'BUILDING A NEW EDEN': LUTHERAN CHURCH YOUTH CHOIR PERFORMANCES IN TANZANIA[1]

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ABSTRACT

A study of three songs by a Tanzanian youth choir reveals a synthesis of historical and intellectual sources ranging from pre-colonial social philosophy to Lutheran theology to Nyerere's *Ujamaa* socialism. The songs show how the choir performances break down the barrier between Bourdieu's realms of the disputed and undisputed. In appropriating an active role in shaping Christian ideology, the choir members reinterpret its theology into something wholly new and uniquely Tanzanian. Thus they appropriate an authoritative voice that shapes the basic societal concepts about the nature of life and society. They envision themselves as essential workers in an ongoing sacred task of building a modern Tanzanian nation in the image of a new Eden.

Introduction

> The Church also has a duty to help in the recreation of our culture which has been so much confused and torn apart . . . Remember that 'the voice of the people is the voice of God.' If that is true, then we African Christians and religious leaders are faced with the task of indigenising and adapting Christianity to African situations. Let us at this juncture appreciate the good work that is now being done in this direction—for example . . . singing religious hymns composed to the tune and melody of our own songs, and even beating the drum in Church to the style of African traditional dances. Undoubtedly the Church has created great impact on society . . . Church leaders are well placed to preach our policies of socialism and self-reliance.
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> V.M. Mlekwa in the student journal, *University Christian Perspective*, 1974[2]

The Ipogoro Youth Choir, in Iringa, Tanzania, uses the voice granted to them as a church choir to argue for a national ideology that draws on both pre-Christian local concepts and modern government priorities and enfolds them into a new Christian theology in which youth, as youth, have an important and unique responsibility in society. They structure their argument in a theological discourse, which legitimates it

through the church as an institution with a quasi-official voice in Tanzania. But their argument is rooted in deeper cultural concepts that extend through the recent and colonial pasts and into pre-colonial culture; these concepts still have resonance today and serve to anchor the choir's theological arguments. Using these resonant cultural memories, the choir argues for the re-establishment of social structures that were largely destroyed by the colonial state—a process in which the Christian religion played a major role—and yet they use the language of Christianity to make their argument. They give pre-colonial social philosophy a prominent role, while promoting religion as a legitimating discourse that competes with scientific discourses for authority in the modern world. In effect, the choir concedes the indelible presence of a hybrid culture, and then uses all the tools at its command to shape the 'genetic' make-up of this 'hybrid'. In appropriating an active role in shaping Christian ideology, they reinterpret the theology into something wholly new and uniquely Tanzanian. Thus they appropriate an authoritative voice that shapes the basic societal concepts about the nature of life and human society.

Three songs, sung by the Ipogoro Youth Choir and recorded in 2001, offer particularly illustrative examples of how these songs shape not only theological discourse but also political ideology.[3] Each represents themes woven into many of this particular choir's songs as well as the Eutheran Swahili hymnbook. An investigation of these songs reveals the depth of the intellectual framework built into the church ritual experience in both rural and urban Tanzania. '*Fanyeni Kazi kwa Bidii*' ('Work Hard'), composed for a choir competition on the theme of reforestation, writes government environmental goals into the foundational Adam and Eve myth. An initial discussion of this song will provide the historical context for the choir and their songs. '*Matatizo ya Vijana*' ('Problems of Youth') reconstructs the locally rooted image of youth as soldiers and guardians of society to grant youth a central role in the modern Tanzanian nation, defining local social ills as the 'enemies' that they fight. Drawing on local conceptions of authority and social organization, '*Twaitwa Kufanya Kazi*' ('We Are Called To Work') presents a thesis that, in performance, confounds two theological arguments normally understood as oppositional. The theses presented in these songs then provide a deeper understanding of the bold re-envisioning of the Adam and Eve story in '*Fanyeni Kazi kwa Bidii*' that restructures the myth in accord with a broader tradition of African myths of human origins. In these songs the youth grant their hybrid vision of society particular authority through their performances.

Ritual and symbolic discourse

The process by which people participate in symbolic discourses is notoriously difficult to document. Kwame Appiah suggests that the subconscious power of symbolic discourses is the foundation of ideology.[4] Kelly Askew has indicated that studying the *processes* of symbolic construction helps to understand the deeper realities of imagined communities; and in musical performances one finds key moments of negotiation and invention.[5] Where on the coast Askew tended to see resistance to state attempts to co-opt popular music, in mainland Dodoma May Balisidya found rooted in the very language of performance a more subtle negotiation of which neither government cultural officials nor performers were fully conscious.[6] Similarly, the ideologies promoted by the Ipogoro Youth Choir are largely invisible, or at least unarticulated; but, when asked, people explain the connections. Still, the incorporation of these ideologies into these songs is not the deliberate symbolic construction of government co-optation or even that of a trained novelist. Rather, the songs function in a manner more closely related to oral storytelling in the manner documented by Harold Scheub.[7] Prominent motifs are used deliberately not so much with ideological intention as for emotional effect.[8] But their emotive force derives from their ideological power: they shape society and people's experience, and with it their hopes and dreams, and thus cannot but be emotional.[9]

Choir youth, especially in rural areas but in cities too, are not among the social elite. That they remain in the village or poor urban neighborhood, and involved in local church activities, often means that their education has ended, for most with primary school, for some with four years of secondary school that has left them in a village with no formal employment. In a society that grants authority to age, wealth and education, the voice of such youth concerning social issues is nearly silent. For many young people, it is the voice granted to the church choir that provides an opportunity to shape their place in society.[10]

The choir youth pose as something very different from their individual identities as mere youth when granted a voice by the church as a legitimating ritual institution.[11] Such ritual 'misrecognition', in Pierre Bourdieu's view, 'never governs without the collaboration of those it governs' creating a complicity 'which is the basis of all authority'. From this collaboration also arises the possibility for subversion, or, less dramatically, non-elite ideological formation.[12] Two processes seem to arise here: the possibility for 'the governed' to shape their own discourse and thus the nature of their collaboration, and, secondly, the leveling process

of ritual 'misrecognition' that allows anyone to step into the cloak of authority.

Ritual dramatizes basic societal concepts, thus connecting these invisible principles with the everyday living and conscious ideological production. Bourdieu proposed a division of the cognitive world between an 'undisputed realm' of 'internalized classes' that envelops and forms the context for the 'realm of discourse' where ideologies are consciously formed.[13] The foundational stories of any religion fall under his definition of myth, and the telling and re-telling of myth is the active establishment of ideologies that guide social practice. For Bourdieu this process is one whereby the 'established order tends to produce . . . the naturalization of its own arbitrariness'.[14]

Ritual institutions like the church exist on the boundary line between Bourdieu's realms of discourse and the undisputed; the ritual institution exists only as an expression of the 'undisputed', yet it is a product of conscious discourse. In this mediating role, concepts are in constant flux between the conscious and the unconscious, between the undisputed and the discursive, between basic and constructed. This makes ritual language uniquely powerful. Peter Wood and Emma Wild-Wood demonstrate how in Eastern Congo 'the performance of Christian worship songs in an emotive community setting . . . transports the singers to a heavenly plane in which the harmony of the community provides communion with the divine'.[15] Language used in ritual grants the speaker the unique power to call upon, shape and interpret the basic societal concepts towards the speaker's own ends. This is the authority granted to the choirs in performance.[16]

Three emblematic songs performed by the Ipogoro youth choir, '*Fanyeni Kazi kwa Bidii*', '*Matatizo ya Vijana*' and '*Twaitwa Kufanya Kazi*' provide insight into how the choir intercedes both in the basic societal concepts, in effect disputing concepts in Bourdieu's 'undisputed realm', and in the conscious political and ideological concerns of Bourdieu's 'realm of discourse'. In the process they create an important role for youth in society and argue for specific social philosophies that are in some regards counter to the neo-liberalism officially promoted today. Finally they mold a new interpretation of Christian myth that resonates more deeply with their cultural imagining.

'Fanyeni Kazi kwa Bidii': *Multiple histories in cosmogonic being (see Figures 1 and 2)*[17]

The Ipogoro Youth Choir is composed of young people from the Ipogoro Lutheran Parish in a suburb of Iringa, a regional capital of about 100,000 people in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. Seven sub-parish churches are scattered in farming villages along the main highway towards Zambia and two more sub-parishes are located some distance from the highway. Iringa is one of the 'breadbasket' regions of Tanzania, and, as is common throughout the country, even urban residents often own and farm a plot of land. For many in Ipogoro even a minimal farm income adds significantly to their economic resources.

