mimi ni mtu wa thamani.	The word told me that I was a precious person.
Chorus 1	*Chorus 1*
(Leader: Sikuzaliwa,)	(L: I was not born,)
Choir: Sikuzaliwa mimi niwe maskini.	C: I was not born to be a poor person.
L: Sikuzaliwa,	L: I was not born,
C: Sikuzaliwa mimi niwe maskini.	C: I was not born to be a poor person.
L: Sikuzaliwa,	L: I was not born,
C: Sikuzaliwa mimi niwe wa mateso.	C: I was not born to live in distress.
L: Nayaweza,	L: I can,
C: Ninayaweza yote katika Bwana.	C: I can do all things in the Lord.

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Solo section 2

Maombi yake Yabesi yakumwuliza Mungu.
Ni fundisho kwako wewe ndugu yangu.
Sio kutu ni maskini.
Sio kitu hukusoma.

Huyo Mungu akuwazia mema.

Tokea leo ugeuke.
Acha kukiri unyonge.
Tumaini kwa Mungu Yehova Yire.
Yeye atakuinua.
Yeye atakubariki.
Kwani wewe ni uzao wake.

Chorus 1:
Spoken words (no instruments)

Yabesi alipogundua yakuwa jina lake limekuwa kikwazo cha baraka zake ndipo
aliamua kumwomba Mungu ambariki.
Tena akamwomba Mungu apanue mipaka
yake na amlinde na maadui zake.

Na hata wewe ndugu yangu mwaka huu,
haijalishi umezaliwa wapi,
haijalishi una elimu gani na

haijalishi unatoka ukoo gani,

Tunalo neno la unabii kwako wewe Yabesi wa leo.
Ukimwomba Mungu atakubariki.
Tena ataipanua mipaka yako.
Atakwenda kupigana na maadui zako.

L (shout): Je uko tayari?
C (shout): Amen.
L (shout): Uko tayari?
C (shout): Amen.
L (shout): Haleluya
C (shout): Amen.

Solo section 2

The prayer of Jabez to God.

Is a lesson to you my brother and sister.
It doesn't matter if you are poor.
It doesn't matter if you didn't go to school.
This God has a good intention for you.

From today on turn around.
Stop admitting weakness.
Trust in God Jehovah.
He will lift you up.
He will bless you.
Because you are His offspring.

Chorus 1:
Spoken words (no instruments)

When Jabez realised that his name was a barrier to his blessings,

he decided to ask for God's blessings.
He also asked God to expand his territory and
protect him against his enemies.

Even you my brother/sister this year,

it doesn't matter where you were born.
It doesn't matter how much education you have and
it doesn't matter which clan you come from.
We have a prophetic message for you the Jabez of today.
If you ask God He will bless you.
He will also expand your territory.
He is going to fight against your enemies.

L (shout): Are you ready?
C (shout): Amen.
L (shout): Are you ready?
C (shout): Amen.
L (shout): Hallelujah
C (shout): Amen.

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(In Reggae Style)
Chorus 2

C: Bwana ukanibariki na baraka zako.
C: Bwana ukanibariki na baraka zako.
L: Bwana ukanibariki na baraka zako.
C: Bwana ukanibariki na baraka zako.
L: Bwana ukaipanue na mipaka yangu.
C: Bwana ukaipanue na mipaka yangu.
L: Bwana pigana kinyume na adui zangu.
C: Bwana pigana kinyume na adui zangu.

Solo section

Hiki ndio kilio changu kwa Mungu Yehova.
Si kitu nina shida gani.

Si kitu nimetoka wapi.
Hata kama sina elimu.
Hata nikiwa maskini.
Neno moja nalijua ananijali.

Chorus 2:
Solo section

Hiki kiwe kilio chako kwa Mungu Yehova.
Si kitu una shida gani.

Si kitu umetoka wapi.
Hata kama huna elimu.
Hata ukiwa maskini.
Neno moja ulitambue anakujali.

Chorus 3

C: Bwana akakubariki na baraka zake.

L: Bwana akakubariki na baraka zake.

C: Bwana akakubariki na baraka zake.

L: Bwana akaipanue na mipaka yako.

Reggae Style
Chorus 2

C: Lord, bless me with your blessings.
C: Lord, bless me with your blessings.
L: Lord, bless me with your blessings.
C: Lord, bless me with your blessings.
L: Lord, expand my territory.
C: Lord, expand my territory.
L: Lord, fight against my enemies.

