

MUSIC, MUSICIANS, AND SOCIAL ADVOCACY:
ENVIRONMENTAL CONSERVATION, KNOWLEDGE-SHARING,
AND CULTIVATING A CULTURE OF WISDOM IN NORTHERN TANZANIA

BY

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THESIS

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ABSTRACT

Popular music and musicians in Tanzania play an important role in identifying and confronting a variety of locally relevant concerns. Prior research in the region has focused especially on the relationship between hip hop and social problems such as poverty and drug-use among urban youth. While individual artists and groups of people brought together by their shared interest in music have both been included in this research, their engagement with local and global environmental issues and community-based education have not been exhaustively addressed. This thesis seeks to fill this gap by exploring the relationships of music-makers and their communities with environmental concerns and various forms of knowledge production and maintenance. Drawing on formal interviews, informal conversations, and my participation in the collaborative production of an album and music video, this thesis presents several case studies which demonstrate unique and innovative approaches to confronting environmental and educational issues.

Environmental advocacy and activism are carried out by musicians in Tanzania both through their musical production itself and extra-musical efforts. Chaca na Nduguzee's "Maji Uhai" (Water is life), explicitly addresses the crisis of clean water in Tanzania. Another artist, P-Culture, uses nostalgic language and visual depictions to simultaneously construct local indigenous identities and pan-African ones, united by their relationship to the land in her video for "Dream Land." There are also a number of communities centered around musical production involved in local waste-cleanup efforts and creating sustainable forms of ecotourism.

Many of these artists and their communities are also involved in the maintenance and production of diverse knowledges and the eventual naturalization of collective wisdom based in humane decision-making. The ways in which the communities and individuals I present in my

case studies do the work of producing, sharing, and encouraging particular ways of thinking and forms of knowledge are varied and plural, in both their specific educational goals and their modes of transmission and creation. A hip hop collective known as Okoa Mtaa (Saving the neighborhood), and the multi-faceted organization entitled the United African Alliance Community Center (UAACC) both organize public educational programming on a variety of topics. Between these two organizations alone, educational approaches include film production and screening, free classes for children and adults in a variety of subjects, as well as workshops aimed at professional development for hip hop artists and producers. My collaboration with musician Chaca na Nduguzee, other Arusha-based artists, and musicians within a Hadzabe community also demonstrate innovative modes of maintaining and cultivating knowledge and wisdom both within Tanzania and beyond its national and cultural borders.

The unrelenting desire of the communities and individuals behind these efforts to empower others through intellectual growth, in conjunction with the multiplicity of strategies they already use, may not be the singular solution to the societal problems they seek to resolve, but they are already making a difference in the lives and musical production of many people in northern Tanzania. I conclude by addressing the significance of the advocacy and actions carried out by the musically-minded people I represent through my analysis. Their musical expression and extra-musical work directed towards the development of alternative ways of thinking about and being in the world for both those within their music-centered communities and those with whom they directly and indirectly interact offers not only methods for others to adapt and repurpose in confronting their comparable environmental and educational concerns, but is already making an impact. In this thesis, I argue that music-centered communities and the individual artists which populate them confront local environmental challenges; foster the

growth of a culture of wisdom; and nurture the maintenance, continued production, and transmission of various bodies of knowledge, including IK and TEK, through both music-making itself and extra-musical actions.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Listen

*It's official y'all.
It's official y'all.
It's an emergency.*

*The state of the world today,
It ain't no joke.
Our time has nearly run out.
Ni wakati, ni kweli (it's time, it's true).
The time has spoke!*

*We who are keepers of the planet's wealth,
Must regain our own balance to heal the
planet's health.*

*We must teach all of our children,
Watoto (children), our leaders of tomorrow,
To treasure their dreams,
To treasure themselves,
And to love and respect one another.*

*We must learn to walk the way of the new
world.
Like Mama Wangari Maathai,
Plantin' peace with our trees,
Spreadin' seedlings of love, love, love.*

*Twendeni pamoja (let's go together),
Together, as one.*

~ Charlotte "Mama C" Hill O'Neal (personal communication, January 7, 2017)

Charlotte "Mama C" Hill O'Neal shared her poem "Listen" with me as we sat in an open-air hall known as "The Red Onion," a gathering place located at the heart of the United African Alliance Community Center (UAACC) in Mbaseni, a small village on the outskirts of Arusha in Tanzania. This community center, founded by Mama C and her husband Felix "Baba Pete" O'Neal Jr., first played the role of an affordable place to stay while I conducted my research by taking day trips to meet with hip hop producers and musicians in Arusha, but after a few days, I had gathered enough information from more informal conversations with Mama C that I arranged for a more formal interview to ask her questions about her own work as an artist, musician, and educator. After she related her experience at a gathering hosted by *Guardianes de Semillas* (Guardians of Seeds) in Venezuela, I inquired about whether environmental concerns ever appeared in her own art or music. She reflected quietly for a few moments before

responding with her poem “Listen.” After her recitation, she related stories of other renditions of the same poem in which she had performed it as a song with musical accompaniment played on the Kenyan string instrument, *nyatiti*. While neither the poem or song versions of “Listen” evoke hip hop either at its break-beat origins or even in most of its numerous forms present throughout the world at present, Mama C does consider herself a hip hop artist as it is broadly conceived of by most of the individuals who constitute the communities with which I am concerned in this paper. In this context, it is typically used to collectively refer to genres of music (and other expressive arts) that are socially conscious, or explicitly address issues of social concern. Most frequently, this includes some music which emulates reggae and dancehall in addition to that which would typically be categorized as “hip hop.”

I chose Mama C’s poem “Listen” to begin this paper as it presents ideas of both working to protect the world we live in, and teaching the next generation of people inhabiting this earth to respect themselves, each other, and the planet we all share. When I arrived in Tanzania to begin conducting field research in January 2017, I had already encountered a connection between hip hop and environmental concerns in the music of a few artists I had met in the fall of 2012 while participating in a study abroad program centered around East African ecology and human evolution. As I spent more time exploring this relationship between hip hop, music-centered communities¹ and environmental advocacy and activism with a number of hip hop musicians and producers, I discovered another significant goal for many of my collaborators and friends was to share knowledge with others, be it young people within their own communities, or people of all ages residing throughout Tanzania and the world. These ideas emerged not only in our conversations, but also appear in these artists’ songs in both explicit and more subtle ways. Due

¹ Music-centered communities is used throughout this paper to mean communities which have primarily formed based on the members’ shared interest in music.

to the pervasiveness of these two themes—1) concerning the protection of the environment, and, 2) teaching young people that to be wise is to be holistically kind and respectful—they also are the foundation on which the analysis which follows is built.

Research Questions

Within this context, music’s ability to bring people together, songs which disseminate particular messages, and individuals’ extra-musical actions all contribute to changing people’s attitudes and behaviors which affect the environment locally, promoting wisdom among younger generations, and creating a sustainable culture of wisdom. Before delving into these intricate relationships, there are some words and expressions that invite clarification. Throughout this paper, I use “wisdom” to refer to the learned ability to critically consider acquired information and make decisions regarding their validity and applicability, as well as deciding how to act in various situations while considering an action’s impact external to oneself. I use “knowledge” to refer to specific information and ideas which are learned through both experience and the teachings of others. These distinctions are based on the ways in which these terms are variously used by the musicians and producers with which I collaborated in Tanzania. I use “culture of wisdom” here to mean a shared practice of habitual appreciation for and the ongoing production and circulation of critical thinking and wisdom centered around the formation of an altruistic lifestyle and the consideration of how individual actions impact other living beings and the world we all share. These concepts are fundamental to the meaning I uncover through my analysis.

The questions I attend to in this thesis emerge from the plural connections between these people, their communities, their musical production, and their extra-musical actions. How do musicians address local environmental concerns in their music? How are individuals and music-

centered communities actively involved in contributing to environmental conservation and education? What are the methods used by members of these same communities to promote the development of wisdom among local youth and to disseminate knowledge and skills both musically related (e.g. emceeing, beat-making, promotion and marketing within the music industry, etc.) and extra-musical in nature (e.g. urban farming, coding, creative writing, etc.)? What forms of indigenous knowledge (IK) and/or traditional ecological knowledge (TEK)² are prioritized by these communities and individual musical artists in efforts to both maintain them and share them with others, locally and globally? How are these bodies of knowledge incorporated, applied, and constructed in musical production and performance? How are they propagated and promoted in extra-musical ways by musicians and their communities? Why are the musical genres of hip hop, reggae, and dancehall (or as I previously described, “hip hop” as it is broadly conceived by many of these artists) viewed as ideal musical styles to do this work?

As none of these questions invite monolithic responses, definitively resolving all of them in the scope of this thesis is an impossible task. Instead of responding to these questions with a succinct generalization, the case studies and analysis in the following chapters engage with these queries organically and provide us with an assortment of methods and strategies developed and implemented in the northern Tanzanian context. In this thesis, I argue that music-centered communities and the individual artists which populate them confront local environmental challenges; foster the growth of a culture of wisdom; and nurture the maintenance, continued production, and transmission of various bodies of knowledge, including IK and TEK, through both music-making itself and extra-musical actions.

² Indigenous knowledge and traditional ecological knowledge are both used in this paper to refer to locally produced and maintained bodies of knowledge endemic to a given culture or society (Berkes et al. 1995). These terms were chosen for their inclusivity of a variety of knowledge and practices, ecological and otherwise.

Understanding these highly contextual relationships between individual and collectives of music-makers, their focal social and environmental concerns, and the role of music in establishing and reinforcing these networks through its engagement with the issues assessed internally as most critical has larger implications. In investigating the labor conducted in this context, there is potential for adaptation and application of these musical and extra-musical approaches in other geographical and cultural contexts to address analogous social concerns. This exploration allows us to better evaluate the relationship between musical messaging, activist efforts, and concrete change in people's attitudes and behaviors. Learning about the various factors which contribute to the prioritization of particular problems and the actions taken to manage and attempt to resolve them (or, at a minimum, reduce or impede their negative impact) in this fairly localized case is a valuable endeavor beyond potential methodological benefits. We can also begin to understand how people view their own interactions with the physical environment and the bodies of wisdom and knowledge cultivated within a particular spatial context.

Examining the relationships between physically proximate communities of people with remarkably distinct lifeways (and their respective connections with people and societies located much farther afield) in relation to the production of music and its social impacts affords us an increasingly scarce perspective on musical collaboration between people with unequal access to technologies—and musical commodities and discourse made available through them. I already hear people regularly treat technologies such as the internet as globally ubiquitous in everyday discourse, perhaps foreshadowing a not-too-distant future in which they are universally available. Even among the members of the Hadzabe community with which I work, by far the most geographically and culturally isolated, at least one or two individuals with internet-capable

cell phones charge them using the lone solar panel present near the encampment where the Hadzabe reside when they are not traveling greater distances to find food and other resources. Despite the presence of the device itself, cellular reception and network data are still difficult to obtain in the valley, but for how long? This differential access to globally circulated media and the uniquely uneven distribution of material and ideas certainly affects the collaborative process and products realized between individuals and communities who share a particular lingua franca, as well as a geographical, national, and political context, but whose lived experiences on a day-to-day basis starkly contrast. Through this research we can ascertain a glimpse of the a few particularities emerging through these collaborations.

Geographical and Musical Context

Before I delve into the research process and the methods employed in the collection and analysis of the data which inform this paper, some contextual information regarding the areas significant to my research will aid in elucidating the connections between my various case

studies and the localized social and environmental concerns of communities and individuals. The beginning stages of my field research took place within and immediately outside the city of Arusha. As a result, this area is home to most of the communities and people I consider in this paper. As the third



Figure 1. Map of Tanzania with the city of Arusha designated by the red flag

largest city in Tanzania, Arusha is an important locus for a number of political and economic activities. While not the political or cultural capital of Tanzania, the city is the primary host-city for meetings of the East African Community (EAC)³ and was historically the site of the now defunct International Criminal Tribunal of Rwanda. It is also the principal city used by international tourists to access the renowned “Northern Circuit” safaris in Tanzania, which include Serengeti National Park and the Great Wildebeest Migration. International tourism and political engagements in Arusha make the city a unique site for the exchange of media, ideas, goods, and people. While my research was initially focused primarily within the greater-Arusha area, the complex connections between people living within the city and those in more rural areas of Tanzania have become critical networks in the course of my research.

As I began to inquire and learn about the role of hip hop musicians in environmental conservation and the transmission and proliferation of various forms of knowledge, I realized that many of the music-centered communities within Arusha itself actually incorporated people far outside of the city’s borders through collaborative musical endeavors. The connections between these geographically, and even culturally, disparate communities stem partially from the increasingly prevalent (and government incentivized) migration from rural areas to urban centers. Beyond the movement of people from rural to urban areas, the growing popularity of cultural tourism—an industry which necessitates the formation of relationships between people working within the tourism industry, who are typically based in urban-centers like Arusha and Moshi, and rural communities that are perceived as maintaining lifestyles considered “traditional” and “authentic” in the eyes of international tourists—has fostered novel connections between both individuals and communities in these places.

³ The East African Community is an intergovernmental organization comprised of six countries located in the African Great Lakes region: Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan, Tanzania, and Uganda.

As a result of my growing awareness of the porous boundaries of the music-centered communities at the heart of my ongoing field research, my study grew to include areas extending from Yaeda Chini—a valley located south of Lake Eyasi in North-Central Tanzania - to



Figure 2. Map of Northeastern Tanzania with Yaeda Chini indicated by the red oval, Arusha by a yellow star, and Pangani (Stahabu) by a purple rectangle

Stahabu—a small village located near Pangani on the coast of the Indian Ocean. These two additions both occurred as a result of recording projects undertaken by one of my Arusha-based collaborators with musicians residing in these areas. My involvement

began during the recording process within each of these communities but has continued to develop and enhance my understanding of the relationship between music, its communities, the environment, and knowledge transmission in a handful of extraordinarily unique contexts, despite the geographic proximity.

Yaedi Chini is a remote valley currently inhabited primarily by people of two discrete ethnic groups: the Hadzabe and the Barabaig. These two groups have distinct ways of living within this area. Some of these disparities complement each other, such as the differential resource use required by the pastoralist Barabaig in caring for their herds of cows, and the Hadzabe, who rely almost exclusively on hunting wild animals and gathering nutrient-rich plants and animal byproducts. Others of these practices exist in opposition, such as the Barabaig

harvesting of trees at the edges of the valley in order to build their traditional homes. While the Hadzabe do not directly use these trees themselves, their loss has resulted in fewer large game animals descending into the areas of the valley where the Hadzabe hunt. As I explain more fully in chapter 3, the ongoing process of jointly recording, publishing, and distributing an album of both traditional and recently incorporated songs from this community's repertoire with Chaca, a hip hop artist and producer from Arusha, provides a valuable addition to the case studies which exist exclusively within the confines of Arusha itself. I also describe the collaborative process of making a music video which addresses the unsustainable resource use in the valley mentioned above. The methods of maintaining, transmitting, and producing knowledge, as well as relating morals and values meant to propagate a wisdom centered in altruistic critical thinking employed by the Hadzabe, as well as those developed in the collaborative production process itself, demonstrate divergent approaches from those taken to achieve the same ends in other contemporaneous Tanzanian cases.

With readily available commodities like processed snacks, cigarettes, and cell phones and a town which hosts large numbers of tourists seasonally only a short drive and ferry ride away, the small fishing-village of Stahabu is far less isolated than Yaeda Chini. Despite the presence of people and goods from other places, the fishing practices and homes of Stahabu remain relatively unchanged from decades when travel to and from the village was rare. People fish in order to both feed their own families and sell their catch at local markets as their primary mode of subsistence. As is true for most of the Swahili Coast of East Africa, the predominant religion in Stahabu is Islam. Most aspects of people's everyday lives in this area drastically differ from those of Tanzanians residing in both urban areas and rural areas away from the coast, including musical practices. This second recording project I discuss in chapter 3 was also a joint effort

initiated by Chaca to document and share traditional musical practices from Tanzania. In this instance, the songs were accompanied by *ngoma* (drums; also, the name of the practice and event itself), instruments found throughout most of the coastal areas of Bantu-language speaking Africa. The contribution to my overall understanding of music and its relation to wisdom and knowledge in northern Tanzania made by incorporating this area and recording project into my data has emerged primarily through the collaborative recording process itself and understanding Chaca's intended documentation and dissemination of traditional music recordings as a form of both knowledge maintenance and production.

Methodology and Overview

While I initially visited Tanzania from August to December 2012, the majority of the information I present in this thesis is drawn from three separate trips taking place between January 2017 and June 2018. Between these three trips, I spent about three months in the field with ongoing communication occurring in the interims. My fieldwork incorporated primarily ethnographic methods in combination with the analysis of both audio and video recordings. While in Tanzania, I conducted formal interviews with musicians and producers and spent a significant amount of time informally conversing with various people about subjects which have ultimately informed the analysis present in this thesis. In order to supplement this information, I carried out participant-observation research both within the music studios of various hip hop producers and in the recording and production processes for two albums of songs with different communities in northern Tanzania in collaboration with an Arusha-based musician and producer. Following these projects, I participated in the collaborative filming and production of a music video promoting awareness of highly-localized environmental concerns of a Hadzabe community

located west of Arusha. All of these experiences collectively contribute to the stories of individuals, communities, and their music I relate in this thesis. The ensuing analysis I present in chapters 2 and 3 is informed by my field experiences, conversations, and examination of relevant literature by both ethnomusicologists and others in an effort to comprehend, appreciate, and best represent the labor carried out by my collaborators and their music.