Islam has a significant presence, especially in urban Iringa; and the chiefly family of the most prominent local ethnic group, the Hehe, is Muslim. Islam's presence in the larger towns is similar to that of Christianity, while in rural areas Christianity is stronger. Throughout both 'imported' religious traditions locally rooted beliefs and practices are common, but those practicing exclusively indigenous religious traditions are probably in the minority. There is little overt religious tension between Christians and Muslims. People often express a more open religious hostility towards the locally rooted traditions, but readily acknowledge that many Christians participate in their activities. A wide range of Christian denominations are active. The mainline mission churches (Lutheran, Anglican and Catholic) have strong local roots and a number of more charismatic (Seventh-Day Adventists, Assemblies of God, independent Pentecostal congregations) churches are growing rapidly. The area was a mission field for German Lutheran missionaries in the first half of the twentieth century, and the Lutheran hymnbook has many German and English songs translated into Swahili.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania (ELCT) gained independence from European Lutheran missions shortly after Tanzanian independence. It is structured hierarchically with a head bishop over the entire ELCT and bishops for each ecclesiastical division or diocese. Each diocese is divided into districts administered by district pastors who maintain fairly close communication with the diocese headquarters. The diocesan bishops appoint pastors, who are trained in one of the Lutheran seminaries in the country, to local parishes in consultation with parish councils. While the pastors are transferred with some frequency, lay pastors drawn mostly from each parish perform most pastoral duties, especially in the sub-parishes where they function as *de facto* pastors. The parish pastor lives in a parish house and travels weekly

among the sub-parishes to perform the sacraments: baptisms, weddings, funerals and the Eucharist.

The Ipogoro choir performs primarily in church, but also at weddings, funerals and other celebrations, and in choir competitions.[18] Each sub-parish generally has several performing choirs, the strongest of which is often the youth choir and forms the core of the parish's competing choir.[19] Gregory Barz has described in more detail the functioning of the competitions themselves, and how neither the competitions nor the songs can be traced to a single cultural source but rather reflect 'multiple histories performed into one being'. There exists a long-standing tradition of dance and choir competitions across much of Tanzania, as well as a tradition of government-sponsored choir competitions.[20]

Competitions between choirs representing parastatal companies provide a good jumping-off point for conceptualizing the persistence of cultural forms, and how they allow for Barz's process of 'multiple histories'. The parastatal competitions evidently grew out of a state interest in drawing on the attitudes and beliefs present in the church choir and village dance competitions to strengthen the state institutions. Even the army had a very popular choir under the direction of Captain John Komba, who was later hired by the ruling party to develop cultural programs whose political tinge varied subtly with circumstance.[21] In drawing on the choir competition tradition, the government was doing far more than creating an entertaining diversion, or team camaraderie. It was trying to appropriate some of the ethical codes and ideals of sacrifice present in religious and village communities.[22]

Barz noted that the parastatals would often define themes for the competitions, and the choirs would produce songs promoting the assigned theme. This is also the normal practice for the Lutheran choir competitions. The theme designated by the diocese in 2000 was reforestation. '*Fanyeni Kazi kwa Bidii*' is, in the words of a choir member, a 'topical song' about 'environmental care and working hard'.[23] The song places the theme of reforestation into the Adam and Eve story, which has a long presence in Iringa in its Qur'anic version through the agency of Muslim traders and preachers who had a trading station there. The story is found inextricably mixed into local stories in such a way that pre-Islamic and pre-Christian themes of the local Hehe culture cannot be differentiated from whatever influence the Adam and Eve story may bear.[24] This undifferentiated mythical compound is then alloyed anew into a consciously Christian retelling of the song.

The Adam and Eve story is what Mircea Eliade calls a 'cosmogonic

myth', one that is 'true history' in that it creates the foundation upon which all historical analysis takes place for that culture.[25] Government and development agencies promote environmental awareness through the planting of trees and maintaining of forests that in turn conserve soil fertility. Thus the song draws a particular ecological lesson:

> Don't you see the inheritance left to us, the descendants of Adam?
> Let's build our Eden and care for it with all our effort and knowledge.
> Let's plant trees for lumber and also for fruit.
> Let's protect the soil moisture for the Creator God.

That God and Adam should meet in a sacred forest, and that it should be Adam's task to preserve it, is a theme with deep cosmogonic resonance in Iringa, predating colonial priorities. The forest is a widespread theme in Tanzanian cultural life as a place of refuge and ancestral protection.[26] Forestation has become a bigger issue in the late twentieth century as deforestation around urban areas has become particularly severe. Here the diocese leadership takes a long-standing governmental development priority, with deep roots in local understandings of environmental care, and uses its authority to mandate the composition of dozens of mythical retellings that incorporate environmental themes into its official Christian theology. This is an attempt to insert these contemporary environmental concerns directly into fundamental cultural conceptions about the nature of the world, trespassing into Bourdieu's 'realm of the undisputed'. In this case, environmentalism becomes a feature of the primordial cosmogonic world itself.

As with the parastatals and the church, the government also attempts to insert its priorities into the realm of myth—where basic societal concepts dwell. In the mid-1970s, the government's Ministry of Education produced a pamphlet called *Let's Plant Trees*,[27] which presents in story form the process and technique of founding seedling nurseries and replanting forests. Its introduction pronounces, 'Trees are one of the things of great benefit in the lives of human beings',[28] and then places the story within the nationalist myth developed most fully and coherently between 1967 and 1982 under the *Ujamaa* socialist economy of Julius Nyerere's presidency.[29] 'The people of Nakabanga village responded to the call of the Party. They met and discussed a good place to build their new village.'[30] The pamphlet uses language echoed in '*Fanyeni Kazi kwa Bidii*' (*wito*, call, and *waliitika*, respond/fulfill responsibility). After a few years the villagers had cut down all the trees, bringing almost apocalyptic consequences: 'Trees to fix things were not available. Water from the spring diminished. Wind and dust covered the villagers. Thus

problems increased day after day.' The villagers resolved to see the local Forestry Officer, referred as *Bwana Miti*, 'Mr. (literally, Lord) Trees', who tells them, 'I am glad that you have realized that trees are important for the life of human beings. Of course I will fulfill your request.'[31] He then explains all about the trees and, like Adam, names different species. He soon visits the village and advises them on technical matters of forestry. Some years later, after planting forests, the villagers, on *Bwana Miti*'s advice, divide the forest so that each villager has a part for which s/he is responsible. *Bwana Miti* then leaves and the rains come in abundance. During the rains, he visits again and is pleased by the development. He subsequently institutes a system whereby some villagers are chosen to cut trees and process and sell lumber for the benefit of the village. The story ends with a celebration in the village of drumming and singing, the villagers are praised for their efforts and 'thus the *Ujamaa* village became a good example for other villages'.[32]

The *Ujamaa* period is central to Tanzanian national identity. Nyerere is almost always referred to by the title he adopted during his lifetime, 'Teacher' ('*Mwalimu*') or, occasionally, as 'Father of the Nation' ('*Baba wa Taifa*'). His vision for society, especially among rural mainlanders, remains an emotive ideal despite the collapse of his economic policies. The language and the structure of his *Ujamaa* policies deliberately aimed to recall cultural ideals of social behavior. The enduring presence of his ideals is linked to his rhetorical inroads into the basic elements of local myth.[33] Nyerere's concepts are now grist for the mythical mill, elements of the new alloy. *Bwana Miti* from the Ministry pamphlet reflects multiple cultural concepts—the 'multiple histories' of Barz's conception. First, he is Godlike: the villagers, in apocalyptic despair, go to him with their prayers and receive relief at his word. He comes to them and confers the skills and knowledge of living in the new society. Like the mythical Adam, he names and apportions nature unto humanity; he is the link between subsistence work and sacred work. Finally he is the divine king who divides the land, and coordinates the actions of the society for the benefit of all.[34] Such an understanding is also reflected in traditional Hehe names: *Nguluvimalekasa* ('God separates') and *Nguluvinoole* ('God take me').[35] The centralizing force of the institution of the chief creates the possibility of a bigger and more variegated society. The chief, in his power to allocate land and labor, provides an organizing principle for the society. This image is well established in Hehe cultural memory.[36]

With the collapse of *Ujamaa*, government officials and institutions no

longer wield their former power and influence, and the presence of corruption has delegitimized what influence they still retain.[37] Government youth organizations like the Party Youth Wing and National Service take in only a fraction of the youth they used to and have almost no presence in the lives of the church youth. Popular vigilante groups known as *Sungusungu* have taken on a quasi-official role in local policing despite their lack of accountability to the state.[38] The overwhelming organizing principles and vast social engineering and educational projects of the Nyerere era are long past, and in most areas of life the government is just a shadow of its *Ujamaa* presence.

