On the Management of Theatre Groups in Urban Tanzania

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Abstract

This study is inspired by the recently growing evidenced trend of theatre groups collapsing, particularly the urban established theatre groups. This alarming trend that theatre groups collapse rapidly and quite often prompted me to probe into what might be the root causes, among which management play a major role. In recent years, some theatre scholars associate 'management' with the downfall of many theatre groups. Such assertion, however, looks at management as the ultimate entity and ignores the fact that these groups work in integration with the existing external environment, and therefore sustainability of theatre groups, particularly in urban Tanzania depends also on the external environments in which they have to adjust. By employing open system theory the study analyses theatre groups' management in urban Tanzania in relation to the sustainability of particular theatre groups. Through interviews, archival information and participant observation, the study reveals, despite management's contribution towards sustainability of theatre groups, that their sustainability in urban Tanzania is beyond the management challenges.

In analysing the connection between theatre groups' management, external environment and sustainability of the urban based theatre groups, various existing and collapsed theatre groups stand in as cases in the analysis process. This study argues that it is not just management who are the cause of theatre groups' collapse; external factors such as the social, political, economic and technological environment also play a role. In this context the concept of 'system' in managing theatre groups becomes relevant. The study shows how the existing theatre groups' organisational culture, revealed through objectives for establishing various theatre groups, system and structures, link to the operation of theatre groups in urban Tanzania. It clarifies that sustainability and existence of theatre groups is particularly defined, based on the context of the process of the groups' establishment, government agencies/bodies responsible for administering the arts, and theatre in particular (it includes policies that guide the operations of these groups), theatre infrastructures and finance. It extends further to the artists at an individual level; that is, commitment of each artist to make sure that the established theatre groups are sustainable.

Furthermore, this study provides insights on theatre groups' culture in defining the role of leadership, employees, as well as the system and structures in relation to the groups'

sustainability. Generally, however, the study shows that the existing system and group structures do not support existence and sustainability of theatre groups in urban Tanzania unless they re-evaluate their current forms of operation to fit into the new cultural trend monopolised by Video film and Bongo Flava music.

Zusammenfassung

Diese Arbeit hat zum Hintergrund, dass sich immer mehr Theatergruppen in Tansania auflösen, vor allem diejenigen im urbanen Raum. Dieser alarmierende Trend warf die Frage für mich auf, was der Grund für diese Entwicklung sein könnte und welche Rolle das "Management" dieser Theatergruppen dabei spielt. In den letzten Jahren haben einige Theaterwissenschaftler "Management" mit dem Niedergang der Theatergruppen in Tansania in Verbindung gebracht. Diese Annahme betrachtet "Management" jedoch als einzigen Faktor im Sinne einer alles dominierenden Autorität. Was dabei ignoriert wird, ist die Tatsache, dass Theatergruppen unter Miteinbeziehung der Außenwelt agieren, vor allem im urbanen Tansania, wo ihre Nachhaltigkeit maßgeblich von den Bedingungen der Außenwelt abhängt, an die sie sich anpassen müssen.

Unter Anwendung von Systemtheorie analysiert diese Studie das Management von Theatergruppen im urbanen Tansania und vergleicht ihre Nachhaltigkeit mit der Nachhaltigkeit anderer ausgewählter Theatergruppen im Land. Durch Interviews, Archivfunden und der Observation von Teilnehmern zeigt diese Studie, dass das Management einer Theatergruppe keinen Einfluss auf deren Nachhaltigkeit hat. Mehrere noch existierende und bereits aufgelöste Theatergruppen stehen im Mittelpunkt der Analyse, die eine Verbindung zwischen dem Management, dem unmittelbaren Umfeld und der Nachhaltigkeit der urbanen Theatergruppen herstellt. Es wird argumentiert, dass nicht nur das Management die Ursache für den Niedergang vieler Theatergruppen ist, sondern dass auch äußere Faktoren eine Rolle spielen, wie zum Beispiel soziale, politische, ökonomische und technologische Entwicklungen in der Gesellschaft.

Die Studie zeigt außerdem auf, wie sich existierende Theatergruppen in Tansania organisieren. Dabei wird der Begriff des "Systems" auf die innere und äußere Organisation der Theatergruppen angewandt. Die Studie macht dadurch einerseits klar, dass die Nachhaltigkeit und Überlebensfähigkeit der Thatergruppen davon abhängt, wie sich die Gruppe im Kontext von Regierungsprogrammen etablieren kann. Dies beinhaltet auch, dass Erwägungen derjenigen Regierungsorgane und "agencies" berücksichtigt werden müssen, die sich um die Infrastruktur und Finanzierung von Theater in Tansania kümmern. Andererseits muss jeder einzelne Künstler in der Organisation einer Theatergruppe als Teil

des “Systems” bedacht werden, was sich sowohl auf den Umgang mit dem Individuum als auch die Verantwortlichkeit jedes Einzelnen bezieht, aktiv zur Nachhaltigkeit der Gruppe beizutragen. Darüber hinaus bietet diese Studie Einblick in die Art und Weise, wie tansanische Theatergruppen ihre eigene Rolle im Bereich ‘leadership’ und dem Umgang mit Angestellten im Hinblick auf die Frage nach Nachhaltigkeit sehen.

Als Fazit dieser Studie kann zusammenfassend formuliert werden, dass der aktuelle Umgang der existierenden Theatergruppen mit Problemen der Nachhaltigkeit nicht zu ihrem Überleben führen wird, außer sie bewerten ihr Vorgehensweise neu oder gliedern sich in den kulturellen Trend ein, der momentan im bezug auf Videofilm und Bongo-Flava-Musik vorgegeben wird.

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Erklärung

Hiermit versichere ich, dass ich die Arbeit in allen Teilen selbständig verfasst und keine anderen als die angegebenen Hilfmittel benutzt habe. Alle Teile, die wörtlich oder dem Inhalt nach aus fremden Arbeiten entnommen wurden, wie etwa Textstellen, Zeichnungen Skizzen oder andere bildliche Darstellungen, sind als solche kenntlich gemacht.

Die Arbeit wurde noch nicht veröffentlicht in gleicher oder anderer Form an anderer Stelle als Prüfungsleistung vorgelegt.

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Ort, Datum Unterschrift

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Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 Introduction and Background of the study

For some time now, theatre groups in Tanzania have been facing some sustainability challenges. These are revealed through the growing number of collapsed theatre groups, particularly in urban Tanzania. The number of theatre groups which have collapsed in Tanzania is bigger than the existing theatre groups. For instance, the records by Temeke Municipal Cultural office in Dar es Salaam show that only 10 theatre groups were thriving, while almost 150 had collapsed by August 2012[1]. On the other hand, the Mwanza City cultural officer confirmed that only 11 groups out of 41 theatre groups existed by July 2012[2]. In Morogoro the trend is a bit different as it has different statistics. According to the Morogoro cultural officer, there are almost 90 registered theatre groups and out of those only 10 groups seem to have collapsed, although she made it clear that among the estimated existing groups, some groups exist but cannot afford to pay for the registration fee and annual renewal of the registration permit[3] (This statistical data is actually limited to the groups that were formally registered by the National Arts Council (BASATA) through respective district/municipal cultural offices).

Nationally, only 73 groups renewed their registration permit between July, 2010 and June, 2011; and only 62 groups between July, 2011 and June, 2012 (This report was taken on the 22nd May 2012)[4]. These statistics on the existing and collapsed theatre groups in Tanzania correspond to Mgunga Mwa Mnyenyelwa, one of the renowned theatre practitioners' remarks, that "it is very difficult to start and maintain a theatre company. The National Arts Council has several theatre groups on the official register, but where are they? Many

[1] An interview with Temeke Municipal Council Cultural Officer on 'theatre groups in Temeke' on 3rd August, 2012

[2] An interview with Mwanza City Cultural Officer on 'theatre groups in Mwanza' on 16th August, 2012

[3] An interview with Morogoro Municipal Cultural Officers on 26th November, 2013

[4] The data provided by National Arts Council (BASATA) on "reports to the arts stakeholders who have renewed their permit from July, 2011 and from July, 2010'. The researcher had these reports on 22nd May, 2012.

are dead before they are born".[5] Perhaps the question will be: how does one get to know that these groups have collapsed? The arts officer of the National Arts Council clarified to the researcher that registration and annual renewal of the groups' permit is the only way of determining the status and continual existence of the theatre groups (Malimi Mashili, 2012). The above statistics show that there have been a number of theatre groups collapsing in Tanzania recently; and it is with this regard that the study set out to explore what really happens in the theatre industry in urban Tanzania today, with the focus on the theatre groups' management.

In recent years, some theatre scholars associate 'management' - a component in development of theatre groups - with the downfall of many theatre groups[6]. Such assertion, however, looks at management as the ultimate entity and ignores the fact that these groups work in integration with the existing external environment, and therefore sustainability of theatre groups, particularly in Tanzania, depends also on the external factors/forces (environment) in which these theatre groups have to adjust.

Apparently, linking management with sustainability of theatre groups in Tanzania is as a result of the way most of the theatre groups are established and eventually the way the groups function. Establishing theatre groups in Tanzania is not restricted in terms of individual participation and ownership. That is, any person or group of people or institution can start a theatre group provided that rules and regulations set by the National Arts Council are well observed. However, in terms of operation, most of the groups are not far from Byrnes' (2003:24-25) observations that "when a business or arts organisation starts up, it may be owned and operated by one individual. The founder-director often operates from home or even from a car"; and as the group grows, some operational complications, such as the need of the office and more staffs to perform various functions also develop (Byrnes, 2003). Overall, no matter how great or successful the group becomes, its success is normally celebrated hand in hand with the founder/ founders' initiatives and vice versa.

The management of theatre groups in Tanzania, therefore, is normally determined by the founder /founders of the particular theatre group. Although it is difficult to depict any uniformity of the management structures of most of the theatre groups, this study noted

[5] See Thomas Riccio, (2001:145).Tanzania Theatre: From Marx to the Market Place.
[6] See also Lange, 2008; Bazaale, 2006

that most of the 'recently established theatre groups' follow the founder-manager-owner pattern[7]. The founder in this situation is also the manager or leader of the particular theatre group, hence this creates a certain pattern of management structure of the group interpreted as 'founder-manager-owner' pattern. Referring to most of the theatre groups in Tanzania, the management structures such as 'founder-chairperson-owner' or 'founder-secretary-owner' or 'founder-director-owner' is applicable for many theatre groups depending on the appropriate titles given to the management staff within the groups. That is, if the founder is the chairperson or secretary then even the management structure will be defined based on the 'founder-chairperson/secretary-owner' structure.

In other words, current management of theatre groups in Tanzania is left in the hands of individual entrepreneurs (both artists and non-artists) and other theatre practitioners. Theatre managers' titles such as Managing Director, Chief Executive Officer, Director General, and Artistic Director have occupied the attention of many theatre groups and among some theatre practitioners at present. However, the managerial and artistic expertise is not guaranteed. As a result, some studies on theatre in East Africa and Tanzania in particular have associated management with the survival, collapse or death of many theatre groups. Lange (2008) in her study on Muungano Cultural Troupe (one of the very popular theatre groups in Tanzania established in the 1980) points out that Muungano lost its market since 2002 due to administrative problems as one of the main reasons. Also Kigombe's study on challenges in managing theatre groups in Tanzania points out that authoritarian leadership as one of the factors (2009). On the other hand, Bazaale (2006) commenting on challenges facing the Ugandan theatre industry, argues that lack of strong management within a group, lack of trained managerial personnel and deficient in specialisation of roles and responsibilities for management expose theatre companies to internal and external pressure, which weaken the companies and in turn prove failures to sustain in a competitive environment.

[7] The use of the phrase 'recently established groups', means those groups established from 1990s to the present, the period in which Tanzania adopted the Liberalization policy which eventually had impacts also on cultural sector, theatre inclusive. The period in which the external environment, not only acts as the director but also determines the working structure for theatre groups.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The above arguments provide blameworthiness to management (the reference here is on the management that exists within a particular theatre group/company[8]) as the causative factor to the failure/sustainability of theatre groups. There is an assumption that theatre groups are independent entities within the society, and managers as the ultimate authority. However, the study suggests that the success or demise befall many theatre groups in East Africa; Tanzania in particular is beyond management problems. The assumption is that trade liberalisation, technological transformation[9], especially the introduction of television and home theatre machines had impacts towards people's life style and eventually it has impacts on theatre groups' existence, as the groups fail to cope with the change in cultural choices of the audience. Also the issue of film mania is killing the theatre industry; Tanzanian artists have been swept away by the video film appearance wave. They are all interested to appear on the television screen; hence stage performances are threatened by these new mediated technologies.

Moreover, the donor culture dependencies of theatre groups on sponsorship for some public communication performances act as a threat to the theatre industry because when the donor agenda changes, theatre groups fail to sustain themselves as they have developed a dependency syndrome. The impact actually goes further to theatre companies ignoring the aesthetic quality of the productions since the concern is to fulfil the donors' will. In this situation theatre groups do not have power. Moreover, some theatre companies in Tanzania have a kind of management that comes from government protectionism and sponsorship, which actually fail to fulfil the dynamics of a liberalised cultural environment, hence change their management and products that they sell to their audience. In exploring the existing dilemma, this study attempts to provide an analysis of the link between theatre groups' management, the external environment and the existence and sustainability of theatre groups in urban Tanzania.

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[8] Theatre companies/groups/organization in this study refers to the group of people collectively working together for the purpose of attaining a particular goal. In this study three concepts; theatre groups, theatre organization and theatre companies are interchangeably used.

[9]Scholars such as Fiebach (1996) call this transformation as the " audiovisual mediatization" and see also Koch (2008:32)

1.3 Objectives of the study

This study intends to analyse theatre groups' management in urban Tanzania in relation to the particular theatre groups' sustainability. By examining the groups'organisational culture, it intends to reveal the urban theatre groups' operations systems and how they influence the groups' sustainability. This study also examines influence of management on the aesthetic considerations of the groups' productions. It furthermore analyses how the integration process between theatre groups/companies and the external environment or environmental trends have influenced the success or failure of theatre groups.

1.4 Research Questions

In fulfilling the above objectives the following research questions guided the study:

Do theatre groups in Tanzania have any definable organisational culture that defines the role of leadership, employees, system and structures in relation to the groups' goal and performance?

How does the external environment influence the success or failure (sustainability) of the group, management and the group's well-being?

How does management influence the artistic quality (the aesthetic) of the groups' productions?

1.5 Definition of terms

Three terms guide the study of management of theatre groups in urban Tanzania. These are: 'management', 'theatre groups'/companies'/organisation' and 'organisational culture'. Theatre groups/companies/organisations in this study refer to the group of people collectively working together for the purpose of attaining a particular goal. Although these terms might be different depending on the context of its usage, in this study these three concepts, namely, theatre groups, theatre organisation and theatre companies are interchangeably used.

In order to assure the smooth operation, any company requires management. Mullins (2004:189) insists that "it is by the process of management and execution of works that the activities of the organization are carried out. It is essentially an integrating activity which permeates every facet of the operations of organization". That is to say it is not only a

technique but also a combination of knowledge, values and orientation. As Kast and Rosenzweig (1972: 462) argue, "management is based on the body of knowledge generated by practical experience and eclectic scientific research concerning organizations. The body of knowledge developed through theory and research should be translatable into more effective organizational design and management practices". This study will adopt Bendixen's definition of management, which regards management as the "mediation of internal artistic expression with the external public" (Bendixen 2000). Bendixen argues that "arts management is a form of creative activity in itself, in that it attracts public attention and launches images based on reputation and distinction". However, he clarifies that this concept of arts management does not substitute for the classical management with its marketing, financing, labour relations and accounting function. To my understanding Bendixen emphasises that management needs to be conceptualised beyond the classical understanding of the term.

However, any company or group operates within a particular culture. Whereas organisational culture refers to the "underlying values, beliefs, and principles that serve as a foundation for any organization's management system as well as the set of management practices and behaviors that both exemplify and reinforce those basic principles" (Denison, 1990:2). Alvesson and Berg (1992:76) argue that culture influences "how people organize-or-order their experiences of the environment. Organizational culture is also concerned on how people develop sensitivity when faced with the demands, expectations and situations emerging at their place of work". According to Alvesson and Berg (1992), culture is a "kind of social glue in a company or in parts of a company (e.g. department or management group)". Some scholars concur that there is a great relationship between organisational cultures and the organisation performance or outcomes (see Saffold, 1988; Byles, Aupperle & Arogyaswamy, 1991; Denison & Mishra, 1995; Carmeli & Tishler, 2004; Lunenburg, 2011)

On the other hand, this study recognises that organisations are culturally oriented. Therefore, due to the organisation's distinctive cultures, even management is also connected to the culture of a specific group, company or organisation. In this regard the study does not intend to suggest or prescribe that there is a single effective management style of theatre groups in urban Tanzania.

1.6 Organisation of the study

This study consists of seven chapters. The first chapter attempts to establish the background information on theatre groups' management in Tanzania. By so doing, it highlights on who is managing theatre groups in Tanzania (in terms of managerial and artistic expertise). Additionally, it establishes the link between management and sustainability of theatre groups in Tanzania. However, the chapter suggests that the sustainability of theatre groups in Tanzania is beyond management challenges; hence there is a need to link theatre groups' sustainability with the existing external environment.

The second chapter focuses on the literature detailing the connection between the political and economic transformation in East Africa, and Tanzania in particular and its impact toward theatre groups' establishment and sustainability. Moreover, it provides the historical trend of theatre groups' formation and management from precolonial time to the present. Finally, the chapter narrows to the theoretical framework that guides the analysis of this study.

The third chapter provides the overall research methodology applied in this study. It clearly provides description of the research method used in conducting the research, focusing on the case study approach; in this context, the study selected six existing and three collapsed theatre groups.

The fourth chapter presents the findings of the study based on theatre groups' culture in urban Tanzania. The presentation begins by outlining the objectives for establishment of various theatre groups in urban Tanzania. To trace theatre groups' organisational and operation culture, data collected from observation and interviews with various theatre groups' leaders/managers, artists, district cultural officers and National Arts Council on system and theatre group structures have been presented. In an attempt to facilitate the understanding of this chapter, it is then divided into four sections. The first section focuses on objectives for establishment of theatre groups in urban Tanzania. The second section outlines various categories of theatre groups in urban Tanzania. The third section informs on the system of theatre groups focusing on the role and position of the government in developing theatre, the working force (artists/employees), theatre infrastructures and finance of theatre groups. The fourth section deals with the groups' organisational structures. The discussion provides insights on the theatre groups' culture in defining the

role of leadership, employees, system and structure in relation to the group goals, and also whether the existing culture facilitates the sustainability and development of theatre groups in urban Tanzania.

The fifth chapter provides the general perspective of how the groups are organised in social cultural environment, economic and political context in relation to theatre groups' sustainability. In this study these are termed as the external environments. Apart from concentrating on the integrations of the groups with the external environment (economic, social, political), particular issues like technological changes such as the introduction television (or what Fiebach (1996) calls 'the audiovisual mediatization') and home theatre machines, the growing film industry, which has been a runaway for most of theatre artists, has been discussed in relation to theatre groups' sustainability in urban Tanzania today. Additionally, the chapter also provides an analysis of the reasons for theatre group's success or failure focusing at the particular group's internal context.

The sixth chapter focuses on the aesthetic considerations in contemporary Tanzanian theatrical performances. It first discusses the notion of aesthetic in reference to the African perspective. With reference to two performances; *'Wamichoro'* performed by Sabasaba Sanaa Group and *'Shujaa wa Jando'* (the Hero of Initiation) performed by Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust, it analyses the artistic structures/forms applied by theatre groups in producing various theatre performances. It further answers the question how management influences professional and artistic quality of the productions. The chapter attempts to stimulate a discussion on the link between the managers' artistic qualification and personnel competency in theatre and their impacts toward a particular performance. Lastly, the seventh chapter will sum up the main arguments in relation to the findings, and will offer conclusions.

Chapter 2
Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter attempts to provide the connections between political and economic transformation in East Africa, Tanzania in particular and its impact toward theatre groups' establishment and sustainability. It further focuses on the historical nature of theatre groups' management from the pre-colonial time to the present. Although the study does not intend to examine the history of theatre groups and their development in East Africa, it is important to give an overview of theatre groups from the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods before embarking on the contemporary situation. The discussion highlights the forces which have contributed to the establishment of theatre groups and describe the nature of its management practices in a specified time frame. This general overview as provided by various scholarships helps to give an understanding of the trend of theatre management in Tanzania. Finally, the chapter narrows to the theoretical framework that guides the analysis of this study.

2.2 Political and Economic Transformation in East Africa: Its Impacts on Theatre Industry

In the 1990s there were political and economic transformations in some of the East African countries. These transformations were witnessed by two significant events: the re-introduction of a multiparty political system and liberalization of the economy. A multiparty system was exercised at different paces in Tanzania, Kenya then Uganda. Kenya's economy was all run along the liberalised-capitalist model since independence while Tanzania started the liberalisation in 1986 after signing the agreement with IMF/WB. Uganda's economy was quasi-liberalised although it had a diffuse model of economic management. Observing the situation in Uganda, Mercy Mirembe Ntangaare emphasises that:

> The Ugandan government economic policies, starting with the mixed economy of 1960, Uganda's economic war of 1970, the 1980s amendment of the economic system (SAPs), the fall of the Uganda shilling in 1987, the free market of 1990 and the current liberal economy has enriched and at the same time ruined theatre (Ntangaare, 2008:149).

For a country like Tanzania it meant scrapping off its Ujamaa-African socialism-ideology and its attendant policies with centralised economic operations and cultural practices, in favour of capitalism. Although not all East African countries entered this stage at the same time the difference in time is not so great. For example, Tanzania and Kenya re-entered the multiparty political system in the early 1990s while Uganda accepted it in 2005. This was approximately thirteen years later after Kenya and Tanzania. To most East African citizens who were already tired and frustrated with the single party system since it was associated with dictatorship rule, the multiparty political system provided new hope to the people; as Odhiambo (2008) states that the 're-introduction of the multiparty political system in the 1990s' brought back the 'democratic space' in Kenya[10].

Prior to these transformations artistic freedom in some of these countries was jeopardised. Frank, (1995) commenting on the situation in Uganda, asserts that Milton Obote's oppressive regime (1966-1971 and 1980-1985) and that of Idi Amin (1971-1979) created no freedom among the artists, especially those producing critical political plays. However, Mbowa (1996) associates the modern political repression of the artistic spirit with the British rule, when the Christian missionaries discouraged and supressed indigenous performance arts by labelling the practices 'uncivilized and pagan'. Indeed this happened in almost all places where colonialists stepped their feet in Africa. The situation also continued in some African countries even after independence. For instance, after independence, the Kenyan government with the fear of political national theatre symbolised by Kamiriithu suppressed Kenyan artists' efforts to develop independent theatre (Banham, 1994). Emphasising Kenya's scenario, Odongo argues that in the period between 1962 and 1990 Kenya was under the suppressive rule of President Daniel Arap Moi. In such circumstance those who appeared as the critics of the government were not safe, and some people ended up in prison. Its impacts were also visible in theatre (Odongo, 2008: 87). It was at this particular time, when Kenya introduced censorship in the arts by introducing performance licence. It was an obligation that "every theatre group must register with the government and performance licences are granted only after rigorous security checks and after each script has been read and approved by the administration" (Banham, 1994 and Ndigirigi, 1999). Odhiambo, who saw the political situation in Kenya immediately after independence as a threat to the development of theatre points out that:

[10] See also Odongo,(2008:87)

> In 1969 the government banned the KPU. From then on until 1982, although no law was passed preventing other political parties from operating, Kenya in effect had only one political party. In 1982 a law was enacted making KANU the only legal political party. With KANU as the only political party, any opposition voices were stifled. This not only affected political parties but in a sense also generally affected other forms of expression such as the media, public assemblies and theatre performances. This period witnessed the banning of several theatre performances by the government (Odhiambo, 2008:13).

However, this does not mean that liberalisation has provided total freedom to artists and their art works. Since then there are still rules and regulations that govern artistic productions and performances and so artists or theatre groups/companies need to obey. For instance, in Tanzania it is mandatory that all theatre groups must be registered by the National Arts Council; in that respect district/city cultural officers are responsible for registration of theatre groups. And in case of the performance a group must also get a performance permit prior to the performance from the National Arts Council (again cultural office at the district/city level is responsible).

On one hand, Frank (1995) clarifies that the 1986 change of government with Yoweri Museveni as the President, theatre began to be applied as an instrument for development in Uganda. On the other hand, Tanzania like other African countries, struggled to revive its culture immediately after independence. The Tanzanian government under the leadership of Julius Kambarage Nyerere, therefore, emphasised the establishment of theatre groups, especially dance troupes. In 1967, under the proclaimed Arusha Declaration, with Ujamaa and self-reliance policy, theatrical activities were encouraged. Unlike Uganda and Kenya, the Tanzanian government used theatre as an instrument to propagate Ujamaa and a self-reliance ideology. Therefore theatre groups, both formal and informal, were established in all educational institutions, governmental and non-governmental institutions, and parastatal organisations (Songoyi, 1983; Lihamba, 1985; Hatar, 2001).

Apart from forming a multiparty system, at this time the former East African Countries started to experience the effects of the liberalised, free-market economy adopted in the late 1980s. Hatar (2001) looking at the case of Tanzania notes that “with the coming of the financial hardship of the late 70s and 80s many of the artists were retrenched from the job rosters. Those who were retrenched organised themselves into small groups so that they could mutually exploit their skills for gain”. Narrating the situation in Uganda, Bazaale (2006:3) argues that “the late 1980s and early 1990s saw new fringe theatres entering the

market, followed with government policy paradigm shift from centralized national economy to a liberalized economy".

Therefore the political and economic transformations that occurred in East Africa in the 1990s brought in commercialisation of the arts which had impacts towards artists' freedom of expression. Establishment of theatre groups that were commercially oriented increased. Although some of the literature points out that commercial theatre in East African countries started during the colonial period, Sentongo (1997) points out that in Uganda it started between the 1930s and 1940s. It is clear that the monopoly of those theatre groups were not under the indigenous African people. Some scholars see the 1970s and 1980s as the periods that marked the beginning of the commercialisation of theatre (Songoyi, 1983; Mbowa, 1996; Plastow, 1996; Hatar, 2001). However, this does not ignore the truth that in some African countries especially West Africa, commercial theatre existed even during pre-colonial times. Finnegan (1970: 83-90) clarifies that there were professional court poets in Africa who "gained their livelihood from their art".

Moreover, commenting on the situation in Uganda, Mbowa (1996) provides the statistics on theatre groups that existed in Uganda from the 1970 to 1985. She argues that "the number of groups rose steadily from 20 in 1970 to 80 in 1977, 131 in 1980, and 250 in 1985". Nevertheless, art knowledge and skills, for some of those who ventured in the theatre industries is very questionable, which even included the quality of production. Observing the situation with an example of Theatre for Development Lenin Ogolla, as cited by Odhiambo (2008), argues that:

> "TFD has been in recent years patronized by the strangest of fellows whose backgrounds in basic theatre are questionable (…) Not so long ago in Uganda when theatre was at a forefront in the fight against HIV-Aids, many groups sprung up overnight, writing proposals to NGOs and government departments. In Kenya today the civic education movement has created several opportunities for quacks who want to turn the fight for democracy into the industry".

Although Lenin Ogolla provides a specific example for Theatre for Development, in reality the situation exists in the entire theatre industry in East Africa. As a result, a number of theatre groups that were established face challenges and hence collapse. Commenting on the Tanzanian experience, Mlama quoted by Lange (2008:28) points out that there were over fifty commercial cultural troupes in Dar es Salaam in 1986. Many of the groups were

short-lived. Thus there is an assumption that everyone can establish and lead a theatre company regardless of not only one's artistic knowledge and skills but also of management. It is clear that any group formation needs management. Most of theatre groups today have independent management which is not tied to a government or any institution or parastatal organisation, as it was practised during pre-colonial and colonial times and immediately after independence in some of African countries.

2.3 Theatre management in Tanzania

There are a number of literatures on the theatre and theatre history in Africa and East Africa in particular. Most of the studies that have been conducted focus on the trends of theatre in East Africa, discussing in detail the history of traditional African theatre (Mlama1981; 1983; Banham1994; Kerr 1995; 2004; Kaahwa 2004), theatre and politics (Lihamba 1985; Mbowa, 1996; Plastow, 1996; Nyoni 1998; Outa 2001), theatre as a media for development communication; some of the scholars in those areas included (Frank, 1995; Mushengyezi, 2003; Koch, 2008; Odhiambo, 2008), and theatre/drama in Education (Hatar, 2001; Mtiro, 2009; Njewele 2009; Sanga, 2009). There are also studies on African theatre and the issue of language (wa Thiong'o 1986; 1997). However, only a few studies have paid a little attention to theatre management. Some of them are Songoyi, (1983); Nyoni, (1998); Kigombe, (2009), and Bazaale, (2006). Nevertheless, these studies do not directly address the issue of either organisational culture in relation to its performance or management in relation to the aesthetic and artistic quality of the productions. The mentioned studies also do not show how the environmental trends influence both management and the companies' activities in East Africa although some of them discuss the role, group structure and challenges in managing theatre groups/companies.

Scholarships on theatre management are normally categorised based on different periods such as pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial and the contemporary theatre groups' management (mostly referring to the contemporary urban theatre groups which are the focus of this study). In the pre-colonial era, theatre groups' establishments were very much influenced by cultural and social economic activities of the people (Songoyi, 1983; Rubin, 2001). The formations of theatre groups were not a free choice of an individual but society's quest in fulfilling particular purposes within the community. It depended very

much on the nature and purpose of the activity, gender and age[11]. This had direct impact on the nature of its management. Since theatrical performances were communally owned, community rulers like kings or chiefs in chieftainship societies, clan heads, magicians or sometimes best performers were responsible for organising, leading, planning and directing the performances[12]. Finnegan (1970:83) argues that in traditional kingdoms of Africa, "poets were attached to the courts of powerful kings, to the retinues of nobles or lesser chiefs and to all those who had pretentions to honour and thus to poetic celebration in their society". Kaahwa (2004: 83) in discussing the role of the epic narrator in pre-colonial Ugandan theatre argues that at the "Bunyoro Royal Court, a traditional narrator assumed multiple roles that parallel today's writer, director or actor, and was indeed a commentator on his own act".

With colonialism in Africa the interest of theatre groups' formation based on the concern of "civilizing Africans", colonialists at first made their efforts to discourage indigenous theatre groups and introduced drama in schools to spread Christian culture and English language[13]. In Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda with establishment of theatre activities in schools, especially drama groups, the schools' administrations were responsible for management of theatre since the colonial government left the authority to the schools, cultural institutions like the British Council or religious institutions in planning, organising, directing and leading theatre activities. ((Plastow (1996) and Banham (2004: 217) in discussing the history of theatre in Africa, point out that the British Council in Kenya introduced Kenyan Schools' Drama Festival as a significant instrument in modelling the development of Kenyan theatre. On the other hand, colonialists in Uganda such as the Christian Missionary Society (CMS), in fighting the spread of Islam and with the aim of spreading colonial culture through religion and education, introduced drama in schools specifically as a tool of teaching English language as well as evangelising (Kaahwa, 2004:85). With this force it is obvious that management of newly developed theatre practices relied on the colonial education institutions.

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[11] See Mlama, (981) on Digubi, a girl's initiation dance among the Wakaguru of Kilosa, Morogoro; Songoyi (983) on Mbina ya Mabasa dance and the farmers dance(bugobogobo) among the Sukuma people of Tanzania

[12] See also Songoyi, 1983.