This introductory chapter precedes a closer consideration of hip hop musicians and producers in relation to environmental conservation in Arusha. They are involved both as advocates through their musical messaging and activists by way of their involvement in activities like waste clean-up, as well as efforts to conduct their extra-musical endeavors in the most environmentally friendly ways possible. The musical messaging is deployed not only through lyrical content but via musical style and imagery within music videos which index particular places and spaces in politically charged ways. Specific indigenous groups are also alluded to through these references, which enhance the specificity and immediacy of particular environmental issues to real communities of people and the bodies of knowledge collectively produced and maintained within them. In chapter 2, I examine the efforts of two artists in particular: Chaca na Nduguzee and P-Culture. Both consider themselves hip hop artists in a broadly conceived sense, incorporating other musical styles capable of delivering socially-conscious positions into their musical repertoire. While environmental conservation is not the only issue these musicians confront musically and in their everyday activities, their musical expression and embodied actions illustrate their own reverence for the inherent value of the so-called natural world and its centrality to indigenous understandings and ways of life in Tanzania and throughout the world.

Chapter 3 is concerned with the involvement of individual music-makers and their music-centered communities in promoting the maintenance and production of diverse knowledges and the eventual naturalization of collective wisdom based in humane decision-making. The ways in which the communities and individuals I present in my case studies do the work of producing, sharing, and encouraging particular ways of thinking and forms of knowledge are varied and plural, in both their specific educational goals and their modes of transmission and creation. In order to fully understand the geographic and political context of these projects, I first provide contextual information regarding education, migration, and language standardization within Tanzania. I follow with the presentation and analysis of the objectives and methodologies employed in three unique contexts. Through these case studies, it becomes clear that possible strategies for attaining these educational ideals are numerous. Two of the case studies feature communities dedicated to supporting musical expression and values: a hip hop collective known as Okoa Mtaa (Saving the neighborhood), and the multi-faceted organization entitled the United African Alliance Community Center (UAACC). The third case study I examine is the collaborative production of a hip hop artist known as Chaca na Nduguzee. Within these examples alone, I describe several discrete approaches and tools: educational film production and screening, free classes for children and adults in a variety of subjects, workshops aimed at professional development for hip hop artists and producers, as well as recording and distributing albums of traditional music from indigenous communities, among others. The unrelenting desire of the communities and individuals behind these efforts to empower others through intellectual growth, in conjunction with the multiplicity of strategies they already use, may not be the singular solution to the societal problems they seek to resolve, but they are already making a difference in the lives and musical production of many people in northern Tanzania.

Following the two central chapters that comprise this thesis, I conclude by addressing the significance of the advocacy and actions carried out by the musically-minded people I represent through my analysis. Their musical expression and extra-musical work directed towards the development of alternative ways of thinking about and being in the world for both those within their music-centered communities and those with whom they directly and indirectly interact offers not only methods for others to adapt and repurpose in confronting their comparable environmental and educational concerns, but is already making an impact. Through direct actions like the waste clean-up efforts I depict in chapter 2, these music-makers have left their environment a little cleaner. Workshops geared at providing people with particular skill-sets as I examine in chapter 3 have undoubtedly been useful to some of the participants. The fulfillment of some of the other objectives I describe in this paper are more difficult to evaluate as their scope and timeline exceed what any one individual can wholly assess, but each small triumph brings their eventual realization more within reach.

CHAPTER 2: SINGING FOR THE WATER AND THE LAND

Artists as Environmental Advocates and Activists

So, because people... how they lived, environment was everything to them. It gives them food, it gives them life. So people... Indigenous way of life respects environment— environment and everything around it. And by incorporating that into music, automatically, you just say “yeah, that guy is supporting indigenous knowledge or indigenous way of life,” but automatically that guy is supporting the environment too, because they are very close together, those are two things, together.

~ John “Chaca” Kweka (personal communication, January 9, 2017)

John “Chaca” Kweka is a musical producer from Arusha, Tanzania who works with various artists under the name Chaca na Nduguzee. As implied by this name, which translates roughly as “Chaca and his brothers,” he collaborates with Tanzanians from a variety of musical backgrounds, including the traditional Hadzabe *zeze*⁴ player Horota, and Nanyorii Sererenyi, also known as P-Culture. He is a self-described musician and community activist who has overt messages about social justice, the environment and Tanzanian politics throughout his reggae and hip hop songs. His work in these arenas also extends to his safari business, Nyayo, that will be discussed more extensively later in this chapter. His music and habitus demonstrate his commitment to local environmental issues through both advocacy and activism within Northern Tanzania.

Tanzania is a prominent site within sub-Saharan Africa for wildlife tourism as well as home to the ninth fastest growing city in the world, Dar es Salaam. The rapid urban development and the intensive pressures from agricultural exploitation, as well as illegal hunting, have left the nation with a host of environmental concerns. The most immediate issues facing the people of Tanzania include: soil degradation, deforestation, desertification, destruction of coral reef marine

⁴The zeze is a string instrument plucked, bowed, or strummed throughout sub-Saharan Africa.

habitats, droughts, and wildlife population decimation. The need for more sustainable development and resource use by both locals and tourists is essential to protect the ecosystems and the indigenous people who depend on them for their livelihoods. In addition to the lives of animal and plant species that are threatened by the environmental crisis, there is a significant risk to a number of cultural practices and indigenous knowledge, as well as maintenance of cultural diversity more generally. Indigenous lifeways were historically integrated into the complex ecosystems of the region but have changed drastically even in the most remote parts of the country.

In the face of destruction of this magnitude, many Tanzanians are finding ways to fight the economic and political pressures driving the over-exploitation of natural resources and inadequate waste management practices. Environmental activism ranges from on-the-ground clean-up programs, to educational initiatives, to the development of eco-tourism and cultural tourism meant to give back to indigenous communities. There are several artists who use music (as well as other forms of artistic expression) to advocate for protection of the environment and emphasize the ways in which the environment serves to unite people and communities, as well as how it defines human beings. Many of these musicians, like Chaca, are also creating community-based programs that are centered around environmental activism.

Communities of practice revolving around what is locally referred to as “hip hop” have had a prominent emergence in Northern Tanzania. The hip hop artists (conceived of broadly as explained in the first chapter) of Arusha see the African-diasporic genres of hip hop, reggae and conscious dancehall⁵ as those which can serve as a platform for conducting political labor. They create music featuring characteristics of these styles due to their demonstrated ability to mobilize

⁵ “Conscious dancehall” is music categorized within the genre of “dancehall” which incorporates progressive lyrics addressing a variety of social concerns.

people for a variety of significant causes in their local communities. More important than the boundaries of genre for these artists is the ability of particular forms of music to deliver often confrontational messages addressing social concerns. These artists use their music and the communities forged through musical practice to highlight environmental concerns and create local initiatives for waste clean-up and other environmentally focused programs.

Within this chapter, I examine a number of ways in which hip hop musicians are involved in environmental advocacy and activism in Arusha, Tanzania. From this analysis, the specific connections to local and regional places constituted through the lyrics, imagery, and stylistic elements of these songs forge a political trajectory for their messages. The centrality of specific locales to indigenous people serves as a foundation for both the messages of environmental advocacy deployed by artists like Chaca na Nduguzee and P-Culture and the environmental action efforts carried out through hip hop-centered community organizations. While the natural world is seen as an entity worth saving by itself, the argument for conservation is made more culturally relevant by recognizing the ethnic diversity that the natural ecosystems support and the levels of traditional indigenous knowledge derived from these localized environments. These artists are on the cutting edge of this movement through the dissemination of these messages in cosmopolitan and culturally relevant ways from which not only other musicians, but also ethnomusicologists could take note. It is everyone's responsibility to find a way to contribute to environmental conservation; it is not only the natural environment at stake, but also cultural diversity throughout our world.

These case studies also raise important questions regarding the involvement of musicians in environmental conservation in the first place. Why do hip hop artists feel the need to involve themselves in conservation efforts? How does hip hop in particular align with the ideas of

advocacy and activism? For these artists, individual and cultural relationships to the natural world play a significant role in their focus on environmental conservation within their politicized music and efforts. They select hip hop, as well as reggae and conscious dancehall, due to the legacies of social engagement associated with these genres, especially in the politically focused hip hop which flourished in the United States through the 1980s. The indexical relationship between these genres and their legacies of social engagement have resulted in the formation of musical political platforms through the emulation of style and particular sounds far from the New York neighborhoods where hip hop originated. While this paper focuses on a small group of artists in Arusha, Tanzania, similar modes of advocacy and activism have been promoted through hip hop music and culture throughout the world.

Environmental Policy and Concerns

A number of policies were implemented in order to bolster the national economy and provide educational and material resources for the citizens of Tanzania as a result of the Arusha Declaration of 1967 by President Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere. The declaration, made within a decade of independence from Great Britain, established *Ujamaa* (the socialist policy of Tanzania) and laid out the goals of the newly formed government. The development within the nation since that time has been characterized by an on-going struggle to create national unity and at the same time, to recognize the ethnic diversity within the nation. In 1973, the Tanzania African National Union (TANU) called for voluntary migration of all Tanzanian citizens to *ujamaa* villages. These villages were meant to bring people into centralized areas in order to facilitate education and collective farming practices that would create a surplus of agricultural

resources. The food would be distributed throughout the village and excess would be sold to benefit the national economy (Kjekshus 1977).

With the movement of people from their traditional homelands to new places, a certain sense of unity between Tanzanians was forged, yet some ethnic groups have nevertheless attempted to continue their traditional ways of life. There are 117 indigenous living languages in Tanzania each generally considered to represent an individual ethnic group. Traditional ways of life encompass hunting and gathering, pastoralism, and agricultural production. While the villagization process was officially voluntary, the government believed all citizens would be moved to these villages within three years. The changing interactions between humans and their environments forged through this process have also resulted in over-exploitation of natural resources and land loss in particular areas due to the permanent settlements throughout the nation. Coupled with policies regulating land use for tourism and an influx of non-biodegradable materials without the infrastructure to properly manage waste, environmental degradation and loss of traditional subsistence practices have become significant concerns in Tanzania.

Land rights in Tanzania were based on customary tenure until the colonial period beginning in the late 19th century. At this time, German, and later English, authorities imposed private land ownership and centralized land administration (Veit 2010c). Land rights have been a continuous matter of contention among the people of Tanzania as their lands have been taken for conservation areas and allocated for hunting blocks which are then leased to companies (often owned by foreign investors) to bring in large sums of money for trophy hunting (Benjaminsen et al. 2013; Veit 2010c). In 1999, all the land in Tanzania was designated as either General, Reserved, or Village Land through the Village Land Act. This policy was the first marked change since the Land Ordinance of 1923 under colonial rule. Through this act, 70% of

Tanzania's land was designated as village land, including registered villages and any land that had been used by villagers for at least twelve years prior to its enactment. Despite these designations, this land is still controlled heavily by the state, particularly to afford wildlife conservation protections (Kempster 2011; Veit 2010c).

Wildlife use and protections outside of national parks were loosely regulated until the 1990s when there was a large push for community-based conservation efforts throughout Africa. This push resulted in the 1998 Wildlife Policy that allowed for the establishment of Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) which would give power to villages to use their land for consumptive and non-consumptive wildlife tourism. In practice, WMAs have resulted in little economic benefit to villages, particularly in comparison to agreements that many villages previously held with safari operators. This discrepancy is largely due to the significant portion of fees paid by safari operators that goes to the federal government, rent-seeking behavior by government officials, and the lack of transparency in the distribution of these funds to member villages (Benjaminsen 2013; Veit 2010b). The 2007 revisions to the Wildlife Policy of Tanzania and the Wildlife Conservation Act of 2009 further dispossessed villagers of their customary lands and control over their use by prioritizing wildlife tourism over the maintenance of traditional subsistence practices in Tanzania (Benjaminsen 2013).

Due to the actions taken by the Tanzanian government and Big International Non-Governmental Organizations (BINGOs)⁶, as well as the discrepancies between policy and practice in implementing plans designed to support community-based conservation, there is significant distrust of state-based conservation efforts. Wildlife protections that have negatively

⁶ Big International Non-Governmental Organizations, or "BINGOs," are non-governmental organizations that have a significant presence in many countries throughout the world (e.g. Amnesty International, Oxfam, or the Red Cross).

impacted people's ability to subsist have also created tension between people and wild animals. These animals often cause considerable damage to people's crops, herds, and homes, but their protected status due both to biodiversity concerns and their high market-value has been complicated by the infringement on villagers' abilities to harness significant income from wildlife tourism on their own lands. Many pastoralists have also been refused access to their customary grazing areas due to conflicts with hunting blocks or reserve regulations. Hunting has also had a significant negative impact on biodiversity and conservation in Tanzania as allocated hunting quotas are often ignored and exceeded, furthering the need for more localized efforts (Benjaminsen 2013). In the areas where resource and land use include hunting and gathering, there is a whole other set of concerns related to sustainable harvesting of game animals themselves and the resources necessary for their ongoing inhabitation in these areas. In order to continue traditional subsistence practices among people who rely on wild animals and their natural ecosystem to survive, conservation efforts are of the utmost importance (Armitage 1996).

As a result of these issues, musicians and music-centered communities are working to not only promote and carry out conservation, but to educate people on the importance of the natural world and its inhabitants for their own needs, outside of the economic benefits. Looking at ethnomusicological literature that represents the role of music in both advocacy for environmental change and bringing together communities of people making a difference through on-the-ground labor is central to understanding the types of musical efforts being made within the hip hop community in Arusha.

Ethnomusicologist Angela Impey has observed localized conservation efforts focusing on the relationship between music, land, and indigenous knowledge in KwaZulu Natal. Indigenous people living in what is now deemed "reserve land" have had their lives disrupted and seen their

traditional practices falter with development of the area. Impey has both witnessed, participated in, and coordinated efforts to help people reconnect with their environment and their practices through music. Music is seen as a significant discursive site for discovering and reaffirming local knowledge about the natural world (Impey 2002; 2006). Her experience in many ways aligns with my own in the northern Tanzanian context. In both cases, music plays an important role in mediating the connection between people, the environment, and bodies of knowledge grounded in the historic use of this land and its resources. I illustrate this use of music through analysis of the music video “Dream Land” by hip hop artist P-Culture.

Impey’s analysis contrasts with other examples in that music in this case does work to nurture the human-environment relationship but does not directly advocate for conservation efforts. In Mark Pedelty’s book, *A Song to Save the Salish Sea*, he assesses the role of music itself in driving the environmental movement. His discussion focuses on the power of music to create large-scale activist efforts, rather than on music as a common interest among different people which leads to environmental action (Pedelty 2016). This role of music is also present in the northern Tanzanian case as exemplified by Chaca na Nduguzee’s “Maji Uhai” (Water is life). I explore this case of music as environmental advocacy later in this chapter.

Another significant environmental concern within Tanzania is waste management and the consequential water pollution. Improper management of trash, sewage, chemical discharges, petroleum leaks and spills, and agricultural runoff are the primary causes of ground and surface water pollution in Tanzania (Africa Environmental Information Network 2017). This pollution causes problems not only for wildlife and their ecosystems, but for people and their communities.

The current production capacity of water treatment facilities in Tanzania is too low to provide an adequate amount of clean and safe water everyone in Tanzania. The insufficient water treatment infrastructure has resulted in the perpetual presence of serious water-borne diseases like cholera and typhoid. The related problems of waste management and water pollution also have a complicated history, with the government of Tanzania as the infrastructure set up by the federal government has never been enough to alleviate the issues faced by rural and urban communities on a daily basis (Makule 2000). The contaminated water and prevalence of litter also greatly affect land and marine ecosystems, many of which are already compromised due to over-exploitation and encroachment by human settlements. Wetlands within Tanzania in particular are heavily burdened as many of the chemicals and solid waste disposed of in villages and cities ends up in these places (Mkuula 1993). In my own research, I observed actions taken by musical communities in Tanzania which aim to help divert trash from making its way into water sources through clean-up events organized by the communities themselves. One such event, *Mimi na Mtaa* (Me and the street), is discussed further in this chapter. “*Maji Uhai*” (Water is life), by Chaca na Nduguzee, also directly addresses the issue of water pollution and its effects on community health.

Waste management in relation to musical communities has also been discussed in ethnomusicological literature. In Haiti, Rebecca Dirksen describes community trash clean-up efforts which are centered around music. Music’s power to bring people together and coordinate their efforts around a particular cause is clear in her focus on not only consciousness-raising songs, but non-musical labor carried out by music groups themselves (Dirksen 2013). In my own research, it has become clear that similar music-centered gatherings and trash clean-up efforts are

taking place. Mimi na Mtaa, the event mentioned above, also serves as an excellent example of action based in a community centered around the production of hip hop culture and music.

Many of the emerging environmental issues have created tension between people of different ethnic groups across Tanzania who rely on varied subsistence practices and those creating governmental policies which negatively affect their ability to survive. Particularly for Tanzanians living in rural areas, the policies regulating land use seem to ignore traditional ways of life and fail to recognize the diverse ways in which different people residing within Tanzania view and use the land. This pushback has resulted in a two-pronged effort to protect indigenous people and their ways of life, and, as a matter of course, also the wildlife and natural landscapes from which they draw their livelihoods. While Arusha is an urban area now somewhat distanced from traditional subsistence practices, people living in this city have played a significant role in criticizing development within Tanzania. This northern city has seen both large and small-scale movements to protect people, the environment, and indigenous and cosmopolitan conceptions of knowledge and education.