Even in the area of reshaping cultural mythology, the government has faded from view. The government, under IMF supervision, is becoming a technocratic regulatory body. Nyerere's rhetorical skills, once ubiquitous, still are the government's main entry into the cultural myths: his ghostly voice appears daily in fifteen-minute excerpts from his speeches broadcast every morning and evening on the national radio station. The churches, however, especially in urban and suburban areas, are growing rapidly. They not only fill the silence as the government fades from view, but also articulate the government's priorities in new mythologies, as the church leadership does every year in assigning the theme of the choir competitions.[39]

The choirs, both church and parastatal, and their competitions emerge from a tradition of dance societies with roots in pre-colonial times that likewise manipulated social truths, reshaping the very institutions that created them. Terence Ranger has described the eighty-year history of competitive music and dance troupes known as *Beni Ngoma*, whose performances were only superficially European and whose communication networks undermined the colonial state and, unsurprisingly, were incorporated into ongoing political competition after independence.[40] The *Beni* and the choirs are variations on a widespread cultural institution, the dance society. B.R. Knudsen, in his description of Sukuma dance societies in central Tanzania, points to a broader social function of the societies. They were rooted in pre-colonial secret societies that operated across the chiefdom and integrated Sukuma into a distinct ethnic identity. As the importance of cash crops rose in colonial times, the societies turned into voluntary work associations that helped to overcome labor bottlenecks by serving as communal labor crews to facilitate an exchange of labor. Knudsen traces how the groups moved toward more formal contractual relationships with large farmers, while maintaining the communal orientation within the group itself.[41] The

choir functions similarly. The youth raise money by hiring themselves out for farm work, singing at celebrations and funerals, making bricks.

In Knudsen's reading, the rise of cash-crop farming led former reciprocal work societies to change into societies where the work group demanded a share of the wealth their labor helped create. But the societies remained resolutely communal in their functioning, and the proceeds were not distributed to individual members. This method of organizing labor seems a modification of the manner in which the chief could call out labor in the past, as Mponzi described. While the method for calling out group labor had changed and devolved into an agreement between the society and an individual capitalist farmer, the relationships within the group remained stable, still requiring individual group members to be motivated out of a sense of responsibility toward the group.

The independent government created parastatal choirs and competitions to call upon deep-seated associations between music performance groups and communal labor in an effort to mobilize an infant economy. These associations are political, even if their effect on the overt political action of the state is not always evident. Kimbu people in western Tanzania described the Uwuxala dance society as '*siasa*' or 'politics'. Aylward Shorter quotes one modern Kimbu man as saying: 'We used to belong to the *ing'oma* [dance society] of the Uwuxala. Now we belong to the *ing'oma* of TANU.'[42]

As seen in the government's use of these concepts, they intimately affect the language and form of political priorities. Using this combination of historical memory and intervention, the choir uses the Adam and Eve myth to structure a vision for society that integrates images that resonate with understandings of pre-Christian political organization, story-telling traditions, post-colonial political ideals and development priorities. A look at two other youth choir songs, '*Matatizo ya Vijana*' and '*Twaitwa Kufanya Kazi*', helps illustrate how the youth argue for a social structure that appeals to them, and how in doing this they infuse Christian theology with basic societal concepts and historical memory. By skillfully combining these elements in ritual performance, their argument and their theological interpretation are given an authority they would not otherwise carry.

'Matatizo ya Vijana': *Tanzanian conception made Christian (see Figures 3 and 4)*

'*Matatizo ya Vijana*' is remarkably work-a-day in its imagery. There are very few biblical references or the heavenly and apocalyptic images that often illustrate religious themes. The song essentially presents an argument:

> Forthright youth are the buttress of the church
> And also the weapon to guard our nation
> So that it will not be troubled by our enemies
> We must raise them well, our nation of the future.

The argument, given authority in their church performance, depends almost entirely on pre-colonial concepts of social organization and has no specific basis in biblical theology. Western theological understandings of the Bible do not describe any particular role for adolescent youth and young adults as a ritually distinct and indispensable class in society, but most eastern and southern African societies depended on unmarried youth as a class to fulfill certain social functions, most prominently military and police functions.[43] Such understandings were well rooted in many Tanzanian cultures. Among Arusha in northern Tanzania, young men before being circumcised were told: 'You are the police of the country. You are depended upon in every kind of danger, an enemy attack or when dangerous animals molest the people in your *boma*.'[44] The old Hehe government had similar institutions, having adopted the Nguni system of age regiments in response to Nguni incursions.[45]

This image also forms part of the cultural memory of the elders of Ipogoro parish: 'In the past youth were very important in the society, for one reason, they were the guardians of the households and they were a major buttress for the society.' A younger parish worker echoed this thought:

> They were used as weapons that the parents, and the society as a whole, appropriated [*walijiwunia*]. The nation as well appropriated the youth so that if a war broke out often they would use the youth. This was one of the good foundations in the life of people as a method to mobilize in many areas; if anything happened it was the youth that were used as a method to save the situation.[46]

Here the historical image begins to waver and cut loose from its historical groundings. While it is quite certain that age structures were used militarily by the Hehe, Ignatius Mponzi was told in 1970 only that 'every man had to fight when war came. Even the youths participated'. This is hardly a endorsement of the idea that youths had the distinct social role as the military force of the society. What one hears in the language of the Ipogoro elders is the echo of the youth choir

song, which is actually inventing—or at least propagating, and not just recalling—an historical memory.[47] The idea that pre-colonial youth were the police of the society has been fixed in the Tanzanian historical memory in such a way as to render it available to modern myth-makers like the Ipogoro choir to build new myths granting modern youth newfound responsibility and importance. As with the government reforestation pamphlet, such mythic appropriations are not new.

Mponzi's interviews with Iringa elders emphatically point to continuities in the methods and strategies of allocating labor and choosing political leadership. According to his sources, prior to European conquest the Hehe Mtwa (chief) existed above the law and administered his domain through officials in every village. 'The Mtwa was the father of the society'. One old man explained that his grandfather told him:

> When the Mtwa wanted certain work to be done he issued orders to his subordinates who would then make the necessary announcement. When the Mtwa wanted his fields to be cultivated, he could order the various *Vasagila* [state officials] to give him a certain number of people who would work on his fields in turn.[48]

Mponzi explained that under German and British colonialism this system remained largely unchanged, with traditional officers calling people into service for the colonial state.[49] Under the post-colonial state, 'the people elected were more or less the ones who were in leadership positions before', and he compared the local elders of pre-colonial times to the ten-cell leaders of the post-colonial state, the party leaders who were responsible for ten households.[50] The colonial state and then the independent state both appropriated power to call out communal labor. Whether Mponzi's informants were historically correct is not relevant for understanding modern choir songs; what is important is the cultural memory as reflected in the thoughts of these elders and the culturally rooted ideals of gerontocracy and the legitimate power of the chief to call out labor.

The Ipogoro youth choir build a new myth on the long history of appropriating youth for labor and military service by granting themselves an analogous role. With high unemployment, most youth have no readily apparent function in society beyond their families. Indeed a long-existing motif among Tanzanian ruling classes, both colonial and post-colonial, has been that unemployed urban youth are a distinct threat to the social fabric.[51] In response to this, youth are creating a new identity, both in their own eyes and in the eyes of the church elders: as warriors fighting modern social ills rather than enemy armies.

Both the colonial state and the independent state made use of

communally organized work. An Iringa pastor recalled Nyerere's enlistment of youth: 'Youth were very involved in work activities, because they have strength and were used a lot to do farm work, carry cargo, and other things as youth.' Likewise he recalled the British colonial authority's power to call out work on cash-crop farms. 'So', he concluded, 'youth were important in the society since a long time ago. They indeed are the strength for work of the nation, without youth the nation could not develop . . . if you leave youth to the side you destroy the nation.' Another pastor added that 'in Nyerere's time, much effort was placed into teaching youth to be guardians. Every youth upon reaching adolescence was made to get involved in security activities.'[52]

For the vast majority of the choir members who have not been able to continue their schooling, choir and church activities are their intellectual stimulus, where they debate, refine and reflect upon abstract ideas about life and society. Their ideas echo earlier youthful voices that had advocated Nyerere's national priorities as divinely sanctioned. During the most active phase of *Ujamaa* in the early 1970s, a Christian student at the University of Dar es Salaam addressed the church's role explicitly:

> The Church today can do a great deal to enhance *popular* development . . . if only the Church will identify herself with TANU and the politics and policies thereof . . . I wish to propose here that this should be the song on every pulpit . . . This taken advantage of could be a useful weapon to fight the vices of laziness, drunkenness and many others.[53]

The choir also places itself in a national context as 'the weapon to guard the nation'. They identify themselves as a 'weapon' confronting not enemy soldiers, but rather social ills such as those suggested a generation before: substance abuse, crime and immorality. The youth choir gives public voice to this notion of youth as the strength of the nation that continues to resonate in Tanzanian society. A good example appears in a more recent university newsletter article about illegal drug use, concluding with a reminder: 'Many users are 15-35 years old and are the strength for work of the nation.'[54] Like the *Sungusungu* movement, the choir introduces a thesis of youth as warriors in support of the national state even as they are institutionally independent. While religiously motivated, the choir voluntarily submits their divinely ordained service to the secular nation.