[13] See Penina Mlama and Amandina Lihamba (2001). *Tanzania*. In D.Rubin et al The World Encyclopedia of Contemporary Theatre: London, Routledge

However, after independence, with the interest of African countries to revive their culture which they believed could be possible through arts, the cultural groups were mostly encouraged with the support from the government. In Tanzania, for instance, many cultural groups emerged under the state-run organisations' sponsorship (Plastow 1996; Songoyi, 1983). Tanzania witnessed the formation of theatre groups in the educational institutions, parastatal organisations and government institutions such as the army and banks. Some of the famous groups include the Urafiki drama club and Tanganyika Textile. In this particular situation management of theatre groups was under the control of the 'top' management manifested by the company, organisation or institution and the 'supervisory management' - management manifested within a theatre group (Songoyi, 1983; Kigombe, 2009). However Songoyi (1983) points out that few groups were privately owned and managed by individuals. For example, Muungano Cultural Troupe was under the leadership of Norbert Chenga (famously identified as Mzee Chenga), and Mandela Theatre Troupe which was under the management of Bakari Mbelemba[14].

Hatar (2001), who discusses the state of theatre in Tanzania, observes that "the rise of the interests in the performing arts after independence and its exploitation after Arusha declaration period influenced people to look into the arts with [a] commercial eye". He argues "many groups sprouted in schools, in work places and in the villages. Outstanding artists were given jobs in companies so that they could bring artistic honour to their employing organisation (…). Funds were set aside, with the government supporting its own national dance troupe". Nevertheless this did not continue for so long as Hatar (2001:14) clarifies that "with the financial hardship of the late 70s and 80s many artists were dropped from job rosters and so as a number of them got together to form groups, so that they could mutually exploit their skills for gain". In Uganda, on the other hand, apart from the economic gain a "boom in extremely commercial theatre groups" emerged due to a "favourable political climate" after Museveni's presence into power (Mbowa, 1996).

[14]Bakari Mbelemba and Norbert Chenga were among of the members of the National Arts Group. Prior to the establishment of their respective groups, Chenga happened to be a primary school teacher by profession and the cultural officer in several regions in the county. On the other hand, Mbelemba after the collapse of the National Drama Troupe in 1981 joined various theatre groups before finally establishing his own. For more information on Mbelemba and Mandela Troupe, Chenga and Muungano Cultural Troupe see (Plastow, 1996; Riccio, 2001; Edmondson, 2007; Lange,1995; 2008)

With the commercialisation of arts, challenges exist in the balance between economic gain and the aesthetic/artistic quality of most of the artistic works. The former seem to surpass the latter. Artists, therefore, are now more concerned with economic gain than the artistic and aesthetic quality of their productions. Theatre is seen as a playground where anyone can play regardless of his or her skills in arts. Many people employ themselves in the arts provided they have the so-called "talent" in theatre. Talent is used as a ticket in establishing theatre groups. Consequently, it has come into the mind of people that theatre groups or company's formation is not something that needs a serious plan, knowledge and skill, not only of theatre but also of theatre management. Some people established theatre groups after spotting the benefits and possibilities particularly from donors[15]. It has reached a moment that anyone can lead a theatre company or group regardless of artistic qualifications or theatre managerial skills. It is a moment where management and ownership is closely tied. That is, when one talks of the theatre company owner, it is also the Executive Director, Chairperson, Secretary, General Manager and/ or other titles related to these. Bazaale Augustine provides an understating of the situation in Uganda:

> "Most of the theatre groups in the 1970s to date were headed by one individual, a man or a woman who is the entrepreneur and the Director. In normal cases this director is the playwright, He/she directs the play, he/she is in charge of the finances, publicity and marketing, stage management and takes the lead role in the play as an actor. The rest of the performers are basically left with the acting only. The assistant director (which was optional) was titular. If one was delegated the position of stage manager was also titular. The actor-manager did all" (Bazaale, 2006:65).

This kind of management as articulated by Bazaale above is so particularised to accommodate the competitive market in the theatre industry today. An era in which not only team work is very much needed for producing the group's best results, but in which theatre groups need a very clear elaborate kind of management based on personnel competency in a particular field.

In general, from the above discussion one might realise that traditional theatre management in pre-colonial societies relied heavily on the king, clan head, chief and the trusted and best performer in the community. In colonial times, the transfer of power was from the indigenous trusted people to the colonial institutions like schools and churches. After independence African government was an eye-watcher and controller to theatre

[15] See also Kaduma, 2008:20

groups/companies. As such it created two levels of management: that is the top management and the supervisory management. The pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial theatre groups' management difference relies on the nature of the groups' operations. In general, those managers fitted in those particular and specific contexts.

Currently as I have argued in the introductory chapter, management of theatre companies is left in the hands of individual entrepreneurs (both artists and non-artists) and other theatre practitioners. Theatre managers' titles such as Managing Director, Chief Executive Officer, Director General, and Artistic Director have occupied the attention of many theatre companies and theatre practitioners at present. However, the managerial and artistic expertise is not guaranteed. This actually reflects Cheney's argument (1998) that "managing the culture labour force has not typically been priority in the past, as there has been an assumption that talent would emerge naturally…" This is a challenge definitely facing many theatre groups in Tanzania, not only at the past but even today. As a result when a theatre group collapses, we keep on acclaiming it was due to the "managerial or administrative problems" without providing clear and focused explanation of the question "how". It is this "how" which I consider, which relates directly to the concept of management, the external environment and sustainability of theatre groups. Generally there has been also no comprehensive scholarly research which focuses on analysing theatre groups' management and their influence on the theatrical productions in urban Tanzania.

2.4 Why management?

Management is "the specific and distinguishing organ of any and all organization" (Drucker, 1999:9). Peter Drucker provides a clear understanding that whether it is a business, arts or cultural, profit or non-profit organisation, management is and will remain to be the basis of the organisation. The concern here is not to continue the debate on the relationship and differences between arts/cultural management and business management, as it has been discussed at length by some scholars, among others, which include Amberg (1989), Pick (1989), Kanter (1991), Wilson (1991), and Palmer (1998). The study intends to focus on theatre groups' management and in particular Tanzanian theatre groups.

Theatre groups or companies as artistic organisations, among other things, need management to oversee the company's activities. According to Drucker, "the centre of modern society, economy and community is not technology. It is not information. It is not

productivity. *It is the managed institution as the organ of society to produce results*. And management is the specific tool, the specific function, the specific instrument to make institutions capable of producing results" (Drucker, 1999:39). Therefore management is essential to any group, company or organisation regardless of its size, structure, culture, task and role. However, the effectiveness or efficiency of management in the cultural sectors with the specification to theatre industry in urban Tanzania is complex and challenging. One of the scholars on arts management in his discussion on managing the cultural labour force in the 21st century points out the global challenges facing the art sector as he says:

> The evolving technologies, changing domestic and the global markets and vagaries in government policies and programs have all contributed amongst other factors, to the complexity the challenge and the consequence of effective management of the arts. (Cheney, 1998: 24)

On the other hand, Byrnes suggests that "like any business, arts organization, must work within changing external and internal environment" (Byrnes, 2003:62). Therefore, from the above arguments this study draws its assumption from two groups of organisation theories that explain about the organisations' behaviour. The first group of organisation theories argue that the fates of organisations are a function of the legal, normative, and cognitive structures of society, the demand for organisations' goods and services, and the number of other organisations competing for the same resources and inputs (Galaskiewicz and Bielefeld, 2003:210). In this framework managers have little say about the future of their organisations because environmental conditions determine what will eventually happen (Galaskiewicz and Bielefeld, 2003:210). The focus with these theorists relies of the environmental conditions or trends surrounding the specific company as the determinant of the well-being of the company. Corresponding with the observation above, Nyoni (1998) points out that change in society's aspirations, political, social economic system and the relationship between one individual and another have a significant impact on theatre because they either maintain or change the form and structure of theatre in accordance with new emerging relationships.

The second group of organisation theories points out that "organization can and will restructure themselves and their task environment to ensure their survival and achieve their goals. That its senior manager can and will formulate general strategies and implement specific tactics that will reduce costs, ensure the ample flow of resources, and protect the

good name or reputation of the organization" (Galaskiewicz and Bielefeld, 2003:217). With this group of theorists the initiative of managers is the key to the success of the company. Yet it neglects the idea that theatre companies do not exist in isolation. Their existences are within the society, and precisely a changing society due to the change of the needs of the people. Therefore, the companies' process of adjusting to changes must also negotiate with the organisational culture and the environments in which it exists. Stanley Young and Charles E. Summer (1970) suggest that "an organization failure to respond to its environment change, or unrealistic or if it responds improperly to changes in its environment it may result to the organization failure". (see also Byrnes (1993; 2003). In these circumstances it is obvious that environments and organisations tend to affect each other in the process of production.

However, external forces/environment cannot be discussed in isolation, yet, management cuts across. Drucker (1999:40) argues that "management's concern and management responsibilities are everything that affects the performance of the institutions and its results - whether inside or outside, whether under institution's control or totally beyond it". Bendixen (2000:12) states that management is "focused on establishing and maintaining networks and milieus so that arts production will resonate with the public". For that reason, management is a 'remote control' of which stability of any theatre company depends also on the stable management system. Therefore it is the management that is responsible for creating the link, finding solutions to or between the company and the changing environmental trends. The study, therefore, apart from providing the link between management, external environment and sustainability of theatre groups; aims also to provide the analysis of the management of theatre groups in urban Tanzania by looking at how environmental trends have influenced the process of theatre management and its organisational culture, hence its influence towards the aesthetic and artistic quality of the productions.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

The study uses systems theory, and to be more specific, open system theory in examining how theatre companies influence and how they are being influenced by the external environment. Kast and Rosenzweig (1972) argue that systems theory is vital in the study of organisations and their managements. Kast and Rosenzweig acknowledge that systems theory has been used extensively in the investigation of the relationship between

subsystems within organisations and in studying environmental interfaces. This theory has its foundation from the biologist Ludwig von Bertalanffy's General Systems Theory. Later on other scholars, including the German sociologist Niklas Luhmann, introduced the systems theory in the field of social sciences. The basic notion of a system is simply that it is a set of interrelated parts (Tilles, 1970: 214). Niklas Luhmann argues that the development of the concept of the system itself has developed through four stages: the classical based on the interpretation of Plato and Aristotle, which focused its attention to the internal organisation of the system; The second view system as "originating out of the unification of its parts and these parts functions or operates when something outside the system-in its environment threatens". The first two stages are understood as closed. (see Bednarz, 1984). The third stage of development suggests the relationship between system and the environment. According to Luhmann, "while the second stage of development the system merely reacts to the changes in its environment, at the third stage the system genuinely interacts with it, system and environment now are truly interdependent" (Bednarz 1984:57). Therefore Luhmann insists that it is the concept of openness that distinguishes between the third and the second stage. The last stage occurs when the relationship between system and environment is understood in terms of difference of complexity (Bednarz, 1984).

Therefore open system theory suggests that an organisation is a set of interdependent parts that together constitute a whole which in turn is interdependent with some larger environment (Zeithaml, et al, 1988:39). It proposes the connections between the organisation's internal and external environment that affect the production process. As Luhmann argues:

> If we conceive of systems as open-systems-in-an-environment, structural changes have to presuppose non-coordinated events in a system and environments. Non-coordinated events are contingencies in themselves and with respect to their coincidence and conjunctive causality (Luhmann 1977:48).

According to Byrnes (2003:56), open system theory "assumes that any organization functions in a complex world influenced by multiple environments as it goes about gathering inputs and transforming them into output in the form of goods or services. The output or performance of an organization is not the sum of its parts, but rather the result of the interaction of the parts". The inputs are the people who work for an organisation (staff),

materials, equipment and money required to produce the organisation's goods or services (see also Mullins, 2004). However, Byrnes (1993:288) argues that the "open system approach to management does not mean that the organization's mission undergoes constant change. Rather it allows the organization to capitalize on opportunities that support its mission while minimizing the impacts of threat to the enterprise". This echoes the argument that "an organization must react to the stimuli of the environment" (Young & Summer, 1970:236). Byrness (2003) names six external environments that interact with organisations. However, this study will focus on four of them, namely, economic, political, social, and technological environment that are assumed to have direct impacts with theatre groups in urban Tanzania. These are going to be discussed as the external environment that in one way or another interact with theatre groups' organization which also affects theatre groups' sustainability.

This study, therefore, looks at the theatre group as a social open system. It comprises a management subsystem (top management and other administrative personnel), artists as employees, other professionals related to the industry itself, funding, audiences as the consumers of the theatrical products and services, and the external environment that is the economic, political, technological, and dynamic social situations. These subsystems depend on each other in the process of production of the performances. This echoes Bathurst, Williams and Rodda (2007:29) who argue that the "arts organization rely on the willing collaboration of a diverse array of stakeholders meaning the artistic, financial, governance and managerial issues must be attended to in order of the enterprise to maintain both financial and artistic credibility".

I agree that it is the management that makes all or some of the subsystems come together in the process of production. When there is an 'unattached' connection between theatre companies and the environments in which they exist then the company's performance and effectiveness is likely to diminish. As Schein (1992) argues, an organisation must influence and manage the environment not just adapt, also it should embrace external connectivity as well as promote internal integration. On the other hand Fouts and Smith (1999:17) argue that "an organization and its environment form an adaptive system. Organizational tension is a result of misalignment between an organization and its environment".

Therefore the connection between organisations and the environment can well be discussed based on the organisational structure and culture that persists in a particular theatre

company in relation to the company's performance. Using six theatre groups in Tanzania the study explores in detail how the integrations of theatre groups/company and the external environment influence and sustains their existence in Tanzania.

Chapter 3
Methodology

3.1 Context of the study

This study focused on the urban based theatre groups in three regions: Dar es Salaam, Mwanza and Morogoro. The assumption is that the rural theatre groups are still functional in nature, based on the traditional theatre performances which are in most cases influenced by the culture of the people within the particular society. Even the groups' formation and their theatrical productions are determined by the specific community culture. Thus, theatre performances in rural Tanzania are still part and parcel of the culture and social-economic activities of the people. Performances take place, for instance, during marriage ceremonies, initiation rites and harvesting festivals. The urban based theatre groups are mostly commercial companies. Therefore, their existence in most cases relies on the economic, social, and political trend among other factors. These are theatre companies producing performances for the heterogeneous audience and they are in one way or another being affected by the global economic trend. The primary data for this study were collected in Tanzania from April to mid-September, 2012 and July to November 2013 respectively.

Provided that there are so many theatre groups which exist in the urban setting the researcher chose to work on a total sample of nine theatre companies from three regions, as mentioned above. The groups were in two categories: the existing theatre groups and the short-lived, which means three theatre groups from each region. Out of the nine theatre groups two in each region represent the existing ones, hence form a total of six groups, while one in each region represent the collapsed, so to form a total number of three theatre companies (in this particular case the researcher conducted interviews with the former groups' artists and staff members). Selection of the existing groups is based on their long-standing presence in the Tanzanian theatre industry; they have survived, therefore, through various economic and political transformations that have occurred, which the research assumes has impacted on the survival of those theatre companies. Below is the brief introduction of each region and the specific theatre groups studied.

3.1.1 Dar es Salaam Region

Dar es Salaam is Tanzania's largest and highly populated city. According to the 2012 census, the Dar es Salaam region is the most populated region in Tanzania with 4,364, 541 populations[16]. It is found in the eastern part of Tanzania bordered in the north, west and south west by Pwani region, then the Indian Ocean to the east and south-east. Ilala, Kinondoni and Temeke are the three districts found in Dar es Salaam. Its geographical position located along Indian Ocean has influenced Dar es Salaam being the major centre for both government and economic activities. Dar es Salaam is a regionally important economic centre in Tanzania; industries, trade, tourism and other economic activities have attracted the rural population and other people outside Tanzania. In this regard, many cultural troupes have emerged in Dar es Salaam to serve both entertainment and edutainment roles to the majority of the population, performing music, dance, taarab, acrobatics, stage plays, and television drama to name a few. Data were collected from two existing theatre groups, namely, Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust (PTLT) and Sabasaba Sanaa Group, and one collapsed group known as the Sun Theatre Group. Below is the brief introduction of each group.

3.1.1.1 Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust

Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust (PTLT) is a non-for-profit theatre organisation in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. It is an organisation established in 1994 by two theatre arts undergraduate students of the University of Dar es Salaam; Mr. Mgunga Mwa Mnyenyelwa and Ms. Mona Mwakalinga. By then it was known as Parapanda Arts. From 2000s the group changed its status from a mere theatre group and registered as a trustee hence acquired the name Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust. In this particular context, art is one of the departments in the organisation. Some of the group's objectives include researching and experimenting on both traditional and contemporary theatre art forms and expressions producing African theatrical performances such as storytelling, poetry, and dance. It also organises theatre exhibitions, symposium, conferences and other cultural festivals, and provides professional training to theatre artists[17]. However, the group constitution has

[16] United Republic of Tanzania (2014, May 10). *2012 Census Database*. Retrieved from National Bureau of Statistics: http:/www.nbs.go.tz/

[17] As stated in the Constitution of the Registered Trustees of Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust (PTLT) of the 2001. See also http://www.parapandatheatre.blogspot.com/

listed sixteen objectives but in short it is all about promotion, and development of theatre arts in Tanzania through performance, research, consultancy works and training.

The overall control of all the organisations' affairs rests in the hands of the Board of Trustees. The Executive Director, Administrative and Finance Manager, and Artistic Director are the organisation's day-to-day workers. Parapanda has seven permanent members. Other artists' recruitment depends on the requirements of specific productions. Although the group has rented a well-furnished office, studio and rehearsing space, it does not accommodate the shows. The Russian cultural centres, French cultural centre, and the University of Dar es Salaam are among the places where Parapanda showcases its productions.

3.1.1.2 Sabasaba Sanaa Group

The Sabasaba Sanaa Group is found in Temeke-Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. This is a theatre group established in 2005 by four members who came together after the splitting of another group. However, it acquired an official registration from the National Arts Council (BASATA[18]) in 2007. The group's objectives included having a place (acting as a platform) for youth's social interaction. Also, considering that most of the youths are unemployed, a theatre group was an opportunity for them to work together, performing traditional dance, acrobatics, acting for films and stage, and considered productive if they are well explored by the group members who can earn money for living. The secretary of the group insists that there were a growing numbers of youths who engaged themselves in unprotected sex and use of drugs. Their idea of establishing the group was basically to let youth have a place where they can keep themselves busy and abstain from peer pressure that seem a bad influence to most of the youths.

The chairperson, secretary, treasurer, teacher and the group's discipline personnel are the ones responsible for leading the group. The Sabasaba Sanaa Group has 48 members - 16 being men and 32 women. Traditional dance, stage plays, acrobatics and films are the most important form of art that have been given priority. Although the group has been in the

[18] The word BASATA, abbreviated from Kiswahili Language 'Baraza la Sanaa la Taifa' means the National Arts Council'. It is a government agency established under the National arts Council Act. No. 23 of 1984.The council among other functions established for the purpose of the revival, promotion and development of the arts in Tanzania (National Arts, 1984).

theatre industry for nine years but still it has no office. Their rehearsals normally take place at the house of one of the group members.

3.1.1.3 The Sun Theatre Group

The Sun Theatre Group, established in 1995, was in Temeke, Dar es Salaam. It was a group established by artists who were once members of Sunrise Theatre group. Creation of employment, hence to use theatre as a means of getting income and provide a platform for youth to abstain from risky behaviours such as using drugs, were among the basic objectives for the establishment of the Sun Theatre group. The group was famous for stage plays, dance (both traditional and contemporary), acrobatics and poetry. It had almost thirty (30) artists, twenty women and eight men.

The management system of the Sun Theatre group included the Director (Chairperson), Planning and Administrative Officer (the secretary), and Treasurer (the group instructor). As indicated in the brackets, a single person had to take up two positions. In an interview with the researcher, the Planning and Administrative Officer complained that artists were afraid of the responsibilities in the group; they were not confident enough to accept some posts within the group. As a result a few of them who were ready to take the leadership challenges were supposed to accept more than one position given to them. However, from the interviews with the managers and some of ex-group members/artists, I learned that these leaders were also founders, therefore they were very much aware of the group goals, and artists felt that they knew nothing in respect to the group's development.

Despite the objectives stated above, the Sun Theatre group collapsed in 2006. Some of the reasons mentioned as the causes for the group collapse include lack of rehearsing place and misunderstanding on the choice of artistic form. While the group intended to acquire identification through stage plays, dance and poetry, some of the artists' preference was on video film and television drama, the differences in artistic interests among artists led to the collapse of the group.

3.1.2 Mwanza Region

Geographically Mwanza is in the northern part of Tanzania. It is one of the recognised lake zone regions in Tanzania. It is bounded by Lake Victoria in the north, Kagera region in the west, Shinyanga region in the south and Mara region in the north-east. The region

comprises seven districts, namely: Ukerewe District Council, Magu District Council, Sengerema District Council, Misungwi District Council, Kwimba District Council, Nyamagana Municipal Council, and Ilemela Municipal Council. According to the 2012 census, Mwanza has 2,772,509[19] people. The region's economic activities include agriculture (cotton belt including also major crops such as maize, rise, bananas and beans), livestock keeping, fishing, mining (it is named as the green belt of gold including diamonds, gemstones, fine sands, and hard stones), tourism, manufacturing and trade. Generally, Mwanza is the hub for trade in the great lakes countries of Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda and Kenya[20]. With these kinds of economic activities Mwanza city accommodates people from diverse social and cultural backgrounds. My study took place basically in Ilemela Municipal Council and Nyamagana Municipal Council. The theatre group covered include Hangano Cultural Troupe, Chapakazi Arts Group as existing theatre groups, while Mwanza Sanaa group represented the collapsed ones.

3.1.2.1 Hangano Cultural Troupe

This is a Tanzanian theatre troupe established in November 1999 and officially registered by National Arts Council (BASATA). The troupe is in Nyamagana, Mwanza region. It is a theatre group established and run by family members: Tatu Ngelangela a graduate student from Butimba College of Arts and professional primary school teacher of Nyamanoro primary school together with her husband Mr. Haule.

The most important reason for establishing the group was to preserve African culture and provideng employment to the youth. Ngelangela informed the researcher that "we thought it will be a place where youth can do something productive to them instead of them roaming around the streets; we believed they can earn money for their living."

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[19] United Republic of Tanzania (2014, May 10). *2012 Census Database*. Retrieved from National Bureau of Statistics: http:/www.nbs.go.tz/

[20] Msekela, J. A. (2007, December 29). *Brief Remarks by Hon. Eng. Dr. James Alex Msekela (MP) Regional Commissioner for Mwanza Region to Mr. Ahmed Al Marar -11 H- Chairman and managing Director of the Abu Dhabi Islamic Bank on 29th December 2007.* Retrieved February 9, 2013, from http://www.mwanza.go.tz/kurasa/hotuba/hotuba_rc/BRIEF%20REMARKS%20BY%20HON.RC%20TO%20ABU%20DHABI%20BANK%20DELIGATES.pdf

Hangano Cultural Troupe which comprises forty-seven (47) artists is under the leadership of the Executive Director, Marketing Officer, two Group Instructors, Chairperson and Secretary, Treasurer, discipline person, stage manager, care facilities personnel, time-keeper and other members. All the rehearsal and other plans for group activities take place in an open space in front of the Executive Directors house.

3.1.2.2 Chapakazi Art Group

This theatre group was established in 1995 by the late Lukas Njigu, a teacher. It has also been formally registered by the National Arts Council. Chapakazi Art Group is found in Ilemela, Mwanza, Tanzania. Mr. Njigu initiated the idea of establishing the group. Later on other members applied to join the group. Apart from his passion for theatre, he was an art teacher and song composer. The group was purposely established with the aim of giving impetus to the campaign trail for a specific political party, Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM). "We began with the idea of providing entertainment through choir, but later our teacher advised that choir is very limited in terms of its marketability. So we changed, and we decided to include other performing arts like dance and stage plays. However dance is given priority because it provides us with an opportunity to also explore our culture" says Mashiku Nghaligula (2012), the chairperson of the group during the interview with the researcher. Although the group intended to work with CCM, this was only for the early years of its establishment. Today the group is non-selective and not attached to a single institution as it was before; it now works with whomever in needs of their services.

Chapakazi Art Group is under the leadership of chairperson and assistant chairperson, secretary and the assistant secretary, and the treasurer. The group has 27 members, 20 artists participating rehearsals and performances and 7 elders who do not take part (roles) in the performances but only as a supervisory body, which participates in the range of group's synergy and forums and act as the group consultants. Again, Chapakazi Art Group like Hangano Cultural Troupe rehearses in an open space outside the chairperson's house.

3.1.2.3 Mwanza Sanaa Group

Mwanza Sanaa group established in 1997 is in Ilemela, Mwanza. The founders of the group were artists who left their former theatre groups and joined forces to form the new

group. Plays, traditional dance, *taarabu*[21], *vichekesho*[22], dance music, choir and acrobatics were among of the artistic genre preferred to by Mwanza Sanaa group. However, according to them plays/stage plays were rarely produced. They used to rehearse at CCM-Kirumba Stadium[23]. In explaining the objectives for establishing Mwanza Sanaa group, the secretary states:

> We wanted to discover and develop our real talents in arts, to explore our authentic Tanzanian culture which manifests in traditional dances for instance. We looked for art as our employment hence the source of income too. As youth, we wanted to get away with the concept of dependency to our parents; we wanted being responsible for our lives (the Secretary, Mwanza Sanaa Group, 2012).

The secretary of the group clarified that Mwanza Sanaa group was working under one of the political parties in Tanzania (Chama cha Mapinduzi-CCM), which also had a direct impact towards its management structure. Members of the group interviewed by the researcher declared that the group had a political administrative structure. First, the group leaders' election was every five years. Second, group management was on a political administrative structure, with a chairperson, secretary, treasurer and matron.

Conflicts of interest between artists and leaders, lack of transparency when it comes to the income generated in the group were among the reasons which contributed to the downfall of Mwanza Sanaa Group, which eventually collapsed in 2007.

3.1.3 Morogoro Region

Morogoro region is one of the thirty regions in Tanzania mainland. Geographically the region is bordered by Arusha and Tanga region to the North, the Coast region to the east, Iringa and Dodoma to the West, and Ruvuma and Lindi to the South[24]. The 2012 census

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[21] Coastal music

[22] *Vichekesho* (slapstick comedy) is one of the famous theatre forms that emerged in Tanzania during the colonial period. *Vichekesho* are the comic skits based on domestic issues. For more information on the origin, plot and subject matter of *vichekesho* see Hussein, 1974; Lihamba, 1985.

[23]CCM-Kirumba Stadium is a famous football stadium found in Mwanza city. The group then had an office in one of the building that surrounds the stadium.

[24] United Republic of Tanzania (1997, December). *Morogoro Region Socio-economic Profile.* Dar es Salaam: The planning Commission Dar es Salaam and Regional Commissioner's Office Morogoro. Retrieved from http://www.tzonline.org/pdf/Morogoro.pdf

shows that Morogoro region has a total of 2,218,492 populations[25]. Morogoro region comprises seven districts, namely: Kilosa District Council, Morogoro District Council, Kilombeor District Council, Ulanga District Council, Morogoro Municipal Council, Mvomero District Council and Gairo District Council. This research was mainly based in Morogoro District Council and Morogoro Municipal Council. Theatre groups presented in this study are mainly from Morogoro Municipal Council.

3.1.3.1 Mikano Arts Group

Mikano Arts Group is in Morogoro Municipal, Tanzania. 'Mikano', a Luguru[26] word meaning 'higher', is one of the villages in Matombo, Morogoro region. It is among the villages settled upon the hills. In an interview with the researcher, the chairperson of the group clarified that since 'Mikano village' is on the hill, adopting the name to their group, it therefore had a symbolic meaning attached to it. The name 'Mikano' therefore represents the state of being on top, thus, in terms of productions the group aspires to have great achievement. However, the founder of the group clarifies that it was not easy getting that name. "At first the group's name was 'Sharinaja[27], but during the registration processes, registration officers advised that we should change the name as it sounds very chaotic. That is when we changed the group name to Mikano Arts Group".

Mikano Arts group was established in 2004 by two people, namely Koba Mkude and Petro Nkya. Nevertheless, it was formally registered in 2008. From a normal calculation it took Mikano Arts group almost four years to get formal registration, which was shocking news to the researcher. However, the chairperson clarified in our interview that it took them a long time to register the group, not because of the procedures but due to artists' failure to recognise the importance of registration - "they felt it does not matter any way. In short, registration was not the first priority in their plan, they thought they could just continue working without registering, although it is not the proper way to do it but it seemed they were not ready yet". Plays (both television and stage plays), traditional music, traditional

[25] United Republic of Tanzania (2014, May 10). *2012 Census Database*. Retrieved from National Bureau of Statistics: http:/www.nbs.go.tz/

[26] 'Luguru' is one of the dominant ethnic groups found in Morogoro region. These people speak also 'kiluguru/luguru' language. Therefore, it identifies both; people and their ethnic language.

[27] 'Sharinaja' a Kiswahili word coined by two words 'Shari' (meaning trouble) and 'naja' (meaning I am coming). In a direct translation 'Sharinaja' means then 'trouble is on the way/is coming'. Therefore morally it does not suggest/ give the group a good image rather destroys it.

dance and Bongo flava music are among the artistic genres practised by Mikano Arts Group.

Mikano Arts Group is among the groups that have the privilege to show their plays on television in Tanzania. The plays are aired every Tuesday by 'Abood' television in Morogoro region. For them, television is not only a place where they can showcase their productions but also where they can advertise their group. This is how many artists seemed to get to know the group and develop interest to join the group as well. One of the artists explained how he got to join the group:

> I saw Mikano Arts Group on television; since I had passion with theatre I started making inquiries on the group. I met group leaders and they advised me on the procedures for joining the group. I had to take and fill a joining form provided by the group. The form costs about 2,000/= Tanzanian shillings. I was also informed that I had to pay the entrance fee of about TZS 10,000/= and the annual fee. I indeed followed the procedure as instructed and hence got membership in the group (an artist from Mikano Arts Group, 2013).

Mikano Arts group has a total of 25 members, eighteen being men and seven of them women. However, the chairperson argues that sometimes the number rises to thirty members depending on the season since some group members are students who only work during holidays. Referring to the management system the group had chairperson, secretary, treasurer and discipline personnel. However, it also has two patrons who are normally contacted for moral and sometimes even financial support. Moreover, like some of the theatre groups, Mikano has no office. The groups' equipment is kept by the treasurer in his home. Rehearsals take place daily in one of the CCM buildings in Kichangani area in urban Morogoro.

3.1.3.2 Dira Theatre Group

Dira Theatre group was established in 2005 in Morogoro, Tanzania, and formally registered by the National Arts Council in 2006. The general manager of the group is the pioneer of the idea of establishing the group and finally after joining forces with other three members the Dira Theatre group was established. The idea came out due to four reasons: first, it was because of the passion they had in theatre and arts in general; to promote and develop culture; to look at theatre as the employment opportunity particularly to the youth in Morogoro; and finally, the idea of using theatre to educate the community,

especially the rural community, on various issues. In an interview with the researcher, the general manager of the Dira Theatre group explains how the group works:

> "Our group works in different ways. Some of our clients might just contact us to produce performances that are merely for entertainment purpose only, some may want edutainment kind of performances, and they bring also their own theme and we create a performance based on that main theme. In some occasions the performances are purely educational. For instance, we have produced many plays aiming at creating consciousness on land policy, educating the community on how to use land and avoid unnecessary land disputes. Also civic education on good governance particularly to the village leaders in the community is among the area given priority with our group. During election campaigns also we educate the masses on good leadership, their rights to vote; in most cases it depends on the needs that arise at specific time" (the General Manager of Dira Theatre Group, 2013).

There are various artistic genres of which Dira Theatre group used to present their clients' needs. These are dance both (traditional and contemporary dances), drama, acrobatics and *vichekesho*[28]. However, the general manager insisted that in most cases dance and drama are the dominant preferable theatre forms used. The Dira Theatre group management system to some certain extent resembles Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust. The control of the group affairs is on the executive committee. The General Manager, Programme Coordinator, Finance Coordinator and the Discipline Personnel handle the daily operations of the group. It has a total of seventeen members, eleven being men and six are women. Regarding the lower number of women in the group the General Manager emphasised that it is difficult for women to perform multiple roles unlike men who can perform more than one task, especially when it comes to playing with music/dance instruments for example drumming. In my view the idea that men are flexible to take on various roles compared to women reflects the stereotyped beliefs which have developed in the society. Despite the changes over time people still have some doubt when it comes to women performing certain roles in the community like the Dira perception that drumming is a man's role.