Environmental Advocacy in Music

To address instances of environmental advocacy in Tanzanian hip hop and reggae, I examine “Maji Uhai” (Water is life) by Chaca na Nduguzee and the music video for “Dream Land” by P-Culture. Each of these songs addresses environmental concerns in different ways. While “Maji Uhai” is explicitly encouraging conservation of natural resources and reinforcing the importance of water as sustenance, “Dream Land” is a song that is less direct in its approach. Instead of promoting conservation efforts, the song appeals to the appreciation of the natural world and all that it offers us as humans. The songs also feature contrasting styles: “Maji Uhai”

is acoustically rooted in the hip hop tradition originally cultivated in the United States while “Dream Land” exhibits more characteristics of reggae. In addition to the role of these songs, I also discuss Chaca’s personal dedication to environmental and indigenous advocacy and activism as he also performs actions which align with the environmental principles expressed in his music.

“Maji Uhai (Water is Life)” by Chaca na Nduguzee

“Maji Uhai” was released through Kichakani Studio May 31, 2015 in honor of World Environment Day, officially celebrated on June 5. The song features P-Culture (of “Dream Land”), as well as two other Arusha-based musicians, Ruzila Navosti and Dwee, in conjunction with Chaca himself. “Maji Uhai” addresses the importance of water to people, communities, and all life forms while bridging music and environmental conservation in Tanzania.

“Maji Uhai” is sung primarily in Swahili with a short introduction spoken in English. The use of these two languages is indicative of the localized nature of the song and adaptation of the hip hop style, as well as creating an opportunity for a wider audience to understand the environmental message. The primary listeners are likely to be Swahili speakers, but as indicated by the English-language message reproduced later in this chapter which accompanied the song’s release, Chaca na Nduguzee also intended for the song to be heard by environmentally-minded people outside of East Africa. Through the choruses in particular, the lyrics are delivered using call-and-response which is a texture commonly found in many pastoralist and hunter-gatherer indigenous groups in Tanzania. This is on top of a short repetitive melodic sample and a strong backbeat reminiscent of hip hop produced in the United States during the 1980s. The verses are delivered as raps, each featuring a different male artist, and are

followed by choruses sung by female vocalists. This formula is also prominent in hip hop of the 1980s and early 1990s.

One of the more localized elements of rap present in this music is known as *ngeli*. This refers to the use of word play in order to indirectly reference current events without placing the rapper in a potentially vulnerable position. These stylistic elements integrate the cosmopolitan elements of the music with more localized sounds and language, creating both a sense of the local and the global in the overall production. These elements work together to create the same connection between indigeneity and the larger-scale identity of what it means to be African, particularly as the stylistic elements derived from cosmopolitan genres are also rooted in the African diaspora.

The lyrics of “Maji Uhai” explicated below communicate ideas about the importance of water to life and to communities in traditional societies, throughout Africa, and throughout the world. Placing the significance of a single element within these nested places further integrates their inter-relatedness and forms the connection between indigenous people and Africa as a continent. These lyrics also express many of the same sentiments regarding the significance of water in daily life and the need to conserve this precious resource. Until petroleum-based products and other forms of non-biodegradable waste became commonplace in Tanzania, water collected from naturally occurring bodies of water was relatively clean. In recent years, this waste, along with a rapidly growing population, the unsustainable removal of trees, and the lack of an ecological infrastructure which regulates drainage and water storage processes, have made these naturally occurring bodies of water an unreliable source of clean water. Now, access to clean water in remote villages of Tanzania is often provided through pumps or wells located at the heart of the village. Within these villages, the place where one gets water is not only a life

source, but a place in which one can expect to find other members of the community. In urban areas, clean water can still be difficult to come by as the infrastructure set up to deliver water to people's homes is not always reliably clean or present. The themes of accessibility, community, and conservation of clean water are all stressed in "Maji Uhai."

The English translations provided by Chaca are below:

Chaca:

The water department is very important for this generation, but this investment is not nearly enough for this project. We have a lot of diseases, they barely try to move forward. It is obvious we are led by thieves, pardon me! And the work! The workers are in the street drinking coconut wine, *zanzi*.⁷ The youth are drug addicted. We are hard on ourselves to the point we don't care about ourselves. We are not wise, everything is corrupt. Shhh, there are undercover cops in the street, the department is corrupted, rivers have been dried, the trees chopped, and they've got the water sources. No water without trees, never let them get chopped. Care for the environment, don't throw the rubbish, especially the plastic. The community has created a poor-looking environment using plastic rubbish, rubbish is everywhere. Anyways, we also understand you're looking for ways to live.

Chorus:

(Tell them)

Water is life, everyone wants it.

The world wants it.

⁷ A cheap liqueur

Water is life.

You want it, I want it, water is life.

Water is life.

Dwee:

Environment is not just the surroundings, A-Town, the Arusha town, it is not a joke.

Although there is alcoholism, cigarette addicts, tycoons, and business people, and this department that has issues, by prayers and sacrifices, we are cleaning the town the V.I.P. way, not the stupid way. Rubbish is a loss, we need a lot of water to clean the effects.

People are not seeing we are surrounded by diseases, people are wiped by cholera, vomiting, and diarrhea. Let's clean our homes, streets, and roads. The forest shouldn't be burnt, but seedlings should be planted. If somebody is thirsty, give them water. Don't put out the fire that burns rubbish. Cover the dumps to reduce flies, keep an eye on the dumps. Leave the waterfalls and rivers running so that plants don't dry up. Why is the land dry? Tornados and dust storms, people are affected. Water is life. If you have it you are happy, proud. They filled their buckets and dishes, the peaks of water, Kilimanjaro, Meru, and Oldoinyo Lengai.

The central focus on water as a universal requirement for human life within this chorus appeals to communal dependency on the environment, while the rest of the lyrics focus on the specific issues faced by people in Arusha. These include addiction, disease, environmental concerns for clean water and forests, as well as corruption within the Department of Water. Chaca's rap addresses waste, and particularly the prevalence of plastic waste, while Dwee uses his verse to localize these concerns with references to the city of Arusha, as well as Kilimanjaro,

Meru, and Oldoinyo Lengai, all mountains that serve as important sources of water throughout Tanzania. These verses also promote a specific call to action for listeners to clean and care for their environment as it provides essential resources. The spoken introduction reinforces the significance of water both through the assertion of “eight glasses per day, that’s what the doctor says...,” and the sounds of rainfall, a water faucet, and a satisfying drink of water.

As mentioned within the introduction of this paper, this song was specifically released in honor of World Environment Day with the following message:

Listen to the song Maji Uhai by Chaca, Sister Pculture Na DW, this song lyrics are all in Swahili and speaks about how important water is to the community. they also speaks about where they think the problem is when it comes to water and environment management. this week from 1st June to 5th June is WED (World Environment day) so we thought to share this one with you all as our way to support the struggle for the environment. The theme for 2015 is how the well-being of humanity, the environment and economies ultimately depends on the responsible management of the planet’s natural resources. Evidence is building that people are consuming far more natural resources than what the planet can sustainably provide.⁸

This message makes Chaca na Nduguzee’s intentions of promoting environmental conservation very clear and reinforces the message portrayed through the song itself.

Chaca has also expressed his own views on environmental conservation very directly to me. While conducting fieldwork in Tanzania in January of 2017, he said:

⁸ Text is reproduced as originally published at <https://www.reverbNation.com/chacananduguzee/press>.

I believe in the environment, whereby, you know, people should respect the environment. Yes, you can use the environment, but in a very respectful way. Make sure everything works. You know, that river is still running the way it's supposed to run, even if you collect water from it. You know, you get your firewood from those trees, but make sure those trees continue— that forest is still there. So yeah, there's a lot of that going on [in my music].

This quote demonstrates his passion and dedication to the natural world through his music and the deep dependency of people on their environment for resources. Chaca has also demonstrated his dedication to the preservation of indigenous knowledge and the environment through his ecotourism company Nyayo.

“Dream Land” by P-Culture

Nanyorii Sererenyi, known primarily as P-Culture, is another Arusha-based musician who considers herself primarily a dancehall, reggae, and rap artist.⁹ While I do not fully explore the implications of her gender, it is worth noting that her presence as a female hip hop artist is somewhat unusual within Tanzania. Though she works with a number of different producers in Arusha, for “Dream Land,” she worked with Chaca at Kichakani Studio. I will examine the music video of this song released October 13, 2015. This video illustrates the construction of indigeneity and African-ness, as well as their relationship to East African places, through the lyrics, musical, and visual elements. This particular track also features Chaca as a guest artist, showing the reciprocal relationship between these two musicians. This selection illustrates the

⁹ <http://www.numberonemusic.com/pculture>

relationship between reggae in Arusha and the Tanzanian landscape, serving as a reminder to listeners of the need to protect the local environment.

As many indigenous practices and beliefs in Tanzania are deeply connected to the environment, the importance of indigenous identities within the Tanzanian context and their musical representation are central to my argument. Even between indigenous groups within Tanzania, practices and beliefs differ significantly, but all are deeply grounded in the local environments in which they developed. There is a long history of discrimination against particular ethnic groups that have been slower to adapt to changing social climates both before and after colonization, further challenging the continuation of practices such as traditional subsistence farming, herding, and hunting. Through this music video, P-Culture visually conveys connections between indigeneity and the natural world for an urban Tanzanian audience.

While the vast majority of people living in Tanzania are considered indigenous when considering conventional academic conceptions of indigeneity, many people, particularly in urban areas, have lost many of their connections to indigenous ways of life and practices. This disconnect has also resulted in a new relationship to the natural world. The classic conception of indigeneity is “taken to imply first-order connections (usually at small scale) between group and locality. It connotes belonging and originariness and deeply felt processes of attachment and identification, and thus it distinguishes ‘natives’ from ‘others’” (Merlan 2009:304). Francesca Marlen also describes a more recent development where indigeneity is “taken to refer to peoples who have great moral claims on nation-states and on international society, often because of inhumane, unequal, and exclusionary treatment” (Merlan 2009:304). In this context, both first-order connections between ethnic groups and locality, as well as international marginalization play a significant role in the representation of people as indigenous.

Indigenous people throughout Africa have been subject to European colonization and the loss of traditional lands to both white settlers and spaces dedicated to the tourism industry catering to people outside of Africa. This marginalization of native people has resulted in an emphasis on moral claims to land by indigenous people in Tanzania and elsewhere. While the abolishment of tourism is unlikely to happen, there have been governmental and civil steps taken towards protecting land and preserving it for the use of indigenous people and wildlife native to the area. Claims to indigeneity occur in “Dream Land” to create a particular platform of advocacy for the environment in Tanzania.

“Dream Land” opens showing P-Culture with her hair in Bantu knots and wearing large, beaded earrings and a headband. These shots alternate with images of her wearing a wrapped dress and headscarf are reminiscent of Jamaican fashions. These fashion choices both portray connections to local and international groups of people and produce a certain kind of femininity rooted both in local traditions of dress and in the international reggae scene.

There are also images of Maasai people wandering through the savannah, herding animals, collecting wood, and running around their traditional compounds known as *bomas*. There are more images of P-Culture harvesting vegetables with yet another hairstyle, in this instance, long and dreadlocked, in a Maasai style *shúkà*, a sheet wrapped around the body in various ways. This hairstyle in combination with Maasai dress is a juxtaposition in that the Maasai traditionally shave their heads and wear their hair short as a rite of passage. This illustrates the cosmopolitan nature of P-Culture’s depiction of Maasai identity while mixing it with stylistic elements from outside this indigenous group.

Among many ethnic groups in East Africa, women are the primary caretakers of the land and those responsible for gathering resources such as water, creating a stronger bond between

female-ness and nature than exists for males. This alignment gives a female musician such as P-Culture an advantage and perhaps a stronger reason to advocate for the preservation of the environment. The image of P-Culture described above also constructs a localized idea of femininity which relates women to nature not through innate association, but through the kinds of work that women typically do in cultivation-based societies in East Africa.

All of the jewelry displayed throughout the video represents a variety of ethnic groups both within and outside of Tanzania. In addition to the visual representations of indigeneity, particularly of the Maasai, the lyrics frequently refer to the African landscape within the video as “Maasai-land.” These various depictions of Maasai people and the numerous elements drawn from other indigenous groups construct a sense of indigenous identity while remaining relevant to the diasporic cultural formation of reggae and engender a particular way of being a woman at the historical and geographical intersection in which this video was created.

In addition to the imagery of “Dream Land” discussed in terms of indigeneity and its relationship to the land, there are also musical style elements and further implications of language and lyrics to explore with regard to these aspects within the video. The song draws heavily on musical tropes from outside of Africa, in this case, primarily on Jamaican reggae. The amp-distorted bass line and the drum patterns are both typical of reggae; the percussion becomes somewhat localized through the timbres used with both the sound of sharp claps and the incorporation of a hand drum in addition to the more typical hi-hat sound. The lyrics are primarily sung in English, or even a form of patois, further illustrating the cosmopolitanism of the song. Some of the lyrics, particularly in the rap performed by Chaca, are in Swahili, reinforcing the local connection.

Perhaps the most illustrative feature of this song in regard to the relationship between indigeneity and place are the lyrics. Throughout the song, there are a number of references to place and to Africans. The first and most repeated assertion is, “in the dream land, bandstand, Africans stand.” This is followed by “mainland, homeland, farmland, headstand, heart stand, Africans stand.” These two streams identifying place and its relation to Africans is followed with “Africa *moja*, we did this right.” This translates as “one Africa, we did this right,” which further demonstrates the idea of a united Africa. The land is further described as Maasai land, integrating a local indigenous group into the landscape. The song ends with the phrase “doing things African style,” connecting the ways in which the land is viewed and used to conceive African identity. As demonstrated, this song links indigeneity through a variety of musical and extra-musical aspects, as well as linking this identity to specific places and landscapes, such as grasslands featuring herds of cows and goats, which together construct a collective cultural memory. This nostalgic appeal indirectly supports environmental activism by making the abstracted human-nature relationship a personal and societal one.

The primary references to plants and animals occur in the imagery of “Dream Land.” In addition to the images of domesticated cattle with their Maasai herders, there are wildebeest, zebras, elephants, and gazelles seen running across the grasslands, while giraffes and warthogs are shown within a tourist resort setting interacting with the guests. The human relationship to plants is also performed by P-Culture through a clip of her gathering pea pods and another of her singing while sitting on a liana swing. The video also opens with an image of a leaf and is followed by a shot of Chaca and P-Culture looking up into a tree. How P-Culture situates herself in relation to these plants and animals within this video also exemplifies local conceptions of how to be in the so-called natural world. The video, set entirely in rural Tanzania, illustrates a

number of ways in which humans interact locally with these environments, creating a culturally relevant frame to promote conservation and demonstrate a thoroughly Tanzanian and musical approach to valuing the natural world.

Beginning in the 1980s, the relationship between music, identity, and place has become a significant topic within anthropology and ethnomusicology. This idea was extensively explored within *Senses of Place* (1996), edited by Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso. This volume was read widely by both ethnomusicologists and anthropologists and led to a surge in place related literature. One way in which this relationship has been examined is within the context of creating a culturally relevant frame to encourage environmental conservation. For many indigenous communities, the economic argument for sustainable resource use is not nearly as effective as more culturally relevant claims to significance (Impey 2006: 92). In many ways, the efforts of P-Culture are an example of a local artist creating a culturally relevant call for environmental conservation in Tanzania and Africa as a whole. Through the references to place and the incorporation of references to the livelihoods of African people derived from these places, the local connection to place is constructed musically. Through the same aspects of “Dream Land” that work to form a sense of indigeneity, there are specific relationships to place, as well as specific formations of space into culturally relevant places, performed. The landscapes within this song are seen as the spaces in which water is found, where communities gather and live, where sustenance is derived, and the spaces in which all aspects of life and how we understand it are cultivated and produced.

Community-based Environmental Action

There are a number of music and arts-based communities (some of which are more

formal organizations) in Arusha that seek to provide artists with skills and knowledge to improve their lives and help them to financially support themselves through their production of creative works. These groups also see themselves as having the responsibility to improve their communities in whatever ways possible, primarily through education, sharing of knowledge, and activist efforts that improve the environment and the lives of urban youth. This chapter only addresses their role in actions taken to protect the environment, but these other community-driven objectives, and the approaches taken to achieve them, are the central concerns of the third chapter.

One of these music-centered communities is Okoa Mtaa (Saving the neighborhood) Foundation, based in Tengeru, a neighborhood just outside Arusha proper. This umbrella organization has three distinct branches; this section will focus on Saving Underground Artists (S.U.A) and Each One Teach One (EOTO) of Okoa Mtaa, a waste clean-up project known as Mimi na Mtaa (Me and the street), and Chaca's ecotourism company, Nyayo, which he runs with his wife.

S.U.A.

According to the Facebook page, S.U.A. is the series of hip hop events organized by Okoa Mtaa which aim to spread peace, love, unity, happiness, and the right knowledge; words associated with hip hop at its origins within the United States. Their stated mission is "to uplift underground artists and hip hop education in Tanzania through the sharing of knowledge." These events provide this support by offering a performance space for hip hop artists to grow and gain exposure, as well as highlighting different areas of community concern. Through these events, they have seen artists gain confidence, build skills in appearance and language use, and

collaborate throughout the community.