'Twaitwa Kufanya Kazi': *Theological debate performed (see Figures 5 and 6)*

The choir members structure an intricate unity between their religious and political identities, building on a foundation of historical memory filtered through Nyerere's national vision. The choir uses the opportunity of their ritual performance to articulate their mythologization of history and identity. The performance itself is an integral part of this articulation; their actions communicate as much as the text of their mythological retelling.[55] The song '*Twaitwa Kufanya Kazi*' exemplifies this. The cultural understandings that the choir depends on in establishing an important role for youth in the society are closely correlated to local ideas about youth's availability for labor. This song falls into a genre relating to the 'responsibility to work' theme. A well established example is the popular song appearing in the Lutheran hymnbook, 'The Good Responsibility That Comes From You' by Enock Kalembo:

> The good responsibility that comes from you Lord of Holiness.
> The good word is indeed your name.
> Jesus is the beginning of work on the farm.
> He is also the Lord of our strength for our service.[56]

Here the central figure of Christian theology is envisioned as the focal point for communal work, not unlike the chief in the memories of Mponzi's informants, and functions to mobilize work by members in religious work societies organized similarly to the country-wide tradition indicated by the Sukuma dance/work societies. Kalembo's song reflects this linkage, using the biblical image of Jesus' followers to resonate with the present-day work groups:

> You [God] send them with their groups
> With earnestness and effort
> Let us be the proof for them.

While Kalembo's images parallel in many ways the sort of intention seen in the parastatal choirs of mobilizing a population for economic production, with the intention suggested by Göran Hydén of 'capturing the peasantry', his text retains an autonomy vis-à-vis the state.[57] In keeping with the autonomous support of the state seen in the *Sungusungu* movement and in the thesis in '*Matatizo ya Vijana*', Kalembo explicitly favors church authorities (pastors, *wachungaji*) over state representatives (rulers, *watawala*)

> Let the prudent ones be full of yearning, perseverance, and knowledge.
> May your name comfort them.

> It is pastors only who know this, not rulers.
> Lord reveal yourself to them.

The Ipogoro choir song '*Twaitwa Kufanya Kazi*' plays with these images, this time hanging them on biblical language for the first line, 'the workers of the Lord are few' (Matthew 9:37; Luke 10:2). This song is very popular in performance because of its actions; during the call-and-response refrain the whole choir comes out of its rows and each member begins acting out a different activity, such as children's play, jacks, jumping rope, playing soccer, hopscotch; others mime adults at work: hoeing, writing, and one holds a Bible and preaches. The sub-text of the actions is that of a process of maturation that takes place mediated by the involvement in work, and this work called forth by God or the church, as represented by the preacher. This process of maturation fits well with the established idea of adolescence being a time when one is available to the community through one's labor.

Even though some of the concepts in both '*Matatizo ya Vijana*' and '*Twaitwa Kufanya Kazi*' are not of European Christian origin, their incorporation into the religious discourse of the church gives them a conscious legitimacy. But the more complicated performed text of '*Twaitwa Kufanya Kazi*' illustrates the way the songs travel in flux between Bourdieu's 'realm of the undisputed' and 'the realm of discourse'. By rooting themselves in local concepts they gain access to the 'realm of the undisputed' and insert a Christian theme, but likewise they liberate the undisputed concepts from their invisibility and give them the conscious discursive legitimacy offered through the ritual institution of the church.[58]

'*Twaitwa Kufanya Kazi*' performs a theological debate rooted in the tension between the implications of the words and the actions. The words as written recall the power of the colonial government to call out labor, and pay wages on an individual basis. But the actions of the song, in relation to a maturation process linked to responsible work, bring out an orientation toward communal work suggested by the subtle singular in the last verse of 'our wage' to be paid to the choir as a dance/work society as described by Knudsen. The organizing principle in this song is balanced between the 'wage' and the 'Lord's call'.[59] The song reflects Tanzanian society's ongoing struggle to balance a communal labor orientation found in traditional practice and in Nyerere's *Ujamaa* policies—and even in some colonial practices that took advantage of this orientation—with a capitalist wage-labor orientation that is currently heavily promoted by the pressure of globalization and IME imperatives in the society. The undiluted wage orientation of the globalized state has not incorporated the socializing functions of the communal labor orientation in the tradition; but Nyerere attempted such

a project in his *Ujamaa* system, and the choir envisions such socially evaluated work in its integrative retelling of biblical myth. The theological debate in the song seems to parallel Issa Shivji's observation that

> a national consensual ideology . . . cannot be constructed but in contestation between the existing Western/statist/liberal concepts of justice and rights and the social democratic conceptions and perceptions . . . of the majority, the popular classes.[60]

In the song, the 'wage' thesis is actually far weaker according to Lutheran theology than the thesis reflected in the actions. In their performance, the youth insert Lutheran theology into a distinctly non-Lutheran text. The 'wage' thesis suggests that God accepts or rejects people according to their 'good works', while Lutheran theology is largely predicated on Martin Luther's rejection of this idea, promoting instead the idea that God accepts or rejects people according to their faith. This might suggest a different denominational source for the song (entirely plausible, since the songs circulate as quasi-oral texts), but the actions align closely with Luther's idea of vocation, whereby each individual is called into a certain line of work; even though it may not be priestly, or high-status, work, the individual's fulfillment of it is a Christian duty, so that in God's eyes all work has the same status.[61] A lay pastor from Ipogoro made this point explicitly in reference to this song:

> Some of the other youth perhaps think that to have work is to get a job there in an office, that's work, to hold a pen and write. But this song, when you do its actions, you find that some plant seeds, others cultivate, others winnow grain, others sweep, and others play soccer, and others do other sorts of work. So this shows . . . that a youth should not think that work is a certain job only, when really there are many types of work to do.[62]

In this analysis even soccer is ranked among the types of work to be done, suggesting that children's play is their vocation, their divinely mandated task at that stage in life, reinforcing the idea of specific social roles for different stages in life. This is reflected in the actions to the song. A young woman from the choir echoed the lay pastor's point, fully in accordance with the Lutheran concept of vocation:

> Work is not something you choose such that you have to be in an office. Rather he/she that farms or winnows corn and is given 200 [shillings, about twenty cents] also has done work. If you have done the sweeping, work is work.[63]

So, in its performance, the song becomes a myth doubly reinterpreted, one interpretation of a biblical passage being largely rejected by the actions of the song in performance. The actions establish two things: work as a central feature of social maturity in accordance with local traditional ideas, and the concept of vocation in accordance with Lutheran teaching filtered through a European tradition.[64] These are

in addition to the text of the song, which draws on yet another western theological construction, as well as the shock of the colonial work regime. The song creates a unified vision that draws on multiple sources to envision an identity for these youth that builds on the role articulated in '*Matatizo ya Vijana*'. Within modern Tanzanian culture this identity is a politicized one. One early theme of the Tanzanian government, and one that remained fairly constant in his rhetoric and is still quoted regularly, is Nyerere's motto: 'Freedom is Work'. In articulating his vision for the *Ujamaa* society, Nyerere promoted a work regime that resonates powerfully with the Lutheran theology performed by the choir:

> A socialist society, therefore, will consist of workers—and only of workers. Every member will contribute, by his work, to the total of wealth and welfare produced by the society . . . For work is not only a duty to society; it is also a right of every human being . . . Nor is it necessary to make a distinction between a wage-earner whose work involves much physical labour, and one who works in an office . . . All who contribute to the society by their work are workers.[63]

As Tanzania has shifted towards a more privatized economy, and the state has retreated from its attempts to mobilize all citizens into state-oriented work, youth such as those in the choir no longer encounter work as an avenue to adult community membership. In re-establishing attitudes toward work and youth that are rooted both in traditional culture and in Nyerere's own reconstruction of traditional culture into *Ujamaa*, the choir grants new legitimacy to these concepts in terms of Christian theology. The song, '*Twaitwa Kufanya Kazi*', in performance is a magnificent example of Barz's 'multiple histories performed into one being'. Taking its place in ritual, the song effectively erases the boundary between the 'undisputed' and 'discursive' realms, and is thus free to envision a society of its own choosing—legitimated through both basic societal concepts and conscious religious ideology, and rooted in historical memory.

'Fanyeni Kazi kwa Bidii': *Genesis in Tanzanian conception (see Figures 1 and 2)*

With this background, we can return to and understand how the choir youth write themselves and their priorities into the retelling of Adam and Eve cosmogon of '*Fanyeni Kazi kwa Bidii*'. To 'work earnestly' is the primary prescriptive moral of the Adam and Eve myth in the Ipogoro choir's retelling—a far cry from most interpretations, whether in the Christian West or in the Islamic East. The song then proceeds to explain this moral theologically through a subtle retelling of the

myth, sensitively drawing on local myth and tradition, and ambitiously incorporating the needs of a modern world. In doing so, the ancient myth is made new and crucially important to development in the Tanzanian nation.