3.1.3.3 Solution Art Group

The Solution Art group was established in February 2012 in Morogoro. It was established with the aim of using theatre and arts in general as a means of generating income (a form

[28]*Vichekesho* (slapstick comedy) is one of the famous theatre forms that emerged in Tanzania during the colonial period. *Vichekesho* are the comic skits based on domestic issues. For more information on the origin, plot and subject matter of *vichekesho* see Hussein, 1974; Lihamba, 1985.

of self-employment) aiming to discover and develop artistic talent particularly among the youth in urban Morogoro. The group engaged mostly with television drama and stage plays, dance and music especially *bongo flava* music.

The group had a total of twenty members: thirteen men and seven women. Membership was not a complicated process. Becoming a member one has to fill in the joining form which cost 2,000/= Tanzanian shillings.

The Director, General Manager, Finance Officer, Planning Officer, are responsible in managing the group's daily activities. However, the management also included Matron and Patron to oversee the members' discipline within the group.

Despite the objectives the group aimed to achieve, the group didn't last long in the theatre industry and collapsed in August 2013, just one year and half since its establishment. Explaining the reason for its immediate collapse, the Planning Officer argues that "artists were not tolerant, achievements in theatre is a slow process. But most of the artists had high expectations hoping that as soon as they join the group they will begin enjoying the fruits of success, it is not that easy, artists should learn to exercise patience when they engage in cultural troupes". In my observation, I realised that most artists are not ready to take risks, and prefer theatre groups that are already stable. Below are the research methods employed during data collection process.

3.2 Research Methods

The study employed a qualitative research method; in particular a case study approach. According to Liamputtong and Ezzy (2005:2), qualitative research "aims to elicit the contextualised nature of experience and action, and attempts to generate analyses that are detailed, 'thick', and integrative (in the sense of relating individual events and interpretations to larger meaning systems and patterns)". Keyton (2011:71) points out that "typically qualitative research questions start with *how*, or *why*. By using these openings the researchers can pose questions to discover, explain or seek to understand, explore a process or describe the experiences of participants". Denzin and Lincoln (2005) argue that the qualitative researcher should study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Due to the broad and explorative nature of the study, this research approach was appropriate for providing enough information needed. I found it therefore useful in understanding how

management, theatre groups' organisational culture is influenced by external environment trends hence the success or failure of theatre companies as well as how the kind of management influences professional and artistic quality of the groups' productions.

Yin (2003:13; 2009:18) defines a case study as "an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident". According to Baxter and Jack (2008), a case study enables the researcher to answer "how" and "why" type questions, taking into consideration how a phenomenon is influenced by the context within which it is situated (see also Yin, 2009). Simons (2009) argues that a case study aims at exploring or generating the in-depth understanding of a specific topic or situation. It is an approach that allows the use of different research methods; that is interview, observation and document analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Simons, 2009; Yin, 2009; Flyvbjerg, 2011). However, Simons (2009) clarifies that a case study is not limited to the above three methods of data collection. Researchers may choose other methods, both qualitative and quantitative in to deepen an understanding of the case. The Tanzanian theatre group cases selected include Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust and Sabasaba Sanaa Group from Dar es Salaam, Hangano Cultural Troupe and Chapakazi Arts Group from Mwanza, and Dira Theatre Group and Mikano Arts Group from Morogoro. These were the existing theatre groups, while the collapsed theatre groups were represented by The Sun Theatre Group (Dar es Salaam), Mwanza Sanaa Group (Mwanza) and Solution Arts Group (Morogoro). In exploring the central research questions, interview, participant observation and document analysis were the data collection methods employed in this study.

3.2.1 Participant Observation

Participant observation was one of the data collection methods applied by the researcher. In some circumstances I participated in the group as an instructor and also joined the management team on some occasions but mostly worked as an advisor. This was helpful in understanding the organisational culture of the groups, the role of the managers, employees, the system and structure in relation to the company's goal and performances, that is it enhanced observation of the working culture of the particular group from the inside. I also participated in some of the groups' activities in order to have on the spot evaluation of various activities of the companies such as rehearsals and performances. I observed, for instance, how long the group takes to rehearse for the single performance and

what impacts the rehearsing time frame brings towards the performance as the end product, the collaboration nature of the artists and the management team or artists to artists (sense of teamwork in a group), work specialisation (who is who and who does what in the managerial team), and personal commitment in accomplishing different tasks within the group. In general, the observation investigated how do the inputs, which are human labour (both artists and the managerial staff), materials and funds being utilised free from the external environment forces/threats.

Group meetings also were part of the participation. Several times the researcher participated in meetings organised in the groups to discuss either on new projects or when the management team called for clarification and discussion of various issues pertaining in the groups. This also involved the normal evaluation of rehearsals which takes place daily after the rehearsals.

The researcher also attended live performances, although not all groups I chose as my case studies that had performances during the time of data collection. Some had no performances although they had their normal rehearsals according to their timetable. During the data collection period I attended performances by Sabasaba Sanaa Group and Parapanda Theatre Lab. During the performances I observed audience attendance, and their response towards the particular performance, the time frame of a single performance, and the entrance fee. As a researcher with a background in theatre studies I understand that theatrical or artistic performances are normally the output or end products of theatre companies/groups. It is obvious that good output depends also with good input and fair working environment for both artists and the management. Thus collaboration between the interdependent parts of the company and the environment will also enhance good outcome.

3.2.2 Interview

The information obtained from theatre groups were through the in-depth face-to-face semi-structured interview with the company members (the top management staff of the groups and other executives). The questions were designed to establish the nature of the companies studied in terms of its structure, culture, the management practices, employment and membership, rehearsals, rehearsing and performance space, the issue of funding, the groups' patrons and the companies' competitors. In the case of the collapsed theatre groups, the researcher conducted interviews with its former members, both artists and the

managerial staff. The questions were also designed to provide an understanding of the reasons that led to the groups' failure (the major question was why the groups collapsed). Moreover, it was to explore the role of the government in developing theatre groups in Tanzania. The researcher also conducted interviews with the Information Officer and Arts Officer of National Arts Council, and the District/City/Municipal Cultural Officers. The questions were intended to provide the statistical data of both existing and collapsed theatre companies in Tanzania, criteria for registration of theatre groups, and on the council's responsibility in support for the formed theatre groups' continual existence and stability. Interviews also involved some other theatre practitioners such as theatre academicians from the University of Dar es Salaam, The Institute of Arts and Culture, Bagamoyo and Butimba College.

Moreover, on spot interviews with audience immediately after different performances was also considered important. This informed the researcher on the audiences' response toward the productions.

3.2.3 Documents analysis

The company's strategic plan and group constitutions', which normally stipulates the company's mission and objectives, were given attention. However, of the six groups I only managed to get one constitution and one strategic plan. Other groups were not comfortable to give me their constitutions; they provided a mere promise of giving it but they did not let me have it. This for me as a researcher made me suspicious on whether the groups had a constitution and annual working plan.

The researcher also viewed some of the previous performances which were in both recorded video tapes and still pictures. For instance, the Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust gave me access to the recorded DVD of the 'Antigone' play, which they produced and performed in 2011 in partnership with the Gothenburg City Theatre from Sweden and some of their previous recorded performances such as *Shujaa wa Jando* (The Hero of Initiation). I had managed also to see photographs of the groups' various performances/activities kept in the still pictures album. Mikano Arts Group and Sabasaba Sanaa Group did the same. Hangano Cultural Troupe gave me access to their still picture albums that have pictures shot in their various productions. This was very helpful in understanding the particular company's historical trend of performances. However, group

reports, like constitutions for some of the groups, if were there, were not public so I did not have access to some of them. Cultural policy and other relevant documents related to theatre practices, particularly theatre management and theatre productions in Tanzania were also considered. This provided understanding of the role and position of the government in stimulating theatre activities in Tanzania. Moreover, information from newspapers and other media were of added value.

3.3 Data analysis and Interpretation

The data from these nine case studies were first transcribed from notebooks, a voice recorder and video tapes. Interviews were conducted in Kiswahili language. In this regard the next step in the data analysis process after data transcription was the coding of data into the English language. And because the study involved two categories of theatre groups, the existing theatre groups and the collapsed ones, I grouped the findings based on the categorisation. Since the study involved multiple cases, the cross-case analysis was very useful in the process of data analysis. The recorded interviews were later reviewed and reanalysed to help capture directs quotes and other specific data. This process was repeatedly conducted to allow enough reflection of the key subjects of the study. The analysis therefore provided the findings which were categorised into the existing theatre groups in which the focus was on organisational culture, analysing the perspectives and on objectives for groups' establishment, system and structures. Analysis explored how the external environment influences management of theatre companies and management in relation to the aesthetic value of the productions/performances, (the focus being on economic, political, technological, social and cultural issues as the external environment that interacts with theatre companies).

3.4 Limitation of the study

The sample of this study is limited to urban theatre groups that are found in three regions, Dar es Salaam, Mwanza and Morogoro. The status of most of these theatre groups in urban Tanzania are not static; some might stop for a certain period of time, then after some time they start working again. Considering this inconsistent nature I would like to make it clear that the study takes into consideration the status of those theatre groups during the study period. Moreover, due to time pressure and the nature of the methods I chose for the data collection process, it was not easy to accommodate more Tanzanian regions. The findings

and information therefore in this study cannot be generalised. However, due to having a similar organisation and management nature of most of these groups the study nevertheless provides an analytical view of theatre group management in Tanzania.

Chapter 4
Theatre Groups' Organisational Culture in Urban Tanzania: the perspectives on objectives for groups' establishment, system and structures

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings based on theatre groups' culture in urban Tanzania. The process of data collection for this study took place in the period of mid-April to mid-September, 2012 and July to November, 2013 respectively. Findings are on the data collected from observation and interviews with various theatre groups' leaders/managers, artists, district cultural officers in Dar es Salaam, Mwanza, Morogoro and the National Arts Council. In addition, various archival documents from theatre groups, National Arts Council and other texts related to the study were significant in providing the data. The study involved nine theatre groups; six existing theatre groups and three collapsed ones. The existing theatre groups are Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust (PTLT), Sabasaba Sanaa Group, Hangano Cultural Troupe, Mikano Arts Group, Dira Theatre Group and Chapakazi Arts Group. On the other hand, the Sun Theatre Group, Mwanza Sanaa Group, and The Solution Artist Group represented the collapsed theatre groups.

The findings are in four sections: First, the objectives of establishment of theatre groups in urban Tanzania. This section outlines a number of the specific objectives of theatre groups' establishment in urban Tanzania. Second, the findings present three categories of theatre groups that are dominant in urban Tanzania, namely: professional theatre groups, amateur theatre groups and the project-based theatre groups. The section discusses basic characteristics of each group with some examples of theatre groups that fits into these particular categories. Third, the findings focus on the theatre groups' operating system in urban Tanzania. This section provides an analytical view of various government bodies that have either direct or indirect impact to theatre groups such as the National Arts Council. The concern in this section therefore is to offer a systematic discussion on the role and place of the government in developing theatre and theatre groups; to identify the working forces (artists/employees), theatre infrastructures, and finance of theatre groups in relation to theatre groups' sustainability. Fourth, findings based on theatre groups' organisational structures. It specifically provides useful insights on the theatre groups' culture in defining the role of leadership, employees, system and structure in relation to the

group goals, and whether the existing culture facilitates their sustainability and development in urban Tanzania. This chapter, therefore, begins with the objectives for the establishment of theatre groups as follows:

4.2 The objectives for the establishment of theatre groups in urban Tanzania

Establishment of many theatre groups in urban Tanzania is either by individuals or established and organised by different governmental and non-governmental institutions. Mlama (2008:6) noted that by June, 2004, Dar es Salaam only had 600 registered theatre groups by the National Arts Council. These are a lot of theatre groups. In my opinion, despite, Dar es Salaam being the largest and most populated region in Tanzania, the figures above are still too much for one region. It becomes problematic, especially when one tries to relate to the existing markets and the challenges that prevail in the theatre infrastructures in urban Tanzania. However, the establishment and registration of these theatre groups did not take place accidentally. On the one hand, I assume that this was as a result of the big boom in theatre in the preceding decade (in the 1990s). However, I would like to agree with Mlama (2008), who suggests that it was some of the artists who take art as their career and a means of generating income as the ones that established and registered some of these theatre groups. Thus many theatre groups were formed because people wanted to make a living in theatre. And because theatre or arts in general is not a selective sector as it opens doors to both skilled and non-skilled, those who have this interest and even to those who do not have an interest in the arts want to make money from it.

In discussing the motives for groups' establishment, Schein (2010: 198) argues that groups start with some kind of "originating event". He mentions three possible events that may lead to any group's formation which are: an environmental accident (for instance, a sudden threat that occurs in a random crowd and requires a common response); a decision by an "originator" to bring a group of people together for some purpose; or an advertised event or common experience that attract a number of individuals (Ibid: 198). The establishment of most theatre groups in urban Tanzania, therefore, fall under what Edgar Schein calls as "a decision by an "originator" to bring a group of people together for some purpose". Nevertheless, irrespective of the kind of the event that has initiated establishment of the particular group, in the end there are some common group's objectives. There are several objectives for establishing various theatre groups in urban Tanzania. These are: to provide employment to the youth; to preserve and explore African culture, promotion and

development of theatre in Tanzania; to support political and developmental campaigns for various political parties and organisations responsible for awareness on social economic development; and to find a place for youth social interaction. An in-depth discussion on each objective is as follows:

4.2.1 Providing employment to the youth

Provision of employment to the youth is the most notable goal for establishing theatre groups in urban Tanzania. In reality unemployment, especially for youth, is the global challenge; in developing countries in particular the matter is becoming worse every day, especially in urban areas. Juma (2007:1) observing the uneven employment rate between rural and urban Tanzania reveals that the youth unemployment rate is higher in urban areas than in rural areas. She argues that this is because in rural areas most youth get employed in subsistence agriculture and other family based livelihood activities (Juma, 2007). On the other hand, the 2011 World Youth Report for instance, indicates that many youth have less experience and fewer skills than many adults and for that matter young people often encounter particular difficult accessing works (World Youth Report, 2011). This is actually the reality that prevails in urban Tanzania today; most of the urban youth have no formal employment. Early this year (2014) the Ministry of Home Affairs, Immigration Service Department announced 70 vacancies for the Assistant Inspector of Immigration. To everyone's surprise it turned out about a total of 10,500 applicants qualified and were invited for the interview to compete for the 70 positions. Another surprising scenario was also revealed in early August, 2014 when the Tanzanian Bureau of Standards under the Ministry of Industry and Trade announced 47 posts in various fields and the turn out for the interview was of about 6,740 applicants competing for the posts announced[29]. The turnout of so many applicants has never happened in the history of Tanzania. And one needs to understand that these are mostly the university graduates. Perhaps the question will be: what about those people with ordinary and advanced secondary school qualifications, who have never gotten the chance to continue with the College/University level education, where will they go? Presumably they will run into the arts. This shows

[29] See Nsazugwako, T. (2014, August 1). *6,740 wasailiwa kujaza nafasi 47*. Retrieved August 2, 2014, from Habarileo: http://www.habarileo.co.tz/index.php/habari-za-kitaifa/27888-6-740-wasailiwa-kujaza-nafasi-47; Moses, B. (2014, August 2014). *Idadi ya walioitwa TBS yaishtua wizara*. Retrieved August 3, 2014, from Mwananchi: http://www.mwananchi.co.tz/habari/Kitaifa/Idadi-ya-walioitwa-TBS-yaishtua-wizara-/-/1597296/2405874/-/upicamz/-/index.html

how the unemployment rate among the youth in Tanzania is becoming a serious concern every day and the arts seems to be the escaping zone for many of them.

Therefore, in response to the unemployment challenges, many theatre groups have been established to open up some opportunities for unemployed youth. The General Manager of Dira Theatre Group during the interview with the researcher clarifies why the arts sector is becoming a runaway for many young people in Tanzania. He states:

> You know [the] art sector is among of the fields/places that accept people who have been probably rejected elsewhere. They get trained how to dance, drum and even acting. They become skilled in whatever one has chosen; they become good performers' hence good people with good influence in the community (The General Manager, Dira Theatre Group, 2013).

The idea of becoming 'good people' as used in the quotation above means being able to work hence make a living through arts. With the same opinion the chairperson and co-founder of Hangano Cultural Troupe in an interview on explaining the aim of establishing her group informed the researcher that "we thought it will be a place where youths can do something productive to them instead of them roaming around the streets; we believed they can earn money for their living"[30]. Establishing theatre groups as an alternative to fill the gap of unemployment in Tanzania was the concern of almost all the groups' leaders I happened to interview. Traditional dance and music, songs, acrobatics, acting for films and stage are considered productive if they are well explored by the group members in terms of mastering the work and making money from it for survival. This observation is also supported by the Tanzanian director of Policy and Planning in the Ministry of Labour and Employment, who stated that "art has a great role in promoting and sustaining employment and income. In Tanzania, if we use well the artistic creativity, of course this industry can contribute in creating employment opportunities and thus help greatly to reduce unemployment challenges in the country, which most of the youth are facing" (Haji Janabi, 2012)[31]. In my opinion, I agree that to the large extent theatre groups can contribute considerably to find a solution to the unemployment challenges among the youth.

[30] The chairperson and co-founder of Hangano Cultural Troupe, interviewed by the author, on 16th July, 2012

[31] Haji Janabi is the director of policy and planning in the Ministry of Labor and Employment in Tanzania. He presented a paper on 'the significance of arts sector in promoting employment in the country'. The presentation took place in the weekly arts forum organized by the National Arts Council on 8th October 2012.

However, its implementation is somehow problematic considering two factors: first, the issue of funding is a challenge to many theatre groups in urban Tanzania. The government no longer gives subsidies to theatre groups. Most groups' existence depends on various commissioned works by both governmental and non-governmental organisations, various companies working in the country and sometimes support from influential people in the community. In reality the funding for theatre groups is unstable. For more discussion on the funding of theatre groups see page 77. Second, most of the time the government provides official statements but I find them problematic as they end up being the unimplemented 'official policy talk' on the political stage.

4.2.2 To preserve and explore African culture

Apart from employment, certain groups reveal the need to preserve and explore African culture as one of the aims of establishing particular theatre groups. The question might be: How? According to most of the respondents, forms of theatre such as African dances, songs, heroic recitations, and storytelling that seem to lose popularity among the youths due to western cultural influences are mostly given priority by theatre groups. "We began with the idea of providing entertainment through choir, but later on our teacher advised that choir is very limited in terms of its marketability. So we changed, and we decided to include other performing arts like *Ngoma* (dance) and stage plays. However, dance is given priority because it provides us with an opportunity to also explore and preserve our culture," says the chairperson of the Chapakazi Arts Group in an interview with the researcher. Although the aim is to preserve and explore African culture, I see it beyond cultural preservation. These particular indigenous theatre forms give a sense of attachment and identification for audience to their traditional culture. Considering that most urban audiences have been far removed from their traditions and cultural way of life, the performance that include traditional theatre forms act as a solution to their 'nostalgia' feelings. In short they give audience a sense of belongingness and ownership to their traditions. Nevertheless, it is important to note that most of these indigenous theatre forms when performed in urban setting, are being somehow restructured to suits the urban context and its heterogeneous audience.

4.2.3 Promotion and development of theatre in Tanzania

Some of the groups' objectives include not only doing theatre performances but research, consultancy works and training on theatre. Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust (PTLT), for example, emphasises researching and experimenting on both traditional and contemporary theatre art forms and expressions, producing African theatrical performances such as storytelling, poetry, and dance, organising theatre exhibitions, symposium and conferences, organising theatrical and other cultural festivals and providing professional training to theatre artists[32]. In fulfilling the training goal PTLT has been providing professional artistic training to various amateur groups in Tanzania. PTLT training on theatre has been also extended to both school children and out of the school children and youth. Explaining on how Parapanda Theatre Lab works in terms of training, Thomas Riccio comments:

> "A large part of Parapanda's work concerns training. The World Health Organization sponsored a health project to focus on disadvantaged urban areas. Parapanda trained health drama groups in organization and management skills, theatrical techniques, heroic recitation, dancing, and instrumental music in traditional styles. These training programs must fill in the blanks left by poor education, urbanization, and the break with traditional village knowledge formerly passed down by village elders" (Riccio, 2001: 146).

Riccio's observation on Parapanda reveals some of their works, which include providing professional training to other theatre groups. For example, in 2006 PTLT established 'Babawatoto Centre[33]'. The main goal of this centre is to train youngsters in visual, performing arts, sports and vocational education. A practical example of the initiatives of Babawatoto Centre in educating the young on arts is now centred on the three-year project called 'Fit for Life'. The programme started in 2013. This project aims at "educating vulnerable youngsters in the arts and creative industries in Dar es Salaam" (Babawatoto - Fit for Life, 2013). Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust and Babawatoto Center from Tanzania as the local partner organised the project in partnership with Goethe Institute, Tanzania and the International Cultural Centre (UfaFabrik) of Germany. The European Union is the one

[32]This is according to the Constitution of the Registered Trustees of Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust (PTLT) of the 2001. See also http://www.parapandatheatre.blogspot.com/

[33] Babawatoto Centre was established in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania in 2006, by Mgunga mwa Mnyenyelwa. By that particular time it was functioning under Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust (PTLT). However, recently the centre works independently with its own management. Parapanda Theatre Lab remains as its collaborative partner in different projects, as some times they do exchange experts as well.

sponsoring this particular project[34]. Experts from Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust and International trainers, with expertise in music and circus art from ufaFabrik Berlin, Germany, France and Cambodia are the ones conducting the programme. Children and Youth are trained on Samba and Reggae Percussion, acrobatics and Trapeze art[35]. Habiba Issa, the Project Manager of 'Fit For Life' in her discussion with Jamila Shemni a Journalist of THE AFRICAN newspaper clarifies that "through this project children will be credited with more skills in performing art as well as investing on theatrical performances as a way to earn a living" (Shemni, 2013: 43). Explaining on the children and organisation's benefits expected to get at the end of the project, she further maintains:

> "Through Fit For Life Project children and youth of Babawatoto Centre will have more confidence in their own abilities and will be able to express themselves through art…It is our hope that by the end of this project we will prosper and be able to come up with talented youth who are self-focused in meeting the future goals" (Habiba Issa as quoted by Shemni, 2013: 43).

Fit for Life project therefore, has imparted the youngsters performances skills on music and acrobatics. Such kind of training are significant in making children and young people to understand that performing art is beyond the inborn talent. Having talent in art is one thing, but one needs to get an opportunity to nurture his or her talent through various training in his/her particular area of interest. In this way, it will help to reduce the number of artists who think that talent alone is enough for them to foster in the art sector neglecting the training. Furthermore, it will reduce the number of artists who join various theatre groups without the prior knowledge/idea of the arts in the future.

In addition, in 2013 Papapanda Theatre Lab Trust organised trainings on acting, play writing, management, and entrepreneurship skills and directing to some of the theatre groups in Dar es Salaam. The project's name is 'Professionalising Theatre Practices in Tanzania (PTPT)' and financed by European Union as well. The project aimed to offer the above named courses to theatre artists belonging to the amateur theatre groups. Some of theatre groups benefited from these trainings for the year 2013 are Malezi Youth Theatre

[34] See more at: http://babawatotofitforlife.net/about/#sthash.paOrPrdD.dpuf ; http://www.ufafabrik.de/de/nav.php?pid=91&print=1

[35] See more at: http://babawatotofitforlife.net/about/#sthash.paOrPrdD.dpuf ; http://www.ufafabrik.de/de/nav.php?pid=91&print=1

(Temeke), Lumumba Theatre (Ilala) and Parapanda arts (the host group of the project) from Kinondoni. Since the first phase of the project centred in Dar es Salaam, even the three selected groups are from Dar es Salaam only. Narrating the aim of the project, the Project Coordinator in an interview with the researcher explains:

> "Many theatre groups organize performances out of experiences. This project aims at providing training for artists on the basic ABCs of theatre. So that they can do art professionally. It is a three-year project. The first year is for basic training, second and third year will be on advanced training. The trainings are through workshops, each course takes ten days. Then after that they have to prepare performances and showcase the entitled performances" (the Project Coordinator-PTPT, 2013).

In 2013 the training was basically on five courses, that is, basic techniques in playwriting, financial management in arts, basic techniques in acting, techniques in directing and event management, marketing and organisation. Teachers from the University of Dar es Salaam Business School, Department of Fine and Performing Arts, University of Dar es Salaam and some experts on theatre from the National Arts Council conducted these trainings.

The project coordinator explains why it was very important for Parapanda Theatre Lab to offer the training, especially in financial management, as the artists are not even the accountants. He states: "Many groups do not know how to apply for funding for their groups. And sometimes even for a small amount of money they get, they do not know how to spend in respect of the group's development. Sometimes they are lucky and get projects, but when they get the money, it's divided among them. In this way, groups cannot survive" (the Project Coordinator-PTPT, 2013).

Professionalising Theatre Practices in Tanzania Project begun with training so as to impart artists with various skills on theatre. After the training, artists in their respective groups had to prepare a performance. Each group had its own play, for instance, Lumumba Theatre worked on Kinjeketile (1970), a play written by Ebrahim Hussein. Malezi Youth Theatre produced Penina Mlama's Lina Ubani (Antidote to Rot) and Parapanda was on Chuano (The Contest) a play written by Paukwa Theatre. The theatre groups' preparation of the performances was meant to assess if the training had been fruitful to the artists. After three-months of rehearsals in December, 2013 the three theatre groups began showcasing their performances on various stages. The intention was to enhance artists and theatre groups prepare and produce their own performances professionally, starting from the process of

play writing, directing to seeing a play on a stage. The Project Coordinator, however, agrees that in the first year of the project, they still had some challenges, particularly in the playwriting process. He states: "But it is still difficult, until the end of the training playwriting was a bit challenging to the artists. That is why we decided to take the already written plays for them to practise their acting and directing skills. We still do hope that when we reach the third year of the training artists will be capable of writing their own plays" (The Project Coordinator-PTPT, 2013).

In my opinion regular training for artists in theatre groups is very important. Most of the artists, as observed, join theatre groups without prior knowledge on theatre or arts. Therefore they normally acquire acting, dancing skills through regular rehearsals and performances conducted by the particular groups, thus professional training to the artists in their field of specialisation helps nurture their talent. Moreover, as most theatre groups follow the management structure of 'founder-managers-owner structure', many artists are unaware of the management tasks and sometimes believe that their responsibilities end on stage only. In most of theatre groups the founder has the last say in the group. They are the ones who know the possible project channels for their groups; as an individual/individuals they are the ones who have established rapport with the financing partners and not the group, therefore it becomes challenging for the group members to sustain the group when the founder/founders of the group step aside. Most theatre groups have collapsed in such circumstances. A good example is the Sun Theatre Group whose artists disclosed that the group collapsed after the group leader, who was also the founder, left the group. In this situation artists felt helpless. In my discussion with the Project Coordinator of Professionalising Theatre Practices in Tanzania, he argued that artists have problems in writing even official letters; instead of writing these letters, they write friendly letters. The Project Coordinator though puts all the blame on the artists who don't want to learn. As a result when founders and leaders delegate them to perform some responsibilities they cannot do them properly. However, I would rather blame the educational system and the authorities responsible as they are biased in terms of training the artists since there is lack of colleges/institutes to accommodate most of the artists.

As noted above, most of the artists depend on regular rehearsals and performances to develop their performance skills in theatre. Artists often lack formal training opportunities which specialise in various arts such as acting for the certificate and diploma levels.

Although there are institutions that provide training on arts like University of Dar es Salaam, University of Dodoma, Butimba College of Education and Bagamoyo Institute of Arts and Culture (TaSUBa), the qualification for joining the above institutions do not favour most artists. For instance, universities admit those with the Advanced Level of education and diploma qualifications only[36]. Bagamoyo Institute of Arts and Culture at least accepts also those with Ordinary Level secondary education. However, the challenge remains that the intake per year is very low compared to the demand[37], which means that most of the artists lack the opportunity to get formal training in arts. In such a situation theatre groups are the only place where most of the artists can receive their training.

4.2.4 To support political and developmental campaign for both various political parties and organizations responsible for awareness on social-economic development

On the other hand, theatre groups are established with the purpose of giving impetus to the campaign trail for not only political parties, but also for organisations responsible for advocating awareness on social-economic development. This is not a new practice. It is the practise common in most of African countries including Tanzania in its process of struggle for independence, and even in post-independence, to build national ideology and culture. Kerr (1995:198), for instance, argues that "Tanzania has been particularly enterprising in exploring the way indigenous theatre forms can be modified for political mobilization". Many theatre groups were established in response to this call; there are also some groups that just changed in order to fit in and respond to the changing trend and market of theatre. Tanzania One Theatre (TOT) is one of those theatre groups that represent this category. TOT, as one of the famous theatre groups in Tanzania in the 1990s and 2000s, established purposely to support the prominent and ruling Tanzania Political Party known as *Chama cha Mapinduzi* (CCM)[38]. This trend has affected not only theatre groups but also other artists from different arts' genres like music, as they also compose and sing political

[36] See Hatar, A. (2001, May). *The State of Theatre Education in Tanzania.* Retrieved October 5, 2011, from UNESCO: http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/files/19603/10814381543hatar.pdf/hatar.pdf; Baraza la Sanaa la Taifa. (2009). *Uongozi na Uendeshaji wa Vikundi vya Sanaa Tanzania.* Dar es Salaam.

[37] See Hatar (2001)

[38]Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) is from Kiswahili Language which means 'Revolution Party'. It is the prominent and ruling Political party in Tanzania. For more discussion on Tanzania One Theatre (TOT) See Lange (1995; 2008)

propaganda, especially during the election. Chapakazi Arts Group also falls under this category as it was purposely established to work for *Chama cha Mapinduzi* (CCM). However, the chairperson reveals that this worked only during the early years of its establishment. Today the group is non-selective, not attached to a single institution as it was before; it now works with whoever needs their services. Other theatre groups are not directly attached to particular political parties. However, this does not mean they have disassociated with a political theme; they revealed that if contacted, provided the terms and conditions are observed, they can accept the work. Although this does not conclude that all groups established and attached to certain political institutions may also detach from their old strings, it mostly depends on the group interests at a particular timeframe.

Theatre groups are also established purposely to support various developmental messages on agriculture, health issues, civil education etc. These groups are either established by a particular governmental or non-governmental organization or sometimes an individual has established theatre groups commissioned to work by a non-governmental organization or even government bodies depending on the need. For instance, the rise of social problems in the 1990s in Tanzania also brought an increase of organisations that worked in response to the problems. Various media such as radio, television, films and theatre used to communicate to the people on those problems. In such circumstances, theatre has somehow moved, although not a total move away from political scene; it now plays the role of activism on various societal problems such as fighting against HIV/AIDS, drug abuse, gender issues, to name a few[39]. In this situation there are some theatre groups in Tanzania established under the umbrella of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). These kinds of groups are doubly registered: registration under the National Arts Council to get permission to create theatre activities and at the same time registered as a non-governmental organization under the NGO Registration Act. In such conditions the aim is to work on 'societal problems' of the people, where theatre is just a medium used to support the work of that particular NGO. The professionalisation is normally compromised in such theatrical performances; it is not the central concern of this NGO to observe the artistic quality of the productions, but rather the message intended to reach the audience is the central concern.

[39] See Johansson (2011) on community theatre and AIDS; he provides an in-depth discussion on the use of theatre in combating the AIDS pandemic in Tanzania; and Marion Frank (1995) narrating on Ugandan experience also.

4.2.5 Finding a place for youth's social interaction

Moreover, the need for a place for the social interaction of youth was another objective of establishing theatre groups in urban Tanzania. The secretary of Sabasaba Sanaa Group insists that there were a growing number of youths who engaged in unprotected sex and use of drugs, so their idea of establishing the group was basically to let youth have somewhere they can keep themselves busy and abstain from peer pressures that act as a bad influence to the youth. Some of the youth confessed that to engage in arts for them is something of a 'hobby'. Even though they get nothing out of it in terms of financial gain it feels fine to work as an artist, to exercise their artistic skills.