Okoa Mtaa and S.U.A. organize an annual music festival which promotes local artists, showcases individuals who have participated in the organization's workshops, and uses art made from recycled materials to decorate the festival area. This practice helps to highlight the abundance of plastic waste in Arusha and the creative ways in which these materials can be repurposed, rather than disposing of them into water sources or in fires. The use of this festival as a platform to make this statement ensures that the wider hip hop community within Arusha is also exposed to the environmentalist ideals held by a subset of musicians in the area. This space is also seen as one which allows up-and-coming artists to debate, practice, and discuss hip hop culture and social affairs. Some of the artists present at the festival and smaller events hosted by S.U.A. are also active participants in the organization known as Each One Teach One.

Each One Teach One

Each One Teach One aims to educate young hip hop emcees in the practices of DJ-ing, rapping, breakdancing, and graffiti. In addition to these musical skills, the organization also administers multi-day workshops aimed at educating artists about a variety of other topics. One of the upcoming events will focus on teaching urban youth to cultivate traditional crops in urban gardens.

While EOTO is fundamentally a music and hip hop culture-based organization, the creators are also heavily involved in education and revitalization of indigenous cultural practices. This includes everything from languages, to musical and cultivation practices. Through these workshops, individuals who have formed a community centered around hip hop at Okoa Mtaa are taught to care for their urban environment in a way that both minimizes waste and preserves

indigenous knowledge of farming. They also plan to use music to promote the workshops and to consolidate the experience gained through the process by encouraging the participating artists to reflect on the process in their musical production. Workshops like this one not only make a difference for the individuals involved, but also help to improve the environment on a larger scale as these skills are shared with others.

Mimi na Mtaa (Me and the Street)

In 2015, hip hop artists coordinated a trash collection effort with local youth through their music-based community organizations. The event, called Mimi na Mtaa (Me and the street/neighborhood) was a large-scale trash collection project that focused particularly on waterways within Arusha. Patrick Kweka, a hip hop artist with the crew *Unique Music* who participated in the event, described the project as follows:

... we start with clean the water source, because, you know, we have this problem with water. Not every time we get clean water, you know, from the taps and everything. Sometime we don't have water from the taps. And still the people, they don't know how to, to clean the environment, how to protect the environment. So the project of Mimi na Mtaa was to clean the environment, like clean the source of water, clean places where people they stay, open ground, open places. So we were collecting youth together, but most of the youth we collect was artists, who will be able to go, because, nobody will pay you, but we just did it for the... for the street, we just did it for the people.

Pollution and contamination of clean water is a significant problem in large cities of Tanzania which these musicians saw as their responsibility to address. By involving youth in this process, there is also an element of environmental education that emerges from these efforts.

Music provides a central foundation which brings people interested in environmental conservation together and allows them to carry environmental action.

Ecotourism

The eco-tourism industry is growing throughout the world and bridging the gap between the beauty of natural places and the cultures of people who live within them. In Tanzania, there are a number of companies seeking to increase tourist knowledge of not only the ecosystems as they relate to plant and animal life, but also to the indigenous people of Tanzania. In most cases, this includes cultural excursions to indigenous villages with interaction and knowledge sharing between the indigenous people and tourists who visit them. This industry relates to the environmental conservation messages of Chaca na Nduguzee through Chaca's own stake in the eco-tourism industry. He runs a company with his wife that provides educational opportunities for tourists both within safari parks and in indigenous villages throughout Tanzania. The sharing of knowledge is reciprocated through projects undertaken by the company and with help from their visitors to create sustainable infrastructure for the indigenous communities with which Chaca's company, Nyayo, work.

The name of Chaca's eco-tourism company, Nyayo, means "footsteps." The company seeks to maintain long-standing and trusting relationships with the Hadzabe, Chagga, Maasai, and Barabaig communities with which they work. On their website, the company describes what "Nyayo" means to them:

Nyayo means tracks, footsteps or prints in Kiswahili. Inspired by the relationship indigenous people have with their environment "Nyayo" represents the excitement and importance of new discovery (as a tracker feels while following a trail); in-depth learning

about the indigenous people of Tanzania through open communication promoting mutual respect, understanding and appreciation (taking a walk in each other's shoes); and our policy of low environmental impact (leaving behind just footprints in the dust).¹⁰

This description perfectly captures the environmental and cultural preservation promoted through Chaca na Nduguzee's music as well. In addition to the environmental messages discussed, this also relates to the incorporation of indigenous imagery and indigenous musicians within Chaca na Nduguzee's musical production more widely.

The company also carries out sustainability projects within these communities to support their preservation, as well as that of the environment on which they depend. Their aims and projects within these communities are outlined extensively on the website, but I will mention only a few of them here:

- To provide our indigenous partners with alternative sources of income.
- Improve access to essential natural resources where they are lacking (e.g. water).
- Support sustainable development in the form of improved access to broader forms of health care and education.
- Preserve Indigenous Knowledge.
- Promote conservation.
- Enhance ecotourism.

These goals are clearly aligned with the environmental advocacy and its relationship to indigeneity performed musically in "Maji Uhai" and demonstrate Chaca's lifelong commitment as an advocate for environmental and indigenous culture preservation.

¹⁰ <http://nyayodiscovery.com/index.html>.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored how musicians serve as advocates and activists in environmental conservation efforts in Arusha, Tanzania. The example of the music video for “Dream Land” by P-Culture demonstrates indirect advocacy through the linkage of identity to specific places and customary use of land and natural resources via imagery, lyrics, and musical sounds themselves. A more direct approach is taken in Chaca na Nduguzee’s “Maji Uhai” (Water is life) which demands efforts focused on cleaning up water sources and providing better infrastructure for waste management and water treatment to aid in environmental protection and public health. In addition to these musical approaches to advocacy, we have also seen examples of actions carried out through music-centered community projects intended to aid in conservation and ecosystem health. Collectively, these strategies demonstrate a shared reverence among some musicians in Arusha for the inherent value of the environment and the indigenous people and cultures who depend on its healthy functioning.

Their musical labor is an especially important mode of advocacy as it is capable of creating a culturally relevant frame which addresses not only non-human aspects of the environment, but also the people who have customarily maintained intimate relationships with the so-called natural world. As changing people’s behaviors is an extremely challenging endeavor, any action which alters how people relate to a cause is significant. These artists are forerunners in this effort by deploying messages in a both cosmopolitan and highly localized manner. They are cultivating a method which other socially-engaged artists and the academics who position themselves at the center of these issues in different societies can add to their collection of possible approaches to employ in addressing environmental concerns. As musicians, scholars, and tenants of the earth, we are all accountable for upholding the integrity of

our planet, which in turn provides the necessary resources for the ongoing survival of our species. By taking actions which contribute to the health of environment, we secure the additional benefit of maintaining cultural diversity and bodies of knowledge produced and maintained within various communities.

CHAPTER 3: (A) MUSICAL GENERATION OF/(WITH) INTELLIGENCE AND UNDERSTANDING

Music-Makers as Knowledge-Bearers and Cultivators of Wisdom

... we are trying to create a generation of people that has wisdom, intelligence, and understanding. So, it seems like a little bit crazy when you want to create a generation that has wisdom because, how can you teach somebody wisdom? What is wisdom? And how can you teach somebody to be intelligent, how can you teach somebody to have an understanding of—whatever? So... the things that you can't learn from school can be transferred from one person to another, from one generation to another, and it seems like arts is the only thing that get no boundaries to share anything that you want people to understand. And it seems like arts is the easiest way to reach more people, than politics, than any other kind of things that bring people together. So we decided to use arts to create that kind of generation, and many people ask, like, "how do you do that?"

~ Matei Babu (personal communication, January 5, 2017)

Matei Babu, or “Biggie,” is one of the founding members of Okoa Mtaa (Saving the neighborhood), the hip hop organization first introduced in the last chapter. He is heavily involved in promoting wisdom and the transmission and production of an array of more practical and skill-based knowledge among hip hop artists in Arusha. Using music and other forms of art as a way in which to spread ideas, maintain, and produce artistic and other types of knowledge is not unique to this organization, but Okoa Mtaa is one of the largest hip hop collectives currently active in Arusha which visibly, as well as audibly, regards these types of education as fundamental to hip hop and the artistic production of the collective itself. The work carried out by Okoa Mtaa, the United African Alliance Community Center (UAACC), and collaborative efforts made by individual artists like Chaca na Nduguzee is playing a central role in helping to maintain and grow diverse bodies of knowledge, including those that could be classified as Indigenous Knowledge (IK) or Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK). As mentioned in the introduction, I use both IK and TEK to refer to locally produced and maintained bodies of

knowledge endemic to a particular culture or society to encompass not only ecological knowledge, but other bodies of knowledge and practices (Berkes et al. 1995). The same artists and music-centered communities introduced in the previous chapter are also involved in nurturing a culture of wisdom among Tanzanian youth in order to generate a future peopled by reflective and unselfish individuals.

This chapter deals with communities centered around music, as well as individual artists actively involved in promoting the sharing of knowledge and the formation of a culture of wisdom through music and related art forms. Before delving into the case studies illustrating the specific action and messages originating in Arusha, I first establish its complicated history of human migration and the resulting changes in language, conceptions of knowledge, and livelihoods. Following this contextual information, I examine three case studies which demonstrate the proactive methods many musically-minded people are taking to aid in the maintenance of local knowledge and practices through a relatively new musical medium. Okoa Mtaa (Saving the Neighborhood) approaches these goals by organizing workshops which provide people with particular skills and information, both musical and extra-musical, and through the production and dissemination of creative media which aim to nurture particular ways of thinking about contemporary problems facing Tanzanian youth. The UAACC cultivates wisdom and shares knowledge by offering classes on a variety of subjects to the people residing within Imbaseni and through musical messages shared by leaders of the center.

The final case study explores the work conducted by Chaca's collaborative recording projects, which make progress towards achieving these goals through the extensive learning which takes place during the process of producing these projects themselves and the resulting dissemination of song recordings embedded with IK and TEK from various Tanzanian ethnic

groups. All of these strategies employed by music-makers and their collective bodies in Arusha operate uniquely not only due to the variety of actions taken, but also the particular information or lesson shared. Their efforts are united by their shared intention to educate and promote intellectual growth on both individual and societal levels.

Villagization, Indigenous Knowledge, and Hip Hop

With the increasing movement of people into urban areas in Tanzania, peoples' ways of life changed drastically. Indigenous knowledge (IK) is beginning to disappear with urban-born generations. As people left their native lands, much of the knowledge regarding traditional subsistence practices and mutually beneficial land and resource use has been lost. Some ethnic groups, such as the Chagga, are seeing larger numbers of emigration and suppression of traditional practices and knowledge than others, but few communities are unaffected. In addition to the loss of specific, place-based knowledge, such as awareness of medicinal plants and how to use them, many modes of knowledge-sharing and artistic expression are also threatened. Among my collaborators in Arusha, many have expressed their frustration in not learning to speak the languages their parents grew up speaking. Oral storytelling practices and songs which are customarily used to explain how the world works, as well as to teach morals and lessons, have been particularly affected by changes in education and lifestyles in modern Tanzania.

Formal education has had a significant impact on the production and maintenance of knowledge in recent years. Before the independence of Tanganyika and the unification of Tanganyika and Zanzibar which resulted in the formation of Tanzania, nationalized education programs were designed by the colonial powers of Germany and the United Kingdom. Immediately before the presidency of Julius K. Nyerere, formal education in Tanzania was

conducted primarily in English through primary and secondary school. Under the policy of Ujamaa introduced by Rais Mwalimu Nyerere, a number of educational reforms took place. One of the primary distinctions was the language of instruction used in primary education. All primary school courses were conducted in Swahili, and English was introduced as the language-of-instruction only in the last four years of secondary school in order to prepare students for university-level education, which is also taught in English. This change accompanied the establishment of Swahili as a national language in Tanzania. As discussed earlier, the socialist government in Tanzania encouraged urban migration in order to provide citizens access to clean water, schools, healthcare, and other government-run services. In addition to creating geographic propinquity among large groups of people, a national education system and centralized government also meant establishing a lingua franca which would allow people from diverse ethnic groups and backgrounds to communicate with one another more easily. The introduction of Swahili as the national language of Tanzania has had far-reaching impacts on the loss of other indigenous languages and their respective bodies of knowledge and traditions. In recent years, there have been some attempts made to revitalize these languages and promote indigenous knowledge from throughout Tanzania. In this chapter, one case study investigates the efforts of Chaca na Nduguzee in promoting the maintenance of indigenous languages and music practices through collaborative recording projects.

The relationship between hip hop and knowledge production and maintenance has already been acknowledged within ethnomusicological literature. In the context of Africa, there are a few works which address the role of hip hop as a musical platform well-suited to engaging with ideas of locality and disseminating a variety of information (Pennycook & Mitchell 2009; Perullo & Fenn 2003). In addition to the promotion of knowledge-sharing and the cultivation of a

culture of wisdom I address in this chapter, other scholars have explored the role of hip hop artists and communities in Arusha in advocating for the elimination of poverty and drug use among Tanzanian youth (Pennycook & Mitchell 2009). The two primary ways in which artists work to address these issues are first, directly through their lyrics and, second, by building communities which help to educate urban youth about everything from musical production techniques to traditional farming practices.

Artists and communities which consider themselves embedded within hip hop culture are especially active in the promotion of disseminating knowledge and nurturing the development of wisdom among youth for a number of reasons. Among those with whom I collaborate in Tanzania, there is a shared desire to form strong communities grounded by hip hop artist Afrika Bambaataa's Four Principles of Hip Hop: peace, love, unity, and having fun. Fostering intellectual growth and critical thinking which decenters the self among individuals is an essential part of creating this community-culture. Additionally, the relationship between hip hop and identity in Tanzania aids in establishing the connection between indigenous forms of knowledge and this musical community (Perullo 2005; Perullo 2012). Along with the history of hip hop in relation to social advocacy and action, it becomes an ideal art form through which to encourage this type of social change (Bancet 2007; Stroeken 2005). The positive conceptions of locally developed knowledge and wisdom within hip hop communities in Arusha in particular also drive many musicians to promote the maintenance of indigenous knowledge and practices outside of hip hop music itself (Lemelle 2006; Weiss 2009).

Okoa Mtaa (Saving the Neighborhood)

As introduced in the previous chapter, Okoa Mtaa is an artist collective centered around the growth and support of local hip hop musicians. As the president of the foundation, Biggie has played an important role in shaping the mission and direction of the organization. At the root of these goals is the idea of building community and sharing knowledge through art in order to create a generation of artists prepared to face contemporary issues both within and outside of the hip hop community itself. The three subdivisions of Okoa Mtaa, S.U.A., Each One Teach One, and Kibanda Umiza all make unique contributions to the overall mission of the foundation, which is “to use Underground Arts for social education that helps to create awareness and engagement in community positive changes.”¹¹ EOTO and Kibanda Umiza in particular play a significant role in knowledge sharing within the Okoa Mtaa community beyond what has already been described in the course of this paper.

Like the previously discussed EOTO projects, Kibanda Umiza also frequently collaborates with international organizations and individuals to provide education about working within the music industry itself. In 2017, the organization hosted an event cosponsored by the Embassy of Denmark and the International Development Cooperation which provided lessons about copyright laws, ownership, marketing, freedom of speech, songwriting, human rights, and fighting poverty.¹² Workshops like this one occur regularly, providing ongoing opportunities for individuals to learn about many facets of music-making as a professional endeavor in a place where amateur musicianship is the norm. These workshops prepare members of the Okoa Mtaa community to face challenges with information that would otherwise be difficult to come by. As previously discussed, EOTO also provides workshops for members of the hip hop community of

¹¹ <https://www.facebook.com/pg/OkoaMtaa>

¹² See Appendix A for the digital flyer for this event.

Arusha beyond the music industry itself. These workshops are also important sites for maintaining indigenous knowledge of cultural practices such as subsistence farming and various artistic traditions.

Kibanda Umiza is a sub-organization of Okoa Mtaa centered around making and screening educational films. According to the Kibanda Umiza page on the Okoa Mtaa Foundation's website, "kibanda umiza" is a slang term meaning "slum movie theatre," and the sub-organization "gives opportunity to local and international film makers to screen, sell, and promote their product to the local community."¹³ Additionally, this website presents the aims of Kibanda Umiza as:

- The exposure, promotion and encouragement of local Educational films.
- Creation of a veritable platform to showcase both our local films and those of other countries of the world that concerning our society directly.
- The promotion and sustenance of cultural values and peaceful co-existence among world ethnic nationalities through film.
- Creation of a veritable platform for the exchange of cultural values through films.
- Promotion of a cheap and genuine market for motion picture content in indigenous languages of the world.
- Creation of permanent employment.

It is clear from these aims that education is at the forefront of what Kibanda Umiza seeks to provide to viewers within their community. The organization hopes to promote knowledge which addresses: local social concerns, cultural values and understanding of diversity and difference among ethnic groups throughout the world, and indigenous languages. Many of these educational

¹³ <http://www.okoamtaa.co.tz/projects/kibandaumiza/>

goals are to be achieved through the creation of a platform and market for films which promote cultural values, affordability and access, and the professionalization of film-making in communities which do not normally have access to the industry.