Once again the theme of fulfilling responsibilities arises immediately, a central idea in local concepts of legitimate social organization. In the song, Adam and Eve's vocation, conferred by God, was to tend to the garden. The serpent's intervention receives a fairly standard telling; it is only the response to the curse that catches our attention—'let's work and call Him [God], He will answer.' God, like Jesus, in Kalembo's song, is the focal point of that essential communal work. And when God calls on Adam, he asks not, 'Where are you? . . . Who told you you were naked?' as he does in the biblical version; but instead, 'Adam, why are you not at work? . . . Why are you hiding?' Work, here implied, was a part of the Edenic world, and not punishment; rather the punishment was the proclivity to avoid work. The immediate and enduring result of the act of disobedience and the ambition to be like God was the dereliction of duty. In this telling, to shirk one's responsibility is to revisit the moment of original sin and the separation from God. The biblical punishments of laboring for one's food and painful birth are included, but subordinated to the primary theme of the shirking of duty.

Then, as he does in the Bible, God banishes them from the garden. In response to their banishment, Adam and Eve do something wholly surprising to a western theology: 'they built their own Eden far from his face'. A subtle harmony is sung here between the biblical story of banishment and a motif noted by Harold Scheub in stories across the African continent of human separation from a golden age when people lived with God.[66] As with the image of youth as a warrior class, which may be impossible to verify as an authentic pre-colonial Hehe custom—the presence of the separation motif in modern memory allows it to resonate as myth regardless of its provenance. Myth articulates, in an emotionally resonant way, Bourdieu's 'realm of the undisputed'. Like the storytellers Scheub observed in apartheid South Africa, the choirs, authorized by the church as legitimate interpreters, insert their voice.[67]

So Adam and Eve embark upon their uniquely African task of building a new Eden: 'It was their work to farm and to raise animals and care for their family.' The world built of human initiative is here not relegated to an irredeemable status as a 'fallen world' but is rather redeemed in the human response to God's call to take responsibility for it and to 'build our Eden and care for it with all our effort and knowledge'. Eden, which in western theology is the forever-lost paradise,

here can be rebuilt by communal labor, organized upon instructions left by a once disobedient Adam. A couple of remarkably specific instructions that might just as well have come from *Bwana Miti* then appear as examples: 'plant trees for lumber and also for fruit', and 'protect this soil moisture'. These are deeply layered images; only superficially are they responses to the diocese leadership's mandate to compose a song about reforestation for the annual choir competition. The images have roots in both long-standing governmental priorities and local family inheritance, but they are ultimately rooted in more fundamental conceptions of fertile land and forests and their implications for social health and public authority.[68] As in the government reforestation pamphlet, when the trees are cut down, the rains stop and the spring runs dry; when they are replanted, the rains return and life is good. Core images of trees, water and fertile soil are at the heart of numerous southern and central African myths.[69] The theme of human separation from the divine realm combines with the possibility of a renewed connection in the forest. The song animates the Adam and Eve myth with the present reality of village life where a forest alive with otherworldly attributes demarcates the village boundary.

Conclusion

If these concepts of the tree and the soil and their importance as sources of life on earth resonate with people around Iringa, then they help explain the power of the choir's Edenic vision more thoroughly. On the surface the song bears a simple advertisement for environmental awareness and reforestation. Next we have a theological argument that environmental conservation is divinely mandated, an argument whose theological basis competes with the commonly proffered scientific argument. More deeply we see the church taking on its responsibility to the state and promoting socially beneficial work; even more deeply we have the presence of 'grandfather's forest', and the sense of communal responsibility for it. Further we see the nature of divinely ordained work rooted in the human task of rebuilding Eden, and the centrality of this work to social organization. And finally we have the emotive power of the forest and the soil as sources of life, and the entire argument of the song rests on these foundational images. All that God has ordained, all that the state in all its historical forms has desired, and all that the church wants the choirs to promote, depends on these life-giving sources.

These images from African philosophy provide the underpinning to legitimate a western scientific thesis that trees and fecundity are intimately connected; by themselves the western scientific 'truths' have no voice

in the song, subordinated as they are to an impressive array of other social and religious truths, but neither do they contradict the thesis of the song.[70] Far from being a haphazardly attached footnote in an unoriginal recitation of the endlessly retold story of Adam and Eve, these trees and soil fundamentally reinterpret western Christian theology and provide the motive force in this original retelling of the story. It is for these trees that 'God will even bless the work of our hands and increase the bounty of our harvest'.

Using the shards of memory, myth, and theology, the youth argue for their importance as the guardians and future hope of the society, just like the initiated youth of old. Their work, however humble and unlettered, is sacred work as Euther theorized, but now offered to the chief, to the community, and thus to the state; their incorporation into community through such work now becomes membership in the church and citizenship in the state. They are descendents of Adam and Eve, who, as primordial mother and father, gave them the sacred work of building a new Eden as an idealized Tanzanian nation—an image that combines the arguments of the other two songs, with their multiple histories, and uses them to construct a wholly new theology in the Christian tradition.

Such bold thematic mixing and theological innovation is hardly the province of youth in Tanzanian society, being a task more suitable for elders and educated professionals, but the youth are able to do it legitimately and authoritatively by using the language and ritual of the church. The church, as with other religious institutions in Tanzania, is both a popular institution and a quasi-official one. As a popular institution it is integral to many people's lives, and the owner of numerous schools, colleges, hospitals and other properties and businesses. Religious leaders in Tanzania wield substantial political power. Because of this, the government, even since colonial times, has sought to incorporate the church into its structures. A number of religious umbrella organizations function to mediate between the government and religious communities. Thus the language of the religions, like legal or scientific language, carries authority in the society. In most areas around Iringa, religious concepts often carry more authority than legal or scientific ones.[71] It is, then, significant that the church takes on the task of legitimating essentially scientific and political priorities—reforestation and environmental issues—through its own authoritative language. Likewise, the government pamphlet used a religiously inflected language for the same topic. The authority of religious language stems from its ability to legitimate conscious discourse with emotive symbolic value rooted in the 'realm of the undisputed', and at the same time use its access to meanings of this symbolic language to dispute the undisputed,

to debate its meanings and mold it. Their ability to do this has great relevance to Tanzanian development and the Tanzanian state, and not only in encouraging environmental conservation.

The songs resemble the oral histories collected and analyzed by Steven Feierman in Shambaai in northern Tanzania in the 1960s. The basic principles of Shambaa myth underpinned a local political structure as 'both an intellectual's and a moralist's model of the Shambaa kingdom'. Feierman noted, 'it is peasants who create new political discourse'.[72] In the introduction to the 2002 Tanzanian edition of the *Shambaa Kingdom*, Feierman noted how much local elements of myth had changed:

> The oral historian today is able to tap into rich historical memories on the introduction and spread of Lutheranism or Catholicism . . . on varieties of Islamic knowledge and practice, and how they spread . . . Historical memories are specially rich about *Ujamaa*—what people heard about it at first, how it was implemented, what sorts of local organizations people created, [and] what people's memories are of Nyerere . . . Many colonial period topics are the subject of rich memory today: the politics of forestry . . .[73]

The new make-up of these histories still serves the old purpose: to provide an intellectual and moral justification for the polity. Only now it serves a national polity with particular legitimating religious institutions. This does not, however, mean that the songs simply express a state-imposed memory, nor are they an amalgam of 'staggering fragmentation'.[74] Rather they are akin to the Zionist churches described by Jean Comaroff in South Africa wherein multiple histories are reconstructed in church performance 'to carry off whole institutional complexes'.[75] But as opposed to the imperative of rebellion against a hostile state as in South Africa, or even the negotiated resistance to the state of popular musicians on the Tanzanian coast, the desire of the Ipogoro youth to guard and reinstate aspects of Nyerere's *Ujamaa* economy in neo-liberal Tanzania is only implied in their desire to rebuild aspects of the socialist ideals that preceded the neo-liberal aspirations of the current state. Such performances shape ideology by interpreting historical and mythological memory. The choirs weave threads of government development priorities, colonial memories, pre-colonial foundations, local rhythms and globalized concerns into visions of social organization for a Tanzania as they would have it.[76]

The ability of Tanzanian youth to insert themselves into national priorities seems initially an example of Bourdieu's observation that 'cultural producers are able to use the power conferred on them . . . by their

capacity to put forwards a critical definition of the social world, to mobilize the potential strength of the dominated classes and subvert the order prevailing in power'.[77] But this framework seems overly dependent on European Marxist assumptions about the inevitable nature of class conflict in society and the constant presence of a reified and generally mute 'dominated' class in constant opposition to the state.[78] Bourdieu's conceptualization offers the means by which a more complicated societal discourse among elites of different categories may take form, but leaves little room in practice for active and vocal disempowered groups who appropriate symbolic systems and use them to shape ideology in support of a state ideology. The choir youth insert themselves into a tradition that is neither primordial nor 'invented', but, in Spear's phrasing, forms 'an endless dialogue between the past and the present in which people continually employ, debate, and reassess the relevance of past experience for the present'.[79] As with Balisidya's insights into the negotiated nature of attempts to appropriate local art forms for government priorities, the Ipogoro choir's mythological reconstructions go beyond Askew's conclusion that Tanzania 'is a nation wherein cultural policy is not the invention of an elite majority, nor of a bankrupt and marginalized cultural ministry but rather a series of negotiations with citizens'.[80] The choirs are agents constructing both ideological and theological ideals; the power of their voice in performance suggests that it is not they who are appropriated by the state or the church, but that the choir appropriates state and church into their own envisioning, shaping people's expectations and participation in state institutions.