4.3 Categories of theatre groups found in Urban Tanzania

In general, one might argue that theatre groups in Tanzania can be placed in two categories: commercial and non-commercial theatre groups. According to Jane Plastow, "contemporary Tanzania displays four distinct strands of cultural activity: traditional performance arts; state-sponsored theatre, intellectual drama and the variety shows of the urban theatre groups" (1996: 203). Plastow provides an overview of the contemporary theatre practice in contemporary Tanzania. In my view this kind of categorisation is based on the thematic value of the performances. The categorisation is somehow limited as it provides less information on the nature of the theatre groups producing the stated performances. This kind of categorisation makes it difficult to figure out some more important detail on the various theatre groups established, like the management, group structure and organization. I would rather argue that there are various theatre groups established in Tanzania that are working in respect of the "four distinct strands of cultural activity" discussed by Jane Plastow. Therefore the concern now is to try to suggest a clear categorisation of theatre groups established in Tanzania, particularly in the urban context.

4.3.1 Professional Theatre Groups

Professional theatre groups are the kind where its members subsist on theatre. Mlama and Lihamba refer to these groups as "commercial or semi commercial" theatre groups. They argue that one of the unique characteristics of the groups belonging to this category is that they work as registered theatre companies with the National Arts Council and theatre is their full-time activity (Mlama and Lihamba, 2001). On the other hand, Songoyi (1983)

sees commercialisation and professionalism as two sides of the same coin, providing an example of the traditional dance and how the dancers turn into professional. He argues:

> "In traditional communities commercialization and the tendency of the dancers to turn professional were not there. Nothing of the sort existed. Although even in the traditional communities people and groups specialized in particular dances never did they become professional. People had their own occupations on which they earned their living…But things have now changed. Dancing has become a profession in itself and the performance of traditional dances has become a commercial enterprise. This can only be understood within the context of changing social economic systems" (Songoyi, 1983:25-28).

According to Songoyi, 'specialization' was not enough a factor to become professional. It is only when performers started making money out of their performances 'professionalism' came into being. Nevertheless, instead of calling these theatre groups commercial ones, I rather name them as 'professional theatre groups' due to the fact that registration and working on the full-time basis is not only the reason for the groups to qualify as a commercial theatre group. For instance, some of the amateur theatre groups are also registered by the National Arts Council, but that does not qualify the amateur groups to be identified as commercial theatre groups since amateur theatre groups could also work on non-commercial productions. In my view what actually determines the professionalism in these groups is beyond registration of the groups. The concern here should include also qualification of the group members and the quality of the productions. There are many theatre groups belonging to this category such as Tanzania one Theatre (TOT), Mandela Theatre Troupe, and Muungano Cultural Troupe, just to name a few. But for the case of this study a good example of such a theatre group is Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust (PTLT) found in Dar es Salaam. One of the unique characteristics of Parapanda theatre Lab is that it provides formal employment to its artists, many of whom have received various training in theatre. This kind of achievement is a rare case which many privately owned theatre groups have not been able to get in Tanzania. For more detail on Parapanda Theatre lab Trust as a professional theatre group, see the discussion on the working/labour force in Tanzania theatre groups provided in page 61.

In addition to the above characteristics, there is no single mode of management for these particular theatre groups. Normally it depends on various factors; members' knowledge and awareness on various issues (particularly the founder/founders of the theatre groups as

they function as the 'heart' of the group) and objectives of the group. For more detailed discussion on this, see the groups' organization structures on page 74.

4.3.2 Amateur theatre groups

These are the kind of theatre groups that are mostly found in educational institutions, such as Universities, college and even in secondary schools. Such groups include Paukwa (University of Dar es Salaam), Bagamoyo players (Bagamoyo), Dar es Salaam University Player (Dar es Salaam), and BAWA (Bagamoyo)[40]. However, in recent years it is very rare to find such groups existing in the universities and colleges. For example, in the University of Dar es Salaam since the collapse of Paukwa Theatre Group, there has not been a visible theatre group at the university. I believe the possibility of establishing a project based theatre group within a short time, depending on the need, is one of the reasons for not establishing a permanent group. In addition, provided the difficult schedule among the university staff, it is difficult to meet all members for rehearsal when the need arises. Apparently, most of the productions done at the university are by students as part of their practicals. According to Mlama and Lihamba (2001:309), members of this kind of group "engage in theatre as a part-time activity and do not make much or any income from it". However, in my observation the amateur theatre groups do not necessarily include those which are attached to educational institutions only; it should also include those theatre groups established by people who have no knowledge of theatre. Some of the theatre groups I visited such as Sabasaba Sanaa Group (Dar es Salaam), Mikano Arts Group, Dira Theatre Group, (Morogoro) and Chapakazi arts Group, Hangano Cultural Troupe (Mwanza) fit into this category.

4.3.3 Project based formulated Theatre Groups

Project based formulated theatre groups are the ones formed on a specific project basis. In other words these groups are known as "temporary theatre groups[41]". Mlama and Lihamba (2001:309) mention various characteristics of these kinds of theatre groups as follows: they

[40] See Penina Muhando Mlama & Amandina Lihamba. (2001:309). Tanzania. In O. D. Don Rubin, *The World Encyclopedia of Contemporary Theatre* (pp. 299-315). London: Routledge.

[41] See Penina Muhando Mlama & Amandina Lihamba. (2001:309). Tanzania. In O. D. Don Rubin, *The World Encyclopedia of Contemporary Theatre* (pp. 299-315). London: Routledge.

emerge to perform on specific occasions; the groups have no names; they are normally named after the theatre performance they specialise in; they involve artists who are well-known and recognised in the community and the themes mostly are on social functions. However, I realised that it is not all the time that the artists are known or even recognised; it sometimes depends on the nature of the project at hand. Members establishing this kind of group might have no skills in the field of theatre or arts in general. Most of the university and college staff in theatre normally prefers to use this mode of group when contacted by various organisations to prepare performances. Here I would like to offer a bit of my experience in such kind of groups, as an artist and as director.

From 2003 to 2006 when I was an undergraduate student at the University of Dar es Salaam, the Department of Fine and Performing Arts, I happened to take part in various kinds of theatre performances of which its group members were randomly selected to suit the need of various productions at the specific time. In 2004 the University of Dar es Salaam, Gender Centre, contacted the Department of Fine and Performing Arts to prepare a performance on HIV/AIDS and gender related issues for the university community. The performance intended to educate the newly admitted students on the campus life, the challenges ahead of them and advice given to the newly admitted students which was to focus on their studies. The artists were then recruited from various departments in the university. It was a theatre group composed of students from almost every faculty from the University of Dar es Salaam; there were students from faculty of Law (now University of Dar es Salaam School of Law), Faculty of Commerce and Business Administration (University of Dar es Salaam Business School), Faculty of Engineering (College of Engineering and Technology), Faculty of Social Sciences (College of Social Sciences and College of Humanities), Faculty of Education (School of Education), College of Information and Communication Technology, and College of Natural and Applied Sciences. Some of these students happened to take part in the TUSEME[42] projects during their secondary school education; some did not have any idea of what theatre is, but

[42] TUSEME is a Kiswahili word meaning "Let Us Speak Out". TUSEME project is the youth empowerment programme initiated in the Department of Fine and Performing Arts at the University of Dar es Salaam in 1996. The programme uses arts especially theatre arts as a tool in addressing various concerns that hinder girls' social and academic development. The programme aimed to impart girls at secondary schools with various skills such as leadership skills, decision-making, and self-confidence and to have the courage to speak about their problems. For more information see http://talloiresnetwork.tufts.edu/wp-content/uploads/TUSEMEProjectUDSM.doc

through the participatory training they understood and coped with the performance. They mastered well the characters assigned to them by the director. The group ended up with a stage play titled '*Ube*[43] *wa Mlimani'* (Ube from the hill).

Ube wa Mlimani's composition of actors and actresses from different colleges and schools in the University of Dar es Salaam meant to offer a wide engagement of university students in the process of play creation. The materials used to create the play were supposed to come from the students themselves, and provide the basics in creating the performances; through sharing of various challenges they face in the classes, accommodation places and even in the clubs, relationship of teachers to students both male and female, and between students themselves. The performance was actually based on improvisation. Performers were the ones who wrote the script and the director was there to guide them in writing the script using their own life event experiences. Moreover, this kind of composition attracted audiences in most of the shows. Students in the university community were very much concerned on watching the performance performed by their fellow class members. It was fascinating for them to see their fellows who do not study theatre arts performing a stage play.

In 2006, I got an offer to take part in another project of the same kind as above. This time it was not specifically for the university community. Although the content also suited also university students, it was purposely prepared to communicate to the youth out of school. The performance named '*Fikirini*' (Consider). This stage play came out as a result of three weeks workshop with TUELIMISHANE (Let's Educate each other) Project. The main objective of the performance was to sensitise and educate youth about conflict among partners as a source of HIV/AIDS transmissions. The workshop organised by the University of Dar es Salaam, Department of Fine and performing Arts, Muhimbili College of Health Sciences (now Muhimbili University of Health and Allied Sciences) and John Hopkins University. Again, composition of actors and actresses were from TUELIMISHANE organisation which involved the out-of-school youth, some students from Muhimbili College of Health Sciences and students from the University of Dar es Salaam. The play was performed at various places such as at the University of Dar es Salaam, Mabibo and Kimara residential areas found in Kinondoni district, Dar es Salaam.

[43] *Ube* has no specific meaning; it has just been used as the name of the girl who is the main character in the play.

Involving participants from different walks of social life contributed a wide understanding, through the stage play, the best way to communicate HIV/AIDS issues in the community. Since the director encouraged improvisation, certain vocabularies to suit audience experience was also very much observed.

Finally in December 2010, the Demographic Unit of the University of Dar es Salaam contacted me, to prepare a 30 minutes play on reproductive health. I had no formal theatre group. What I did was to contact various students from the Department of Fine and Performing Arts and some other artists from different theatre groups outside the university community. Since time was very limited the choice of artists was based on their experience and knowledge of theatre performances. Through collaborative efforts between the artists and me as director, we managed to stage a play. The play focused on lack of health centres and health facilities in rural areas and its impacts on maternal mortality. The play performance took place at the International Conference on Population and Development at Kilimanjaro Hotel (Kempiski) Dar es Salaam. It came out as a collective initiative among the artists and the director, and relied heavily on improvisation drawing from each experience, and the narration of the events existing in rural areas such as inadequate health infrastructures and facilities. In some places where there are health centres, it seems there is lack of health workers and other related health facilities. As a result, most women die in the process of delivery. The materials gathered from narration of the real events taking place in rural areas were influential in developing the play. The performance opened the particular conference and was well received by the audience (conference participants). Throughout the conference, conference participants used the play as a reference for clarification of various matters discussed. Characters in the play were examples to shed light on various issues facing rural population, particularly women. In my opinion, the performance was a success since the Demographic unit of the University of Dar es Salaam forwarded its interest to film the play (produce a video film) so that it can be used for other training and future reference.

Providing my experience in project based formulated theatre groups; I would like to argue that despite the general characteristics as proposed by Mlama and Lihamba (2001) above, it is important to note that in this kind of groups, group members are just being connected with the project at hand at that specific time only. When the project is over it is obvious that the membership also is no longer recognised. There are also some artists who are very

comfortable with this kind of arrangement. According to the artists interviewed, they argued that these groups make them versatile as they are not forced to attach themselves to a single group. However, it is somehow claimed disastrous in the current theatre industry that there are some people who don't have any basics of theatre yet they organise themselves and work in theatre. The General Manager of Dira Theatre group, during the interview with the researcher, advised the government to take a closer look at the theatre groups and get rid of what he names 'hunger healers' in these groups. He states:

> Otherwise we will continue to embrace the culture of having theatre groups that do not adhere to professionalism. Consequently theatre is being scorned by various stakeholders. Government should control those groups of 'hunger healers'. In this case the value of theatre will be recognized and artists will consider the quality of their work (The General Manager, Dira Theatre Group, 2014).

The last aspect which I would like to look into is the management and organisation of the project based theatre groups. In most cases, the management is simple and not a complicated One. It consists of the director and assistant director. Most of the tasks are collectively done by group members of a specific project, for example, costumes and props used in any production are normally discussed jointly by the group members. It is not about a costume designer, for instance, deciding on what to put on by a specific character, rather it is the task of an individual artist together with the help from other artists to offer suggestions on costumes and props. In my observation the director and the assistant director in this kind of group act as critics, providing ideological directions and guidance to the artists. These two are the ones also responsible for sorting out even the financial issues in the group. Two factors were observed for such an arrangement: first, the projects do not take long, and second they are purposely meant to cut costs, because employing other people means the cost of running the project is higher. However, there are some projects of which the staff and artists involved are well observed in terms of their expertise depending on the nature and kind of the project intended.

Generally, it is specific objectives that lead to theatre groups' establishment. It is important therefore to note that whether it is a professional theatre group, amateur theatre group or project based formulated theatre group, there are specific objectives the group is entitled to fulfil. Despite that establishment of these groups steered by specific objectives discussed above, it is important also to acknowledge that the employees and/or artists working on the theatre groups have also their personal objectives that are not necessarily tied to the

groups' goals. For instance, two partners of theatre groups can function by complementing each other; artists/employees and management. While the management determines to make sure the organisation's/group's goal is achieved, the employees in most cases work for the betterment of the group and at the same time suffice their individual objectives which, if they are not well taken care of, can pave the way for conflict within the group. This notion of partners in theatre groups leads us to the larger concept 'system' of theatre group management in Tanzania.

4.4 The System of art/theatre groups management in Tanzania

The concept of system is very wide. Luhmann (2013:44), for instance, reveals that system is "the structural developments that go beyond anything that permit us to typify different societies or categorize them historically". He further argues that "system is difference – the difference between system and environment" (Ibid, 2013:44). However, although there is a difference between systems, he acknowledges that they relate to the environment. The environment here does not mean 'nature', rather than various existing mechanisms that in one way or another facilitate operation and implementation of various activities. When discussing the system of management of theatre groups in Tanzania, it is not only about the relationship between each artist and theatre groups or one group and the other, but the entire environment that supports the working condition of theatre groups. Below is the summary of the management system of arts activities in Tanzania, as clarified by Baraza la Sanaa la Taifa (2009).

> The organizations involved directly with management, and promotion of the arts in Tanzania can be divided into four groups; first, government and its agencies i.e. central government, local government, the National Arts Council (NAC), the Copyrights Society of Tanzania (COSOTA), Tanzania Cultural Fund, and Arts training institutions. Second, civil societies' organizations and non-governmental organizations…Third, groups or companies engaged in creative arts, productions, distribution and marketing of arts. Fourth are the Arts brokerage firms. In the central government, the Ministry responsible is the Ministry of Youth, Media, Culture and Sports. Department of cultural development is in charge of the Arts. In the local government, office of culture exists in each District, City or Municipal Council. This particular office is in control of all issues pertaining to Arts (Baraza la Sanaa la Taifa, 2009:1)

The summary above gives only the general picture of the governing bodies of Arts in Tanzania. In my opinion, apart from the above named bodies, theatre groups' management

system in Tanzania can be structurally categorised based on the role of the government in developing theatre, as articulated through its cultural policy. Also, by observing the working force (artists), theatre infrastructures, finances of theatre groups and the consumers of the arts/theatre products it will enable one to understand how these bodies work together to enhance development of theatre groups in Tanzania. The discussion will begin with cultural policy and theatre development in Tanzania as follows:

4.4.1 Cultural Policy and development of theatre in Tanzania

Tanzania is the first country in East Africa to have its own cultural policy that was officially inaugurated in 1997. However, there has been a scholarly debate on the existence of Tanzania cultural policy before the year 1997. Scholars such as Mbughuni (1974) argue that Tanzania had its own cultural policy immediately after independence. On the other hand, Penina O. Mlama refutes Mbughuni's claims. According to Mlama, "Tanzania cultural undertakings have been based on speeches and statements made here and there, not originally meant as cultural policies but subsequently taken as such" (1985: 11). Despite all their differences in argument about the presence/absence of cultural policy in Tanzania, both sides had one thing in common; and that is the urgent need of a cultural policy in Tanzania that existed immediately after independence[44]. Consequently, their discussions opened initiatives for formulation of a well-defined cultural policy of 1997, which is still in use to the present.

The Tanzanian government, therefore, through its cultural policy recognises the significance of cultural activities, which also include theatre. It emphasises that the participation in one's own culture is the basic right of every citizen. The Tanzanian Cultural Policy, moreover, states that "artists should form associations for the purposes of promoting and safeguarding their interests" (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1997:4). Given that the cultural industry involves various cultural forms such as archives, films, theatre, arts and crafts, music, and dance, it further clarifies that the association can be formed from different aspects of culture. Furthermore, the policy recognises the need of good and sufficient infrastructure to enhance both the artists and the public to enjoy cultural activities, as it states, "the private and public companies and corporations shall be required to join hands in making sure that there are places, equipment, materials, and a

[44] See also Jengo, E. (1985). Towards a National Cultural Policy for the Promotion of Art. *Utafiti: Journal of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Dar es Salaam Vol.7, No.1*, 1-8.

conducive environment to allow the public full participation in culture" (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1997: 15).

In addition, the policy indicates that the Tanzanian government provided the mandate of handling cultural groups, particularly arts/theatre groups to the National Arts Council (abbreviated BASATA, from its Kiswahili name *Baraza la Sanaa la Taifa*). Being established according to the statue number 23 of 1984 some of the National Arts Council functions include: the revival and promotion of the artistic works, to carry out research in the arts; provide training facilities to artists and other arts practitioners; and stimulate artistic works by preparing and organising exhibitions, performances, workshops, and competitions between artists. Moreover, provide advisory services and technical support for the proper development of the enterprises, for production of artistic works to parastatal organisations and other people, engaged in such enterprises (National Arts, 1984, 176-177). So far, policies are statements; what makes them realistic or practical is the implementation, which is the most complicated part. For instance, many artists are ignorant with the BASATA functions and since it is compulsory for the groups to register with the National Arts council, many artists recognise the role of BASATA with its arts/theatre group's registration tasks only. They consider BASATA when they are in need of either registering the group for the first time or when they want to renew their registration permit, which is normally done annually or when they are in need of the performance permit (BASATA Arts Officer, 2012). It is normally considered that art/ theatre group failure to register and/or renew the registration permit means the group is defunct.

Nevertheless, this study learnt that despite the fact that it is necessary for the groups to register with the National Arts Council (BASATA), lack of registration or failure to renew registration permits alone do not prove that a particular group was defunct. The study found that a number of theatre groups continued operating even without renewing their permits. The case in point is some of the groups which the researcher chose as a case study were operating without up-to-date permits for the year 2011/2012 and 2012/2013 respectively. The study further discovered that BASATA had no capacity to track down the groups which had failed to renew their permits and would therefore consider them defunct for failure to show up. On the other hand, the artists and managers of the theatre groups only found the registration or the renewal of permits important when they wanted to take part in various productions and festivals within and outside the country - that would

demand the groups to show genuine a performance permit from BASATA. It is therefore unfair to consider a theatre group defunct along the basis of BASATA which this study found was impractical. However, despite that one cannot track the actual number of collapsing theatre groups in relation to the existing ones; it is obvious that a number of them have collapsed.

4.4.2 The working/labour force in Tanzania theatre industry

The discussion begins with the question, who works in a theatre industry in the urban Tanzania today and why? The answer in some way has been provided earlier while discussing the objectives for establishing theatre groups in urban Tanzania. As stipulated above, there are various goals; the most notable one in each theatre group is the opportunity for the youth to have employment. It is clear that many youth are working not only within theatre but also in the entire cultural industry. For, instance, the World Youth Report (2011) points out there is less experience and fewer skills compared to adults, the reason being that it is difficult for youth to access jobs especially technical jobs that need a demonstration of adequate experience, knowledge and skills. This sounds similar to the situation in Tanzania, because formerly many artists working in the theatre industries were either school dropouts or those that had never gone to school at all. However, the situation in recent years is changing; there are also graduates working in the arts and in the theatre industry in particular[45].

On the other hand, apart from facing unemployment challenges, youth is also an age for most people to experiment with different opportunities, theatre being one of these. Furthermore, the nature of theatre productions requires energetic and very creative people, although it is not possible to conclude that all people working in the theatre industry fall under the above specified characteristics. It is also important to note that most people, especially youth, want to work in a very flexible environment and working as an artist, apart from providing an opportunity for people to have more than one job, also allows artists in some specific cases to work in more than one group, especially those showing exceptional talent (Sanga, 2012:43). This observation echos Eikhof, Haunschild, and Schößler (2012: 69) who point out that “a career in the creative industries is the desired

[45] See discussion on Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust which most of its employees are graduates from different fields of specialization.

goal for many: an opportunity to oneself in creative activities, to work flexibly, with interesting people and on exiting projects". In the Tanzanian context, there are different ways in which artists can join or work with a particular theatre group. Below I present the findings on the existing procedures followed by artists and other people interested in working with the groups, as revealed by the groups' leaders during the interview.

4.4.2.1 Ways of joining theatre groups and the challenges to both artists and the management

There are various ways for artists to join theatre groups such as; acquiring group membership, volunteerism and through formal employment. Formal employment[46] to artists is a challenging area in art sector/cultural sector in Tanzania. Following Tanzanian theatre history artists who participated in the National Arts Groups established in the early years of independence were officially employed by the state. And even when the turn was on parastatal organisations and other government institutions, artists were again employed as workers on those parastatal organizations[47]. This practice continued until the collapse of the parastatals. Currently, apart from the artists working in the government institutions like armed forces such as the Police and Tanzanian People Defence Force (TPDF), who have been employed by the government, only a few groups in Tanzania reported offering formal employment to the artists. For many groups, it is difficult because of the financial instability. Some of the theatre groups, government/non-governmental organisations hire most of these artists on projects or on a temporary basis. Few groups such as Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust have managed to offer formal employment to its artists. Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust is an organisation run professionally compared to some theatre groups. For instance, Parapanda has two kinds of the group members. First it has the so-called "founding members" who are seven, and second, has formal employed staffs that include the Executive Director, Artistic Director, Finance and Administrative Officer, the security guard, and two volunteers.

The concern might be: what are the standards that define Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust as it adheres to professionalism? In this context, I will clarify one of its peculiarities when it

[46] Formal employment is beneficial in the sense that it provides artists an opportunity to monthly salaries by the entitled organisation. Also in this circumstance artists get all the rights of an employee stipulated by the particular organization.

[47] See Songoyi, 1983; Plastow, 1996

comes to artists' and managers' recruitment. My observation has realised that the skills on the job title were very necessary during the recruitment process. For instance, the education backgrounds of these seven founding members are: two of them are university graduates in theatre arts, while other five are experienced artists, who have been in the theatre industry for a long time. Since the organisation started in 1994 to date these members have never given up their theatre career. In the case of the formal employed staff, the Executive Director and the Artistic Director are graduates of the arts while the finance and administrative officer have a background in accounts. The Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust's management recruitment observes both professional skills and experience on a particular job. Parapanda has both the learned and experienced expertise of theatre.

Another related but different example can be featured in the following groups: Sabasaba Sanaa Group, Mikano Arts Group, Hangano Cultural Troupe and Chapakazi Arts Group. How are they related? These groups also have "founding members". However, the way they differ from Parapanda is that these groups do not provide formal employment to the artists; rather artists interested to join these particular groups apply for possible consideration. To join Sabasaba Sanaa Group for instance, an individual is required to fill in the particular joining form, then an individual pays a onetime entrance fee of Tanzania shillings (TZS.) 42, 000/=, which is about £20. Then the person is entitled to three months probation period before the particular person is approved as a full member of the group. Hangano cultural Troupe charges an amount of TZS.15, 000/= nearly £7, and Chapakazi Arts Group charges TZS. 10,000/= approximately £4.50. Mikano Arts group charges an entrance fee of 10,000/= approximately £4.50 and an annual fee also. To join Dira Theatre Group one has to pay an entrance fee of 10,000/= approximately £4.50 and 12,000/= about £5.50 as the annual fee for which fee, artists can opt to pay it monthly until the payment is complete.

Formerly, people joined freely and when the membership fee was introduced, it was very cheap, ranging from 5,000/= to 10,000/=Tanzanian Shillings (about £2.50 to £4.50). This appears not to be the case today. Two motives steered the increase of the membership fee. As observed, some of the group members joined the group just for leisure and so there was lack of seriousness and commitment for some members during rehearsals. People would come and go, which created havoc in the group. The increase of the fee meant to exclude whoever was not serious with development of the group. Control of the uncertain

movement of artists from one group to another was also considered as a second reason for increasing the membership fee. As observed in the case of Sabasaba Sanaa Group and Hangano Cultural Troupe, artists joined the groups without skills of theatre or any idea of theatrical performances, and when the group takes the initiative to train a particular person, surprisingly, after he/she has mastered the performance skills the person will leave and join another group. Therefore these groups realised that they were performing as training institutions for artists. Thus, an entrance fee wasincreased to serve more than one purpose: first to cover the training costs and second if the artists leave the group after six months for instance, the fee is as his/her training fee and at the same time his/her contribution to the group. With this amendment, the management believes that any person opting to pay the fee will stay longer and not be a temporary visitor.

4.4.2.2 Challenges identified

The notion of 'founding members' and its existence cannot be escaped in any organisation. It is the founders of the groups that in most cases establish the foundation for operation of any organisation/groups. Schein (2010:3) insists that organisational culture is "the result of the embedding of what a founder or leader has imposed on a group that has worked out". However, the group's founding members should not take for granted the above argument. They need to recognise and provide the opportunity to other group members to exercise their skills without being interfered. For instance, during my stay with Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust I realised the existing cold war between the so-called "founding members" and the 'employed staff'. The 'employed staff' in this particular case are the one entitled to managerial positions while the founding members are the artists; who have to carry out orders from the management, which does not include any of the founding members. It was very tough for the management since whatever they suggested, artists will make some excuse to disqualify ideas on the basis that they have been in the organisation and theatre industry for the long time and so they know what is best for their group.

The reluctance of artists to accept and carry out new ideas as suggested by management brought some contradictions between the management and the artists. This was a great barrier for the management in performing its tasks, especially when that particular task involved working on new ideas for the group. For example, the programme officer of Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust who by then was a volunteer did his best to make sure artists are busy with performance schedules. He secured a contract to perform at *Kijiji cha*

Makumbusho (the Makumbusho Museum Village), one show per month with traditional African music. When he brought the idea to the group the group refused the offer at first, even though they had had no projects for three consecutive months, insisting that the payment was very little. After a long discussion they agreed, but it worked only one first month (June, 2012). However, the result was very positive; the performance received good publicity through Tanzania local television and newspapers. The show did not continue the following month as artists were not ready to rehearse together due to various excuses, and hence lost the only opportunity to have a place for showcasing their productions monthly, and secure their own audience. Lack of the artists' willingness, therefore, reversed the initiative made by the management.

In this story, while the management was looking for a new way to survive in the industry, artists were not willing to try new possibilities. Therefore, in this circumstance there is a conflict of interests between the management and the artists (founding members in particular). While the management is working hard to protect groups' objective, artists are protecting their reputation as the founders. Artists seem comfortable to work on the projects that are only sure of their credibility; they are not ready to take risks. They are only on successful projects and not trial ones, or projects that can lose, in other words they fear to take risks. I argue that to accomplish the groups' goals, the two parts, management and artists need to work and compromise. Each part should realise its importance in accomplishing the group's goal and function by removing obstacles in order to build stable theatre groups.

4.4.3 The existing context of Theatre infrastructures: Rehearsing and Performance space

Rehearsing and performance spaces seem ambiguous among theatre groups in Tanzania. There are many established theatre groups , but during the establishment and registration processes neither artists nor the National Arts Council responsible for registration of the groups give priority to the issue of rehearsing and performance space (their existence or not are normally taken for granted). From my observation, apart from Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust, which has rented a house at *Sinza Kwa Remmy*[48]- Kinondoni, Dar es Salaam as a special office for rehearsal and other related office works, the other three groups rehearse

[48] It is a very well-known street in Kinondoni district, Dar es Salaam, named after the late famous Tanzania musician Ramadhani Mtoro Ongala nicknamed "Remmy Ongala".

at an open space outside member's houses. Dira Theatre Group and Mikano theatre group of Morogoro rehearse at the CCM building. Definitely this reflects Makoye's (2008:111) observation's that it is very difficult today, to trace where a certain theatre group rehearse in Tanzania. He insists that this is because many theatre groups rehearse at the beer club or under the tree. And for some of the lucky groups rehearsals are in one of the primary or secondary school classes. This is a great challenge for the groups to create artistic products that are in good quality, as Makoye (2008:111) puts it, "without good infrastructures and good working tools there is no quality artistic productions". For example, from the four theatre groups studied only one group has its office; the other three groups rehearse in a space at one of the group members house compounds.

Despite the challenges with the rehearsing space, all theatre groups I studied normally rehearse three times a week, particularly with the aim of warming up their bodies and artistic skills. But when there are productions ahead of them the timetable changes to every day until the production is over. In the case of Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust, whose artists have permanent employment and considering the group has its own office, the artists have enough time to concentrate on their work. In the other groups rehearsals normally take place in the evening from 4.00 pm to 6.00 pm. Generally, in my opinion, two hours are not enough for artists to exhaust the rehearsing requirements for most of the productions since there is a lot of interference especially late-coming for the artists and so a two hour block is not sufficient.

In the case of performance space, this normally depends on the nature of the particular performance and the organiser. Two alternatives exist.

Firstly are outdoor performance spaces, which include the village squares, school compounds, streets, football play grounds and other open spaces that are convenient for the intended audience. It is important to acknowledge that it has been a tradition of most rural indigenous theatre groups to rehearse and perform in open spaces. This practice also suits performances organised and sponsored by various organisations advocating developmental programmes in both rural and urban settings which the audience is meant to follow. This is specifically for performances aimed at providing awareness campaigns for various institutions or programmes such as HIV/AID issues, education, agriculture, poverty alleviation, children and women rights to name the few. However, Shule (2008:7) points out that access to open spaces is also limited as most of the public spaces, particularly in

urban areas are illegally sold to accommodate other forms of investments such as fuel stations, shopping malls and residential houses. Therefore the constraints on the use of public open space are still there.

Secondly are the indoor performance spaces. In Dar es Salaam are the Russian Culture Centre, Little Theatre, Alliance France, University of Dar es Salaam and the very modern theatre stage recently built in the National Museum and House of Culture at Dar es Salaam city centre. However, all these are found in Dar es Salaam, and the availability for many of the groups in Tanzania to use is limited.

4.4.3.1 The existing challenges with rehearsing and performance space

As argued earlier, the rehearsing and performance spaces are difficult for many theatre groups in urban Tanzania. Although there are some other factors that add value to the aesthetic quality of any production, we cannot ignore the importance of rehearsing and performance spaces. These are the working spaces for the artists and their offices. An encouraging environment will also amount to good artistic productions. In addition, the researcher believes that good rehearsing and performance spaces, well equipped with the necessary equipment for the productions, build a psychological and keen foundation for artists to focus towards a particular performance (work). Theatre performance rehearsals need artists to become free with their use of both instruments and human voice, depending on the needs like singing loudly, screaming, drumming etc. When the working space does not allow artists to explore their voice or use an instrument to its fullest, it is likely to restrict the artists' creativity. As explained, most of the groups rehearse at one of the group members' house, which is rehearsing space, is around people's residence. Therefore, artists have to be cautious not to disturb community members staying in particular areas during rehearsals. The researcher observed that most of the groups' rehearsals needed the use of drums and individual human voices. However, some fears of disturbing the neighbours dominated the rehearsals. There is limitation on artists' freedom to rehearse; they are not free to use their drums and voices. This realisation suggests that the kind of freedom that one will have in place for rehearsals is different from what one has at someone's house. While the former motivates the artistic spirit, the latter demoralises artists, and make them feel inferior.