Kibanda Umiza is a branding of a common practice in urban neighborhoods in which films are screened publicly for people who cannot otherwise afford to go to the cinema or own a television. The collaborators at Okoa Mtaa identified a number of social concerns such as unemployment, teenage pregnancy, high rates of children dropping out of school, and others which they hoped to address through film. After discovering that it was difficult to teach youth about these issues simply by telling them how to behave, the members of Kibanda Umiza chose to create films which show these problems and possible solutions in such a way that viewers are forced to confront their own issues. While conversing with Biggie in January 2017, he told me how the formation of Kibanda Umiza occurred:

After the research about the street and the problem that we're finding, we go back to the film guys, we took the film that related to, to that stuff, that problem in the street, then we come to screen it direct to them, to the people, because those kind of films are the films that you can't get them in a TV station. Even... the hackers, they don't sell it, or online you can't get it, because people, they don't really want to buy it, it's not a commercial thing, it's more for education. And so, since they can't, they can't get the chance to be shown on the TV, we, we give them a chance to go straight to the people. So, we put the projector, a little bit sound, then we start to screen to the local people the film. After the film, always when you watch film, you find yourself commenting something like, "hey, that guy shouldn't kill this one," or "he shouldn't be doing this, he could do that instead of this." So we find out this Kibanda Umiza help people to create their own solution of

their own problems, which is one of the biggest problem that we are facing in the streets. People are sitting, blaming for the government, blaming parents, friends, and everything. So, by using this film we find it's automatic, people, they're creating solutions of their own problem, in their own society, just by commenting, and then we collect those comments and try to explain to them that this is the solution of this problem.

While Kibanda Umiza is not focused on music itself, the project was born from a hip hop music and culture-centered community. Many of the educational goals and the primacy of knowledge-sharing through art continue to be at the forefront through these film projects as well. The inclusion of different educational mediums across the projects of Okoa Mtaa Foundation allow their messages directed at urban youth, and especially those involved in the hip hop community of Arusha, to be broadly relevant. This range of educational vehicles allows for the construction of a community culture which includes knowledge of, or at least about, indigenous languages, cultural practices, and ethnic diversity while also building bodies of wisdom which allow people to make educated choices for themselves about social concerns and professional artistic endeavors in a contemporary context.

United African Alliance Community Center

The UAACC is located in the small village of Imbaseni just outside the Arusha National Park gate. The center was founded by Charlotte Hill-O'Neal, affectionately called "Mama C," and her husband, Pete O'Neal, also known as "*Mzee* (elder man/sir) Pete" or "*Babu* (grandfather)." The two of them are Black Panthers from Kansas City, Missouri who have been living abroad since Pete was accused of illegally transporting a gun across state lines in 1970. They first moved to Sweden, then Algeria, which was a center for liberation movements all over

the world at the time. After a few years, Charlotte and Pete moved their growing family to Tanzania and began to homestead. In 1991, they were given a small plot of land in order to start a community center where they would teach classes to people in the area. For a number of years, they have been teaching a variety of classes to community members at the UAACC. Among the classes offered are English, computer skills, music, art, sewing, yoga, architecture, and carpentry. Through these classes, community members have the opportunity to both share their own knowledge about indigenous practices and learn about those of others, as well as gaining skillsets which provide access to job opportunities in contemporary Tanzania. On their website, their mission is stated as follows:

Providing programs and projects for the enrichment of the Arusha community, especially in Meru District and improving the lives of children from extremely disadvantaged homes and those who for various reasons have not been able to continue their formal public education. We promote unity in diversity and solidarity in the global community!¹⁴

In addition to providing classes for local residents, the center also hosts student groups from around the world to participate in a variety of educational programs. While flexible, past programs have included Tanzanian art, global health, cultural history, and education. The frequent presence of both community members and students from abroad also facilitates interactions and collaborations which contribute to the educational scope of the UAACC. This interchange allows for the sharing of diverse bodies of knowledge and promotes cultural understanding between people from disparate places.

Since the founding of the center, its community involvement has grown to include a number of children who live there full time. In 2008, Mzee Pete and Mama C opened the doors

¹⁴ <https://www.uaacc.net>

of their residence and the center to a number of children who did not have substantial support and resources available at home. These children moved into the center and have been living there since that time under a program known as the “Leaders of Tomorrow.” On the UAACC website, the program is described as follows:

The children’s home was created in 2008 to help improve the lives of disadvantaged children within the community. We do not use the term *orphans* as they are our family, and we are their family. We have 20 children and we provide housing, education, healthcare, and a loving extended family environment. We put a great emphasis on learning and in addition to attending school the children have private tutoring on a daily basis. We are well aware that “all work and no play makes Jack (or Jill) a dull person” so we include exciting and fun field trips designed to broaden the children’s perspectives and allow them to appreciate the grandeur of their country and the world! We are very serious when we say “Leaders of Tomorrow” and it is our hope and aim to help these young people develop to the point where national leadership roles are within the realm of their possibilities!¹⁵

In addition to attending local schools, these children learn about traditional and emerging styles of art and music with the help of local and international volunteers. Through their immersion at the UAACC in music and art from Tanzania, as well as other parts of the world, they learn about the cultural practices of a number of Tanzanian ethnic groups and others beyond its borders. The children of the “Leaders of Tomorrow” also participate in community outreach programs in which they are able to share indigenous knowledge and related skills learned while still residing in the communities where they were born. For example, one young girl who now lives at the

¹⁵ Ibid

center came with knowledge about herbal remedies imparted by her grandmother. She has since shared this knowledge in community outreach programs, effectively supporting the maintenance of orally transmitted knowledge at risk of disappearing.

Classes are offered to both these children and interested community members in everything from visual art, dance, and musical skills ranging from instruction in various musical instruments to recording technology and production. Beneath a short video titled “They’re All Artists!” on the center’s website, the caption reads: “The UAACC integrates art into all aspects of the children’s lives and stresses the importance of keeping their culture while learning the cultures of the world.” Mama C in particular consistently advocates for the necessity of art both in children’s lives and in promoting indigenous and global cultural education. She sees all forms of creative production as a powerful form of expression that should be accessible to all people, and her commitment to this belief shows in every aspect of her life. While not all of the children are emerging hip hop artists, some spend extra time creating music and learning from the resources available to them at the center.

The types of music present at the center range from hip hop to more traditional genres from various parts of the African continent, but the students are encouraged to learn about and participate in all of them. On a typical night at the UAACC, it is not unusual to find a group of musicians jamming in the center of the compound in the open-air hall known as “The Red Onion,” or to hear electronic beats emerging from the center’s recording studio, PEACE POWER Productions. The building in which Mama C, Mzee Pete, and their family originally lived is now the site of this studio which serves as a place for the Leaders of Tomorrow and local community members to collaborate, record, and produce their own music. Additionally, the studio is a place for musicians to share a variety of musical skills and practices, as well as

recording and production techniques, with other musicians and the children living at the center. Much of my own time at the UAACC was spent with local musicians in the studio, which is additionally available for visiting musicians to use for recording and production. Many of the tracks produced are collaborative efforts featuring musicians versed in different music practices. Besides having a recording studio and plentiful learning and performance opportunities, another significant asset available to the community associated with the UAACC are the individuals who serve as role models for local musicians.

Mama C herself is an active musician, poet, and artist. She spends her time both teaching at the center and touring the United States to advocate for community healing. Before leaving the United States, she and her husband were heavily involved in the community programs initiated by the Black Panther Party in Kansas City. These included Free Breakfast for Children, a program providing breakfast for inner-city youth whose families could not afford to provide enough food, and free health clinics which offered medical services to families unable to pay for necessary medical care at other facilities. Mama C and Mzee Pete see their present-day community outreach in Tanzania as a continuation of these community programs of the late 1960s in Kansas City. Mama C contributes to the UAACC and their outreach programs in numerous ways, but her role as a musician is apparent both in Tanzania and during her lectures abroad. She has spent a significant portion of her time in Tanzania learning about music from various African traditions, as well as working with local hip hop artists. She uses her performances both at the UAACC and elsewhere to transmit wisdom about community healing and as an opportunity for collaboration promoting the sharing of local knowledge and musical diversity. In addition to her role as a musician and mentor, she is heavily involved in the promotion of local hip hop artists and other musicians.

The significant presence of music at the UAACC is also a result of other community members who teach classes and spend time in the recording studio at the center. There are too many people involved to list them all, but Dwee, an artist also featured in the song “Maji Uhai” which was discussed in the previous chapter, spends a significant amount of time working with young musicians at the PEACE POWER Productions Studio. He is a locally prominent hip hop artist himself who creates music in order to promote conscious ways of moving through life and to bring people together. During a conversation in January 2017, Dwee described his intentions in music making and lyric writing as follows:

We just do this for the people. Not for the media, and not like, you know, a superstar. So, I try hard to just write conscious. Conscious, which we, we have to make our mind clean and clear, and our spiritual, and our, you know, our heart. And we have to love everybody. That’s why I have to write cool rhymes, to everybody, who can just feel this, my rhymes, so they can know, ‘oh, this brother,’ so I don’t make anyone to become like a, you know, I don’t write my rhymes to make separate anyone. I just make to, everyone to be coming together, and to working there, sharing the knowledge, and sharing what we got.

From this quote, it is clear that Dwee sees his role as a musician as a teacher. He attempts to impart his own knowledge to others through his lyrics and create a sense of community. These same ideas are present in his interactions with younger musicians in the studio as well.

Through the musical opportunities available to community members and the children living at the UAACC, the goals of sharing knowledge (including indigenous knowledge) and building a strong sense of community are ever-present. The adult musicians involved in programming at the center foster these ideas through their own musical production and through

the lessons which they share with musical learners. The recording studio itself also provides access to a number of artists who would not otherwise be able to learn production techniques and distribute their music, allowing for the wider dissemination of so-called “conscious” hip hop and reggae from Arusha. The importance of togetherness in cultivating strong communities is further reinforced in the name PEACE POWER Productions Studio given to this site of musical collaboration and exchange. These resources allow for the significant learning experiences available to both the Leaders of Tomorrow and the wider Meru District community at the UAACC. These programs, spaces, and musicians present at the center make it an important locus of knowledge sharing through musical practice and musical learning in Arusha.

Chaca na Nduguzee

In addition to the environmental messages within Chaca na Nduguzee’s music, Chaca has recently worked to record and promote indigenous musical practices. During my fieldwork in 2017, I traveled with Chaca to record two groups of musicians in rural parts of Tanzania. Both of these communities are ones with which he has worked for several years. As part of the cultural tourism programs he designs, he brings students to these areas to live with and learn from these culturally distinct communities. In collaboration with musicians in both of these communities, he is now helping to produce full-length albums with the primary intent of sharing this music with Tanzanians living in urban areas to educate them about the diverse musical practices found in Tanzania. While domestic distribution of the albums is the principal aim, raising awareness of minority ethnic groups and their musical practices through international distribution is an eventual goal. In order to best achieve both of these goals, the album includes informative liner

notes with English and Swahili translations of the song titles and lyrics.¹⁶ As sharing this music with people outside these communities is viewed by Chaca as a way to both educate others about the lesser-known ethnic groups in Tanzania and provide economic benefits to the communities themselves, all profits generated by the albums created through Kichakani, Chaca's studio and production company, return to the musicians and their communities.

Chaca's role in recording and producing this music demonstrates his interest in promoting and maintaining music practices with deep roots in this part of the world. The ideas fostered within the hip hop communities in Arusha contribute to the socially conscious efforts of musicians to maintain indigenous knowledge and practices. While the music itself is not hip hop, his personal identification as a hip hop musician and involvement in communities centered around hip hop practices creates a direct connection between these seemingly differentiated music genres. In addition to recording traditional music, Chaca is also interested in working with musicians from both of these communities to create hip hop tracks incorporating musical sounds and lyrics disseminating indigenous knowledge in order to reach out to a younger generation of listeners both physically and culturally distanced from more traditional musics and the messages transmitted through their practices. The rest of this section will illustrate these ideas through my accounts of the recording sessions, the creation of a music video, and the process of releasing an album. Collectively, these stories demonstrate both Chaca's involvement as a hip hop musician and producer, and by extension, my own, in the maintenance and sharing of indigenous knowledge and practices both within and outside of Tanzania's national borders.

Through the collaborative projects described in this section, I was placed in an unexpected position extending beyond my intended role of ethnographer. I was asked to help

¹⁶ See Appendix B for liner notes with photographs, song titles, and lyrics.

produce audio and video recordings, and by extension, participate in the transmission and production of knowledge. I actively worked to minimize my influence on the artistically-driven decisions throughout this process, but my presence and the frequent requests for my feedback have undoubtedly made an impact. I also had a significant role in the publication process for both the audio recordings and the music video, primarily due to lack of accessibility to certain resources required for publication within Tanzania. As I describe in great detail below, even where my participation and actions dominated the process, I tried to communicate openly with all of my collaborators whenever possible.

During my first return trip to Tanzania associated with this particular project, I was invited to help in recording music of the Hadzabe (Hadza), an ethnic group believed to be one of the few remaining hunting and gathering tribes in Africa. Many of the Hadzabe now reside in Yaeda Chini (in Swahili: literally “drop down”),¹⁷ a valley east of Lake Eyasi in northern Tanzania. In 2011, the Hadzabe received the first land titles granted by the Tanzanian government to a minority tribe in the country’s history. This land is not the entire area historically used by the Hadzabe, but these titles guarantee that they will still have undeveloped land in order to sustain their livelihoods into the future. While access to these land titles has provided a significant amount of land security for the Hadzabe, it has also effectively created codified borders around the area and allowed for pastoralist groups, especially the Barabaig, to inhabit the slopes surrounding the valley floor. Some of the problems created by this encroachment will be discussed later in this section. While the Hadzabe still practice traditional methods of hunting and foraging, commodities from outside of the community have a growing presence. Cell phones and clothing mass-produced overseas are not uncommon, and a few

¹⁷ In Somali, “yaeda” means “on the lake.” It’s possible this valley’s name has linguistic origins other than Swahili.

people have traveled both near and far from the valley.

In January of 2017, I traveled with Chaca to Yaeda Chini to begin recording this album, subsequently titled *Tegeregaki* (in Hadzane, the language of the Hadza, “listen”): *Listen with Hadza*. On the day of our arrival, we visited different individuals and families around the area and were led to our first campsite by two Hadzabe men. Plans were made to meet with the adult members of the community the following day in order to decide who would participate in the recording process. Chaca spent the first evening teaching me the appropriate ways to greet people of different ages and outlining our goals over the next few days. The morning of the second day, we met with all of the musicians and decided we would begin recording that afternoon. We moved to a second campsite and selected an area with a thick wall of acacia and other thorny trees along one side as our “studio.” The trees would help to cut down on interference from the wind and one particular tree cast a shadow large enough to keep the sixteen or so musicians, plus Chaca and myself, out of the sun. The two men who had originally guided us to our campsite had since been joined by a third and they regularly traveled with us as we moved through the valley. At times, they would ride in the vehicle, but they spent an equal amount of time standing along the outside as we moved through the thick and unforgiving vegetation or walking distances that we only traversed by car. Once the recording site had been chosen, they helped to clear out the undergrowth where we would set up our recording equipment and the musicians would be singing.

The entire recording process itself took only about eight hours spread over two days. Despite having a large group of singers, we used a single microphone mounted inside of a foldable isolation shield. The microphone was placed roughly 4.5 feet above the ground and the musicians stood in three to four lines in front of the microphone. As all of the songs were led by

a single individual, this person would stand closer to the microphone, at a distance of approximately five feet, with the “choir” behind them. Chaca and I remained behind the isolation shield. He primarily focused on the audio recording while I took a secondary series of audio recordings from our makeshift table and captured photographs of both the process and the musicians while they sang and danced through the recording sessions. On the second and final day of recording, we continued to record after the sun had already begun to set and the possibility of taking pictures without a flash had dissipated.

The songs we recorded were entirely antiphonal with an individual singing a series of calls and the choir responding. A number of different musicians/members of the Hadzabe community took turns leading with some individuals perceived as the strongest singers by the rest of the group leading multiple songs. The leaders were both men and women ranging from the youngest participants in their late teens/early twenties to some of the oldest. While I don't know the exact ages of these individuals, some of them were likely in their seventies. The emphasis on vocal music which relies on the participation of all members of the Hadzabe community both exemplifies and reinforces Hadzabe societal valuation of unity through togetherness and their nomadic way of life. Despite the aural nature of the album recording process, all of the musicians donned traditionally made and decorated clothing and were unable to refrain from dancing while performing the songs. Many of the singers also wore bells around their ankles and beads on their clothing that added to the sound we were able to capture while they danced. One person had a police whistle which he would play loudly during the climax of some songs, but they were otherwise sung unaccompanied. The musical performance practices which emerged through the process of recording and producing this album, as well as the lyrics presented within the songs themselves, gave me a chance to witness and participate in the

transmission and maintenance of indigenous knowledge endemic to this community.

Many of the songs we recorded contain lyrics which directly address the relationships between the Hadzabe themselves and the non-human beings with which they share their environment. The first song on the album, “Nubeeya Obee Yamuaya” (Our land is beautiful), demonstrates the inherent value the Hadzabe perceive in their environment and their desire to protect the land and the resources it provides them. Songs such as “Ika-Kwata” (I stalked the giraffe, but it got away) and “Bahepe” (Baobab) demonstrate the centrality of hunting and foraging practices to Hadzabe subsistence and the content of the musical production. “Ika-Kwata” tells the story of a failed attempt at hunting a giraffe, while “Bahepe” depicts the importance of baobab fruit for the Hadzabe through the repetition of lyrics which communicate the differing presence of this fruit on particular baobab trees. This song is also one of several which repeat the same lyrics several times but address each repetition to a different sub-group within Hadzabe communities. This trend within these lyrics reveals patterns of social stratification among the Hadzabe and reinforces the significance of particular relations within the community. Another song, titled “Akwene Onokochiya Paanakwete” (I won’t get married to an old man) also communicates Hadzabe values regarding marriage and centers on the female role in the marital selection process.