The ability of the youth to mythologize an identification with the national state may be essential to Tanzania's ongoing ability to maintain internal peace, even as it borders states to the south and west that have been rent by civil war. With the decline of the Tanzanian state, this task of socializing youth has devolved upon various institutions, the Eutheran youth choirs being but one. But they are a good example of how new myths can be cultivated without undermining earlier ones; the new myths strengthen the old by re-legitimating their fundamental moral structure. T.W. Bennett's analysis of the use of child soldiers in African conflicts provides a context to appreciate the essential social utility of this process. Bennett attempts to trace the use of child soldiers culturally to seek African criteria for what activities are legitimate for children and youth, and how local practices have guided youth activities in society in the past. The flexibility of the 'ambiguous age' of youth 'opens the way to exploitative practices'.

> Traditional rules for regulating attainment of adulthood have been transformed as the result of the socio-economic changes that came in the wake of colonialism. Throughout Africa, urbanisation has fragmented extended families. Breakdown of the family has, in turn, resulted in an ever-increasing number of illegitimate births, runaway children and single-parent families. Through wage labor, sons and daughters have gained financial independence of their guardians. Christianity and Islam have discouraged performance of initiation ceremonies, and everywhere tradition has succumbed to a modern secular culture.[81]

This is where the youth intervene by cultivating the choir to reverse the church's destruction of traditional culture. Using theological language and ritual to legitimate both traditional culture and favored aspects of Tanzania's own political culture, they form a strong 'buttress' to the national society, preempting the sort of social and political breakdown so evident in other African states. The social chaos that accompanies the decline of one political structure and its replacement by another is seen as a contributing factor for the recruitment of youth into armies where a violent patrimonialism replaces the 'failed patrimonialism of the state'.[82] By providing an institution geared towards both socialized maturation and reinforcing Tanzanian national ideals, the choir guards against the appropriation of youth into violent or subversive activity. This intention seems rational enough when compared to efforts to prevent the recruitment of child soldiers where the provision of primary education, vocational training and social services are staples of preventative efforts. Even so, as Volker Druba observes, 'education does matter, but this alone cannot prevent child soldiering. Observing their legal protection is essential.'[83] The Tanzanian state is the most immediate, indeed the only, institution that could be expected to provide such legal protection. At the same time, primary and vocational education and social service provision were hallmarks of Nyerere's administration whose ideals the choir sings into Christian theology. The choir conceives a locally rooted theology to promote a national society in which their vision accords with what some outside scholars perceive to be sociologically sound.

Finally, because the Ipogoro choir uses theological language, located on the boundary between 'undisputed' societal concepts and conscious discourse, their reinterpretation goes far beyond a simple legitimization of contemporary national concerns through an imported theological logic. Their reinterpretation re-shapes Christian tradition, not only for their church and their nation, but, by extension, wider religious and political communities such as the American and European Lutherans.[84] They envision themselves as essential workers in an ongoing sacred task of building a modern Tanzanian nation in the image of a new Eden.

FIGURE 1

Work Hard

Work hard, call upon the Lord, so He will bless your work.
He will bless and love those who call Him as they fulfill their responsibilities.
I recall in the beginning God created Adam and his wife Eve.
He gave them the responsibility to care for the garden.
And there was one that sulked amongst them and came and deceived Adam.
He broke the covenant and said, you Eve, know the secret of God,
You will be the same as Him, and then Eve desired it.
That's when Eve went and tempted Adam.
That's when he ate the forbidden fruit.
And this then is the source of the curse upon the earth.
Eet's work and call Him, He will answer.

God called Adam, Adam why are you not at work?
I am hiding. Why are you hiding?
Or have you broken the covenant that we made?
Adam and his wife didn't want to confess the sin that they did.
They went on obstinately to make excuses, each blaming another.
God punished them and gave them suffering and bitter pain.
You will eat of your sweat for the earth to produce.
You will give birth in pain. This is your punishment.
And this is when God banished them from Eden never to live there again.
They built their own Eden far from his face.
This is the source of the trouble upon the earth.
Lct's work and call Him, He will answer.

Adam began the work of building a new Eden.
It was their work to farm and to raise animals, and care for their family.
In his strength, don't you see the inheritance left to us, the descendants of Adam?
Eet's build our Eden and care for it with all our effort and knowledge.
Eet's plant trees for lumber and also for fruit
Lct's protect the soil moisture for the Creator God.

He will decrease our curse if we fulfill our responsibility that He gave us.
Father God will even bless the work of our hands,
And increase the bounty of our harvest.
This will be the beginning of the happiness that He promised us.
Let's work and call to Him earnestly, He will answer.

FIGURE 2

Fanyeni Kazi kwa Bidii

Fanyeni kazi kwa bidii mwiteni bwana azibariki.
Atabariki awapenda wamwitao wakitimiza wajibu walio nao.
Ninakumbuka hapo mwanzo Mungu alimwumba Adamu na mkewe Hawa.
Akawawapa na wajibu kuitunza busitani.
Na ilivyomo anuniaye akaja akamdanganya Adamu.
Akavunja agano akasema wewe Hawa hujui siri ya Mungu,
Utakuwa sawa na yeye, hapo Hawa akatamani.
Ndipo Hawa akamwendea Adamu amshawishi.
Ndipo akayala matunda waliyokatazwa.
Hapo ndipo mwanzo wa laana iliyopo nchini.
Tufanye kazi na kumwita kwa bidii, ataitika.

Mungu kamwita Adamu, Adamu mbona hupo kazini?
Nimejificha. Kwa nini umejificha?
Au umevunja agano tuliloweka?
Adamu na mke wake hawakutaka kumkiri kosa walilofanya.
Wakajisingizia kila mtu kwa mwezake kwa ukaidi.
Mungu akawaadhibu na ana yeye mateso, na machungu makali
Utavuna jasho lako nchi hii itakuzalia.
Wewe utazaa kwa uchungu. Hiyo ndiyo adhabu yenu.
Ndipo Bwana kawafukuza Edeni wasikae tena.
Wakajenga Edeni yao mbali na uso wake.
Hapo ndipo mwanzo wa taabu iliyopo nchini.
Tufanye kazi na kumwita kwa bidii, ataitika.

Adamu kaanza kazi ya kuijenga Edeni mpya.
Na kazi yao ya kilima na kufuga na kutunza familia, na kwa nguvu zake
Huoni urithi wetu wote wa kizazi cha Adamu katuachia?
Tujenge Edeni yetu na kutunza kwa bidii na maarifa
Tupande miti ya mbao pamoja na ya matunda,
Tutunze umaji kwa Mungu aliyeumba
Akatupunguza laana tukitumiza wajibu ule aliyotuagiza.
Baba Mungu atabariki kazi za mikono yetu,
Ndipo atatuzidishia mapato ya mavuno.
Utakuwa mwanzo wa heri aliyotuahidi.
Tufanye kazi na kumwita kwa bidii, ataitika.

FIGURE 3

Problems of Youth

The problems of youth today here in Tanzania and anywhere in the world
Are the lack of good morals from parents since they were small
Drunkenness, thievery, robberies, smoking marijuana and illegal drugs
These habits and many others cause our fellows to lack for good upbringing
They get mixed up and think many pointless things
[Because of] these habits and many others
Let's raise our children on a foundation of faith.

> Forthright youth are the buttress of the church and also the weapon to guard our nation
> So that it will not be troubled by our enemies
> So that it will not be troubled by our enemies
> We must raise them well
> We must raise them well
> Our nation of the future

Let's try hard to protect our good upbringing and raise children on a foundation of faith
Father and mother don't get along with the result that their children get lost
They get mixed up and think many pointless things
Because of this they get caught up in gangs that cause evil.

Let's pray to God to help us avoid these dangers that lose our youth
So that they may follow God. He is their rock and Jesus Christ is their Savior
So that they may be combined with God's love so that they have faith.