Furthermore, to rehearse at someone's home is not convenient, not only for the people staying at the house but also for the artists. The researcher recalls a situation whereby Sabasaba Sanaa Group had to postpone several rehearsals because one of the family members at the place where they used to rehearse was sick. Another incidence was when Sabasaba Sanaa Group had a deadline to meet for a performance commissioned by *Médecins du Monde (MdM)*[49]. Four days before the performance, a neighbour to their rehearsing place had lost his child, and they were in mourning for almost three days. This was a real trial; the rehearsals had to stop for a moment in order not to intervene the mourning period and when they resumed the group had to be silent, without drumming or singing. So far, the rehearsals take place in open spaces, so when there is rainfall, for example, groups have to cancel the rehearsals. Therefore, with this kind of continuous challenge, the issue of artists' concentration in rehearsals remains in jeopardy.

In addition, there are only a few theatre performance spaces that meet the quality of showcasing quality productions. Otherwise most of theatre performance spaces either discriminate audience or embarrass the artists and their productions (Makoye, 2008). For instance, performing in beer clubs only audiences who drink alcohol can attend (Makoye, 2008:111). This is what Makoye termed as discrimination of children and other audiences who do not drink beer because they don't go to this kind of performing space. During the researcher's interview with the secretary of Hangano Cultural Troupe about theatre performance space she argued: "I am not sure where we are heading to, in Mwanza, for example, we don't have theatre houses. Some years back we used cinema halls but nowadays even the cinema halls are no longer used, also the halls are unavailable even for cinema". Kabendera (2006) has the same opinion, and even suggests that because of the lack of theatre houses in the major cities across the country many performances have resorted to a "makeshift stage" and so artists have taken to performing "street theatre". In addition, insufficient infrastructures, according to Shule (2008:7), have reduced theatre to being regarded of a low quality. Kaduma (2008:14) agrees as well with this lack of permanent performance places in Tanzania, although he posed a criticism to those people who manage the arts because they seem comfortable with the prevailing situation instead of taking action. Masimbi (2008: 33) notes the same infrastructure problem. He further

[49] Médecins du Monde (MdM), from the French language which means "Doctors of the World". It is an International Non-governmental Organization, the organization is working to reduce social and health risks associated with drug use targeting the injecting drug users especially youth in Temeke district, Dar es Salaam.

urges not put all the blame on theatre groups' management but also the government, investors and other sponsors should become responsible to help build theatre infrastructures in Tanzania. A cry which for the case of Dar es Salaam was heard, whereby the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) collaborating with the Tanzanian government built a very modern theatre house at the National Museum and House of Culture, situated at the city centre. Again, the problem is the very high fee they charge for a single performance compared to the groups' finances. Most of the groups I discussed this with said that they cannot afford the fee so the problem remains unsolved.

4.4.4 Finance of Theatre Groups

4.4.4.1 The existing context

There are several ways that groups used to raise funds to run their daily office operations: first from artists/group membership fees. Usually this is done immediately after the groups' establishment. And as well as new artists that continue to join theatre groups, they also contribute funds. In addition, sometimes the groups raise the so-called emergency funds for specific occasions, such as when the group is facing financial difficulties.

Second, many groups receives money from their patrons; influential people who are capable and committed to help the groups, not only financially but also morally. In fact, most of these patrons act as the guardians and advisors to the groups.

The third way used to raise funds is through commissioned works provided to the groups by governmental, international or local non-governmental organisations. Some of these commissioned jobs are offered to the theatre groups through the cultural officers. What happens is that usually different organisations need theatre groups' services for their different activities, such as creating awareness on various issues that seem important to the community, for example, family planning, human rights, HIV/AIDS campaigns, to name just a few. In order to get these services, theatre groups contact cultural officers who look at their files to find out the registered theatre groups that would qualify for the intended job. If there are so many groups, then a job competition arises. No any group will get a job easily. The secretary and founder of Sabasaba Sanaa Group admits this by saying:

> "Commissioned projects are not easy to get. As you know in Temeke district for example, there are so many groups. It is not possible that every

> time the projects come, we are the ones benefiting. It is not that simple at all!" (The Secretary and founder of Sabasaba Sanaa Group, 2012)

Fourth, it is through application of grants. In order to generate these funds, groups normally find an interesting subject in the community and write a proposal. The proposal analyses ways of running the project of what the benefits are to the community and to other stakeholders such as donors, afterwhich it is submitted to government institutions and/ or non-government institutions for possible funding. The general manager of Dira Theatre Group in an interview with the researcher commented that "to get such kind of support is not an easy task; it depends on the group's initiatives". However, apart from the procedures one needs to follow he didn't state clearly what kinds of initiatives are needed. This kind of funding is mostly associated with donor support. It is selective in nature, and for "theatre that has ties to development" (Shule, 2011:201). These funding practices have received criticisms from various scholars. Shule, for instance, without suggesting a clear way on how to solve this problem, insists that "the process of using donors to fund theatre has made theatre fail to sustain itself and perhaps become more dependant. And because the intention also is to achieve the donors' requirements, therefore, one might call such theatre either theatre for Donors Development (TfDD) or Theatre in Development (TiD)" (Ibid: 211). Therefore with this kind of funding sustainability of theatre groups is still not guaranteed.

Fifth, is through gate collections/entrance fee during the theatre performance. Nevertheless, this is, in recent years not a very successful means of acquiring money for a theatre group's operations. It was a common and workable means, especially in the late 1980s and throughout 1990s[50]. However, now the situation does not favour theatre performances, as gate collections have diminished. This is due to a number of factors: first, people are very used to the culture of watching free performances in most of the open areas around them. Formerly, especially from the 1960s throughout early 1980s, theatre groups survived even without gate collections because they were subsidised, but now it is very challenging. Moreover, the cost of living has gone up. There is also a wide-spread unemployment, particularly among the urban youth in Tanzania (refer to the discussion on the objectives for establishment of theatre groups in urban Tanzania).

[50] For more information on commercial theatre groups in Urban Tanzania in the 1980s and 1990s see Songoyi (1983); Lange (1995).

In addition, the change of priority in terms of valuing live theatre performances due to development of the audio-visual mediation in Tanzania is another contributing factor. The Tanzanian great travelling theatre groups of the 1990s to a large extent have collapsed. This situation resembles the challenges that faced the Yoruba Travelling Theatre in the late 1980s. According to Fiebach (2006), this theatre movement was involved with the media since 1960s and was very successful. However, the same media also played a major role in bringing it down. Fiebach (2006) further clarifies that the introduction of the audio-visual media is one of the basic factors for the demise of the Yoruba Travelling Theatre. He argues that the intensive engagement with the audio-visual media led to the booming video film industry in Nigeria. And because the video film production was cheaper compared to production of a live theatre performance and touring, most Yoruba theatre practitioners went for video film production. Moreover, the rampart criminality in Nigeria also prevented audiences attending performances, especially at night[51]. The 1980s Yoruba Travelling theatre scenario is currently replicated in the Tanzanian theatre industry. There is the fast growing video film, music (particularly *Bongofleva*[52] music genre) industries and both local and foreign produced soap operas presented on the local radio and television stations in Tanzania. Both video film and music industries are growing fast in Tanzania and have both economic and political attention and support compared to theatre. The booming music and video film industries grasped attention of many young people in terms of employment. Youth see these two genres as modern ones. Also in terms of production it is cheap, since a single artist in the case of Bongo flava music for instance, can run a show unlike most theatre productions, which require a lot of people to stage a single performance. The video films production also is cheap compared to theatre. Therefore, like Nigeria, which passed through this process thirty years ago, now some Tanzanian theatre groups are on the verge of collapse, not only because of the introduction of the audio-visual media but also due to some other related factors outlined above. For a detailed discussion on the audio-visual media and its impact toward theatre see chapter 5.

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[51] See Fiebach, J. (2006). Identity: Openness and Fluidity. From the Popular Travelling Theatre to Home Video Films in West Africa. *Maske und Kothurn Vol. 12 No. 3*.

[52] Bongo flava is a music genre developed among the youth in Tanzania. For more information on Bongo flava music, see Uta Reuster-Jahn and Gabriel Hacke. (2011). *The Bongo Flava Industry in Tanzania and artists strategies for Success*; see also www.okayafrica.com/stories/bongo-flava-an-analgamation-of-all-genre-of-music/

Despite the above factors there are still some challenges towards achieving gate collections in Tanzania. My concern is how can gate collections be achieved while the infrastructure does not support the practice, and for the ones that can support it, will companies be able to afford to pay? How will theatre practitioners, artists and other theatre fans manage on a 'makeshift stage' while performing 'street theatre'? The answers are not that simple. However, a possible suggestion would be for the theatre groups to benefit economically out of this practice. I argue that there is a need for both government and people to invest in building very good and sufficient theatre infrastructures such as rehearsal and performance spaces.

The sixth alternative of getting funds is through selling, realised from various group's projects. Dira Theatre Group, for example, produces drums and costumes and sells them. Although they do not produce large quantities they at least have an alternative and their clients include theatre groups in Morogoro region.

4.4.4.2 The existing challenges with finance of Theatre Groups

As the researcher explained above, it seems that most artists work in the theatre industry today to earn money for a living, excluding those who consider theatre as their second job or a hobby. Theatre performances are the only ways of sustaining and supplementing their daily needs. However, the issue of finance seems complicated for most theatre groups. The discussion based on financial complications for theatre groups are as follows: first, the researcher has listed above the various ways by which the groups can get money as discussed by the group leaders, but still the management confessed that it is not easy to survive in the industry. Some of them pointed out that corruption and technical know-how much depends on who you know when negotiating for the groups' project proposals is what matters. Hence there is biased support for the groups. The Executive Director of Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust clarifies the situation facing theatre groups in Tanzania, she says:

> We are facing difficulties in obtaining funds. And this is due to bureaucracy and monopoly nature of people involved in the committees in some of the organizations that are responsible for providing funds. You may have written a very good proposal, but if you don't know any person in the committee then your proposal might not get the funding. And even the good proposals are sometimes changed and given to another group. Of course this involves people from the committee for their selfish desires. What they do is to change the name and address of your group and replace

> it with another group which they have spotted and want to win the funding (a group that they think they will easily benefit as individuals). Sometimes they ask for a ten per cent or even fifty per cent of the funds and it is a style. Therefore it is very difficult for us to work in these circumstances (The Executive Director (PTLT), 2012).

The quotation above highlights the processes, procedures and, of course, the constraints most theatre groups face in the process of searching for funding. In this kind of setting then there is a very narrow margin for the right groups to get considerations and a very high possibility for the funds benefiting a wrong group (in terms of expertise and experiences in the arts) as well. However, one needs to be very careful with such claims. From the researcher's observation, some groups' management teams involve people who do not have not only artistic skills but also no the business skills. For example, writing skills for the project's proposal was a limitation for most managerial staff in most theatre groups. In this circumstance handling applications of funds that require writing proposals was very challenging to the group's management. And this is a situation in which most theatre groups seem to find themselves in.

Second, there is the issue of little payment and embezzlement of funds, when there are projects within the group. This issue affects even the income distribution among members in the group in many ways. Groups get very little payment for a single production; they don't have the power to reject the little payment they receive because of the fear of losing the entitled project to another group. Surprisingly, instead of the groups joining forces to fight for their rights, they allow competition among themselves, which results in destabilising the theatre industry in Tanzania. Despite that theatre artists receive little payment, embezzlement of funds by the theatre management staff has always been pointed to as the cause of the collapse and instability of many theatre groups (see also Lange, 2008). This results in the artists' lack of trust with the management as the presence of a huge gap between management and the artists eventually affects the working conditions within the group. Furthermore, sometimes misuse of funds result in conflicts within the management team. For instance, the chairperson of Sabasaba Sanaa group decided to step down after the artists forced him to do so. He pressed claims that the secretary of the group was misusing the group's funds. The group then called for a meeting of all members, when it was proved that those were the false claims against his secretary. The same claims were found in the Hangano Cultural Troupe in Mwanza, between the artists and the

management, as the founder and artistic director to the Troupe narrates during the interview with the researcher:

> For example in 2008-2009, as the group, we received a project from the City Council. We prepared the production and performed without payment, it was on loan basis. So, this ultimately weakened the group for artists felt that management has used the money, but the fact is that until today we have not been paid that money. Due to that reason many artists had left the group, one persuaded the others and they left the group" (The artistic director, Hangano Cultural Troupe, 2012).

The action of some experienced artists leaving the group created some negative perceptions toward the group's involvement in the 2012 Balimi Traditional Dance Competition[53]. The artistic director of Hangano Cultural Troupe pinpointed that the group did not win the 2012 Balimi Traditional Dance Competition, which is annually conducted and organised by Tanzania Breweries Limited (TBL) in the lake zone, the competition which they have always won. It might be clear that there were other factors which contributed to the group defeat, but they still believed that they could have won the competitions if some experienced artists/members had not left the group.

The artists' trust of a group depends much on the group's financial stability, and from what I observed it is very simple for the artist to leave a group and join another which seems financially well off. As the artistic director of Hangano Cultural Troupe commented during the interview with the researcher:

> To supervise and lead artists is a very challenging task. Artists are looking for money, thus if the money is not there they leave the group. This actually weakens the group stability, for most of the time you find that you are working to train new artists, whom after they have experiences, would again leave and join the new groups (The artistic director of Hangano Cultural Troupe, 2012).

In addition, sometimes artists appear in the rehearsal if a project at hand has money and if not many of them miss rehearsals. This was evident during the researcher's experience with Sabasaba Sanaa Group. There was an urgent need of a recorded DVD of the group's dance productions and it happened that they had only one DVD in their library. However,

[53] Balimi Traditional Dance Competitions are the annual traditional dance competitions organized and sponsored by the Tanzania Breweries Limited through one of its products known as Balimi Extra Lager. These competitions have been held in the Lake Zone regions that is Geita, Mwanza, Shinyanga, Simiyu, Kagera and Mara. The competitions meant to honour, develop and protect indigenous culture.

they realised that the quality was not promising, so they decided they should record a new DVD. Recording a new DVD requires money, and the group had no money at hand to cover the production costs. The management suggested that each person in the group contribute for the cost, but several members did not agree with the plan and so for some days the attendance also dropped. This was a critical challenge for the group's management; the secretary of the group decided to explore other means of getting the funds beyond the group members' contributions and was able to raise all the needed money. The secretary shared the news to the artists, and the next day most of the artists attended the rehearsals. Many profound questions were raised by the researcher based on this scenario, such as: what kind of attitude is this? Where is the group's sustainability then? There is an attitude which seems to dominate in most theatre groups on artists' contribution to the groups; artists do not regard themselves as responsible for the financial stability of their groups. Whether the group has money or not, it does not concern them; the financial part is upon the group's management. And the management always go to what Shule (2011) called Theatre for Donors Development (TfDD).

4.5 Organisational Structures of Theatre Groups in urban Tanzania

4.5.1 Defining organisational structure

Organisational structure refers to "the deliberate, formal systems and processes of authority, power, decision-making and relationship in the organization through which the organization's work is done" (Charan, 1996:19). Morrison (1998:160) suggests that "organizational structures can be regarded as networks" within the organization. While Lunenburg and Ornstein (1991:25) see organisational structure as concepts of organisation culture, which provide a framework for vertical control and horizontal coordination of the organization. They further list the essential dimensions of organisation structure which include "job specialization, departmentalization, chain of command, authority and responsibility, centralization/decentralization, line and staff authority, and span of management" (Lunenburg & Ornstein, 1991:25). This part therefore provides an analysis of theatre groups' organisational culture with particular focus to the organisation structures and administrative systems/process of theatre groups in Tanzania. Generally some scholars argue that the culture of any organisation can be observed through the organisation structure. This is because the organisation structure normally exhibits not only the relationship between people and/or departments within an organisation but also the role

and responsibilities of a particular person or the departments in an organisation. Before providing the detailed analysis, below is the general picture of the organisation structures of each observed theatre group:

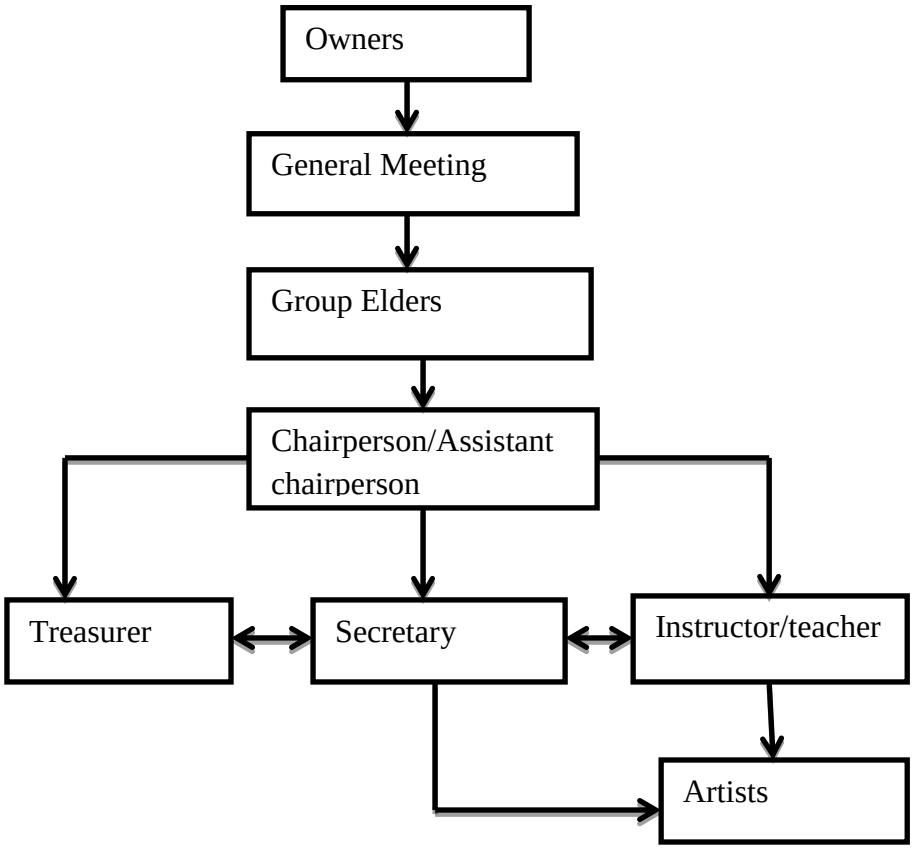

Figure 1: Chapakazi Arts Group Organizational Structure

Source: Author's interpretation

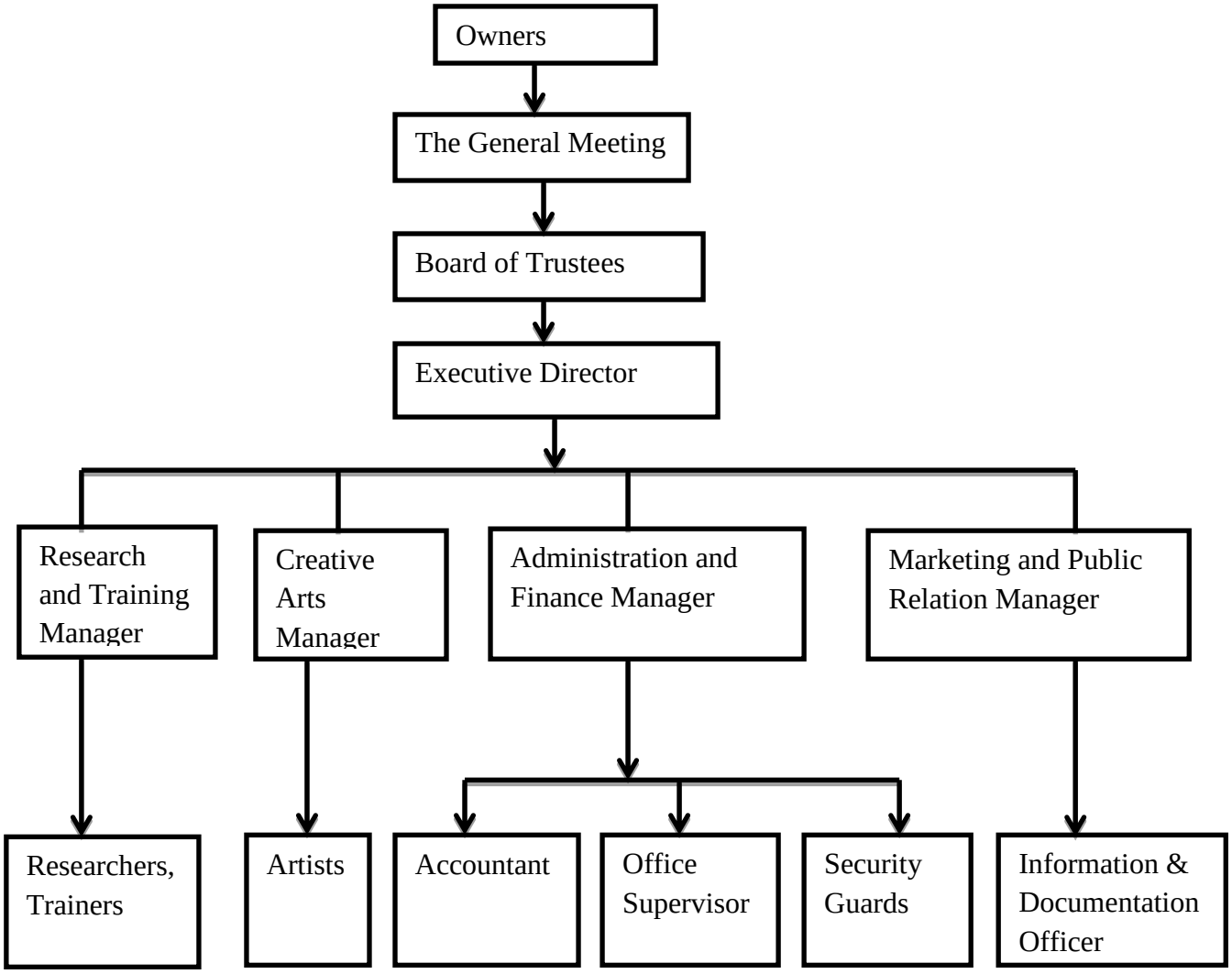

Figure 21: Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust Organizational Structure

(Source: The constitutions of the Registered Trustees of PTLT and also some modification are of the author's interpretation)

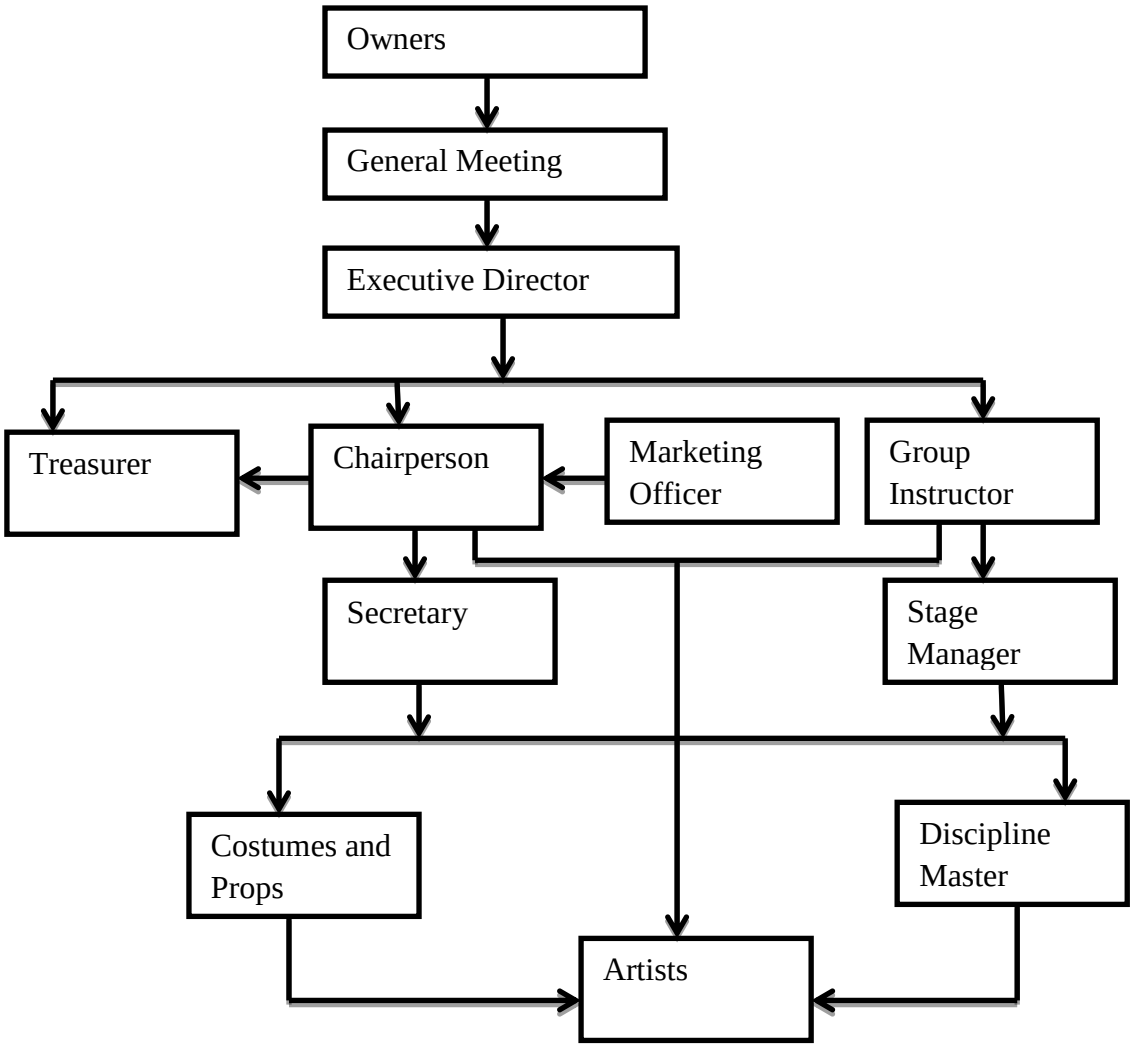

Figure 32: Hangano Cultural Troupe Organizational Structure

Source: Author's Interpretation

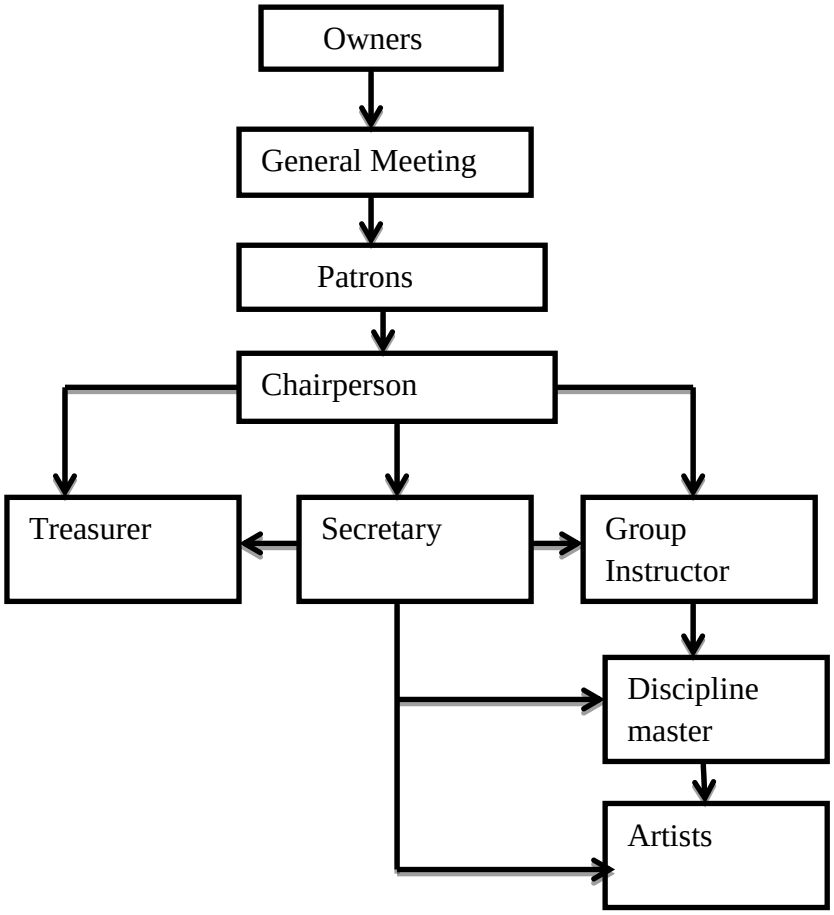

Figure 3: Sabasaba Sanaa Group Organisational Structure

Source: Author's Interpretation

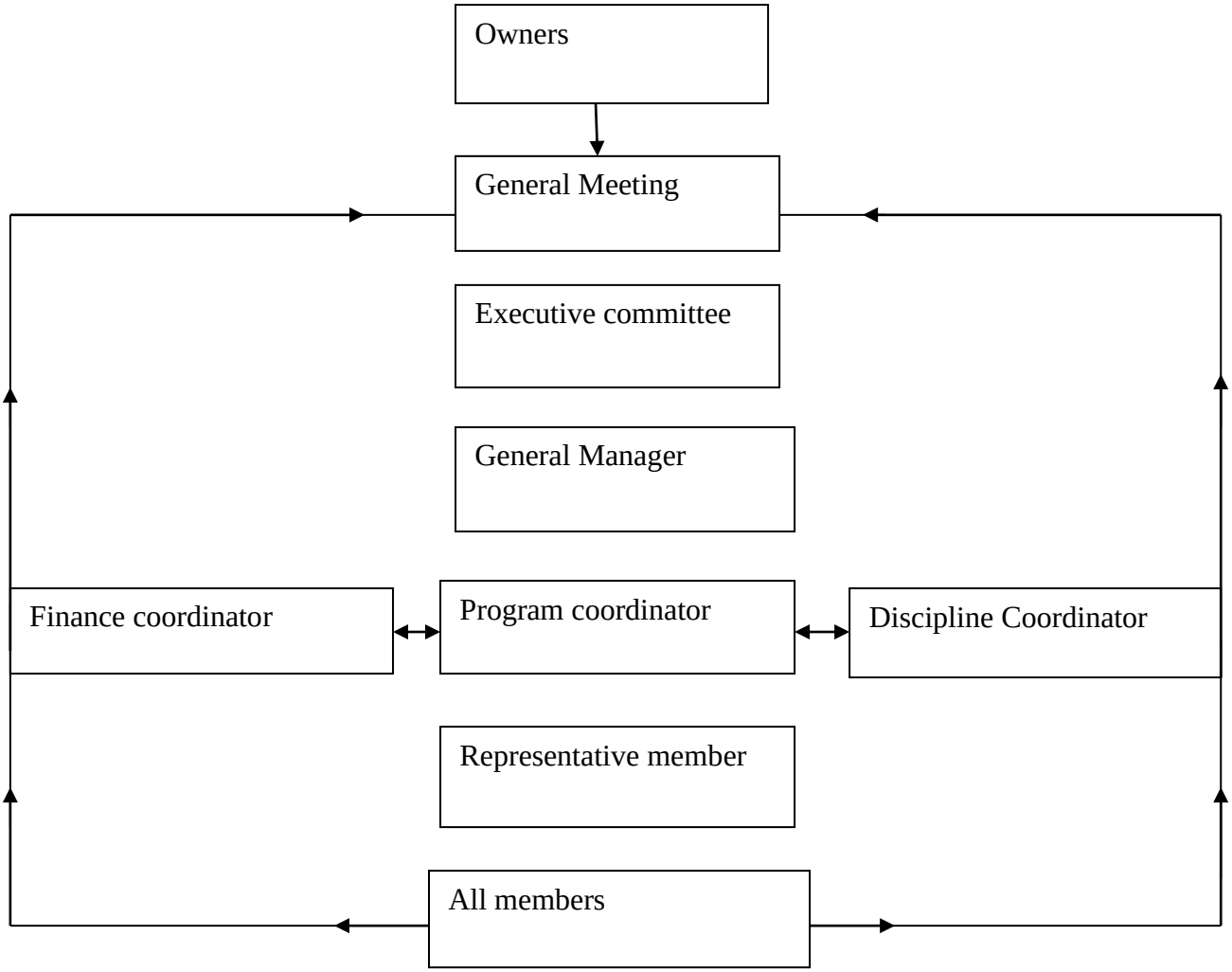

Figure 4: Dira Theatre Group Organisation Structure

Source: Dira Theatre Group PTLT and also some modification are of the author's interpretation