“Yun’u Yun’u” (Honeyguide) is unique in that it illustrates the interactions of two non-human animal species which are abundant in the area. In this song, the bird for which the song is named, known in English as the Honeyguide, is described as chasing the Ashy Starling. The song also tells us of the Ashy Starling fleeing the Honeyguide’s advances because the Honeyguide has “teeth.” While initially working through the Swahili translation of this song, I was very uncertain of how to accurately represent these ideas in English. Upon researching the behavior of the

Honeyguide and the Ashy Starling, I realized that the Honeyguide is a notorious brood parasite which lays its eggs in the nests of other bird species, including the Ashy Starling. When the Honeyguide emerges from its egg in a foreign bird's nest, it uses a sharp protrusion which has developed on its beak to kill the young nestlings of the host-bird. The Honeyguide nestling is then able to eat all of the food provided by the Ashy Starling or other host-bird without the parental care of its own species. Upon discovering this, I asked one of the musicians whether the evolutionarily developed beak-protrusion was the "teeth" referred to in the song. My educated guess was verified. The anatomical and behavioral knowledge demonstrated by the Hadzabe through these lyrics exhibits the significant body of traditional ecological knowledge present within this music. The Honeyguide also plays a significant role in Hadzabe subsistence as an interspecies practice of locating beehives, and hence, obtaining honeycombs, has developed and is regularly utilized. These birds will lead people to beehives which are inaccessible to non-insect animals without using an axe to remove tree bark and pith. Both species have developed an aural and bodily communication system which allows them to locate these honeycombs which are then harvested by the Hadzabe. Once the honeycomb has been removed from the hive, the rewards are shared with the Honeyguide who aided in its location. While this relationship is not depicted in the lyrics of any song we recorded, it provides another significant example of the interdependence of the Hadzabe and the non-human animals with which they share their space.

Other songs on the album discuss subjects like politics and interpersonal relationships among members of the Hadzabe community by directly addressing these subjects or through the use of metaphors based in local ecology as it relates to Hadzabe subsistence. "Chairman," uses a metaphor about gathering honey-less honeycombs to problematize political structures introduced through colonization and the unfulfilled promises of political figures. Another song, "Ksegehe"

(Person who gossips), warns against the divisiveness of gossip and highlights the strength created through unity among a group of people. Like “Bahepe” (Baobab), described previously, the same line is repeated while addressing different social sub-groups, reminding us of the distinct roles people of different ages, genders, and classifications of kin play among the Hadzabe.

One song in particular, “Tsi-kwa Tsi-kwa” (The oil is dripping) was explained to me as a song that reminds members of the Hadzabe community of practices which have since all but disappeared. The song depicts a beautiful woman sitting in an ostrich nest who has covered herself in animal fat collected from a successful hunt. This now nearly extinct practice both celebrates the fruitful attempt at obtaining nourishment for the community and contributes to our understanding of Hadzabe aesthetics of beauty, one which is rooted the utilization of available resources and serves to remind the community of the significance of non-human beings in their everyday lives. As this song tells of a beauty routine which is no longer practiced, it serves as the primary vehicle for the collective memorialization and acknowledgment of its existence.

At the end of one of the days we spent recording, a group of five younger men remained after the everyone else began to walk home. They performed a hip hop song they had been practicing since Chaca’s last visit to the area. The song was still performed without the accompaniment of instruments or other non-vocally produced sounds, but the delivery of the lyrics was unmistakably a rap by one musician, with the other men beat-boxing and a choral response which played a similar role to the lines delivered by a hype man in a hip hop crew. They performed this song with the same enthusiasm and incorporation of bodily movement as all of the previous songs, but the stylistic differences were apparent and clearly modeled after hip hop music they had likely heard and seen on a cell phone. This event occurred without an

introduction by the performers indicating that they would now be performing material that is clearly delineated as separate or different from all of the other songs. We were no longer creating a “studio” recording at this point and the hip hop song did not make it on the album, but its performance demonstrated the extensive geographical reach of hip hop and the desire of individuals living in a perceptually remote valley in Tanzania to emulate its stylistic elements. The songs performed during and after these recording sessions collectively tell a story of a dynamic musical presence which serves to both transmit and maintain a significant body of indigenous and traditional ecological knowledge within the Hadzabe community. Despite the conservative role that music plays in this context, musical practices and developments have nonetheless been impacted by forces and genres originating outside of Yaeda Chini.

After completing the initial recording sessions for *Tegeregaki: Listen with Hadza*, Chaca spent the next few months producing the album and working with another hip hop producer to mix and master the tracks. When I returned to Tanzania in May 2017, I spent a day working with a young woman named Nafisa (who is both involved with Okoa Mtaa and married to Biggie) to provide English interpretations of the Swahili translations provided by the musicians. The songs themselves were performed in Hadzane, which is a language isolate spoken only among the Hadzabe, but due to the institution of Swahili as the national language of Tanzania and its use as the language of instruction in primary schools, most people in Tanzania now speak and understand Swahili. This collaborative effort was born out of a desire to translate the lyrics in a manner which both accurately represents the language used and its connotative meanings. After I had returned from this particular trip to Tanzania, Chaca incorporated the Swahili and English translations into the liner notes he created in collaboration with a graphic designer to make the lyrical content more accessible to both an East African and an international audience.

The final steps in releasing *Tegeregaki: Listen with Hadza* were taken during summer 2018. I returned to Tanzania to work on a separate, but related, project centered around the creation of an environmentally-themed musical video. This endeavor will be presented at length later in this section, but my return to Tanzania and Yaeda Chini in particular allowed Chaca and I to finalize contracts and tentative decisions regarding the release of the album. Chaca initially planned to coordinate the digital release of the album himself, but in researching the process of selecting an aggregator and understanding how rights to the musical content and recordings were codified in the contractual agreements made with these companies, we discovered that releasing the album from Tanzania presented a number of issues for international distribution. None of the aggregators we had selected as potentially suitable were able to provide the same services for an album submitted in Tanzania as one submitted in the United States. The two largest aggregators, CD Baby and Tunecore, both described how the regulation of commercial use and licensing of musical recordings and material from the album and the payment of royalties for their use was not guaranteed when an album is submitted from a number of countries throughout the world, including Tanzania. When an album is sent to an aggregation company in the United States (as well as several other countries), these protections and the laws governing commercial use of copyrighted material are codified in order to protect musical recordings and material from unauthorized use. Due to the protections that would be in place if the album was submitted from an IP address in the United States, Chaca and I agreed that I would submit the album for digital release once I returned and we would communicate via phone or computer about any decisions required throughout the submission process.

The submission process for the musical aggregator we selected, CD Baby, initially appears simple and straight-forward. The information that needs to be provided to satisfy the

various requirements of several digital music platforms to which they distribute albums consists of categories such as “album title,” “artist’s name,” and “track list.” For the average album of original or cover songs submitted to one of these aggregators, the process likely would be a simple and relatively unencumbered one, but the process of submitting this particular album quickly became complex and challenging. The very first page of information that must be submitted requires the exact title of the album and the artists’ name as they appear on the album’s cover, as well as the language of the title. *Tegeregaki: Listen with Hadza* was rejected at first due to the bilingual nature of the title and limitations of the dropdown list of languages, which forces the user to select a single language. While not all of the language selections can be verified by CD Baby employees, a title described as being in “English” is immediately flagged if the language is not recognized as such. After contacting the company and resolving this initial problem, the album was then rejected because the artists’ name did not match the album cover. I had originally submitted “Members of the Yaeda Chini Hadzabe Community,” but was forced to submit “Hadzabe” alone. Using the term describing an entire ethnic group to describe a subset of individuals from the Yaeda Chini Hadzabe community felt inappropriate both in terms of the generalized representation created by this shortened “artist name,” and because the group of people performing on these particular recordings were not perceived by themselves or their community to be a professional music group or a group demarcated from the rest of the people in their community by their musical talent. After a number of days with intermittent communication between people in Tanzania, myself, and customer service representatives at CD Baby, I was finally able to move to the second page.

The submission of information and uploading of the tracks themselves progressed more smoothly until I was again asked to provide the language, this time of the song titles and lyrics,

so the aggregator could share this information with digital platforms, like iTunes, which specify this information in the metadata for each album. Unsurprisingly, “Hadzane” was not one of the languages available for selection in the dropdown menu. I again contacted CD Baby and asked if it would be possible to add another language to the list. I was told that the list was taken from the iTunes language selections and that only the languages already included could be selected. I explained the nature of this particular album and the language used for the lyrics before inquiring about the best way to proceed with the submission. The representative suggested picking the most closely related language. I responded with an explanation that Hadzane is a language isolate and that no related languages exist, even outside of the dropdown menu. I was then told to select another language, that was not English, because the submission would automatically be flagged, just as it had been with the album title. I again reached out to Chaca and he communicated these issues with the Hadzabe community. After another few days of intermittent communication impeded by time zones and technology, I was told to try selecting Swahili and see what happens. The submission went through, and I finished filling out pages of information concerning metadata and selecting the digital platforms to which the album would be distributed.

The submission process came to another grinding halt when I began to fill out a page asking for the name of the songwriter for each track in order ensure royalties are sent to the correct person. The initial decision of whose name to place next to each song was already challenging due to the shared ownership of these songs by the Hadzabe community. The composer of any particular song is not typically credited and many of these songs have likely been passed down orally from one generation to the next. This decision was further complicated by the requirement that any royalties earned must be directly deposited into the bank account of the credited songwriter. As the people of this particular community do not have bank accounts, I

again reached out to Chaca to consult with the Hadzabe community and determine the best way to proceed. Before coming to a final decision on this matter, I received another notice from CD Baby that these songs were classified as “traditional/folk songs” and thus could not be credited to a living songwriter as the songs were considered part of the public domain. While this determination eliminated the ethical dilemma of crediting a songwriter, the classification of these songs as public domain also limits potential revenue generated by the licensed use of this musical material.

Collectively, these challenges demonstrate the pervasive hegemony present in global music production. Due to the database structure of digital music platforms in particular, many languages, countries, people, and their music are excluded from having a presence on digital platforms. This is especially troubling because these platforms are frequently cited for their accessibility to all musicians, not just those who are played on the radio. Despite these claims, this experience clearly illustrates that dissemination of music through digital platforms is still inaccessible for likely many people throughout the world.

After resolving all of these issues and confirming that all the information included with the album’s submission was accurate over the course of one month, CD Baby finally accepted the album for digital distribution. *Tegeregaki: Listen with Hadza* is now available through most digital music platforms internationally. Additional information about the context of each of these pieces is also included on the album’s webpage for listeners interested in learning more about the songs.¹⁸ I wrote these descriptions in summer 2018 with information provided by members of the Hadzabe community. As of spring 2019, Chaca and I are still working to find an affordable way to release hard copies of the album on CD for distribution within Tanzania in particular. The

¹⁸ See Appendix C for these contextual descriptions found at <https://store.cdbaby.com/cd/hadzabeofyaedachini2>.

inflated cost in the United States of getting CDs burned professionally and packaged in jewel cases containing extensive liner notes is more than what the CDs could be reasonably sold for in Tanzania. The process of sharing this album of Hadzabe music and the indigenous and traditional ecological knowledge enveloped in both the performance of these songs and the metaphorically-rich lyrics has proven to be exceptionally more arduous than either Chaca or I imagined at the outset of the project, but has revealed a significant amount about Hadzabe conceptions of both the world immediately surrounding them and their place in a much larger system of music sharing, consumption, and development.

During my second trip to Tanzania in May 2017, Chaca and I also traveled to another relatively isolated community located on the coast of the Indian Ocean near the village of Pangani, a popular destination among both Tanzanian and European tourists. This second recording session, conceived by Chaca as the next in a series of recording sessions with indigenous musicians throughout Tanzania, featured a very different group of musicians from a small fishing village called Stahabu. Chaca and I spent a full day driving from Arusha to the coast before spending a few days recording a group of four musicians playing a regional style of *ngoma*. *Ngoma* is a music and dance complex found throughout much of Bantu-speaking Africa. While there are many differences across the region, *ngoma* almost always includes at least a few drums, call and response singing, and dance. This particular instance included three drums of various sizes and a fourth musician using a metal can and two small metal rods as a percussive instrument.

Like the recording session with the Hadzabe, a makeshift studio was set up in an outside area. We initially tried to record both the percussion instruments and the singing, as these activities typically happen simultaneously while accompanying dancers, but the differential

volume across the instruments and voices in conjunction with our limited access to microphones quickly became apparent. These issues were discussed with the musicians and it was decided that we would record the percussion alone on the first afternoon and the vocals would be added the following day while the lead singer listened to the pre-recorded percussion. The process of recording the drums proceeded smoothly and I served a similar role in capturing the process visually while Chaca focused on the audio recording. We finished the percussion recordings that afternoon and planned to resume the next day.

As we were setting up the recording equipment on the second afternoon, it began to rain. We quickly packed up all of the equipment and took refuge in the car. It was clear that rain had been prevalent over the past several days in the area and we were afraid that it would continue to make recording a challenge for the remainder of our stay. In order to use our limited time there efficiently, we decided to try recording the vocals in the vehicle. All four of the musicians sat in the back of the car with the microphone and isolation shield located immediately behind the driver and passengers' seats. After a few minutes of trying to capture these vocals, our ambitions of creating a functional car-studio diminished. Between the impossible task of eliminating all of the background noise in the car with its seven occupants and the complex coordination of calls and responses of the song in time with the pre-recorded percussion heard only by the call singer, Chaca and I decided that the vocals would have to be recorded during another trip to Stahabu. While we intend to see the creation of this album through, the project currently remains on hold, partially due to another separate, but related, opportunity to create a music video for one of the Hadzabe songs.

During the course of writing this thesis, I was asked to be a part of a team of music researchers consisting of graduate students and professors from the University of Illinois at

Urbana-Champaign, Indiana University, and the University of Minnesota. A grant application proposing the production of several environmentally themed musical videos was submitted to the Mellon-funded program Humanities Without Walls. The grant was awarded in late 2017 and I was tasked with creating a video with my collaborators in Tanzania. I explained the grant and project initially to Chaca, thinking we could create a hip hop music video together, but he proposed creating a video with the Hadzabe, using one of the audio tracks we had already recorded. While the grant necessitated my involvement to a certain degree, I wanted to allow my Tanzanian collaborators the freedom to create a video of their own design. In addition to Chaca, the Hadzabe musicians, and me, we decided we would work with two small films crews based in Arusha to create the video. The other people involved in this production included Biggie, Freeman, and Elia from Okoa Mtaa and a small group from a local video production company, Kili Inc., consisting of Msechu, Unambwe, and Timo. Msechu was selected to direct the video with the others filming, recording extra-musical audio, photographing the process, and editing the footage.

Storyboards were drawn up at the beginning of 2018 for three of the songs we had previously recorded: “Nubeeya Obee Yamuaya” (Our land is beautiful), “Akwene Onokochiya Paanakwete” (I won’t get married to an old man), and “Zaniko Atoko” (Bring me an axe). We initially thought we may have enough time to create more than one video, but after I arrived in June 2018, we decided to focus our efforts on creating a video for “Zaniko Atoko.” The story we had drafted for this video would show members of the Hadzabe community in Yaeda Chini carrying out a number of activities central to daily life in order to demonstrate their reliance on the natural resources available in the valley and their close relationship with their environment. There would be an underlying story being told by a community elder to a group of young

children about the environmental changes she had observed throughout her life. In particular, the video would be centered around the cutting of trees surrounding the valley by the Barabaig, a pastoralist ethnic group living in close proximity to the Hadzabe, and the resulting decline in the populations of certain animal species which have historically been important game animals for this community.

In June 2018, the two film crews, Chaca, a chef, a driver from Nyayo (Chaca's tourism company), and I traveled to Yaeda Chini for a week of filming. We arrived in the valley after a day of traveling paved highways, dirt roads, and dry lake-beds, and almost immediately met with a number of the Hadzabe community members who would be appearing in the video to discuss how the production and filming would proceed. Each day, we woke up before dawn in order to make the most of the limited daylight hours. After emerging from canvas tents, drinking *chai ya maziwa* (milk tea), and eating a few pieces of toast or *chapati maji* (a flatbread with an egg-like consistency), we would drive from our campsite to the large baobob which serves as a central meeting point for the Hadzabe. From there, equipment was prepared, and the filming would begin. Each day was spent filming a few different scenes which featured various daily practices of the Hadzabe; the collection of baobab fruit and the grinding of its dry flesh and seeds into a powder usually consumed after mixing it with water, hunting, young boys practicing their archery skills, the preparation of meat, honey-harvesting, and of course, singing and dancing. The underlying story described in the previous paragraph required a little more rehearsal and preparation for the individual featured in these scenes, especially the children, but after only a few days, we had more than enough footage to create a short music video.

After returning to Arusha from Yaeda Chini, all of the individuals involved in the video's production met to discuss the details of editing and completing the project. I left most of the

editorial decisions up to my Tanzanian collaborators as my intention throughout this project has been to allow them to tell their story, rather than having them tell a story of my creation, but some of the details regarding the deadlines for the production work necessarily depended on the expectations of the Humanities Without Walls team and the timeline of the grant itself. In the months after the filming in Yaeda Chini, a few drafts of the video have been created and circulated among the production team. As of spring 2019, the video is nearly finished and follows the initial storyboard we drafted closely. Due to recent rains that have made the roads in Yaeda Chini impassable by car, Chaca has not yet been able to show the Hadzabe the music video, which is a step we have deemed necessary before it is considered a finished product and shared with others.