FIGURE 4

Matatizo ya Vijana

Matatizo ya vijana wa leo hapa Tanzania na popote duniani
Ni ukosefu wa maadili mema toka kwa wazazi tangu wakiwa wadogo
Ulevi, wizi, pia ujambazi, kuvuta bangi madawa ya kulevya
Tabia hizi na nyingine nyingi matokeo yake ndugu kukosa malezi
Wanafikia kuchanganyikiwa kuwaza mengi yasiyo mwelekeo
Tabia hizi na nyingine nyingi tulee watoto kwa misingi ya imani

> Vijana wanyofu ni tegemeo la kanisa tena silaha ya kulinda taifa letu
> Ili lisisumbuliwe nao maadui zetu
> Ili lisisumbuliwe nao maadui zetu
> Yatupasa tuwape malezi mema
> Yatupasa tuwape malezi mema
> Taifa letu la baadaye

Tujitahidi kutunza malezi tulee watoto kwa misingi ya imani
Baba na Mama hawaelewani matokeo yake watoto wapotea
Wanafikia kuchanganyikiwa kuwaza mengi yasiyo mwelekeo
Tabia hizi wanajihusisha na magenge mengi yanayotenda maovu

Tuombe Mungu atuepushie majanga haya ya kupoteza vijana
Wamfuate Mungu ni mwamba wao na Yesu Kristo ndiye Mwokozi wao
Wachanganywe pendo lake Mungu ili wawe na imani.

FIGURE 5

We Are Called to Work

We are called to work on the Lord's farm
Because the workers of the Lord are few.
Our work is to plant seeds and water them
When we plant we should weed, He is the grower.

(Call)	**(Response)**
Let's all go to the farm	Let's go
And do the work	Let's go
Let's work hard	Let's go
To harvest the best crop	Let's go
Jesus is indeed Lord of the farm	Let's go
Let's go, don't hesitate	Let's go

Doing the Lord's work needs resoluteness
Because there are many traps that come from the Evil One.
We must pray to Jesus to be diligent
For Lord Jesus to give us strength to defeat the Evil One.

When the Lord Jesus returns he will measure our work.
Everyone will show where he worked.
In the end He will pay all of us our wage
Which is to live with Him for eternity or be burnt by fire.

FIGURE 6

Twaitwa Kufanya Kazi

Twaitwa kufanya kazi shambani mwake Bwana
Kwa sababu watenda kazi wa bwana ni wachache.
Kazi yetu kupanda mbegu na kumwagia maji
Tukipanda tupalilie yeye ni mkuzaji.

(Mwito)	**(Jibu)**
Twendeni sote shambani	Haya Twende
Tukaifanye kazi	Haya Twende
Tukaifanye kazi kwa bidii	Haya Twende
Tuvune mazao bora	Haya Twende
Yesu ndiye bwana shamba	Haya Twende
Twende usiwe na shaka	Haya Twende

Kufanya kazi ya Bwana kunahitaji moyo
Kwa sababu kuna vikwazo vitokavyo kwa Muovu.
Tunapaswa kumwomba Yesu ili tuwe na bidii
Bwana Yesu atupe nguvu tumshinde Shetani.

Bwana Yesu ataporudi ataipima kazi.
Kila mmoja ataonyesha wapi alipofanya.
Hatimaye atatulipa sote ujira wetu
Ni kuishi naye milele au kuchomwa moto.

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NOTES

1. I would like to thank the members of the Ipogoro Youth Choir for their magnificent performances, and particularly Albastino Mbembe, Baraka Kimata, Erika Matola and Pastor Tewele for their insights, Michael Schatzberg and Harold Scheub for providing the tools to more fully appreciate these songs, Magdalena Hauner and Paulina Gichiru for advice and linguistic help, Brad Weiss, Ingrid Fawrie, and three anonymous commentators for the *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Robyn Autry for her careful reading and suggestions, and finally Thomas Spear for telling me 'the choirs would be more interesting'.

2. Mlekwa, 'Role of the Church', 12-13.

3. Peter Wood and Emma Wild-Wood present a related analysis among Swahili-speaking Christians in Eastern Congo. See Wood, 'One Day We Will Sing'. A series of articles exploring 'the novel connections between economy, society and ritual practice' appears in the *Journal of Religion in Africa* 31.4, 2001.

4. Appiah, *Father's House*, 60.

5. Askew, *Performing the Nation*, iii, 31.

6. Balisidya, *Language Planning*, 100.

7. Ibid., 2.

8. Scheub, *The Tongue is Fire*, xv; also *Story*, 21-22, 126-131.

9. Jan Vansina in discussing oral tradition has written of the invisible 'basic concepts' of a society, 'those by which perception, memory, experience, and the communication are regulated. They exist before perception and involve representations of time, space, number, reality, and cause.' Vansina, *Oral Tradition*, 125. See also Geertz, *Interpretation*, 216-220, 259, 339; Watts, *Myth and Ritual*, 7. See also, Eüthi, *Fairytale*, 134; Smith, *Stories*, 35; Guiart, 'Multiple Levels', 55-71.

10. In urban areas some youth have appropriated the voice of the American-style pop singer and use this voice to reinterpret their place in society and question commonly held assumptions. But it is not clear how far their voice travels beyond their youthful urban peers in a society that is eighty percent rural. See Perullo, 'Wahuni'.

11. Bourdieu, *Language*, 109. Bourdieu's image of the skeptron, a physical and transferable symbol of the right to speak authoritatively, finds many examples in Africa. The use of a flywhisk or other symbolic article as a grant of the right to speak in legal situations is found in many East African communities. See MacGaffey, *Custom and Government*, 189. Julius Nyerere and other political leaders in Tanzania appropriated this symbolism as an element of political pageantry and carried a stick as a symbol of power, while Jomo Kenyatta carried a flywhisk.

12. Bourdieu, *Language*, 113-115.

13. Bourdieu, *Outline*, 255-259.

14. Bourdieu, *Outline*, 164.

15. Wood, 'One Day We Will Sing', 172.

16. Webb Keane provides a helpful overview of this literature in 'Religious Language'.

17. The lyrics of the songs are my translation from the Ipogoro Youth Choir CD, '*Pendo Gani Hili*', which I recorded with them in July 2001.

18. My observations of the Ipogoro Congregation and Tanzanian society are based on my experience of living in Iringa and working at Tumaini University for three years, where I was involved in various church activities. I participated as a member of the Ipogoro Youth Choir for about six months and attended countless choir performances and competitions during my years there.

19. Competing choirs from city parishes, where many members are employed in offices and industry, are often youth and adults in equal parts. Village choirs are mostly made up of youth, normally those between fifteen and thirty years of age. The Ipogoro choir is predominantly composed of youth. Competitions are organized at several levels, with choirs from each sub-parish competing at parish level, then a choir representing the parish competing at district then diocesan level; there top choirs attend competitions and shows around the country or seek funds to make their own record-

ings. Rural choirs, despite their frequent victories at diocesan level, rarely have the resources to travel or record. In the competitions themselves, each choir performs three songs—a 'set' song usually based on a European tune, a 'traditional' song based on a local tune or rhythm, and one of the choir's own choice—plus a refrain for their entry and exit. Musically trained judges give scores based on presentation, musical accuracy (in regards to the notation) and the overall quality of the performance.

20. Barz, 'Politics of Remembering', 381, 401. Barz echoes John Lonsdale's observation that 'popular religion is also an historically layered composite'. See Lonsdale, 'Social Science', 159.

21. Askew, *Performing the Nation*, 383-395.

22. Balisidya, *Language Planning*, 71, 100, 130.

23. Ipogoro Youth Interviews, 15-10-03. This tape is of interviews done with various people connected to the Ipogoro Youth Choir based on questions I sent to Albastino Mbembe, a lay pastor at Ipogoro, who conducted the interviews in October-November 2003. I do not know who wrote this song. The choir chairman told me that another choir member brought it from elsewhere. The songs circulate as a form of quasi-oral tradition. Choir members composing or receiving a song write it by hand into notebooks without musical notation and then memorize the songs as taught by the choir director who is elected from among the choir members.

24. Abdul el Zein elaborated a very sophisticated analysis of how the Adam and Eve story has been appropriated ideologically in a Tanzanian Muslim community. See el Zein, *Sacred Meadows*, 172-214. For three local Hehe stories that have some parallels with the songs looked at here, see Mwonge, *Usia wa Baba*.

25. Eliade, 'Cosmogonic Myth', 141.

26. Mponzi, 'Continuity and Change', 7. Marja-Liisa Swantz in *Blood, Milk, and Death* (26) and Thomas Spear in *Mountain Farmers* (26, 56) discuss how a family claimed land, and thus membership in the community through planting and maintaining a forest. Christopher Conte in 'Nature Reorganized' demonstrates the tenacity with which local communities held on to ritually important forests in the face of colonial incursions (114).

27. *Tupande Miti*, Introduction.

28. The author does not use the more common word 'people' (*watu*) with its Bantu linguistic root, but rather 'human beings' or *wanadamu* which is a Bantu plural of the Arabic *binadamu*—literally, 'son of Adam'. *Mwanadamu* and *wanadamu*, singular and plural respectively, in a Bantu syntax also mean literally 'son/sons of Adam'.