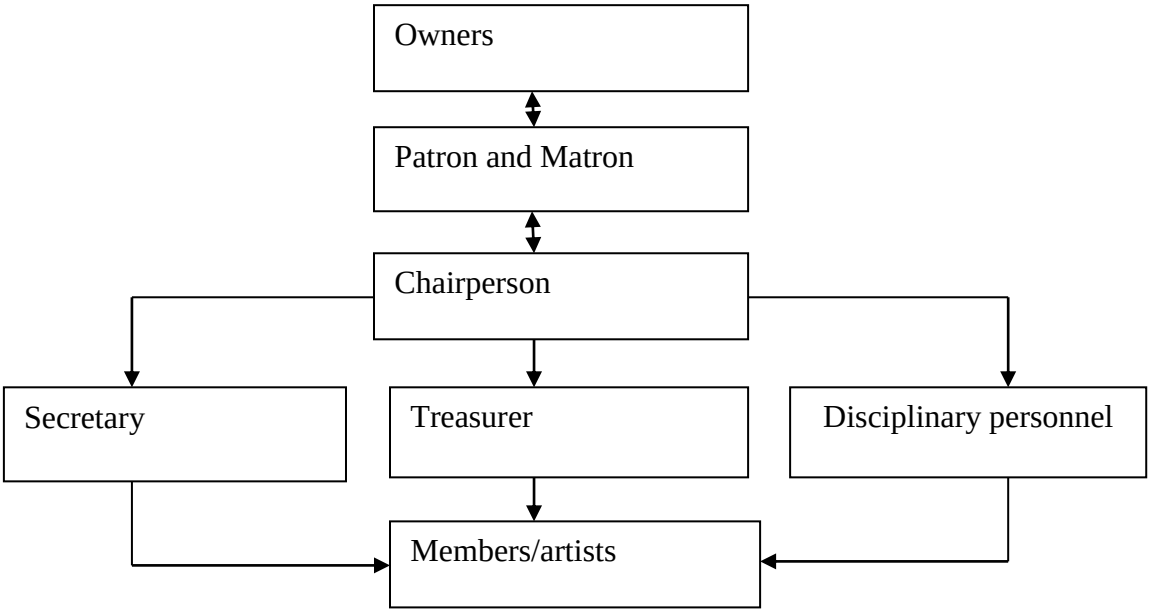

Figure 5: Mikano Arts Group Organisational Structure:

Source: Author's Interpretation

4.5.2 Theatre Groups Organizational Structure: An analysis

4.5.2.1 The Chairperson - Secretary - Treasurer System

Looking at the organisational structure, the Chairperson - Secretary - Treasurer system of management seems to dominate among many theatre groups in urban Tanzania. From the charts presented above, apart from Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust and Dira Theatre Group, other groups such as Hangano Cultural Troupe, Sabasaba Sanaa Group, Chapakazi Arts Group and Mikano Arts Group's management is under the Chairperson – Secretary - Treasurer system. Shule (2010:212) calls this kind of management structure as 'political administrative structure' and most of the contemporary theatre groups have adopted the former National Arts Groups' management mode of having the Chairperson, Vice chairperson, Secretary, Disciplinary person and Treasurer. She further adds that this political administrative structure was originally copied from TANU/CCM constitutions. Kaduma (2008), on the other hand, suggests another possible angle from which the

contemporary theatre groups drew their management format, according to him it is from the Cooperative Unions where theatre groups adopted this system. Generally, both Kaduma and Shule give an overview of where the existing current theatre groups' management practice in Tanzania emanated from. The concern in this study, therefore, is to see how such kinds of arrangement have affected the functioning nature of theatre groups in Tanzania. This system, however, receives criticism from some Tanzanian scholars in theatre. Kaduma (2008), who was once the director of culture in what was the Ministry of Education and Culture, in the discussion on roles and responsibilities of the executives in theatre, for instance, points out that this system of management has to a large extent contributed to the imperfection of many theatre groups on the basis of performance. To him adopting this system in the art/theatre industry creates queries. In his view he asserts:

> "Unapokuwa na kikundi ambacho kiongozi wake ni Mwenyekiti ambaye anafuatiwa na Katibu na Mweka Hazina basi kunakuwa na wasiwasi juu ya usanii na hata demokrasia inayokuwemo katika kikundi. Labda tumeathiriwa na miundo ya vyama vya ushirika. Ukweli ni kwamba ukishakuwa na mwenyekiti na katibu basi hakuwezi kuwa na nafasi ya mtu atakayesimamia usanii kwa mamlaka yanayostahili. Lazima kutakuwa na mgongano iwapo mwenyekiti, kwa mfano, atakuwa na uelewa tofauti juu ya usanii na Sanaa kwa ujumla" (Kaduma, 2008: 20-21).

Translation

> When you have a group that its leader is the Chairperson followed by the Secretary and Treasurer, then there is a concern about the artistic and the prevailing democracy in the group. We are perhaps being affected by Cooperative Unions' administration structures. The fact is that if you already have the Chairman and Secretary, then there are no chances for a person who oversees arts with proper authority. There is possibility of emerging a conflict particularly if the chairperson, for example, will have different understanding about artistic and arts in general (author's translation).

The important argument raised in the above quotation, falls on possibility and danger of having leaders who do not have knowledge and skills in the arts. This may develop in a conflict of interest between the Chairperson, for example, and the artistic personnel within the group. Kaduma further clarifies why such a form of management might be disturbing to the well-being of theatre groups in Tanzania and proposes a relationship of arts skills and leadership in the arts:

> "Ni lazima tukumbuke kuwa uongozi katika vikundi au asasi za Sanaa huendana na ujuzi, utaalamu na uzoefu katika fani ya Sanaa. Kwa upande ndio maana cheo cha mwenyekiti hakina nafasi katika kikundi au asasi ya Sanaa. Mkurugenzi wa kikundi ataendesha kikundi vizuri iwapo yeye mwenyewe ni msanii na kwa kuwa atakuwa anaelewa mahitaji na matatizo ya kisanii. Iwapo itatokea, kwa mfano, kuwa kuna haja ya kubadilisha uongozi katika kikundi au asasi basi uongozi huo ubadilishwe kwa kufuata ujuzi na uwezo wa kuongoza. Iwapo wanakikundi au wanaasasi wataruhusiwa kufanya kampeni ili wachaguliwe basi hapo kuna kasoro. Kutakuwa na kasoro katika uongozi na mwelekeo mzima wa kikundi au asasi" (Kaduma, 2008:21).

Translation:

> We must remember that leadership in art groups or organisations must adhere with the knowledge, expertise and experience in the field of art. That is why the Chairman's position has no place in theatre groups or arts organisations. The executive director or Director of the group can best run the group if he/she is also an artist and because he/she is aware of the artistic needs and problems. If it happens, for instance, there is a need to change the leadership of the group or organisation then the changes must consider skills and ability of the person to lead. If members of the group or organisation have to campaign to get elected, then there is something wrong. There will be a defect in the leadership and management of the entire group or organisation. (Kaduma, 2008:21)

Kaduma's criticism raises the issue of historical and contextual use of the two titles of 'chairperson' and 'secretary'. In Tanzania these two titles are often associated with elections and meetings. Observing from this point of view, it is through election processes that these leaders are found. In this process, group members must vote for the person they think fits to carry the responsibilities. It is obvious that campaigning is inevitable. Moreover, when it comes to the role of these elected leaders the chairperson is considered to lead the meetings while the secretary records minutes of the meetings. It stands to reason that whoever is good at leading meetings, and whoever is good at taking notes would possibly be elected to lead theatre groups. It should be remembered that somebody's skill of being good artistically is not a possible criterion for being a leader. Therefore the 'persuasive' strength and character of the particular person becomes crucial as compared to his/her skills and knowledge in the arts. This management style worked well with the theatre groups formed immediately after independence up to the beginning of the last quarter of the twentieth century, the period in which funding of most of the theatre groups in the urban Tanzania depended on the government and its institutions. Consequently, theatre groups today have adopted this system without considering the current challenging

environment in which most of theatre groups operate. Norbert Chenga[54], the founder and leader of Muungano Cultural Troupe insists that "today's set of management in a theatre group must act commercially. The chairperson-secretary-treasurer format is not a valid structure today. But now we need a marketing person, finance managers for instance". Therefore, I would like to argue that managing theatre groups require people with knowledge in arts and flexible leaders; leaders or managers who can read the dynamics of time and not rigid and conservative leaders as this type of leader are the ones contributing in ruining theatre groups in Tanzania.

4.5.2.2 Founder-manager-owner syndrome

The establishment of theatre groups in Tanzania is not limited; it is open to everyone. That is, any person, or group of people or institution can establish a theatre group provided that rules and regulation set by the National Arts Council are well observed. However, in terms of operation, most of the groups are not far from Byrnes' (2003:24-25) argument that "when a business or arts organization starts up, it may be owned and operated by one individual. The founder-director often operates from home or even from a car". Further complications such as the need of the office and more staff to perform various functions develop as the group grows (Byrnes, 2003). Overall, no matter how great or successful the group becomes, its success is normally celebrated hand in hand with the founder/ founders' initiatives and vice versa.

The ideal use of the phrase 'founder-manager-owner' in this study is not limited to the manager as an administrative post; rather, it clarifies the management trend in the arts groups, and theatre in particular in urban Tanzania. This means that the founder in this situation is also the manager or leader of the particular theatre group, and is the one with the last say (ultimate power in the group) hence this creates a certain pattern of management structure of the group, interpreted as 'founder-manager-owner' pattern. Referring to most of the theatre groups in urban Tanzania, the management structures such as 'founder-chairperson-owner' or 'founder-secretary-owner' or 'founder-director-owner' might be applicable for many theatre groups. From my observation, the management

[54] For more information on Norbert Chenga and Muungano Cultural Troupe See Lange, S. (1995). *From Nation- Building to Popular Culture: The Modernization of Performance in Tanzania.* Bergen: Chr.Michelsen Institute.

Lange, S. (2008). The Muungano Cultural Troupe Entertaining the Urban Masses of Dar es Salaam. In M. Banham, *African Theatre Companies* (pp.27-42) .London: James Currey.

pattern depends normally on the titles given to the management staff within the groups. Nevertheless, this does not eliminate the existing truth that there is a great relationship between the founders of the group, leaders and certainly the owners of the groups (Schein, 2010:3). In respect to this study, the relationship referred to is of a single person carrying out all these three responsibilities - founding, managing and ownership roles. However, it is also believed that founders have a lot of influence in establishing the working 'culture' of the specific group. Schein (2010:3) argues:

> "What we end up calling a culture in such systems is usually the result of the embedding of what a founder or leader has imposed on a group that has worked out. In this sense, culture is ultimately created, embedded, evolved, and ultimately manipulated by leaders. At the same time with group maturity, culture comes to constrains, stabilize, and provide structure and meaning to the group members even to the point of ultimately specifying what kind of leadership will be acceptable in the future"[55] (Schein, 2010: 3).

In the quote above, Schein provides an existing connection between culture and leadership in the organisations. He is of the view that this is the spirit that glues members of any organisation together and at the same time leads the functioning nature of the group. However, it is also important to acknowledge that with this founder-manager-owner management trend "arts organizations often experience a great deal of dislocation when a powerful founder or leader leaves the organization" (Byrnes 2003:127). This is the point of disappointment and confusion for many theatre groups; some may totally collapse and for those that will stand up to the shock it might take time coming back to its established status, which is what happened with the collapse of the Sun Theatre Group.

In most theatre groups today, the management normally consists of the founding members which are automatically the owners of the groups. It does not matter what qualifications one holds and even the issue of training is normally taken for granted.

Another challenging situation that calls forth for the immediate change within theatre groups in urban Tanzania is presence of a very convincing and motivating organisational structure with unambiguously represented charts that from the outer eye one might conclude that there is a very fair division of power in the groups. This is what I thought at the beginning, but after the participation and observation in some of the groups' activities,

[55] Schein, E. H. (2010). *Organizational Culture and Leadership.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

that was not the case. The structure is there to meet the initial requirements for the formal registration of the groups. In reality, few staff exist within the organisational structures. This reminded me of Bazaale's (2006) study on the challenges facing Ugandan theatre industries in a liberalised economy, who said that some positions in theatre groups are just titular.

Moreover, in terms of operation, it seems that most of the group's responsibilities/roles are due to one person. For instance, with Sabasaba Sanaa Group, a single person holds three positions: Chairperson, Secretary and Treasurer. The same applies to the Hangano Cultural Troupe where by the Treasurer, Group Instructor (Artistic Director) and Secretary are the positions handled by the same person as well, which might be helpful in terms of reducing production costs. However, challenges persist; the person is overworked and sometimes is unavailable due to his/her multiple responsibilities, when everything can temporarily stop. It has happened when group leaders, for instance, have not attended the rehearsals, when some group members seem not to concentrate on the rehearsals and others also don't attend the rehearsals. This is because the leadership of the groups has made artists sense that they are incomplete in the leaders' absence. Shule (2010:212) states the consequences of the 'founders' syndrome' in theatre groups:

> "This disease has significantly reduced the ability of other members to contribute to the improvement of their group's well-being…All the group leaders believe that without their leadership, the group will collapse, secondly, as leaders and founders they are keen to protect their time invested which they have deployed since the establishment of the groups. Moreover, the group leaders are firmly of the opinion that all the financial matters must benefit the founders rather than the new comers" (Shule, 2010:212).

This management tendency has groomed dependent artists in Tanzania. Artists are in the group waiting for the command from the top management as if they are in the army or they don't have brain. The impacts include loss of artists' self-esteem and lack of personal commitment. Subsequently, it increasingly establishes in their mind that they cannot work if they have not been supervised or instructed.

Having gone through the historical and contextual analysis of the management of theatre groups in Tanzania one might note that founder/founders are the ones dictating, not only the management structure but also the working culture of the group. This working culture

created in the group eventually develops some dichotomies in managing theatre groups between artists and managers in some theatre groups found in urban Tanzania.

4.5.2.3 The demise of theatre groups: Are the artists or managers to blame?

As I have discussed in the introductory chapter, the number of theatre groups which have collapsed in Tanzania is bigger than the existing theatre groups. From the respondents' views, one of the things I realised is that there is a debate between artists and the management over who the perpetrators for the downfall of theatre groups in urban Tanzania really are. This debate was revealed in the interview I conducted with both artists and managers/leaders of the collapsed theatre groups. Each side points the finger to one another as to the cause for the groups' breakdown. One of the artists from the Sun Theatre Group says: "Management is the main cause for the group's collapse; when the leadership is fragile, everything in the group also loses direction". Another artist from the same group has a similar opinion, although he goes further, showing the exact problem he saw on the management:

> Management is the cause, because we reached a point whereby there were no projects in the group anymore, so, we artists, had no money. So, automatically we left the group to search for jobs that could at least sustain our income (an artist from The Sun Theatre Group, 2012 - my translation).

The opinion above represents thoughts of many artists in Tanzania; the perception that management is solely responsible for planning and developing groups' projects. Despite being one of management's responsibilities to plan projects for the groups, in my opinion artists seem to step aside as if they are not concerned in any way in the welfare of their groups. They are always playing the blaming game and not helping matters at all. I argue that this is one of the impacts of the founder – manager – owner syndrome ('one big man syndrome'), which has developed a group of dependency artists. Artists without independent minds always depend on their managers' instructions. As a result, when the trusted leader/manager is not ready to continue with the group's activities, everything in the group also fails. Another member of the Sun Theatre Group gives details of the situations that happened in their defunct group:

> We became conscious that our Chairperson who was like a pillar in a group lost the spirit to continue with the group's activities. One obvious sign was that he started missing rehearsals; and as most of us here are uneducated, other members became also disintegrated with the group after seeing the at

> least educated group leaders forsaking the group. They began quitting one after another without providing any concrete reason. This caused most of the motivated artists to lose direction too. We further learnt that our leader felt that theatre does not pay in Tanzania. So, he disengaged with the group and even other managerial staff too. (Artist, the Sun Theatre Group, 2012 - my translation)

From the quotation above, one can notice key issues that make artists voiceless in the groups. Foremost, artists seem to have limited exposure to education which could support them in handling group matters professionally. I do believe that lack of education makes many artists lose confidence in group matters. In such a context artists seem crowded with fear. The artists in turn put their trust in their managers to the extent that questioning their credibility is like being unfair to them. In fact, the majority follow decisions made by management regardless of their impacts on the well-being of the group. I suggest that artists also need to be critical, since it is through their critical advice to the management, that the latter will realise its weaknesses and strengths. Moreover, the management decision of walking out of groups without discussing what is in their minds with the artists or without even informing the group members what is exactly happening, suggests, in my opinion, arrogance and dictatorship nature of the leaders of some theatre groups. In addition, the interpretation provided in this quotation is that we should not underestimate leaders' influence for the groups' existence and sustainability.

Moreover, some theatre group leaders/managers exist who have confidently declared that the collapses of many theatre groups are as a result of weakness in leadership. In an interview with the researcher the general manager of Dira Theatre Group pointed out that:

> "Leadership also contributes much in destroying theatre groups. We (as leaders) like to use artists as 'objects' and we as 'the people'. In such away we don't bother to provide the income and expenditure report to the artists, for instance, assuming that it doesn't matter for them to know. Hence, as leaders we create the environment for artists not to trust us" (General Manager, Dira Theatre Group, 2013 - my translation).

The question of artists being used as 'objects' in most theatre groups, especially by leaders, is to my opinion a reflection of the founder - manager - owner management style. And because most of the leaders are the ones who have invested much in terms of finance and time, they feel, they have the right to also control the profit, forgetting that no matter how small a role one plays it is significant and has added value to the group's existence.

On the other hand, management's opinions suggest that group sustainability can be achieved by the strength of the artists within the group, and that the demise of a theatre group cannot be pointed at management. The secretary of Pasha Sanaa Group explains:

> The main causes of group's collapse are the artists because they are the ones who own the groups, not the managers. Artists have power and ability to remove the irresponsible management and replace it with the responsible one: according to their wishes and needs (The secretary of Pasha Sanaa Group, 2012 –my translation).

Generally, this quotation represents the perception of some managers/leaders who argue that artists have the power to question the management. However, he seems to ignore the fact that in practice, artists are not owners of the groups (unless they are founders too); therefore, the possibility for them to react against the management is very minimal, particularly when the group follows founder-manger-owner management structure.

Contrary to the opinion above, the founder, secretary and at the same time treasurer of Sabasaba Sanaa Group is of the view that theatre groups' sustainability depends on the strength of the management and that the group cannot collapse if the management is stable. This view echoes Byrnes' (2003:127) perception towards management strength in leading arts and it impact on group performance and sustainability. He maintains:

> "Arts organizations, especially founder-directed groups look to the artistic director, music director, and so on, to set the tone for the organization. This person should be a role model who can articulate the mission and values of the organization. A strong leader sets the standards for performance, motivates employees, and helps to carry on the history of the organization" (Byrnes 2003:127).

With the same opinion, some scholars also argue that "Leadership is originally the source of the beliefs and values that get a group moving in dealing with its internal and external problems" (Schein 2010:32). This perception generally holds the management as the pillar to the existence and stability of the groups or organisations. It seems, therefore, that the management on the one hand is the cause of collapse in some groups while on the other hand, the artists are the causes. In my opinion, management and artists work in complementing each other, therefore unity among them is the tool towards achieving a sustainable theatre group.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter, discussed theatre groups' organisational culture in urban Tanzania by analysing the objectives for group' establishment, system and structure. The findings show that despite the many objectives to establish theatre groups in Tanzania the most notable one is that of creating employment opportunities for young people. The high unemployment rate among the urban youth has resulted in the great demand to also establish theatre groups. Moreover, the chapter names three categories of theatre groups that exist in urban Tanzania, which are: professional theatre groups, amateur theatre groups, and project based theatre groups. It goes further by outlining the characteristics of each group and some related examples are also provided. In addition, it clarifies that the establishment of theatre groups has all the blessings from the government. Through the 1997 cultural policy the government stipulates the roles and responsibility of various institutions dealing with arts, for instance, the National Arts Council. However, this chapter argues that most of the commitments articulated by the government through its cultural policy are merely written policies as in practice they are hardly implemented by the same government and its various institutions. Furthermore, it provides insights on the theatre groups' culture in defining the role of leadership, employees, system and structures in relation to the groups' goal. The study, however, shows that the existing system and group structure do not support the existence and sustainability of theatre groups in urban Tanzania.

I think there is a need to re-evaluate the existing ways of managing and administering theatre groups practised by many theatre groups, as shown above. I therefore argue that management of theatre groups today need not be based on the 'political administrative structures' but rather by evaluating the new challenges seen in theatre management today. Theatre managers/the management has to respond to the new demands and needs of a particular theatre group which also changes over time. Moreover, with globalisation, there is also a need for theatre artists, and their managers to consider training to improve their working and artistic skills. Hence artists will adhere to professionalism during the production process. These skills will enhance them to produce and sell their products not only to the local consumers but also extend them to the global market.

Moreover, power divisions in the group should enhance the working conditions among members and, most important, it should allow equal and fair sharing of responsibilities

among members of theatre groups. Founder-manager syndrome is what persists in most of the theatre groups. The researcher would not like to conclude that this is not a rational trend but rather to challenge this outcome as a result of the provided predispositions. For instance, it is the founder/founders and leaders who create the group's working culture. This working culture as proposed by Schein (2010) influences the groups' sustainability. On the other hand, the founder of the group is directly associated with power in the group. Through observation from different theatre groups, I learnt that one acquires power in the groups by becoming the owner/ leader of the group. However, it is also important to note that being a leader in most of the theatre groups in Tanzania means also being a founder. It is only when the leadership position is open after all founding members have already been allocated administrative positions that an artist (outside the founder members) might get a chance to fill the open position. However, this is a rare case.

As a result, this has developed a tight relationship between being the founder and the acquisition of power in theatre groups. So far, the individual search for power has influenced also many artists upon success in their group to leave and set up their own theatre groups, either as individuals or in partnership with others. Therefore, instead of the artists joining forces to strengthen one group after success, personal group members are always determined to establish 'their own groups'. It does not matter how the group will sustain economically in the industry, what counts is their personal power. Therefore, the founder-manager-owner syndrome in Tanzania has motivated almost everyone in the theatre industry to be keen to establish his/her own group with the intention of acquiring power. This is an absurd practice as we remain with many theatre groups, which in a real sense have no focus; we remain with groups established following the wind of power. Since the managers are the founders in most groups, they are automatically owners of the groups, subsequently; they are the ones with the final say in the groups. Group members mostly work based on management instruction, because artists are subordinates and are sometimes intimidated by the fact that the management would normally fire them if they question their administration. This suggests, therefore, that the continuation of theatre groups in Tanzania depends upon stability of the management. Generally, the irreconcilable differences between artists and management have consequently proposed various weaknesses in running theatre groups, hence many have collapsed. However, these are not the only factors affecting sustainability of theatre groups in urban Tanzania. The next chapter will present

the external factors contributing to theatre group existence and sustainability in urban Tanzania.

Chapter 5
The influence of external environment on the existence and sustainability of theatre groups in urban Tanzania

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a discussion on the influences of external environment on the existence and sustainability of theatre groups in urban Tanzania, focusing on the last two decades. It analyses the social economic, social cultural, political and technological environment in which the groups persist and see whether those groups can strive in such environments or not. In order to establish a well-defined picture, the chapter discusses also theatre groups' internal forces and their impacts towards theatre groups' sustainability. In this regard some reflections on the warning signs that seem to foreshadow the downfall of many theatre groups are discussed. Furthermore, this chapter analyses the existing and operating trends of theatre groups in Tanzania, with the fast growing video films and music (bongo flava and gospel music), for instance, as some of the external environment and their impact towards theatre groups' existence and sustainability in urban Tanzania. It is worth mentioning at this juncture that despite the government recognising the significance of the cultural sector in creating employment, particularly to the youth in Tanzania, the same government does not give culture a priority in their development plan. That is, cultural/theatre groups' development is not part of the economic and political agenda in Tanzania.

5.2 Defining sustainability and theatre environment

The term sustainability originates from the word 'sustain,' a verb which means "to keep in existence; maintain"[56]. In this study the term 'sustainability' implies more than theatre groups being active. It focus more on the groups ability to sustain itself economically, which means how theatre groups are able to continuously meet the needs of both artists and audience regardless of the dynamic environment in which theatre groups persist. The needs of both artists and audience are not static, but are mostly determined and conditioned by a certain environment. In this particular study I will prefer to regard them as 'theatre environment'. Mercy Mirembe Ntangaare, a Ugandan scholar, in discussing theatre in the

[56] http://www.thefreedictionary.com/sustainability

Ugandan changing environment, categorises theatre environment as including the cultural and social, political, economic, spiritual and other issues affecting artistic creation, distribution and consumption (2008:147). I argue that irrespective of the type of theatre group, whether an amateur theatre group, project based theatre group or a professional theatre group, environment both internal and external have much influence, either positively and/or negatively, on the existence and well-being of the particular theatre group.

5.3 Theatre and theatre groups in a changing environment and space in Tanzania; an historical narrative

Before providing an explanation of the involvement of various environments in theatre groups' existence and sustainability in urban Tanzania, it is important to have a snap picture of the theatre industry's development in Tanzania. When referring to theatre groups and theatre development in Tanzania, it is not easy to discuss it without considering the historical political, economic and cultural transformations in Tanzania before and after independence. These transformations have impacted on the kind of theatre groups established and on the nature of the performances produced by these groups at a certain particular period. Tanzanian theatre history is categorised as pre-colonial theatre, colonial and post-colonial theatre[57]. However, there are still some classifications when mentioning a specific period, for instance, post-colonial theatre, is referred to in Tanzania, as either socialist theatre, post socialist theatre or liberal theatre. So far, referring to theatre as a liberal theatre is a recent phenomenon in Tanzanian theatre history, and it has been much elaborated on by Shule (2010) in her discussion on Tanzanian theatre, Neo-liberalism and foreign aid complexity.

The history of theatre in Tanzania dates back to the period before independence, as already explained above. Nevertheless in this chapter, I direct my attention on the situation that happened immediately after independence. The purpose is not to ignore the efforts made by people, institutions or various community in developing and promoting theatre in Tanzania during the pre-colonial and colonial period, but rather, in my opinion, there is an interesting and very forceful kind of demand that seems to trigger the concept of culture, initiated by the first president of Tanzania at this particular period. Penina Muhando Mlama and Amandina Lihamba argue that "while colonialism, in spite of its efforts, did not kill traditional cultural practices, its policies and attitudes did not enhance them either. It took

[57] See also Lihamba, (1985); Hatar, (2001); Penina Mlama and Amandina Lihamba, (2001)

the gaining of independence for a new cultural chapter to be ushered in" (2001:302). The so-called "new cultural chapter" was eventually opened after the first president of Tanzania, the Late Julius Kambarage Nyerere, established the Ministry of National Culture and Youth in 1962. He justifies the reason for the new ministry establishment as he states:

> The major change I have made is to get up an entirely new Ministry: the Ministry of National Culture and Youth. I have done this because I believe that culture it's the essence and the spirit of any nation. A country which lacks its own culture is no more than a collection of people without the spirit which makes them a nation. Of the crimes of colonialism there is none worse than the attempt to make us believe we had no indigenous culture of our own; or that what we did have was worthless – something of which we should be ashamed, instead of a source of pride. Some of us, particularly those of us who acquired a European type of education, set ourselves out to prove to our colonial rulers that we had become 'civilized'; and by that we meant that we had abandoned everything connected with our own past and learnt to imitate only European ways…When we were at school we were taught to sing the songs of the European. How many of us were taught the songs of the Wanyamwezi or of the Wahehe? Many of us have learnt to dance the 'rumba' or the 'chachacha' to rock-en roll and to 'twist' and even to dance the 'waltz' and the 'foxtrot'. But how many of us can dance, have even heard of the **Gombe Sugu,** the **Mangala,** the **Konge, Nyang'umumi, Kiduo** or **Lele Mama?** Most of us can play the guitar, the piano, or other European musical instruments. How many Africans in Tanganyika, particularly among the educated, can play the African drums? How many can play the **Nanga,** or the **Marimba**, the **Kilamzi**, **Ligombo,** or the **Imangala?** … So I have set up this new Ministry to help us regain our pride in our culture. I want it to seek out the best of the traditions and customs of all our tribes and make them a part of our national culture (President Nyerere speech to the parliament on 10th December 1962, quoted in Ministry of National Culture and Youth, 1976: 3).

The immediate need to revive culture in Tanzania was one among the demand of the new Tanzanian government. This process of cultural revival/cultural decolonisation or what Lange (1995:30-33) denotes as "the quest for a national culture", is the key reason in establishing the Ministry of National Culture and Youth. At this point I agree with Laura Edmondson who argues that "Nyerere's statement claims a sense of agency (…). This institutional agency is readily repeated in narratives of Tanzanian theatre history, which situates his speech as a turning point in the development of Tanzanian national culture" (Edmondson, 2007:20). In order for the ministry to reach its goal on cultural decolonization, it had by then established the National Arts Groups (NAGs). These groups include the National Dance Troupe in 1963, the National Acrobatic Troupe 1969 and the

National Drama Troupe in 1974 (Edmondson, 2007; Shule, 2010). These National Arts Groups were receiving subsidy from the government and therefore both artists and management of these particular groups were not concerned with issues such as the groups' operation costs, working equipment, and working environment, and the government covered their salaries as well (Makoye, 2008: 107; Shule 2010:122). On the one hand, Shule sees this initiative of the state to offer salaries and allowance to the artists as "the aim of the state to limit to the marketization and commercialization of theatre" (Shule, 2010:122). On the other hand, the government by then believed that these groups are not about profit-making but to educate the public through art (Makoye, 2008:107). At this particular point the government considered theatre as an effective medium of communication; it meant, therefore, to serve the interest of the masses, and the only way to make it accessible to the people was to guide it against commercialisation (Ministry of National culture and Youth, 1976). Makoye associates the good working environment provided to the artists with the high quality of artistic products produced as the result during this specific period (Makoye, 2008: 107). In my view, these national arts groups worked in a very relaxed environment. It required the artists and management to create and produce a well-defined production; the artists were there to produce, they were able to concentrate on their work and had no worries on how to secure the groups' finance since the government was supporting the groups. In other words, the support from the government provided enough room for artists' creativity to flourish, which is why the groups were able to produce high quality artistic products. Even the management had enough time to plan and observe the groups' activity very closely. The political environment granted the entire freedom for these groups to work. At the same time the social economic environment was in favour of the groups' prosperity, not to mention the cultural environment, which set the primary reason for the establishment of these theatre groups.

It is worth mentioning here that the political and economic ideologies have had a marked and clear impact on the theatre in Tanzania in particular (Mollel, 1985:21). For instance, the announcement of the Arusha declaration in 1967 with the determination of turning Tanzania into a socialist state, acted as another important stimulus to the development of theatre groups in Tanzania. The slogan socialism and self-reliance was the order of the day. Penina Muhando Mlama and Amandina Lihamba, the well renowned theatre scholars in

Tanzania maintain that the Arusha declaration meant "to provide Tanzania with a blue print for socialism. Much of the history and practice of theatre in the present-day Tanzania was framed by this policy and the subsequent reaction to it" (2001:302). Providing an explanation on how the situation was, again Penina Muhando Mlama and Amandina Lihamba state:

> Responding to Nyerere's call of '*go* and propagate *ujamaa'* (socialism), theatre practitioners wrote and composed plays in support of the tenets of the declaration. Theatre was encouraged in the primary and secondary schools while autonomous cultural troupes performed dance, music, dramatic skits and plays in institutions of higher learning, in factories and in various branches of the armed force (Penina Muhando Mlama and Amandina Lihamba, 2001: 302).