This video, primarily formulated by members of musical communities in Arusha in collaboration with the Hadzabe community, demonstrates another way in which Chaca in particular has helped to facilitate the transmission of indigenous knowledge and musical traditions to Tanzanians living in more urban areas. This transmission also produces a new form of second-hand knowledge carried by individuals who may never have an opportunity to use it, but bringing awareness to indigenous forms and bodies of knowledge challenges the relationship people have to the world around them. After the video is finalized and published, it will also be shared internationally and provide an opportunity for people around the world to learn about the subsistence practices of the Hadzabe, their music, and the environmental problems (and their complex social origins) that impact their daily lives.

Conclusion

Within this chapter, I have addressed a few of the approaches taken by musically-minded individuals and communities in order to share, maintain, and cultivate various bodies of knowledge, skill sets, and forms of wisdom. The historical developments which resulted in a need for engagement with these concerns are rooted in the legacy of colonialism and the governmental policies implemented in its wake. People have responded to the loss of linguistic and cultural diversity in a multitude of ways, but this chapter is concerned with the responses of music-makers and their communities to these issues. Even among this subset of the population of Tanzania, the strategies deployed to nurture intellectual growth and the maintenance and production of endemic forms of knowledge and epistemologies are varied and plural. The hip hop-centered organization Okoa Mtaa (Saving the neighborhood) actively educates people through workshops and the production of media geared towards these ends. The UAACC approaches these objectives in similar ways; the lyrics of music produced by leaders within the community center directly disseminate knowledge and spread messages which are intended to nurture the formation of altruistic thinking. The UAACC also hosts classes open to members of the local community in a variety of subjects. The third example I presented within this chapter is the collaborative endeavors of Chaca in the production of musical media with communities throughout northern Tanzania and the dissemination of their songs, which contain a wealth of IK and TEK. Collectively, these musically-minded people are carrying-out a significant amount of labor which ultimately contributes to the formation of a knowledge base and culture of wisdom which align with the overall objective of promoting intellectual growth and a culture of selflessness in action. This chapter's case studies provide musicians and scholars alike with possible alternative approaches to sharing knowledge and cultivating unselfish thinking in other

communities throughout the world. The widespread dissemination of diverse bodies of knowledge and the naturalization of sympathetic decision-making are critical to the formation of a more unified global community, an ideal we should always be striving to realize.

CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION

In this paper, I examined the role of music-makers and their communities within northern Tanzania in supporting environmental conservation, sharing and maintaining various forms of knowledge, and cultivating a culture of wisdom. There are several discrete strategies deployed by individuals and collective bodies in order to conduct this labor. My collaborators in Tanzania often confront these concerns not only through their musical expression, but in extra-musical actions ranging from organizing and participating in educational workshops, to prioritizing environmental sustainability in running a tourism business. Taken together, these approaches serve as methodological models that have the potential to be repurposed in other contexts and actually work to accomplish the objectives on which these music-centered communities and individual artists focus.

As I discussed in chapter 2, both indirect and direct approaches within songs and their related media contribute to environmental advocacy in this context. The hip hop artist, P-Culture, uses imagery, musical style, and lyrics in her music video for “Dream Land” to construct relationships between ethnic, national, and pan-African identity and various “natural” places within Tanzania. Another artist, Chaca na Nduguzee, addresses the significance of clean water in sustaining living beings and the challenges which currently make access to this resource difficult in Tanzania. He calls for both governmental and popular interventions to manage waste more effectively and clean up water sources. Beyond his advocacy expressed musically, he also runs a tourism company with environmental conservation underlying the business’ operations. I also addressed community-based conservation efforts like the waste clean-up event Mimi na Mtaa (Me and the street) and the use of trash in art installations at a musical event hosted by S.U.A.

(Saving Underground Artists). Some of these same music-centered communities which contribute to environmental conservation also play an active role in education (in the broadest sense), which I explored in chapter 3.

My collaborators also use songs and other creative media in conjunction with non-musical endeavors in order to maintain, produce, and share diverse bodies of knowledge and foster a collective wisdom based in humane decision-making. In chapter 3, I investigated the cultivation of critical thinking skills in relation to contemporary problems faced by urban youth in Tanzania through films produced by Kibanda Umiza, a subunit of Okoa Mtaa. Each One Teach One, also housed within Okoa Mtaa, approaches these same objectives by organizing workshops that both teach people specific skills and disseminate knowledge on a variety of subjects. The United African Alliance Community Center takes a similar approach by offering free classes to community members that cover topics ranging from music production to English language acquisition. Individual artists based out of the center, like Mama C and Dwee, also create music which itself transmits information and encourages lifelong-learning and consideration of our impact on the world and all its inhabitants. I concluded the chapter with an illustration of collaborative processes in which I participated with Chaca. The collaboration itself is a continuous learning process that has forced us to make choices impacting other people involved in the album and video productions. The songs which comprise the Hadzabe album are also vehicles for sharing traditional ecological knowledge of the Hadzabe, embedded with details of resource use, hunting and foraging practices, and information about social and political structures in this Hadzabe community. The music video explicitly addresses recent impacts of environmental degradation within Yaeda Chini and the threat this poses to the Hadzabe way of life and the knowledge which both produces and is produced by their practices. Collectively,

these case studies demonstrate the multiplicity of effective strategies used by music-makers and their communities to promote intellectual growth and learning in the forms of both knowledge and wisdom.

At the beginning of this paper, I asked a number of questions which shaped my analysis of music and the efforts made by musicians in northern Tanzania to confront the social concerns highlighted in conversations with the musicians themselves. The questions are centered around understanding the methods employed by my collaborators to address local environmental issues; to transmit, maintain, and produce diverse bodies of knowledge; and to develop the foundation for a culture of wisdom in their communities. Through the presentation in this thesis of my conversations with individual artists, observation of their actions, analysis of their music, and participation in their efforts, I have illustrated the multitude of ways they advance these objectives. This multiplicity of approaches is significant because it demonstrates not only the propagation of messages through music, but their extra-musical engagement with these goals.

My representing people, their concerns, and their actions within this thesis itself serves as a mode of knowledge production and transmission through which an unsuspecting reader might become more sympathetic to communities geographically distant from their own. From Mama C's poem "Listen" to the Hadzabe album *Tegeregaki: Listen with Hadza*, many of my collaborators are asking others to listen more carefully to both their words and the sounds of the world around us. While unlikely to have a significant impact in achieving the objectives prioritized by my Tanzanian collaborators, future research might evaluate the impact that music-centered communities and individual artists have actually made in raising public engagement with topics like environmental conservation and teenage pregnancy in Tanzania. One could also look for a localized correlation of measurable differences in water pollution levels, rates of drug

use among urban youth, the financial viability of creating music and other forms of art, etc. Similar explorations of social concerns among music-makers in other locales and the ways they address these issues would also provide a valuable addition to the collective array of strategies available.

These labors may not fix the global environmental crisis or create world peace, but positive change in the minds of individuals and local neighborhoods has occurred within these communities as a consequence of musicians' dedicated efforts in advocating for sustainability of the environment and various forms of knowledge. Changing people's minds and behaviors with concern to specific issues like environmental health presents a formidable challenge, but building a shared wisdom among younger Tanzanians that promotes the consideration of entities outside of oneself in everyday decision-making will ultimately catalyze this process. From these case studies and the ensuing analysis, we also learn about the local values, concerns, and manners of confronting them among musicians and their communities in the northern Tanzanian context.

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APPENDIX A: EACH ONE TEACH ONE PROJECT 2017 FLYER



Presentes

Each One Teach One Project 2017

Inawaleta wasanii, wanaharakati na wenye taaluma mbalimbali pamoja kujipatia elimu na utaalamu kuhusu sanaa, utamaduni na masuala ya kijamii.

MAFUNZO

- KIJENGA UWEZO WA MSANII
- SERA ZA SANAA
- SHERIA ZA UMILIKI
- MASOKO NA KUJITANGAZA
- UHURU WA KUJIELEZA
- UANDISHI WA NYIMBO/MASHAIRI
- HAKI ZA BINADAMU
- KUPAMBANA NA UMASIKINI

Jisajili sasa !

Katika Ofisi Okoa Mtaa Foundation
Tengeru, Arusha
Barua Pepe: knowledge@okoamtaa.com
Simu Namba: +255 757 357 463
 okoamtaa

MWISHO WA KUJISAJILI : TAREHE 15 MAY 2017

EMBASSY OF DENMARK
DANIDA | INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION

SAHIBU KIBENEFICIAJI ARTISTE
S.U.A
FOUNDATION FOR A BETTER & PROGRESSIVE SOCIETY


FOUNDATION


KUMKI CHWA

APPENDIX B: TEGEREGAKI LINER NOTES



Nchi Yetu Sisi Ni Nzuri

Nchi yetu sisi ni nzuri.
Tutatanza mazingira yetu. Mazingira yetu sisi ni mazuri sana.

Mazingira yetu sisi ni mazuri sana. Mazingira yetu sisi tutayatunza.

Our Land is Beautiful

*Our land is beautiful.
We should take care of our environment. Our surroundings are very beautiful.*

Our surroundings are very beautiful. We will take care of our environment.



2. Chairman

Mwenyekiti

Ninajaribu kurina asali.
Kila nikijaribu kurina, ninapata tu masega, sipati asali.
Ngoja tule masega, hata hivyo hakuna asali kabisa.
Ngoja tulambe masega, hata hivyo hakuna asali.

Chairman

*I'm trying to get the honey.
Every time I try to get the honey,
I only get the honeycomb. I don't get honey.*

*Just let us eat the honeycomb,
even though there isn't any honey.*

Let's just lick the honeycomb although there is no honey.



3. Ika-Kwata

Nimemfuata twiga akafufuka

Nimemfuata twiga akafufuka.
Nimempiga mshale wa mbavu ila haukuingia sana.
Nimemfuata twiga akafufuka

I Stalked the Giraffe but it Got Away

*I stalked the giraffe but it got away.
I grazed the giraffe's ribs with an arrow but it didn't go deep.
I stalked the giraffe but it got away.*



4. Tsi-kwaTsi-kwa

Mafuta yanadondoka

Nimejpaka mafuta ya asili usoni.
Angalia uso wangu rafiki yangu, mafuta yanatiririka.
Nimejpaka kupita kiasi.

Warembo wamekaa ndani ya kitundu cha mbuni.

Kama vile gogo, lazima uungue,
subiri rafiki yangu aondoke,
nitakuwa mwenyewe, nitakurudisha kwenye moto,
nauta endelea kuungua.

The Oil is Dripping

*I have put natural oil on my face.
Look at my face my friend, the oil is dripping,
I have applied too much of it.*

The beautiful ladies sit in the ostrich nest.

*Just like the log, you should burn out.
Wait for my friend to leave,*

I will be by myself, I will take you back to the fire, and you will keep burning.



5. Hukwa Shie (Choir)

Kuruka ruka

Turuke ruke.

Turuke turuke kwa pamoja.

Simba ananguruma.

Simba ananguruma milimani.

Tumbili analia.

Tumbili analia, ameshikwa na chui.

Tučeze, tučeze

Tučeze na kuruka kama swala pala kwa pamoja.

Ananichezea, ananichezea.

Anacheza na maji yangu kwenye kibuyu.

Jumping

Let's jump.

Let's jump together.

The lion is roaring.

The lion is roaring in the mountains.

The monkey is crying.

The monkey is crying; it's been caught by a leopard.

Let's dance, let's dance.

Let's dance and jump like an impala together.

He's playing with me, he's playing with me.

He's playing with my water from the calabash.



6. Hukwa Shie (Original) Kurukaruka

Turukeruko
 Turuke turuke kwa pamoja.
 Simba ananguruma.
 Simba ananguruma miimani.
 Tumbili analia.
 Tumbilia nalia, ameshikwa na chui.
 Tucheze, tucheze
 Tucheze na kuruka kama swala pala kwa pamoja.
 Ananichezea, ananichezea.
 Anacheza na maji yangu kwenye kibuyu.

Jumping

Let's jump.
Let's jump together.
The lion is roaring.
The lion is roaring in the mountains.
The monkey is crying.
The monkey is crying; it's been caught by a leopard.
Let's dance, let's dance.
Let's dance and jump like an impala together.
He's playing with me, he's playing with me.
He's playing with my water from the calabash.

7. Tegeregaki

Sikilizeni

Sikilizeni kwa makini.

Sikilizeni kwa makini kuna jambo niwaambieni ukweli.
 Kuna mtu anakuja kutuambia uongo (kutudanganya).

Tufanyaje?

Ni kweli?

Kina baba, tufanyaje?

Kina dada, tufanyaje?

Tufanyaje? (ni kweli?)

Akina mama, sikilizeni kwa makini.

Tafadhali, sikiliza kwa makini.

Akina baba tufanyaje?

Listen

Listen carefully.

Listen carefully, there is something I want to tell you.
There's a person coming to tell us lies.

What should we do?

Is it true?

Fathers, what should we do?

Sisters, what should we do?

What should we do? (Is it true?)

Mothers, listen carefully.

Please, listen carefully.

Fathers, what should we do?



8. Ksegehe

Mtu anayemsema Mwenzake

Sikilizeni, acheni kusemana. Hii ni ardhi yetu, ardhi ya Wahadzabe.

Matunda ya mabuyu, hiki ni chakula chetu.

Mabuyu na matunda mengine pia ni chakula chetu.

Sikilizeni, acheni maneno, hii ni ardhi ya Wahadzabe.

Asali, matunda, hivi ni vyakula vyetu.
Matunda ni chakula chetu.

Matunda ni chakula cha Wahadzabe.
Matunda na asali ni vyakula vya Wahadzabe

Person who Gossips

Listen, stop talking about each other. This is our land-the Hadzabe land.

Listen, stop talking about each other. This is the land of the Hadzabe.

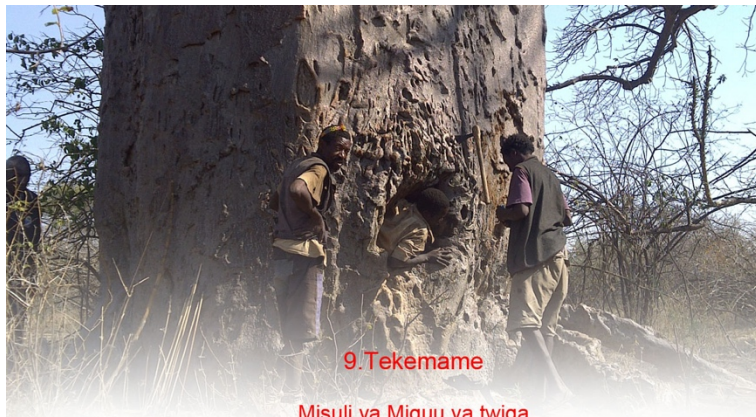
Baobab fruit, this is our food.

Baobab, and fruits in general, are our food.

Listen, stop talking. This is the land of the Hadzabe.

*Honey, fruits, these are our foods.
Fruits are our food.*

*Fruits are the food of the Hadzabe.
Fruits and honey are the foods of the Hadzabe.*



9. Tekemame

Misuli ya Miguu ya twiga

Wamemchoma misuli ya miguu.

Wakaenda na misuli ya miguu ya twiga huyo.

Giraffe Tendon

They shot him through the leg.

Then they went away with that giraffe tendon.



10. Akwene Onokochiya Paanakwete

Mimi Sitaolewa na Mzee

Mimi nitaolewa na kijana. Sitaolewa na mzee kijana.
Sitaolewa na mzee kijana.

Mimi nitaolewa na kijana. Mimi nitaolewa na kijana.

Mimi sitaolewa na mzee kijana! Mimi sitaolewa na mzee kijana.

I Won't Get Married to an Old Man

*I will get married to a young man. I won't get married to an old man.
I won't get married to an old man.*

I will get married to a young man. I will get married to a young man.

I won't get married to an old man! I won't get married to an old man!



11. Lomoobee

Vidimbwi vya Maji

Kwanini vidimbwi vya maji huwa karibu karibu?

Kwanini vidimbwi vya maji huwa karibu karibu?
Mimi nimeviona!

Water Holes

Why are the water holes close to each other?

*Why are the water holes close to each other?
I have seen them!*



12. Bahepe

Mbuyu

Kuna mibuyu ina chakula.

Na kuna ipo mibuyu mingine haina chakula.

Kuna mibuyu mibichi haina chakula.

Ni kweli kuna mibuyu mingine haina chakula.

Ni kweli waakina mama kuna mibuyu mingine haina chakula.

Ni kweli waakina baba kuna mibuyu mingine haina chakula.

Kuna mibuyu mingine haina chakula.

Ni kweli wakina dada kuna mibuyu haina chakula.

Ni kweli wakina mama kuna mibuyu haina chakula.

Ni kweli vijana kuna mibuyu mingine haina chakula.

Ni kweli wakina baba kuna mibuyu mingine haina chakula.

Baabab

There are baobab trees with fruit.

And there are some baobab trees with no fruit.

There are hydrated baobab trees without fruit.

It's true there are some baobab trees without fruit.

Women, it's true there are some baobab trees without fruit.

Men, it's true there are some baobab trees without fruit.

There are some baobab trees without fruit.

Ladies, it's true that there are some baobab trees without fruit.

It's true, women, that there are some baobab trees without fruit.

Young men, it's true that there are some baobab trees without fruit.

It's true, men, that there are some baobab trees without fruit.