C: Lord, fight against my enemies.

Solo section

This is my cry to God Jehovah.

It doesn't matter what kind of problems I have.
It doesn't matter where I come from.
Even if I do not have education.
Even if I am a poor person.
One thing I know. He cares for me.

Chorus 2:
Solo section

Let this be your cry to God Jehovah.

It doesn't matter what kind of problems you have.
It doesn't matter where you come from.
Even if you do not have education.
Even if you are a poor person.
One thing you should know. He cares for you.

Chorus 3

C: May the Lord bless you with His blessings.

L: May the Lord bless you with His blessings.

C: May the Lord bless you with His blessings.

L: May the Lord expand your territory.

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C: Bwana akaipanue na mipaka yako.	C: May the Lord expand your territory.
L: Bwana pigana kinyume na adui zako.	L: May the Lord fight against your enemies.
C: Bwana pigana kinyume na adui zako.	C: May the Lord fight against your enemies.

The song is based on a Biblical story of a man called *Yabesi* (Jabez) from 1 Chronicles 4:9–10. Four general observations can be made with regard to the construction of African nationalism in this song. First, let me begin by observing the relationship between the naming and the experience. According to the song, names given to people seem to influence the real life experiences of the people. Thus according to the song, Yabesi experienced sufferings and sorrows in his life because of the bad name he was given, since Yabesi means "distress, sufferings and disturbances." When he realized the fact that his bad name was a wall that blocked his blessings from God, he prayed and asked God to bless him, expand his territory and protect him against his enemies. The song does not explain in detail how a name influences experience. However, its message is clear that bad names should be resisted. Put it another way, in so far as the name given (mental space) influences inner experiences (lived space) and in so far as bad experiences are not desired, bad names given to a person should be resisted.

Secondly, from this basic understanding the choir plays an interpreter. It advises people who are referred to as the Yabesi of today to resist bad names given to them by other people. The song particularly advises people to resist being called poor or non-educated. The names, according to the song, block God's blessings to them. Instead, it tells us that we should know that God cares for us and that through this knowledge we will be able to pray for God's blessings and protection. God is going to bless us and fight against our enemies. Only through the realization and rejection of these names will we be able to claim and experience God's blessings and protection against our enemies.

Thirdly, this song adopts a common usage of musical styles for communication purposes. The laments, sorrowful reflections of Yabesi and his longing for God's promises, which characterize most of the first section, are expressed using a slow or blues style. The second part of the song is about being ready to resist bad names and, more importantly, claiming God's promises. This section is played in reggae style. We may see the association between reggae music (e.g., the music of Bob Marley or Lucky Dube) and the struggle for liberation and human rights. This song appropriates this usage to proclaim its message that mental liberation leads to physical liberation and lived experience of liberation.

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Finally, let me add another layer of hermeneutic interpretation by extending the interpretation given in the song about the Biblical story of Yabesi and his name beyond an individual level to the continent of Africa as a whole. If the message of this song was to be sent to the people of Africa in general, the advice would be: resist bad names given to you. The bad names here would include "poor countries," "underdeveloped countries," "developing countries," and "third-world countries," among other names. The reason for the rejection of such names, according to the song, is that accepting these names makes the countries so named experience whatever is in the name: poverty, underdevelopment, or being in the margins of the world (third world). Another parallel we may draw from the name of Yabesi and these names is that the names are given to the countries by other people. They are not the names that one gives himself or herself. That is, they reflect other people's representation of Africa and not Africa's self-representation. According to the song, by giving a person such a name, one places that person at a certain social position. So these constructs place Africa at that low position on the social scale.

The resistance to such bad names is not a novel idea among African politicians and African postcolonial scholars. A few examples will suffice to illustrate the point (and this may serve as an indication that the practice has been common even in other areas of cultural and knowledge production). A Ugandan writer Okot p'Bitek writes about his first experience in a social anthropology class at Oxford University. He says, "[d]uring the very first lecture . . . the teacher kept referring to Africans or non-western peoples as barbarians, savages, primitive tribes, etc. I protested" (p'Bitek 1971 as quoted in p'Bitek 1972:4). Similarly, in his article "Introduction: African Philosophy in Our Time," Wiredu gives an account of his first encounter with African Philosophy through a book by Paul Radin, *Primitive Man as Philosopher* (1927). He says the title of the book put him off because of the bad name Radin uses to refer to African people, "primitive" (Wiredu 2004:1). A famous rejection of such bad names as "third-world countries" was made by Kwame Nkrumah. According to Paulin Hountondji, "Nkrumah rejects the common expression 'Third World' for implying that colonized and neo-colonized countries constitute a world apart" (1983:137).