Therefore, the arts/theatre groups prospered after announcement of the Arusha Declaration. Art and theatre in particular here preached to the public on socialist policies as fundamental to national development. It was at this particular time, especially from 1967 and 1974, that many theatre groups were established in public agencies and government departments such as in parastatals, factories and army branches throughout the country (Songoyi, 1983; Lihamba, 1985; Edmondson, 2007). Like the National Arts Groups, these groups received 100% subsidies from the Tanzanian government (Songoyi, 1983; Makoye, 2008). What I want to emphasise here is that until the 1970s, an issue involving costs of operating the theatre groups to the large extent was the role that was under the government through its various institutions.

Nevertheless, the national economic crisis that faced Tanzania in the 1970s is mainly regarded as the main reason for the government's inability to offer full support for the "mushrooming replica of national arts groups" (Shule, 2010:122). The national arts groups, therefore, dissolved and formed the National Institute of Arts in the early years of the 1980s (Makoye, 1998; Shule, 2010:122). The institute underwent various transformations and now it is well-known as the Institute of Arts and Culture, Bagamoyo or TaSUBa (Makoye, 1998). Apart from TaSUBa, Butimba College of National Education's Programme in Theatre Arts was also established in the 1982. Prior to these two Institutions there existed the Department of Theatre, Fine Arts and Music at the University of Dar es Salaam since 1967. According to Mlama and Lihamba, "all these institutions aimed at producing artists, cultural facilitators and teachers" (2001:302). However, Fumbuka Lubasa, the former teacher of Butimba College of Arts provides criticism on the way these institutions are run

these days. He airs his fear on the possibility of losing professional artists particularly, actors and actresses in the future since the Institute responsible for training artists referring to actors and actresses - (Bagamoyo College of Arts now TaSUBa) has now been given the mandate to train administrators/managers of the arts, a development that has put the acting profession in jeopardy. Fumbuka Lubasa in an interview with the researcher comments:

> There is a need for people to understand the role of Bagamoyo School of Thought. Bagamoyo College of Arts meant to prepare artists while Butimba prepared teachers. Now Bagamoyo is no longer training artists, it also train experts, I wonder where these experts are going, since there are no artists to guide (Lubasa, 2012).

Lubasa's fear and doubt ultimately has started to manifest in the Tanzanian theatre scene today. Most artists regard the issue of natural endowment as the primary criteria, and trained skills as the secondary criteria for artists, especially in acting. Most people consider acting as a profession in which anyone can venture into. Some people perceive acting as an inborn skill of actors/actresses.

Historically, Tanzania saw an enormous development of theatre groups during the 1990s. In this particular period, Tanzania as a country witnessed: the introduction of audio-visual media; and the introduction of privately owned television and radio in mainland Tanzania, which eventually had impacts towards theatre groups' development. The multiparty political system and manifestation of the free market economy in Tanzania had impacts also on theatre groups. Penina Mhando Mlama and Amandina Lihamba acknowledge that the 1990s is the period in which theatre flourished. According to them, this particular time had two major forces that made theatre group flourish. Firstly, there was intensification on the use of political issues in theatre. Secondly, this period saw development that took place in commercialisation of theatre, which resulted in fierce competition among theatre groups at this particular time (Mlama and Lihamba, 2001: 303). This trend in theatre did not stay for long as from the 2000s theatre and theatre group development in particular are facing many difficulties that I regard as external and internal environments. This chapter would give more emphasis on the external environment since they are the major causes; the four categories of political, social, economic and technological environment are discussed as follows:

5.4 The External Environment

5.4.1 Political environment and theatre groups' sustainability in urban Tanzania

Siri Lange, the Norwegian researcher, who has written on modernisation of performance in Tanzania, argues that the rise and fall of privately owned theatre groups in Tanzania after independence is closely connected to the government policies of the day. According to Siri Lange, "the cultural policy after independence prepared the ground for nationalized, mult-ethnic, non-religious popular culture…" (2008:35-36). On the other hand, Laura Edmondson (2007) who has written on the performance and politics in Tanzania also declares the same view as Lange above, although she adds the notion 'collaborative nationalism'[58] whereby Tanzanian performances designed along the interaction in a dynamic process among state, performing artists, and audiences. This collaboration, however, did not devoid the state its power to maintain the status quo. The state passed a series of the regulations that governed the operations of the theatre companies (ibid, 2007: 17). During this period, Lange (2008:35) points out that "privately owned theatre companies generally had some kind of loose attachment to the state and to the ruling party". In this arrangement, the theatre companies performed songs praising government policies and the party, even though payment was not a guarantee to the groups (Lange, 2008: Edmondson, 2007). Lange and Edmondson enlighten us on the state's engagement with both artists and theatre groups and artists response towards the state call, which often received a positive response from the audience too, hence theatre performance flourished, especially during the one party political system. A period where all theatre groups performed songs praising the party, and groups asked to perform for visitors and dignitaries (Lange, 2008:35). However, Lange explains that the introduction of multiparty, changed things for some privately owned groups like Muungano Cultural Troupe. She clarifies:

> "With the introduction of multiparty in 1992, the ruling Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) feared that they would lose the support that they had enjoyed from the privately-owned troupes and realizing that performing troupes at the government institutions such as the police and the army, would have to become politically neutral. Consequently, CCM established its own cultural troupe, Tanzania One Theatre (TOT)" (Lange 2008: 35-36).

[58] Edmondson (2007: 17-39) uses the term collaborative nationalism to emphasize the role of the state, performing artists and audiences as collaborators and not as the hegemonic or resistant forces.

The transformation from one party to multiparty state deprived the state access to enjoy favours from different theatre groups. To fill in the gap, the state established its own group to support the state and party policy and/ or other various party related activities[59]. Establishment of a theatre group by the ruling party deprived most of the privately owned groups the funding from the state as its concentration now was to fund its own established group (Lange, 2008). However, at the same time this necessitated commercialisation of privately owned theatre groups since they had to make money to continue surviving.

The tendency of associating politics and theatre had somehow brought some negative impacts on theatre groups. There is a misinterpretation of the role of theatre among government officials in Tanzania. Using theatre and other art forms as a tool for propaganda on various matters is what some officials recognise with theatre. Even today political leaders use arts as their mouth piece and use the entertainers to attract the masses in their political activities such as during their political rallies. Artists are always used by politicians but they abandon them immediately after they have accomplished their needs. This is one aspect of the politics and its involvement in arts and artists. Another part is actually based on the coordination and structural challenges that face the cultural sector at large.

The researcher argues that the system and structures of the arts and cultural sector in Tanzania is still vague. It is important to realise that the issue of management is not basically a personal task. The researcher believes it is conditioned by the existing systems and structures that are within the particular society. The system is what can make someone do well or badly although there is a need of not ignoring personal strength and competence. That is why 'if we want change; we must look at the system and not a person'. From the researcher's observation and interviews with artists and the managers, the researcher realised that the system and structure of the art sector and culture in Tanzania is still unclear. There are two important reasons for this claim:

First, culture in Tanzania is a minority concern of the state (Plastow, 1996:185). There is lack of coherent plans and lack of political will to discuss cultural challenges in Tanzania. Plastow's observation is very clear and it is realised through observing the restless movement of the Ministry of Culture. Reports show that the Ministry of Culture has since

[59] See Lange (2008)

1962 been moving from one Ministry to another (see also Masimbi, 2008; Hatar, 2001; Makoye, 1998: Plastow, 1996). This movement of the Ministry of Culture actually does not give breadth to cultural sector, but on the contrary undermines it. I therefore argue that this provides an interpretation that even the government is not sure of the role and position of the cultural sector. Furthermore, according to Lihamba (as quoted in Plastow, 1996:185), the plans for the cultural infrastructures such as regional performance halls appears to have been in abeyance for such a long time without making any noticeable progress. To the large extent the plans have not been executed until to date, hence creating catastrophe for theatre groups when it comes to the performance spaces for instance. Additionally, it is important to note that most of the high-profile officials at the ministry of culture are politicians, and because they are politicians they do not come with systems that nurse the cultural sector. They actually pervert the arts. The case in point is they do not, for example, consider the individually established groups with a critical sense. With regard to this Masimbi (2008:28-29) asserts that poor awareness and understanding of culture exists among both leaders and the general masses (citizens). This condition reduces the drive or awareness to citizens and leaders to engage in cultural activities. Unfortunately, most of the leaders and executives in government and its institutions fall into this category of the people who lack cultural awareness. Worse still is that such leaders are the ones who make decisions about the future development of various sectors, including culture (ibid, 2008: 29). The question is how such leaders can defend the cultural sector if their understanding of culture is seen and understood as an entertainment industry only. Masimbi (2008:29), however, argues that it is not the leaders fault, but of those in the cultural industry/theatre who do not do enough to create awareness in advocating for culture. However, despite that this assertion is true, it is important to note that the problem of cultural awareness is historically inculcated and thus needs enough effort to create awareness to a great number of people.

Secondly, during the interview, many respondents pointed out the lack of proper cultural management levels from the Ministers, Directors, Regional cultural officers, and District/City Cultural Officers as a barrier for the growth and continuous existence of theatre groups. This is as a result of two concerns: first, in spite of the cultural policy stating that there should be offices responsible for the cultural sector at regional and district

levels[60]; this has not been the case since 1995, when the government removed the regional Cultural Officer's position. This was with good intention to cut bureaucracy and other costs in running the cultural sector, but in practice it has created more chaos. Masimbi (2008:30) speaks his mind on the issue in form of questions, which represent the worries of many people in the cultural industry and theatre in particular:

> Who is advising the Regional Commissioner about culture? Who is helping in monitoring and support cultural activities such as contests or festivals for sports and the arts at the regional level? Or should we suppose the government has withdrawn its role in addressing cultural issues at this level? (Masimbi, 2008:30)[61].

Such questions and the like continue to bring more dilemmas that persist in the cultural industry. Akin to this is the lack of a clear administrative structure in the cultural sector. Today culture is found within the Ministry of Information, Youth, Culture and Sports. The National Arts Council, responsible for the arts and theatre in particular is found within this Ministry. On the other hand, the District/City Cultural Officer, in charge of the culture and theatre in particular at District level works under either the District Director or City Director who is actually under the Prime Minister's Office, Ministry for State (Regional Administration and Local Government). To complicate the matter at the district, municipal or city level, culture is a section which is normally placed in the Department of Education (that is another Ministry of Education and Vocational Training). This kind of structure is actually very contradicting. Moreover, apart from registration and provision of the performance permitted to the groups, the cultural officers have little impact on the theatre groups. There is little done by the cultural officers in respect of arts' development such as providing performance and registration permit to the groups and artists when it is necessary. The general manager of Dira Theatre Group suggests that cultural officers need also to visit the registered theatre groups. This will help at least to see how the groups are working, and if possible provide professional advice on theatre groups when such need arises. It is not their fault, as Masimbi (2008) clarified; rather the system itself is not supportive to them.

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[60] Ministry of Education and Culture. (1997). *Cultural Policy (Policy Statement).* Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Education and culture.

[61] The quotation translated by the Author from it original Kiswahili language

The explanation above shows that there is no direct administrative channel from the minister to the last person (the artist). Masimbi (2008) provides the significance of having a very well-defined structure in any organisation as he narrates:

> Administrative structure of any industry or activity attributes to the commitment to discuss the prevailing problems. A well-defined structure is the main tool used in solving the problems. Therefore, Departments and Units formed in Institutions and the type of employed professionals hold the roles and functions of the organization in the concerned period (Masimbi, 2008:29).[62]

In my view lack of clear connection between cultural management levels creates difficulties in implementing many of the cultural plans. For instance, the Minister of Culture may fail to communicate plans articulated in the cultural policy directly to District/City Cultural Officers who work under the Director because they work under jurisdiction of different ministries. Consequently, this reflects the observation by the director of policy and planning in the Ministry of Labour and Employment that there are greater coordination and structural challenges, including the government, in not paying attention to the arts and artists matters, and authority collisions between the bodies responsible for coordination of art (Haji Janabi, 2012)[63]. It gives hope to find that some of the government officials are aware of the challenges facing the cultural industry, but we should also understand that it works only on their political speeches and arenas. In reality, culture/art will continue to suffer until the government realises that it needs to put into practice everything about the arts. Promises are no longer worth it.

5.4.2 Economic environment and theatre groups' sustainability in urban Tanzania

The arts and the economy have lived together for centuries[64]. Alex Perullo on his analysis of popular music in Dar es Salaam as both cultural and economic resources argues that " In societies driven by market economies, art forms become consumer goods that move through social networks of exchange and trade" (Perullo, 2011:X). However, for a long time now, arts and artistic products in general have not been prioritised as the sectors that

[62] The quotation translated by the Author from it original Kiswahili language

[63] Haji Janabi is the director of policy and planning in the Ministry of Labour and Employment in Tanzania. He presented a paper on 'the significance of arts sector in promoting employment in the country'. The presentation took place in the weekly arts forum organized by the National Arts Council on 8th October 2012.

[64] See Nakanoga, 1982:100

can generate income and contribute to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Tanzania[65]. That is, the government and its officials had for long been viewing theatre as a tool for entertainment and a tool for social and political propaganda. It has been noted that the government established and affiliated theatre groups to various production companies/factories, army branches, and parastatal organisations from the late 1960s to the mid-1970s[66]. Laura Edmondson perceives these as the state's initiative to integrate theatre groups into 'the machinery of the state'. Even in terms of management, there was also involvement of the company/factory or parastatal organisation leaders that "the party secretary for each parastatal served as the supervisor of these troupes; also, in 1976, the government decreed that these performing artists had to be employed as workers in the factory rather than exist in autonomous artists within the institution" (Mkoloma 2001 as cited in Edmondson 2007: 27). During this period, most of the productions of these groups were for free; and even the artists regarded them as such. Kwizela (2012), a journalist on arts and culture in Tanzania, argues that during this time, the government-owned arts and entertainment groups were for recreational purposes, not for generating income. In this context, artistic groups were meant to support various government campaigns.

However, the liberal economic system which started in Tanzania in the late 1980s had a lot of impacts to many of the parastatal organisations to which the groups were affiliated. In fact, most of these were privatised, which also automatically affected theatre groups and artists (Makoye, 2008; Nyoni, 1998). This actually came about as a result of the introduction and acceptance of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in the late 1980s. SAP was then the advocate for commercialisation and privatisation. And because at this time, Tanzania was economically ruined it was necessary to accept the SAP conditions, since it was the only way it could get financial support from the IMF and Western countries; a situation that happened almost all over Africa and Latin America[67]. Ujamaa socialist approach of transformation to a free market capitalist and new liberal economy saw that everything should be privatised. Therefore, the new underlying society structure brought theatre into a very delicate and precarious situation. Similarly, most theatre groups

[65] See also Shule, 2010

[66] See Edmondson, 2007; Songoyi, 1983; Lihamba, 1985

[67] See also Adesokan (2004.) in J. Conteh-Morgan and T. Olaniyan, African Drama and Performances. PP. 189-197. Adesokan here offers the Nigerian experience after the Structural Adjustment Programme being imposed in Nigeria.

established after the liberalization of the economy and multiparty political system were then commercially oriented and had to work in a very challenging environment. One can imagine a theatre group that used to get subsidies from the government and its institutions, is now supposed to search for its own funding to enhance the group's daily operation. The option was clear to most theatre groups at that particular time, when the entrance fee to the audience was introduced. Songoyi (1983:30-32) provides a successful example of the transformation of D.D.C. Kibisa, a dance group formed in 1979. The group of which its artists were the employees of Tanganyika Packers (a parastatal organisation in Tanzania by that time), which later was under the Dar es Salaam Development Corporation. Commenting on the situation Songoyi explains:

> "When the Tanganyika Packers decided to do away with the troupe the Dar es Salaam Development Corporation (DDC) assumed the patronage of the troupe. But that did not come until, Mr. Magram, who was then an accountant employed by DDC, being interested in traditional dances, proved that dancing was economically viable as a project. He proved this to the management practically. He asked for a 4000/-loan. With it he prepared the troupe for a three-day performance at Kidongo Chekundu (Mnazi mmoja). The outcome of that performance was tremendous. The troupe collected some Shs. 12,000/- (…). The former employees of Tanganyika packers were then employed by DDC as full time dancers… (Songoyi, 1983:31)"

Various theatre groups established from the late 1980s such as Mandela Theatre Troupe, Muungano Cultural Troupe and Tanzania One Theatre are among of the renowned theatre groups to employ this technic of income generation[68].

In general, theatrical performances offer very little income to their performers in Tanzania. And the performers do not even sometimes get any payment for their performances. The first reason for this is because theatre and other artistic genres in general are not considered as an economic activity in Tanzania. Odongo (2008:93), in discussing globalization and women in theatre in Kenya maintains that the development of theatre is still very weak and does not have enough support from other systems in the government and other networks. This is the case also in Tanzania, whereby the income of the arts and the cultural sector in general does not attract a good number of educated people to work in the industry. Haji Janabi suggests an alternative that could support new trends in the industry as he states that:

[68] See, Edmondson, (2007); Lange, (1995; 2008)

> In order for this industry to create better jobs, it is important to prepare standards and criteria as in other professions so that there are classes of employees in accordance with their standards of competence and professionalism (Haji Janabi, 2012)[69].

Moreover, the dependency of theatre groups on sponsorship for some public communication performances in Tanzania act as a threat to the theatre industry due to the fact that when the donor agenda changes, the theatre group fails to sustain economically as it will have developed a dependency syndrome (Shule, 2011). The impact actually goes further to theatre companies ignoring the artistic quality of the productions since their concern is to fulfil the donors' will. In this situation theatre companies do not have the power. Providing the experience of the situation in Uganda, Mercy Mirembe Ntangaare, a Ugandan scholar, while discussing theatre in the Ugandan changing environment explains how the sponsorship in arts has affected its aesthetic quality arguing:

> There are also concerns over the management and funding of theatre, taken by existing small markets with low pressure and donor-led projects. Due to the high level of poverty of the people, many managers fail to survive from revenues generated from theatre work. They end up in finding donors and sponsors from the international community or business people or companies. Although these have to some extent helped develop theatre existence, their demands and aims have reduced the level of quality and creativity required in theatre performances. The obvious example is Theatre for development (TfD). Many artists have followed this route due to strong market and not their nation's development (Ntangaare, 2008:149-150)[70].

Furthermore, the annual allocation of the government fund to the cultural sector in Tanzania is very little compared to the needs and the expenditure. The minimal budget, for example, affects the operations of the National Arts Council, since the council gets minimal financial allocation. In this situation it is not easy to carry out even the council goals which automatically affect theatre groups. One of the art officers of the National Arts Council clarifies:

> BASATA is a public agency and thus receives a subsidy from the government for its work. And the annual given budget received from the Ministry of culture is not enough; as there is an assumption that the cultural sector contributes nothing to the national income. Although there is some

[69] Haji Janabi is the director of policy and planning in the Ministry of Labour and Employment in Tanzania. He presented a paper on 'the significance of arts sector in promoting employment in the country'. The presentation took place in the weekly arts forum organized by the National Arts Council on 8th October 2012.

[70] This quotation has been translated by the Author's from Kiswahili text.

> recognition in recent years, there is still a need of efforts to change that perspective (The Art Officer NAC, 2012).

Here I would like to argue that the small budget affects plans such as building theatrical infrastructure, art training or entrepreneurship training on arts and culture to the artists and arts' managers.

5.4.3 The social environment and theatre groups' sustainability in urban Tanzania

It is the society/community that will make theatre arts continue to shine in the entertainment and cultural industry. Apart from being audience of the artistic products, it is the society that produces those who work as artists and in other positions in the theatre industry. The continuous support from it is what determines the fate of the arts and theatre in particular. Bishota and Kandoro (1982:76) provide their views on society and arts and argue:

> Artist works in a community. Then, the artist must obey the community which associate with his/her works. Here, the freedom of the artist should not get disturbed. Artists are human beings who live among us. Our environment prepares them as artists. However, artists and their works again must adhere to the correct thinking of the people in the community (Bishota & Kandoro, 1982:76 translated from Kiswahili)

Bishota and Kandoro name four major key points that explain the relationship between society and the arts. Firstly, artists must behave in the society. Secondly, artists' freedom should not be interfered with. Thirdly, artists are the product of the society/community they belong to. Fourthly, artists' works must correspond to the society's philosophy. In this regard, they propose that artistic products should reflect society's needs. However, this compliance appears to have disappeared in Tanzania since the 1980's when Tanzanians shifted to capitalism, although it was not officially pronounced by the government. Before 1980 when Tanzania was still a socialist state, art meant to imitate whatever the state the government was in support of. Nevertheless, today the form of art and the theme of production much depend on the interests of a person, group of people or particular organisation's guidelines – such as the case of donor determination as argued by Shule (2011).

In addition, there have been some challenges in society, in its understanding and acceptance of artists. Many communities perceive artists as drunk, lazy, people who do not want to

work, who failed at school or who do not have something better to do (Odongo, 2008: 93). The perception has developed since the colonial era when cultural activities was discouraged by colonialists, and this perception in turn affects the way the community gets familiar with the artists and even the way they accept their artistic works. With this kind of mentality, I suggest that the arts' practitioners should devise more initiatives to create awareness among people on arts, theatre in particular. As long as we are independent our government should not continue to shy away from cultural activities, not only in terms of supporting them financially but also to build good and sufficient theatrical infrastructures.

Furthermore, it is significant to note that society is not static; usually people struggle with constant changes taking place in society. Apart from changes in demography, there is a systemic change of life that leads to a certain group of people in the community to have a particular view, either deliberately or due to influences of time. These changes with either negative or positive impacts on the society touch all fields of life, including culture and arts sector. For instance, Tanzania's theatre industry is recently facing a lot of competition from other cultural and entertainment sectors, such as Music industry *Bongo Flava* music and Gospel music, which has grown very fast in the entertainment scene and film industry. I would like to agree with Odongo (2008:93) who argues that the mass and variety of entertainment emerged at a low and affordable cost, affects theatrical performances, as the struggle is now to win the limited time for entertaining the audience. Although most theatre practitioners will not directly agree that this is a very challenging situation, this is the truth, considering that some theatre infrastructures do not also support the audience comfortably. As theatre groups fail to cope with the change in cultural choices of the audience, it is ultimately killing the theatre industry in Tanzania today. In this situation the role of society is very important, especially in leading the youth. This is due to the fact that in most cases they are the group which is normally affected or influenced easily by this wave of changes happening in society.

5.4.4 The technological environment and theatre groups' sustainability in urban Tanzania

In this particular context the focus is on the audio-visual mediation. Since 1993, the state opened doors for privately owned media in Tanzania. Prior to that there was only one state-

run radio station in mainland Tanzania[71]. This achievement in the media development came out as a result of economic liberalisation and the democratisation process, which opened doors for the private investors to invest in media particularly radio and television[72]. Through private investors' initiatives, by 1994 the first television station was introduced in mainland Tanzania. Therefore the introduction of radio (opening up of the more privately owned radio stations apart from the only existing national radio), television, the home video cassette recorders (VCRs, which is recently being replaced by DVDs) or in other words video and digital technology, and the internet had impacts on people's life style, which in turn has impact on the sustainability of culture, theatre in particular. Amandina Lihamba, when interviewed by Joachim Fiebach on the societal transformations in Tanzania and their effects on the artistic productions and communications, argues that the state's allowance to let television and many more private radio stations in the country, opened a chapter in terms of performance in Tanzania; it created a move from performances that were basically live to taped performances (Fiebach, 1999).

Film technology is the oldest in Tanzania among the above mentioned technologies. It dates from 1930s when the British government chose Tanzania as the site for the International Missionary Council's Bantu Educational Kinema (BEKE) (Banfield, 1964; Smyth, 1989). Nevertheless, despite its earlier introduction, it was never a threat to theatre because it had limited access. It is only after television was introduced in Tanzania that film became a threat to theatre. Fiebach (1996:4) in his paper titled Contemporary Popular Theatre in Tanzania, while discussing the videotaped performances of the two popular theatre groups; the Muungano Cultural Troupe and Tanzania One Theatre (TOT), saw this coming, as revealed in his statement "the rapid expansion of television and correspondingly video will have dramatic effects on popular theatre in Tanzania". This came into realization only after few years since television was introduced, particularly in mainland Tanzania. Laura Edmondson expresses the same concern on the future of Tanzanian popular theatre after realising that "several actors deserted theatre companies for the more lucrative opportunities that a burgeoning television industry offered" (Edmondson 2007:130).

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[71] See also Development Associates Limited (2005:4) retrieved from http://www.tv4d.org/Tanzania_1_Country_Profile_Report_web.pdf

[72] See Fiebach, 1996; Lange, 2008; Koch, 2008:32

Historically, television was introduced in Zanzibar since 1977 and 1993 in mainland Tanzania. The productions of various television programmes, ranging from education to entertainment that accommodate both adults and children, well-educated and uneducated led many Tanzanians pay attention towards television. Most of the television programmes are now in Kiswahili and few in English language, which include music, talk shows, interviews, and programmes for children, documentaries, and serial drama/operas both locally and foreign produced (European and American Soap)[73]. I would like to agree with Koch's (2008: 34) interpretations that "from an aesthetic point of view television as a medium is closest to theatre due to its visual quality". At the early years, this did not affect the market of theatre industry and theatre groups in particular due to the fact that only a few people were able to buy television sets, video recorders and the tapes. Moreover, theatre groups benefited since they were "hired to produce television drama (Swahili Soap) - or experimented with producing video dramas" (Lange, 2008:35).

However, with time the situation also changed. Many people owned television sets and video play-back machines, which eventually had negative impacts towards theatre productions and even the companies' existence[74]. With regard to video film productions, the increasing privately owned television stations triggered the need for mass production of video films, which have a devastated impact on theatre performances. In this situation, many theatre groups, for instance, preferred television drama compared to stage plays. The Chairperson of Mikano Arts Group for instance argues that:

> We decided to engage mostly on television drama, because most theatre groups in Morogoro for example, have no sponsors. Many artists also do not have specific jobs – and so they have no stable income also. If we choose to do stage plays, it is difficult for us, as we cannot afford the production costs; since as artists we will have to contribute. But for the case of television drama, *Abood* television station is accommodating us and they have all the equipment needed for the production (The Chairperson of Mikano Arts Group, 2013).

In addition, most personal theatre artists and even some theatre groups have been swept away by the video film development wave. Artists became interested to appear on television screen for fame, which has greatly threatened the continuance of the stage

[73] See also Koch (2008), pp. 34-36; Development Associates Limited (2005) retrieved from http://www.tv4d.org/Tanzania_1_Country_Profile_Report_web.pdf

[74] See Lange (2008) in J. Gibbs African Theatre Companies, pp. 27-42

performances. In the interview with the Planning and Administrative Officer and the Secretary of 'The Sun' theatre group, established in 1995 and collapsed in 2010, he explains the existing conflict among artists when it comes to the choice of artistic form. He had this disclosure to make:

> Some artists demanded that the group should completely engage in the film productions, and because by that time we were not ready for the film production, other groups invited our artists to play roles in their films. Many were desperate to gain popularity quickly, so the group remained without artists and that was the end (the Planning and administrative officer and the Secretary, 2012).

The Secretary of Sabasaba Sanaa Group has the same opinion as the Planning and administrative officer and the Secretary of the Sun Theatre Group above. However, he further clarifies the disappointment most artists get from their expectations. In his views he says:

> Some of the artists are moving from one group to another, just because sometimes groups have no jobs that make them famous in the community. Here, I mean films; to them it is only films or television dramas that could make them known by many people. Therefore, due to the fact that most of them are fond of / aim to get the stardom, they are very interested to do films more than any other art forms. They just like the star thing. At least it has come to the senses of many artists today that films do not pay that much as they were dreaming. The understanding came as they realized that sometimes artists required to spend their own money for costumes and other properties necessary for a character to fit his/her role. They are almost working for free, but honestly they don't get enough income compared to their expectations and devotions! (The Secretary, Sabasaba Sanaa Group, 2012)

The dreams of the artists to take part in films have always left many theatre groups in Tanzania in shambles. The Planning officer of Solution Arts Group, based in Morogoro established in 2012 and which eventually collapsed one year later, clarifies that "most artists here in Morogoro, their interpretation of art is based on video film production; they love shooting films. If the group do not shoot films the artists run away". Moreover, based on the same experience, Sabasaba Sanaa Group secretary, shares the undesirable incidences which, if not well handled, would have led to the collapse of their group. He says:

> As a group, we came across two unforgettable events that threatened the death of the group. The first instance occurred here in *Mtoni Mtongani* area. There was a group established, and the announcement spread all over *Mtoni Mtongani* that they have all necessary equipment for film

> productions and they will constantly produce films. So, they were only searching for artists. Many of the artists disintegrated with our group and joined the new group. We remained only four, who are the founders of the group. It took us six months to recover from the shock and move on. The second incidence when artists again heard of another new group established in *Mwananyamala* with the same inspiration of film productions. Most of the women artists we had in our group again left. After four months, we for the second time gathered the strength and registered new artists (The Secretary, Sabasaba Sanaa Group, 2012)

In spite of all disappointment from the artists, the secretary of Sabasaba Sanaa Group believes a group can only collapse if the management also collapses; as he puts it "a company does not die when there are operators". Nonetheless, the secretary seems not only defending his status as a leader, but his statement undermines the status of the artists in theatre groups. Furthermore, he does not foresee the costs in terms of time and expertise used to train the newly joined artists when such disappointment occurs. Arguing that television has no impact on the collapse of theatre groups in Tanzania, in my view it seems fluid to the pertaining realities.

The situation happening in Tanzania theatre scene in recent years is akin to what happened with the collapse of the Yoruba travelling theatre in Nigeria. Looking from the Nigerian experience for instance, television and later the video films production are among the factors that caused the downfall of the Travelling Theatre. Apart from other factors, it was also observed that one obvious reason for theatre groups to abandon theatre performances in favour for television drama is the cost of production. Theatre producers declared that to produce video films was less expensive compared to a live theatre performance and touring with it, hence most theatre producers went for television drama and video film productions.[75] Also, explaining the challenges, which the current Ugandan theatre groups are facing due to television and films, Sam Bagenda (a.k.a Doctor Bosa), the director of Ebonies, one of the famous theatre companies in Uganda, says in an interview with Sporah Njau:

> "Basically now there are so many things that are actually challenging. And one of them is the competition we are having in the industry right now. We have got DStv (Digital Satellite Television) with so many interesting films that will keep the family at home. That is the big challenge. We need to

[75] See Fiebach, 2006

> really brainstorm, make a production that will win the family" (Bagenda, 2013)[76].

Looking at the Tanzanian context today, Vicensia Shule[77], a theatre practitioner who in recent years has diverted her attention from theatre to video film production (a film producer and director), sees this transformation taking place in Tanzania in two angles: First, she acknowledges that this is considered as the 'new trend' in the cultural industry[78]. This has already occurred in other African countries as in West Africa. It is an involuntary cultural transformation which the country is experiencing since it adopted a liberal economy and the introduction of television. Second, she argues for the costs of production between theatre and film. According to Shule, film production is less expensive compared to theatre. As a film producer she argues that a theatre production needs many people in a single production. This means managing a large team, which means also the cost of production is high. However, it is important to note that in recent years the growing video film industry in Tanzania has diverted the interests of not only personal film producers, directors and artists, but also it has both economic and political support from the state and international organisations compared to theatre. Shule claims that most of the funds she gets for producing video films are from both national and/or international non-governmental organisation/ institutions. The organisations contract her to produce mostly films with a social message 'within the framework of various campaigns'[79]. Commenting on what impacts do the films she produces have to her as the producer she states:

> "Those films are my breadwinners, although not always very entertaining to produce. But they give me an income and a chance to invest in other less lucrative projects. At least once a year, I try to produce something I really

[76] Bagenda, S. (2014, July 10). The Ebonies on the Sporah Show Like Never Before. (S. Njau, Interviewer). Accessed August 4, 2014, from www.youtube.com/watch?v=VDWrddUdW14

[77] Vicensia Shule is a lecturer and researcher in theatre and film at the Department of Fine and Performing Arts,
University of Dar es Salaam. She works also as a Producer and or Director for theatre, Video film, Radio and
Television productions.