13. Sametame Loobeko Wamekula Nyani

Wamekula nyani-Wahadzabe wa Yaeda Valley kusini.
Analia kama fisi.

Wamekula nyani-wahadzabe wa Yaeda Valley kusini.

Wamekula nyani-Wahadzabe wa Yaeda Valley kusini.

Wamekula nyama ya nyani.

Analia kama fisi.

Wamekula nyani.

They Have Eaten the Baboon

They have eaten the baboon-the Hadzabe of Southern Yaeda Valley.

He is laughing like a hyena.

They have eaten the baboon-the Hadzabe of the Southern Yaeda Valley.

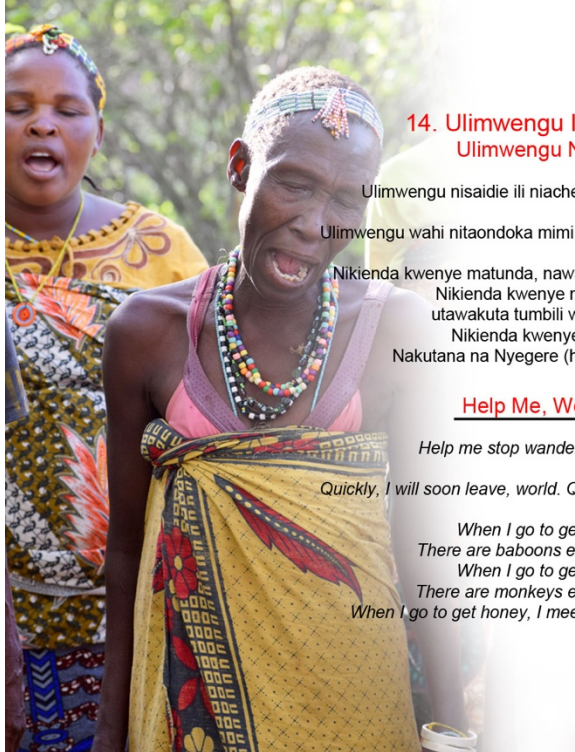
They have eaten the baboon-the Hadzabe of Southern Yaeda Valley.

They have eaten the baboon's meat.

He is laughing like a hyena.

They have eaten the baboon.





14. Ulimwengu Ishiak'oo Ulimwengu Nisaidie

Ulimwengu nisaidie ili niache kuyumba yumba.

Ulimwengu wahi nitaondoka mimi. Wahi nitaondoka mimi!

Nikienda kwenye matunda, nawakuta nyani wanakula.
Nikienda kwenye matunda,
utawakuta tumbili wanakula.
Nikienda kwenye asali,
Nakutana na Nyegere (honey badger).

Help Me, World!

Help me stop wandering, world.

Quickly, I will soon leave, world. Quickly, I will soon leave.

*When I go to get fruit,
There are baboons eating them.*

*When I go to get fruit,
There are monkeys eating them.*

When I go to get honey, I meet the honey badger.

15. Yun'u Yun'u Ndege (Honeyguide)

Ndege (Ash Starling) anajigamba sababu ana meno.

Ndege (Honeyguide) anakimbia, anafukuzwa na Ndege (Ash Starling) sababu ana meno.

Ndege (Ash starling) anamkimbiza Ndege (Honeyguide) kwasababu Ash starling ana meno.

Ash Starling anajiona mbabe. Honeyguide anakimbia kwa sababu hana meno.
Honeyguide anahangaika.

Ash Starling anajigamba kwasababu ana meno. Anamfukuza Honeyguide.

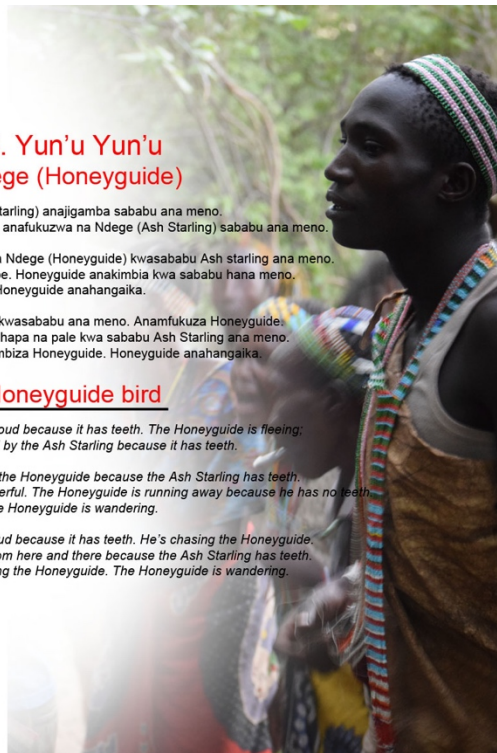
Honeyguide anaruka ruka hapa na pale kwa sababu Ash Starling ana meno.
Ash Starling anamkimbiza Honeyguide. Honeyguide anahangaika.

Honeyguide bird

*The Ash Starlings feeling proud because it has teeth. The Honeyguide is fleeing;
it's being chased by the Ash Starling because it has teeth.*

*The Ash Starling is chasing the Honeyguide because the Ash Starling has teeth.
The Ash Starling sees himself as all powerful. The Honeyguide is running away because he has no teeth.
The Honeyguide is wandering.*

*The Ash Starling is feeling proud because it has teeth. He's chasing the Honeyguide.
The Honeyguide is jumping from here and there because the Ash Starling has teeth.
The Ash Starling is chasing the Honeyguide. The Honeyguide is wandering.*



16. Zaniko Atoko

Niletee Shoka

Nileteeni shoka, akina mama,
Nitumieni shoka.
Ninataka kurina asali, ninataka kurina asali rafiki yangu.
Niletee shoka. Nataka kurina asali, nataka kurina asali, akina mama.
Nataka kurina asali akina mama.
Niletee shoka, nitumie shoka, nataka kurina asali akina mama.
Nataka kurina asali rafiki yangu.
Niletee shoka, nitumie shoka, nataka kurina asali, akina mama.
Nataka kurina asali dada zangu.

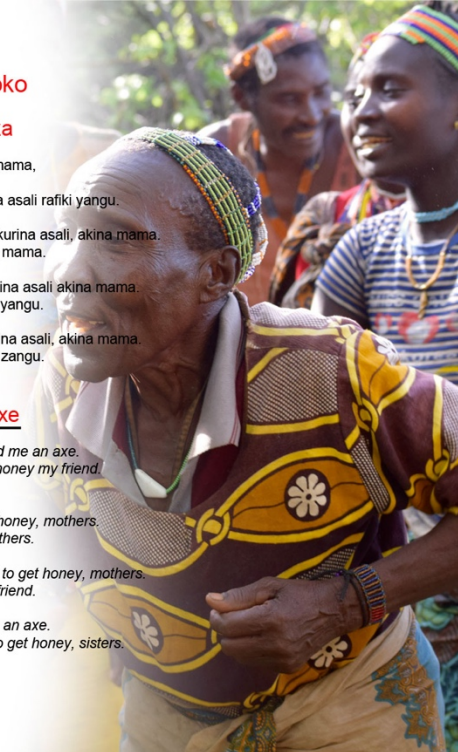
Bring me an Axe

*Bring me an axe. Mothers, send me an axe.
I want to get honey, I want to get honey my friend.*

*Bring me an axe.
I want to get honey. I want to get honey, mothers.
I want to get honey, mothers.*

*Bring me an axe. Send me an axe. I want to get honey, mothers.
I want to get honey my friend.*

*Bring me an axe. Send me an axe.
I want to get honey, mothers. I want to get honey, sisters.*



Thanks to the community of the Hadzabe in the Yaeda Valley,
especial at Domanga for allowing the recordings, and for the participation in to this project.
Thank you Angela Mahiya, Martha Salimu, Mwangaza Mpanda, Christina Samwel, Elinory Isaya,
Milimo Marko, Pili Gudo, Angela Samson, Lea Samson, Hertha Emmanuel, Mathayo Ngugay, Zablon Emmanuel,
Daniel Charles, Ng'wapo Thomas, Jackson Thomas, Johnson Mikael, Soki Jackson, Thomas Jackson and Marko Musa for the participation

Special thanks to my girls, my wife (Lauren Sans) for the support and for the contribution, and
Thank you, Tara Hatfield for all the English translations, the photos and for coming to help with the recordings.

Nubeeya!

@Kichacani

ik
foundation



TEGEREGAKI

LISTEN WITH HADZA

TRADITIONAL MUSIC OF HADZABE

RECORDED LIVE
IN HADZA LAND

TRACK LIST

1. Nubeeya obee Yamuaya
2. Chairman
3. Ika kwata
4. Tsi-kwa Tsi-kwa
5. Hukwa shie choir
6. Hukwa shie
7. Tegeregaki
8. Ksegche
9. Tekemame
10. Akwene Onokochiya Paanakwete
11. Lomoobe
12. Bahepe
13. Sametame Loobeko
14. Ulimwengu Ishiak'oo
15. Yun'u Yun'u
16. Zaniko atoke

Produced by: John Chaca
Studio: @Kichacani Mobile Studio
Mastered by: Daz Nalodge @Kichacani
Cover designed by King Kori (Africakabisa)
Copyright: @Kichacani

APPENDIX C: TEGEREGAKI SONG EXPLANATIONS

1. “Nubeeya Obee Yamuaya”

This song demonstrates the deep connection the Hadzabe have with their land, particularly because they depend almost entirely on the naturally occurring plants and animals in Yaeda Chini. The Hadzabe way of life fosters a relatively balanced and sustainable relationship with the environment and the other living beings with which they share their space. In order for their hunting and gathering practices to subsist into the future, it is also necessary that they use resources in moderation and continue to care for their environment.

2. “Chairman”

This song uses a food-related metaphor to discuss local political circumstances. The use of the English term “chairman” also demonstrates the ongoing development of this musical tradition and the presence of external political structures in Hadzabe communities in the present.

3. “Ika-Kwata”

Several of these songs tell stories of hunting animals or collecting other types of food eaten by the Hadzabe. As demonstrated in the lyrics translated below, “Ika-Kwata” depicts a failed attempt at killing a giraffe. The Hadzabe typically use naturally occurring plant poisons found on their land to create poisonous arrows for hunting. The use of these poisons allows them to have a higher rate of success in hunting in circumstances like this one where the arrow only grazes the animal. When a poisoned implement is used, the hunters will follow the affected animal until the poison takes its toll. In this instance, the giraffe was able to escape despite the hunter’s efforts at stalking the animal. Giraffes provide not only meat for the community, but various parts of a giraffe’s body are used by the Hadzabe to construct tools, such as the bowstring of a hunting bow, which is explicitly discussed in a later song on this album.

4. “Tsi-kwa Tsi-kwa”

In the past, Hadzabe women would collect animal fat after a hunt and apply the oil to their faces. This song is a reminder of this tradition.

5 and 6. “Hukwa Shie” (both versions)

This song is one of celebration encouraging jumping, dancing, and playing together using metaphors including animals which figure significantly in Hadzabe life. Celebration is an important aspect of the communal meal which is shared following a successful hunt.

7. “Tegeregaki”

The title song of the album advises members of the Hadzabe community to listen carefully to a

warning about outsiders who may not be telling the whole truth and have ulterior motives. While Hadzabe communities are usually very welcoming to visitors, they also rely deeply on their communal strength to remain strong in the face of unwelcome external influences.

8. “Ksegehe”

This song serves as a reminder to members of the community that gossip creates division with the community as a whole. It also reinforces communal belonging and the centrality of land and the available natural resources and food to Hadzabe identity.

9. “Tekemame”

As mentioned in conjunction with “Ika-Kwata,” all animal body parts are used by the Hadzabe. Giraffe tendons, sinew, and ligaments are among the primary materials used by the Hadzabe in the construction of their hunting bows. This tendon is used to make the bowstring as it is strong, flexible, and long enough to be used in the large bows traditionally constructed by Hadzabe hunters. These bows are an average of 1.80 meters long and can have a draw weight up to 100 pounds, necessitating the use of particular materials and processing for proper construction.

10. “Akwene Onokochiya Paanakwete”

This song expresses the desire of Hadzabe women to marry younger rather than older men. Like the rest of the album, this song is sung by the entire community in a call-and-response format, suggesting that this is a value shared across generations and by people of all genders.

11. “Lomoobee”

Water is often difficult to find in the area in which the Hadzabe reside. This song tells the story of a man searching for drinking water. When he finds a puddle and begins to drink, he then notices that everywhere he looks, there is another waterhole. This song expresses his happiness and surprise from his discovery.

12. “Bahepe”

The fruit of the baobab tree makes up a significant part of the Hadzabe diet, which is demonstrated through the text of this song. The fruit is roughly the size of a coconut with a more elongated/oblong shape. The outer shell is hard and covered in a fine green velvet. The shell is cracked, and the already dry fruit and seeds are removed from a fibrous web inside of the shell. The fruit and seeds can be eaten directly, but the Hadzabe often create an almost porridge-like food by crushing the fruit and seeds into a fine powder and adding water. The resulting substance is rich in vitamin C, potassium, carbohydrates, and phosphorous, as well as modest levels of protein, fats, and other vitamins and minerals.

13. “Sametame Loobeko”

This song depicts the Hadzabe practice of eating wild game animals, in this case, the baboon.

They also describe their happiness at a successful hunt through a metaphorical reference to the laughter of a hyena, another animal commonly found through the Hadzabe lands.

14. “Ulimwengu Ishik’oo”

While hunting and gathering has been a successful mode of subsistence for the Hadzabe for thousands of years, there are still challenges presented by environmental conditions and the co-habitation with many other animals in Yaeda Chini. Many of the foods which are collected by the Hadzabe are also important to many non-human animals which live in the area, including baboons, monkeys, and honey badgers. This song is a plea to unseen forces in the world for help in collecting resources which have recently been scarce. The scarcity of fruit and honey is attributed to the consumption of these foods by a number of other species.

15. “Yun’u Yun’u”

This song focuses on the relationship between two bird species prevalent in Yaeda Chini. The Ashy Starling is depicted as fleeing from the Honeyguide; a brood parasite which lays its eggs in the nests of other bird species. When the Honeyguide egg hatches, the nestling almost immediately uses a sharp barb located on the end of its beak to kill the other nestlings inhabiting the nest and thus receives all of the food provided by its unknowing adoptive parents. The Ashy Starling is one species of bird whose nests are used by the Honeyguide for this purpose. This song depicts the fear of the Ashy Starling and its attempts to escape the Honeyguide, which induces fear through its “teeth.”

16. “Zaniko Atoko”

The final song on the album alludes to the process by which the Hadzabe extract honey from trees. The singer asks for an axe in order to cut into a tree or branch inhabited by honeybees. Once the hive is accessible, the Hadzabe waste nothing. They remove the honeycomb and consume the wax, honey, and larvae directly from the tree and use available leaves to remove residual stickiness from their hands afterwards.

APPENDIX D: IRB LETTERS

IRB EXEMPT APPROVAL

RPI Name: Michael Silvers

Project Title: Transnational Genres for Local Change: Intersections of Cultural Preservation, Environmental Advocacy, and Music in Northern Tanzania

IRB #: 17366

Approval Date: December 6, 2016

Thank you for submitting the completed IRB application form and related materials. Your application was reviewed by the UIUC Office for the Protection of Research Subjects (OPRS). OPRS has determined that the research activities described in this application meet the criteria for exemption at 45CFR46.101(b)(2). This message serves to supply OPRS approval for your IRB application.

Please contact OPRS if you plan to modify your project (change procedures, populations, consent letters, etc.). Otherwise you may conduct the human subjects research as approved for a period of five years. Exempt protocols will be closed and archived at the time of expiration. Researchers will be required to contact our office if the study will continue beyond five years.

Copies of the attached, date-stamped consent form(s) are to be used when obtaining informed consent. Please provide the translated consent form before research commences.

We appreciate your conscientious adherence to the requirements of human subjects research. If you have any questions about the IRB process, or if you need assistance at any time, please feel free to contact me at OPRS, or visit our website at <http://oprs.research.illinois.edu>

[Home | Office for the Protection of Research Subjects](#)

What is the OPRS? The Office for the Protection of Research Subjects (OPRS), while performing administrative functions of the Institutional Review Board (IRB), serves as the official oversight office for human subject research at Illinois.
oprs.research.illinois.edu

Sincerely,



Michelle Lore

Human Subjects Research Specialist, Office for the Protection of Research Subjects

Attachment(s): English Consent Document

c: Tara Hatfield

Notice of Approval: Amendment 1

March 19, 2018

Principal Investigator	Michael Silvers
CC	Tara Hatfield
Protocol Title	Transnational Genres for Local Change: Intersections of Cultural Preservation Environmental Advocacy and Music in Northern Tanzania
Protocol Number	17366
Funding Source	Humanities Without Walls
Review Type	Exempt 2
Amendment Requested	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Updating funding • Removing formal interviews • Adding collaborative music video production
Status	Active
Risk Determination	no more than minimal risk
Approval Date	03/19/2018

This letter authorizes the use of human subjects in the above protocol. The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Institutional Review Board (IRB) has reviewed and approved the research study as described.

The Principal Investigator of this study is responsible for:

- Conducting research in a manner consistent with the requirements of the University and federal regulations found at 45 CFR 46.
- Requesting approval from the IRB prior to implementing modifications.
- Notifying OPRS of any problems involving human subjects, including unanticipated events, participant complaints, or protocol deviations.
- Notifying OPRS of the completion of the study.

Office for the Protection of Research Subjects
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
(217) 333-2670
irb@illinois.edu