African postcolonial scholars suggest that self-representation is one of the ways through which Africans can resist such bad names. A Kenyan writer Ngugi wa Thiong'o, for example, celebrates the mushrooming of non-western literature and its use in academic institutions because, he argues, it is through their own writing that the people of these countries can represent themselves, and this is a way of resisting mis-representation of non-western people by western writers. In his words:

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> The modern world is a product of both European imperialism and resistance waged against it by African, Asian, and South American peoples. Were we to see the world through the European responses to imperialism of the likes of Rudyard Kipling, Joseph Conrad, or Joyce Cary, whose work assumed the reality and experience of imperialism? Of course they responded to imperialism from a variety of ideological assumptions and attitudes. But they could never have shifted the centre of vision because they were themselves bound by the European centre of their upbringing and experience. (wa Thiong'o 2002:53)

That Africans have a vision of their world which is different from the vision of the Western writers about Africa is a message that resonates in most parts of Agawu's book, *Representing African Music: Postcolonial Notes, Queries, Positions*. Although Agawu alerts his readers that the representation of African music by African scholars would not necessarily guarantee accuracy, what seems important to him is the possibility for self-representation. To use his words: "And the guarantee that they get it right? None, of course. But they will at least have the privilege of doing something that the West has always taken for granted, namely, to indulge their own representational fantasies . . . partly as an expression of power and partly for sheer pleasure" (Agawu 2003:30).

Let me discuss briefly how this naming influences experiences. Concluding his chapter on contesting difference, Agawu writes, "It is time to shun our precious Africanity in order to participate more centrally in the global conversation" (2003:171). With the message of the song in mind, I posit that unless we resist bad names such as third world countries or underdeveloped countries, African people will not be able "to participate centrally in the global conversation" which is imbalanced with the so called G7 (Group of Seven), countries with veto power in the UN or "the North," on the one hand and the third world countries, developing world or "the South," on the other hand. There is a need either to move from the margins (third world) to the center or, as Ngugi wa Thiong'o has it, to move the center "toward a pluralism of centres" (2002:55) in order to participate centrally in the global conversation. How can one participate centrally in the global conversation while he/she belongs or lives in "the South" and the center is in "the North"? The scare quotes are meant to stand for the meanings given to these spatial names; the meanings which are characterized by difference and an imbalance of power. The message of this song is that, we should resist bad names and claim our promises and blessings from God. At the emotional level, bad names make one experience bad emotions such as shame or humiliation.

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Conclusion

The practice of African nationalism in this music has been aiming at liberating the national mental space through the use of traditional music materials and by addressing various national issues. With regard to the use of African traditional music materials, when the music is taken from its traditional context into the contemporary church context, musical change in terms of musical instruments, musical structural organization, language, costume, and performance practice becomes inevitable. Some of these changes involve the use of foreign music materials. I have argued that what is important in improving people's experiences of their national identities is not the use of traditional musical materials in itself but the meanings that are constructed and given to such musical materials—meanings which are associated with socio-cultural status and politico-economic power. And the practice of using traditional music materials and that of addressing national issues in lyrics of the songs are among the ways through which church musicians participate in reshaping these meanings and consequently reshaping people's lived experiences of their national identities.

Notes

1. There has been a growing interest amongst philosophers, geographers, theologians, and sociologists (among others) to theorize space as a social construct. Lefebvre's theory of spatial trialectics has been used to analyze a number of social institutions and relations including religion (Deal 2002, 2003), capitalism (Lefebvre 1991, first published in French in 1974), colonialism (Mudimbe 1988), and gender (Sanga 2007).

2. Mwalimu is a Kiswahili word for teacher. It is used as a respectful title for school and choir teachers. Before becoming a party leader, Nyerere was a teacher and thus has been respectfully addressed as Mwalimu.

3. The term "key" is used in broader sense to include tunes and other musical elements.

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