29. *Ujamaa* prominently featured the process of 'villagization' that tried to settle scattered rural residents into concentrated villages to incorporate them into the state and reach them more easily with state services. The resonance between church and government priorities in the local encounter with *Ujamaa* in Iringa may also have been influenced by the German Pietist 'Christian Model Village' mentioned by Terence Ranger. A German missionary who worked in Iringa in the first half of the twentieth century remains a well known name in the area. See Ranger, 'The Invention of Tradition', 213.

30. *Tupande Miti*, 1. Literally, 'The sons of the country of Nakabanga responded.'

31. Ibid., 4. The word *ombi* or 'request' is also used for 'prayer'.

32. Ibid., 5-18. Steven Feierman's documentation and analysis of the power to bring rain as an attribute of political authority in *Peasant Intellectuals* deepens this image substantially (6-9, 39, 64, 227, 246-262).

33. 'Myth', as Isidore Okpewho tells us, 'is the irreducible aesthetic substratum in all varieties of human cultural behavior'. See Okpewho, *Myth in Africa*, 70.

34. Evans-Pritchard, *Divine Kingship*, 36. See also Carlson, 'Hierarchy', 314; Conte, 'Nature Reorganized', 114.

35. Madumulla, *Proverbs and Sayings*, 13. As entrance refrain for choir competitions, the Ipogoro Youth Choir have used lines reflecting a similar attitude: 'I can do all of it Lord, put a burden on me, to see if truly I love you with all my heart. Lord, be free [to use me].' (Ipogoro Youth Choir. 'With All My Heart', *Pendo Gani Hili*.)

36. Numerous other local choir songs also reflect this idea, for example: 'What will

I give the Lord of any value other than my spirit. Ehe Lord, receive these things, and bless them, Lord, fill them with your blessings, my will and my spirit. There are many things you have given me Lord, healthy life and also peace, the praises are yours Lord.' (Upendo Choir, Nyamohanga Sub-Parish, Ipogoro Parish. 8 August 2004. Digital Recording, NYMIX11.mp3)

37. Tripp, *Changing the Rules*, 4; Costello, 'Administration Triumphs', 123-124.

38. Abrahams, 'Sungusungu', 188-192.

39. Ludwig, *Church and State*, 59, 111; Sivalon, *Roman Catholicism*, 1-33; Westerlund, *Ujamaa na Dini*, 55-70. Such cooperation between government and religious bodies is not unique to Tanzania in modern Africa. Colonial government depended on European-led religious bodies to implement state policies. Under Nyerere, Tanzanian religious bodies had a voice in government through national umbrella organizations for various religious groupings. The responsibilities instilled in the churches during those eras still shape the church's tasks.

40. Ranger, *Dance and Society*, 7, 155.

41. Knudsen, 'Dance Societies', 66-74. The Sukuma are a group geographically centered to the north of the Hehe. Waziri Juma in 'Sukuma Societies', investigating the same types of dance society as Knudsen, and associating them with youth in particular, wondered just before independence how social change would affect deeply ingrained cultural patterns and assumptions (29).

42. Shorter, *Chiefship*, 140.

43. Nindi, 'Uhehe', 33-40; Redmond, *Politics of Power*, 52; Brock, 'Nyiha'. A good description of age sets appears in Prins, *Age-Class Systems*.

44. Thomas 'Notes', 87.

45. For a description of an Nguni military structure, see Knight, *Anatomy*, 49-90.

46. Ipogoro Youth Interviews, 15-10-03.

47. See Ranger. *Invention*. 'The response of young men to this manipulation of "tradition" could take one of two forms. The key object was to outflank the elders and their sphere of local, but colonially invented, tradition' (255).

48. Mponzi, 'Continuity and Change', 4.

49. During the colonial era, missionaries often took on the role of local authorities, acting as patrons, and wielding the power to mobilize labor. See Giblin, *Politics*, 66.

50. Mponzi, 'Continuity and Change', 11.

51. Burton, 'Haven of Peace'.

52. Ipogoro Youth Interviews, 15-10-03.

53. Tungaraza, 'What Should the Church Be Doing', 5-6.

54. Mapunda, 'Ulimwengu', 12.

55. Kertzer, *Politics and Symbols*, 16. 'History is created in many different ways, but two processes especially stand out: mythologization and ritualization. Myths serve to give form to history, to province it with a narrative structure and a coherence it would otherwise lack. Ritual, in contrast, provides not only a powerful mechanism for the propagation of myth—for socialization of myth—but also a framework in which myth itself can take shape. Rites not only reflect myth but also help produce it.'

56. Kalembo, 'Wajibu Wema', 57.

57. Hydén, *Beyond Ujamaa*, 140, 153.

58. See also Wood, 'One Day We Will Sing', 169.

59. The Lutheran mission tradition in Tanzania leans more heavily towards the image of the Lord's call. In a set of notes, written in Swahili, to guide Protestant pastors on issues surrounding work, Lloyd Swantz defined three kinds of work: of God, of humans and of Christ. Even the work of humans results from being formed in the image of God and thus naturally participating in the creative work of God. See Swantz, 'Mafundisho'.

60. Shivji, 'Contradictory Perspectives', quoted in Manji, 'Gender', 654.

61. Thomas Musa emphasized this concept at the 1977 graduation ceremony at the

main Lutheran theological college in Tanzania: 'Here on earth every vocation has its particular expertise and its special emphasis'. Musa, 'Importance of the Opportunity'.

62. Ipogoro Youth Interviews, 15-10-03.
63. Ipogoro Youth Interviews, 15-10-03.
64. See Musa, 'Ujamaa', 185.
65. Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism*, 5-6.
66. Scheub, *Dictionary*, 253.
67. See Scheub, *The Tongue is Fire*, xv.
68. See Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals*, 6-9, 23, 39, 64. 246.
69. See Mwonge, *Usia wa Baba*. For examples from Southern Africa, see 'The Milk Tree', in Knappert, *Myths and Legends*, 114-120; Callaway, 161-176, 349-350. Even a painting hung in the Aga Khan hospital in Dar es Salaam in July 2004 by Kweji Kuhanwa, age 15, shows a woman weeping at the base of a dead tree by a river. On her side of the river trees have been cut down, while on the other side the trees are leafy and green.
70. See Bourdieu, *Cultural Production*, 220-225.
71. The song 'Satan Boasts', sung by a choir in one of Ipogoro's sub-parishes, states 'Satan boasts, and says that he is God: "I have started my own religion. I have trapped the educated with many sciences (*sayansi*) that are mine. I will send them to hell, the fools."' (Upendo Choir, Nyamohanga Sub-Parish, Ipogoro Parish, 8 August 2004. Digital Recording, NYMIX.mp3).
72. Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals*, 3. Also, Benjamin Mandare, an officer of the Chagga chief in Moshi in colonial times and later a TANU/CCM representative, said that legal disputes between people of the same religious background could just as easily be taken to religious authorities as to government authorities. 'Religion is government all the same.' (Personal Interview, 1 August 2004, Mandare 1-8-04.wav. Digital Recording) TANU (Tanzania African National Union) was the party built under Nyerere's guidance that brought Tanzania toward independence. CCM (Chama cha Mapinduzi) was formed by the merger of TANU and ASP (the Zanzibari Afro-Shirazi Party) in 1977. Spear provides an important critique of Ranger's 'invention of tradition' thesis as well as a long-term study of how local philosophy, colonial practice and Lutheran Christianity were continually melded into new forms in Northern Tanzania. See Spear, 'Neo-Traditionalism', 4; Spear, *Mountain Farmers*, 208, 235-238.
73. Feierman, *Shambaa Kingdom*, xiii.
74. De Boeck, 'Beyond the Grave', 38.
75. Comaroff, *Body of Power*, 251.
76. For a related example of social agenda incorporated into musical performance in southern Tanzania, see Hill, *Machini Kubwa!*, 381-384.
77. Bourdieu, *Cultural Production*, 44.
78. Nyerere's inversion of Marxist orthodoxy in his speech to a Cairo audience, 'Many Paths to Socialism', illustrates the Eurocentric assumptions in Marxist theory and Nyerere's conscious rejection of some of these assumptions for rural Africa. See Julius K. Nyerere, *Ujamaa*, 76, 11.
79. Spear, *Mountain Farmers*, 238. Kertzer writes, 'politics is symbolic, because both the formation of human groupings and the hierarchies that spring from them depend on symbolic activity'. Kertzer, *Politics and Symbols*, 4.
80. Balisidya, *Language Planning*, 100; Askew, *Performing the Nation*, 413.
81. Bennett, *Using Children*, 7, 21.
82. Murphy, 'Military Patrimonialism', 66.
83. Druba, 'Problem of Child Soldiers', 271.
84. See also Wood, 'One Day We Will Sing', 165, 175-176.