[78] Vicensia Shule in the interview with the researcher on 20th November, 2013

[79] See Film making in Tanzania. (2014, April 16). Retrieved August 6, 2014 from the Nordic Africa Institute (NAI): ww.nai.uu.se/news/articles/2014/04/14/125218/index.xml?Language=en

> want to do, even if I don't get funded for it, and I take my chances on the commercial market"[80](Shule, 2014 responding to NAI).

Shule's initiatives in video film and television drama production are realised through a variety of video films and television drama she engages in as an actresses, director and producer as well. In the year 2012, her film titled *Chungu* (the pot) received the best Tanzania Feature Film award in the 15th Zanzibar International Film Festival (ZIFF). This film of which she was the producer, narrates the story of the greedy tendency of politicians in Tanzania. Throughout the year 2013, Vicensia Shule as an actress has featured in a television drama series titled *The Team Tanzania*[81]. East African Television (EATV) and Independent Television (ITV) aired this particular television drama. Apart from the costs of production, during the interview with the researcher Shule claims that film production is the kind of job that one can do without stress, unlike theatre[82].

As noted earlier, theatre groups are also hired to produce television drama/soaps for particular television stations. For example, Kaole Sanaa Group[83] from Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Kaole Sanaa Group was a very famous theatre group in the early 2000s. This group used to air its TV drama series on Independent Television (ITV), one of the most popular television stations in Tanzania. The group was very popular with its plays such as *Hujafa Hujaumbika*[84]. Kaole Sanaa Group through this TV drama is well-known for

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[80] See Film making in Tanzania. (2014, April 16). Retrieved August 6, 2014 from the Nordic Africa Institute (NAI): ww.nai.uu.se/news/articles/2014/04/14/125218/index.xml?Language=en

[81] The Team Tanzania is a television drama series that challenges attitudes towards the traditional role of men and women in Tanzania. The drama focuses on the life of three secondary school students and their female teacher. It is through these characters we learn the belief of male and female roles in the community, things that are considered, perceived and understood as a taboo for women to do, such as women playing football. The female teacher although facing various challenges from her staff colleague both men and women and the community, she finally manages to create awareness that women can do whatever role given to them, provided that they have the skills. Generally, the Team Tanzania is about women empowerment. For more information on the Team Tanzania, see www.theteam.co.tz.

[82] Vicensia Shule in the interview with the researcher on 20th November, 2013

[83] Kaole Sanaa Group is a famous theatre group established in 1999. Chrissant Mhenga was the founder and Director of the group. The group had produced more than fifteen plays. The Independent Television (ITV) and Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation (TBC), formerly Televisheni ya Taifa-TVT (from Kiswahili language meaning the 'National Television') aired these plays. Some of its plays include: *Hujafa hujaumbika, Fukuto, Jahazi, Dira, Tetemo, Tufani, Sayari, Baragumu, Gharika, Taswira, Zizimo,* and *Radi.* These plays were mostly based on the social and economic problems within the Tanzanian community.

[84] *Hujafa hujaumbika* (is a Kiswahili saying which means that one cannot claim is perfectly created unless is dead, that is one might get challenges in life, which may result into a state of disability even though he/she was born without disability). It is the story that revolves around a young woman, who has disability. The girl

producing many famous actors and actresses in the country such as the renowned Mzee Pwagu, Saidi Fundi (Mzee Kipara), Bi. Hindu, Abdallah Makumbila (Muhogo Mchungu), Fatuma Makongoro (Bi. Mwenda), Muhsen Awadh (Dr. Cheni), Mwanainda Suka (Mainda), Steven Kanumba, Vincent Kigosi, to name a few. Another famous group producing TV drama in the early 2000s was *Mambo Hayo Arts Group;* the most famous play produced by this group includes *Kidedea*[85]. Like Kaole Sanaa Group, this group also aired its plays on ITV. Some of the renowned actors of this group include Mohamed Fungafunga (famously identified as Mzee Jengua), Anne Constatine (Waridi) and other screen names such as *Bishanga* and *Richrich*. In those early years of television drama productions, many Tanzanians developed a culture of watching the local TV drama series, which were mostly aired at night. People's interest and commitment to these TV dramas had motivated them to have a follow-up to the programme each time the programmes aired. It created a routine for many Tanzanians to go back home wherever they were to watch the programmes. Despite being a new form of entertainment most of the dramas reflected directly on peoples' daily way of life. The story/plot, themes, settings, language and characters of these TV drama series reflected most of the Tanzanians life experiences. However, in recent years, that culture and interest towards local TV drama is disappearing for most Tanzanians. Although these Television drama series are still produced and aired in various television stations they are not popular as before.

Currently, most groups have moved to video film production, and most of their actors and actresses follow the video production trend. Some are now the producers, directors and/or actors/actresses of many of the video film companies in Tanzania. The researcher observed that getting a chance for the groups' productions viewed on television is rewarding as far as the advertisement/ publicity for the groups' activities and their artists are concerned. Nevertheless, the hiring does not benefit the groups financially or economically. One of the artists who started his career in theatre as an actor and then moved to film industry as both actor and producer, narrate the situation that exists within theatre groups in covering the group's appeal of television: "you know Tanzanians are not aware of the sufferings of artists in many theatre groups. A group has 50 people (members), produces a play that is

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had a Fiance who is willing to marry her, but because of her condition, the family of her Fiance and even some of her Fiance's friends reject her.

[85] The theme of this drama was basically on societal problems.

eventually bought by a television station for 250,000/= Tanzanian shillings, about 115£ per week, so how do you share the money? This is why many groups are dead"[86].

Another challenging situation similar to the above is on shooting equipment and limited staff such as the camera person. For instance, during my research at Morogoro region, unlike in Dar es Salaam region where there are many television stations, the most famous and dominant television station in Morogoro is 'Abood television'. In this regard, most theatre groups' eye falls on this particular television station. Therefore, many theatre groups compete for at least to get an opportunity so that their plays could be viewed by the Morogoro audience through Abood television. The planning officer of the Solution Artist Group, the group based in Morogoro established in February, 2012, and which collapsed on August, 2013; insists that they had been given a slot by Abood television to present their drama. During that time three groups were working with Abood television, although limited staff and equipment provided by the television station management were not enough to go through the three groups per week. Other groups were therefore required to do all the production work and present their product (DVD) to the station for broadcasting. However, it was not easy for the group to carry out the given proposal since they had no enough finance to hire the shooting equipment and the camera person; and the idea vanished into thin air.

Additionally, television and radio to a large extent stimulated *Bongo Flava*[87] (a music genre popular among Tanzanian youth). According to Uta Reuster-Jahn and Gabriel Hacke (2011), *Bongo Flava* is the music genre developed due to the privatisation of the media along with new techniques of productions and distribution. It is "a broad category that includes many internationally popular genres of music, such as rap, raga, zouk and r&b. Tanzanian youth use persuasive beats of electronic studio productions. Few artists use live bands and rap in Swahili about issues they face in daily life" (Perullo, 2011: 363). Most of the Bongo Flava artists' compositions of songs revolve around social and political

[86] Juma Kilowoko (Sajuki) in an interview with Maloto, L. (2013, January 7). *Huyu ndiye Sajuki ninayemjua-2.* Retrieved January 7, 2013, from Global Publisherstz: http://www.globalpublishers.info/profiles/blogs/huyu-ndiye-sajuki-ninayemjua-2?xg_source=activity

[87] For more information on *Bongo Flava* music, see Uta Reuster-Jahn and Gabriel Hacke. (2011). *The Bongo Flava Industry in Tanzania and artists strategies for Success*; Perullo, A. (2011); see also www.okayafrica.com/stories/bongo-flava-an-analgamation-of-all-genre-of-music/

concerns[88]. *Bongo Flava* music is another competing genre of theatre in Tanzania's recent context. It has received great consideration from both sponsors and the audience (who in most cases are the urban young people in Tanzania). Therefore there is a shift of attention of both audiences, especially youths and art sponsors, from theatre to the *Bongo Flava* music. There have been many music festivals organised in Tanzania in recent years in respect of Bongo Flava music. One such festival includes Serengeti Fiesta, the famous music festivals among youth. The Clouds Media Group[89]organises this festival annually. Serengeti Breweries Limited (SBL) through one of its products, named Serengeti Premium Lager (beer) sponsored 2014 Fiesta. Another well-known festival is Kilimanjaro Music Tour. Kilimanjaro beer, one of the products of Tanzania Breweries Limited (TBL) sponsors this festival every year. Festival of Hope is another, which also brings together a number of artists from Bongo Flava music to Gospel music, with both local and international musicians. Multinational companies such as beer companies, mobile phone companies and the media (both print and electronic) funds most of these festivals. Since they involve a variety of artists ranging from the big stars to underground musicians, they act as a platform for most of the sponsors for advertising and selling their products to the population attending the shows.

Gospel Music is another music genre, which to the large extent competes also with theatre. This is one of the newer music genres, which has rapidly grown in Tanzania in recent years[90]. Gospel Music cuts across both the young and elderly population. Media, especially religious media, advocate for gospel music. In respect of this music genre, a variety of festivals have been organised in Tanzania. Gospel music has given an alternative to those people who are not interested in Bongo Flava music, for instance, to have their own platform for entertainment.

Furthermore, television has given many people the access to international football matches. People have options of either watching these in their homes or in various opened beer clubs which are in people's neighbourhoods. Various international football matches such as European League, World Cup, and Olympics Sports Competitions are among the competitors of theatre in Tanzania today. These football competitions are adored by many

[88] See also Perullo, (2011)

[89] Clouds Media Group is one of the Media Houses in Tanzania.

[90] See Sanga, 2010

people, which cut across all age groups. Considering that these competitions are seasonal, one would eventually opt to watch football rather than attend a theatre production, particularly when the time of these two art forms clash.

Moreover, internet technology has also provided another option for entertainment and a new form of sharing information among people. It is not that everyone has a computer, although mobile phone companies have facilitated this by inventing phones that are also acquainted with the internet technology. The use of social media such as "Facebook", "twitter", "WhatsApp", "Instagram" and different created social blogs with information that varies from entertainment to education has given young people, especially in urban areas, a wide choice in the entertainment industry. Hence most young urban youth look at theatre as an outdated practice.

At this particular point, therefore, I would like to express my worry that how can a theatre group with no money buy good working equipment and be able to compete with the well-equipped and well-financed music scene; mediatised and distributed in different formats such as DVD, VCD and even the well sponsored music shows/festivals sponsored by multinational companies? How can a theatre group surrounded by poor theatre infrastructures compete with the market of video films produced in large quantities monthly? These are still questions that are puzzling to the existence and sustainability of Tanzanian theatre groups. However, there are also some other general contributing factors that exist within theatre groups, which I refer to as the internal environment as follows:

5.5 Internal Environment

In this regard the discussion is based on issues that exist within theatre groups in Tanzania. It is clear that both theatre managers and artists contribute to these internal environments. The concern here is to look at their influences on the existence and sustainability of theatre groups.

5.5.1 Lack of well-defined group strategic plan

Establishment of many theatre groups is not a well-planned process. Many of these groups established in Tanzania have no specific goals. They have been specifically taken up as a style by some people. During an interview ith the researcher, one of the respondents in Morogoro argues that "People establish theatre groups without a clear plan. As a result the

group fails to sustain the economic hardship, hence members disappear". To them, theatre groups act as their means and protection in search for funds. Before providing much clarification on this matter the researcher finds it is important to note Godwin Kaduma's reflection while discussing the functions and responsibilities of executives in theatre groups:

> Kuna vikundi ambavyo vimeanzishwa ili navyo viweze kupata ufadhili. Vikundi hivi havikuanzishwa na msukumo wa kisanii. Mara nyingi vikundi hivi huwa hai na hunawiri vinapopata ufadhili na huenda likizo na wanakikundi husinyaa mpaka wapate ufadhili mwingine. Vingi vimekufa kwa sababu ufadhili umekuwa haujileti kama mvua. Vikipata malipo hugawana bila hata ya kuweka akiba ya kuendeshea kikundi na yule mhangaikaji mkuu wa kutafuta ufadhili ndio anakuwa na sauti zaidi. Tunaweza kuviita vikundi hivi "vikundi vya ufadhili" kwa bahati mbaya vipo vingi (Kaduma, 2008: 20).

Translation:

> There are theatre groups established so that they can have access to funding. These groups were not established out of artistic inspiration. Often these groups become active and vibrant when they have sponsorship, and go on vacation and deteriorate until when they get another funding. Many have collapsed because funding does not come like rainfall. Once such groups receive money, it is normally shared among group members without saving a certain amount for running the group and the person who struggles to seek for funding, is the one with a final say in the group. We can call these groups as "sponsorship groups"; unfortunately, there are many (Kaduma, 2008: 20).

Kaduma's clarifications shed lights on two important issues with regard to many theatre groups. Firstly, on the artistic credibility of some of theatre groups established in Tanzania; that is, some of them just come into being for financial gain. Because, during the processes of registration, it is not easy to recognise, which of the groups has a sincere intention for arts, we end up having so many theatre groups, of which in many instances, only the group names exist. The general manager of Dira Theatre Group, in an interview with the researcher baptized these kinds of groups as "*Vikundi vya Sanaa vya Waganga Njaa*" (a Kiswahili phrase directly translated as "Hunger Healers Theatre Groups"). Secondly, is the problem of budgeting that exists within some theatre groups. Although, their income is not very great, some of their managers do not think about the future of their group and their careers; when funds come in it is all divided and used among the group members and the

group starts over again from point zero. In this way, the survival of the theatre groups is in jeopardy due to their own economic crisis.

Furthermore, it seems that the members lack commitment to the groups which eventually lead to their collapse. As noted earlier, an individual, or two people or more, and sometimes a government or non-governmental organisations or institutions establish theatre groups. From the interview with ex-group members, the researcher realised that all three collapsed theatre groups were established after the group members had fragmented from other groups. Two causes were noted for this tendency: firstly, when group members differ in interests, the same or similar group goals are important for the stability of the group. Every member of the group should also determine to meet the goals of the group, but when there is a situation whereby one or a group of people within the group have other priorities; fabrication and misdirection of group goals exists. And when small groups emerge within the group, conflicts also start. This therefore poses a problem in managing the groups. Secondly, misunderstanding arises due to financial interests. Sam Bagenda, the director of the Ebonies, one of the popular Ugandan Theatre Groups, calls this tendency as lack of passion, patience and persistence among the young generation. Providing the Ugandan theatre groups experience, Sam Bagenda argues that "what happens now in most of the group that are coming, it is all about making money"[91]. This is similar to the situation that is happening in Tanzania. The planning officer of Solution Artists Group suggests that normally for an established theatre group to gain income, particularly in theatre, is a slow process; it needs tolerant behaviour to get benefit from the arts. Unfortunately, this seems difficult for many newly established theatre groups, hence most of them collapse.

5.5.2 Circumstantial involvement in theatre

Some artists join theatre groups as their last option in their choice of career. That is, they join theatre after they have realised that they cannot make their career in other fields because their academic qualifications do not favour them. They join theatre because it accommodates artists with limited and poor education. Arts training programmes, for instance, accept equivalent qualifications; which most of the group members receive

[91] Bagenda, S. (2014, July 10).The Ebonies on the Sporah Show like Never Before. (S. Njau, Interviewer) accessed on 13th August 2014 from www.youtube.com/watch?V=VDWrddUdW14

through working in the arts, unlike other formal training programmes which would deny admission to someone with an equivalent qualification. This lax in admission, however, developed a negative impression of artists in the community as failures, who became refugees in the arts.

5.5.3 Lack of rehearsing and performance spaces

It had observed that lack of a place for rehearsals has resulted in the despair of many artists. It is very difficult for the group to hold onto such circumstances. The planning and administrative officer, and the secretary of the Sun Theatre Group (established in 1995 and collapsed in 2010) discloses one of the major reasons which resulted into the downfall of their defunct group:

> "Lack of convenient rehearsing space, Rehearsing space was a very complicated issue for our group, at first we used to rehearse at some ones house, but we later learnt that they are not comfortable with our presence, so we decided to ask for another space and so another Good Samaritan agreed that we can rehearse at his home compound. But there was already another group rehearsing there. So, the needs of shifts arise and then we agreed we should start our rehearsals at 2.00 pm while the other group starts at 4.00 pm. This change of timetable had negative impacts to our group. It became difficult for some artists who were students to cope with the new timetable, and finally only few members were able to meet hence the group collapsed" (The Planning and Administrative Officer, and the Secretary of 'The Sun Theatre Group, 2012)

Challenges pertaining to rehearsing and performance space have been intensely discussed in chapter 4.

5.5.4 Lack of transparency

This issue was pointed out repetitively by most of the interviewed artists, particularly when it involved financial reports of the group. The artists claimed the groups' management are not transparent when it comes to financial matters. The researcher observed that payment for jobs that went to the groups would be in a lump sum or some work providers would give advance payment before the work and give the second half payment after the work. Meanwhile, in some contracts payment was only done after the performances. However, in the process of the preparation for the productions both artists and management sometimes incurred personal costs to supplement production requirements. Nevertheless, artists claim that after the productions, the income and expenditure reports presented to them were

suspiciously calculated. In an interview with one of the artists of Mwanza Sanaa Group argues that "secrecy and exploitation of artists' income is a major obstacle, which leads to the collapse of many groups". Another artist from the same group accuses the group instructor for taking money from various people in the name of the group yet artists were not getting any benefit out of it. Mwanza city cultural officer holds that lack of transparency in financial matters had been one of the great threats to the survival of many theatre groups. Therefore, from the researcher's observation, lack of transparency in a group provides room for group members to speculate on various group issues that automatically lead to mistrust among members within the group.

5.5.5 Greed-induced hypocrisy

Conflicts caused by the clash of economic interests, which result in the mistrust among the members of theatre groups have always seen between management staff although mostly between the artists and management. Misunderstandings are normally and in most cases associated with financial benefit. "Some artists are selfish and greedy, when they have money; some of them are tempted to even sometimes swindle the money" (Art officer BASATA, 2012). Moreover, some artists are deceived of 'fame' thing when they realise that their popularity is beyond borders, and they start appraising themselves. And instead of taking that opportunity to boost the groups' initiative, they usually leave the group and set up their own groups. Therefore, instead of the artists joining forces to strengthen one group, successful personal group members are always determined to start new groups. This is an absurd practice as we remain with many theatre groups which, in a real sense, have no focus. This inspiration of everyone in the theatre industry being eager to start his/her own group is actually influenced by a personal search of power. From the researchers observation, a person get power in the groups by being the owner and/ leader of the group, when one has the control of group's money.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter provides an analysis of the external environment for the existence and sustainability of theatre groups in urban Tanzania. It suggests that the downfall of many theatre groups in Tanzania that seem to take place, particularly from the 2000s, is mainly due to external factors. In my view, it came about as a reaction to: firstly, the new liberal economy/free market economy. In this new liberal economy everything is privatised,

including the arts, as it no longer receives subsidy from the government. Moreover, the introduction of the privately owned radio and television and the home video cassette recorders spearhead the development of other entertainment genres, such as television drama, video films, bongo Flava music, and Gospel music. These new genres are less expensive in terms of production. As a result, it has attracted the attention of both producers and artists. In terms of distribution, despite the existing challenges with pirates, it can reach large number of audience within a short period (as audience can buy the DVD or VCD and watch/listen while seated at home). Since today recorders have become cheap to buy and DVDs also very cheap, with the result that they have brought about huge competition, which threatens and devalue people's interest in theatre performances. The chapter suggests that the changing social, political, economic and technological environment play an important role in the collapse or existence of theatre groups in urban Tanzania.

Moreover, this chapter goes further to analyse the specific influences that arise within the group that contribute to the unsustainable theatre groups. Lack of a well-defined group strategic plan, circumstantial involvement in theatre for some artists, lack of rehearsing and performance space, lack of transparency, and greed induced hypocrisy are among of the issues discussed. Artists and managers together contribute in initiating them or promoting these issues; they are the initiators of the misunderstanding within theatre groups. This means that they are the ones who can reverse the situation that exits in theatre groups, provided that they re-evaluate their priorities in their involvement with theatre groups or arts in general.

Generally, it has been noted that the external environment influences the existence and sustainability of theatre groups in urban Tanzania. Now the question is: what about the performances produced by these theatre groups? Do these influences determine also the aesthetic of the performances, and if yes why? and how? The following chapter, which discusses aesthetic considerations in a contemporary Tanzanian theatrical performance, attempts to answer these questions.

Chapter 6
Aesthetic considerations in a Contemporary Tanzanian Theatrical Performance

> "Theatre is being killed by the so-called the 'learned brothers and sisters', and business is now killing theatre more, because they have allowed people who do not know theatre to work in the industry. Experts in theatre in Tanzania seem to have given up on issues that concern the well-being of the industry itself such as theatre infrastructures" (Lubasa, 2012)

6.1 Introduction

This essay intends to provide an analysis of aesthetic considerations in a contemporary Tanzanian theatrical performance. It aims to answer various questions that as a researcher I think needs clarification. Such questions include: who determines the idea of a good and beautiful performance in contemporary Tanzanian theatre practices and why? What are those aesthetic values or artistic values, which define a good and beautiful performance? The answers are analysed in relation to theatre group management and how it influences the artistic quality of the production.

6.2 Defining the artistic structure

In understanding the aesthetic of Tanzanian theatrical performances, it is necessary to discuss artistic structure. Kenneth Efakponana Eni, a Nigerian scholar, argues that the term aesthetic "is preoccupied with how a work of art is perceived and the meanings deducted in understanding and appreciation of quality" (2013:157). Because of the controversial nature of the term itself, it is not intended to provide a general definition, but rather to acknowledge that whatever the case the aesthetic consideration is culturally affiliated. Taking a stand from the Afrocentric perspective on the aesthetic, some scholars believe that the "realm of African aesthetic is cultural" (Welsh-Asante, 1993; Asante, 1993; Abusabib, 1995; Eni, 2013). In defending this observation, Molefi Keti Asante, a world authority in African-American studies, maintains that "in fact one is able to say that "such and such is beautiful or good" only because one recognizes the form, the pattern, the behaviour in something that has occurred already. Evidence in shapes, colors, movements, dimensions and patterns are the materials of aesthetic appreciation". (1993:58). Moreover, (Eni, 2013: 158) states that "…no work of art is created out of a cultural vacuum. Culture is the pivot on which artistic creations are hinged". Therefore it is through this

appropriation of art and culture that even the accepted aesthetic values are those that attribute to cultural aesthetic values in a given context. Niyi Coker a theatre scholar in his discussion on African cultural aesthetics argues that:

> "In the African context, what is good, and beautiful, are interchangeable. The African aesthetic is utilitarian; for art to be good it must be useful. This strengthens the perceptions of beauty. Hence aesthetic function is manifest in the performance as a whole. The organization of the entities is of the great importance for aesthetic appreciation" (Coker, 2005:19).

Coker's statement provides a very general African perspective on aesthetic. According to him, interpreting aesthetic in arts is much related to its usefulness in the society. That is the function of the arts and aesthetic cannot be separated; it is like the two faces of the same coin as they complement each other. This is true of theatrical performances taking place in Tanzania. Theatre as one of the cultural forms is not static, but is dynamic, which depends on the changes that occur in society. Its existence is also much informed by the social, economic, political and technological changes. Since these changes have a direct impact on theatrical performances, to understand its aesthetic value one needs to relate to the time of the production, and the kind of theatre (is it traditional[92], contemporary?). The producers involved in creating a particular production and performers (are they professional, semi-professionals or amateurs?). Who are the sponsors (financial supporters) and do they have an influence on particular performances? What are the driving themes in relation to the social economic and political forces existing at a particular time in the country? Such questions offer crucial insight into understanding the aesthetic value of most theatrical performances in Tanzania. In this regard I would like to turn to how its interpretation of aesthetic was considered from pre-colonial and colonial time and then dwell on the Tanzanian contemporary context.

6.3 The artistic forms/structure of theatrical performances in pre-colonial Tanzania

In its generality African theatrical performances can be placed in two categories: religious and secular performances[93]. Other researchers use the terms "the spiritual and the

[92] Traditional has used here not to mean primitive

[93] See Plastow. J. (1996). P. 13-16

secular"[94]. There have existed numerous scholarly debates to whether religious rituals fit into the ideal notion of theatre or not. However, my intention is not to continue with the debate but rather explore the aesthetic value connected to traditional theatre performance during the pre-colonial time; be it religious/ritualistic performance and/or secular performance. The obvious noted characteristics of pre-colonial theatre include: theatre that was traditional and ethnic based; it was functional in nature; and the performance took place in a specific context as a communal activity[95]. Events such as initiation rites, wedding ceremonies, and funeral ceremonies marked the essence of most of the performances.

Theatrical performances in pre-colonial Tanzania include storytelling, heroic recitations, rituals, *Ngoma* (dance), music and mime. It is important to note that most of the performances normally involved the integration of various theatre forms. A good example is the Digubi dance. According to Mlama (1981:5), Digubi is the girl's initiation into adulthood, a dance performed by the Wakaguru of the Kilosa District in Morogoro, Tanzania. Despite its didactic function, its presentation combines mime, songs and drumming. Songoyi (1983), on the other hand, provides another useful example of Bugobogobo dance among the Sukuma found in Mwanza region. This is a farming dance developed by peasants who had a mutual agreement of assisting each other on the cultivation of their fields. Bugobogobo dance therefore was one of the dances that were "developed out of the economic activities of the people" in Tanzania[96]. Elias Songoyi clarifies that peasants (Bugobogobo members/dancers) "used to cultivate at night (usually when the moon was full) and in the afternoon they danced". Songoyi gives description of how Bugobogobo dance was performed as he says:

> "The dance which they developed was so new that it attracted many people. They played with their hoes, tossed them in the air and swing them round their bodies and necks in a fantastic way. The big drums made out of the tree trunks, as their heavy sounds combined with those that made by the small drums produced rhythms which were irresistible" (Songoyi, 1983:26).

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[94] See Meki Nzewi 1979 as quoted in Adeoye (2010:2).

[95] Penina Mlama and Amandina Lihamba (2001). *Tanzania*. In D. Rubin et al The World Encyclopedia of Contemporary Theatre: London, Routledge pp. 300

[96] Songoyi, 1983:25-27

In his analysis of the Bugobogobo dance Songoyi further argues that "the dance reflected the nature of their work not only in the dancer's movements, the props and costumes they used but also in their songs. They sang about their work and the importance of the hoe" (Songoyi, 1983:26-27). The above two examples; Digubi dance and Bugobogobo dance support not only Niyi Coker's argument that "the African aesthetic is utilitarian; for art to be good it must be useful" but it also corresponds to Amandina Lihamba's and Penina Mlama's contention that the aesthetic of pre-colonial theatre performances "needs to be understood within the context of social functions from which they emerge"[97].

6.4 The artistic structure of theatrical performances in colonial Tanzania

Similar to what happened in other countries, colonialism didn't embrace indigenous culture in Tanzania. There existed much effort to suppress the indigenous culture including indigenous theatre performances. These efforts to suppress this culture coupled with the introduction of western theatre forms began during the colonial period when English drama was introduced in schools in Tanzania in the late 19th century[98]. Despite its entertainment purpose western drama was used by colonialists as a tool to inculcate and promote colonial cultural values to Africans[99]. According to Penina Mlama and Amandina Lihamba, the British Art Council was responsible for the patronage of western drama; from 1957, and started sponsoring annual school drama competitions. The initiative of introducing western drama went hand in hand with the process of discouraging indigenous theatre forms, and baptizing them as 'uncivilized practices'[100], an initiative motivated by the colonial agents particularly the school system and the church (Amandina Lihamba and Penina Mlama, 2001: 301). Drama then was for the Tanzanian educated elites, Tanzanian Christian converts and European oriented. Generally, in the colonial period theatre was used to enhance social stratification in the community. Jane Plastow, however, concludes that "the European drama functioned as both an imperialist and a class tool. An appreciation of drama, as

[97] Penina Mlama and Amandina Lihamba (2001). *Tanzania.* In D. Rubin et al The World Encyclopedia of Contemporary Theatre: London, Routledge pp. 300

[98] Penina Mlama and Amandina Lihamba (2001). *Tanzania.* In D. Rubin et al The World Encyclopedia of Contemporary Theatre: London, Routledge pp. 300

[99] See Plastow, (1996); Amandina Lihamba and Penina Mlama (2001).

[100] See also Mbowa (1996) in her discussion on Theatre and Political Repression in Uganda.

opposed to "*ngoma*" or other traditional forms became a mark of one's status as a modern, educated person". (Plastow, 1996:44)

Despite the colonialists' effort to discourage Africans indigenous theatre performances, Africans continued with their indigenous performances. However, there emerged a new form of performance as a result of the integration of these cultures; famously known as Beni *ngoma*[101]. Beni is a Kiswahili word for "Band". Beni ngoma was a dance form that was "co-existent with colonial rule" in Eastern Africa (Ranger, 1975:9). Beni *ngoma* originated in the Swahili coastal cities of Kenya and Tanganyika (Tanzania), and later spread in the inland areas of Tanzania and Central Africa. While in Kenya it was performed first in Mombasa and Lamu in the 1890s and in Tanzania in its early period was performed in Pangani and Tanga. This particular dance form adopted various musical elements from the indigenous African dance cultures, Arab and European cultures, particularly British and German. Ranger points out that in the early years of 1890s, the dominant influence of Beni *ngoma* was Arab. In this context, the Arab war dance *"Razha"* referred to as the specific dance, from which Beni adopted some of its elements (Ranger, 1975: 20). However, Beni seems to be much influenced by the European colonial military bands. Explaining the main features of Beni ngoma that were widely recognised Ranger states:

> "The *ngoma* takes its name from its essential musical feature – the attempt to reproduce the effect of a military brass-band, though the elaboration of this attempt might vary from the provision of a full bugle, pipe, and drum detachment to the beating of a single big drum in some rural variants of Beni. The dances done to this Beni music have also varied considerably but all have been based on the idea of military drill. Sometimes the dance took the form of a parade, a procession, a march past; sometimes it took the form of a dance in platoon form; sometimes it took the form of a circling drill step. Singing was always an important part of Beni performances. Almost universally the language of Beni songs was Swahili and they normally took the form of simple rhyming commentaries on current affairs. Invariably the music and the dance was merely one part of the activity of Beni members. The Beni *ngomas* had a hierarchy of male and female officers, with elaborate ranks, uniforms, and titles of honour". (Ranger, 1975:5)

Beni *ngoma* was competitive in nature. It was organised and performed by various societies formed by young people who were ready to adopt new performance cultures.

[101] According to David Kerr Beni ngoma is a "militaristic dance mime"; it is one of the syncretic popular theatre forms. It is syncretic because it combined "elements of colonial spectacle (particularly the military parade) with indigenous dance form" (Kerr, 1995:59-71).

Fiebach (2013:10) acknowledges that Beni *ngoma* emerged as result of "East-African performance cultures being open to and, in many cases, much interested in assimilating and incorporating not only foreign materials and theatrical techniques, but also adopting "other" (foreign) perspectives on the world". This was even reflected in established Beni societies which had British names; while in Tanzania known as *Marini* and *Arinoti* bands, in the Kenyan coast Beni ngoma societies were identified as *King* and *Scotchi* bands. These two groupings then developed a rival relationship during their performances[102]. Therefore, for the youth Beni was associated with civilization and even when it spread into the interior areas of Tanzania where the Swahili language was not well spread, those who carried Beni to those areas claimed to be the agent of Swahili language and culture. "Many young men were able to appear in the interior of Tanganyika with combined prestige of Islamic Swahili culture and of familiarity with the western world"[103]. While to the coastal youth Beni *ngoma* was used to boost and show that they are superior to the societies of interior Tanganyika that they are "more civilized and more modern[104]".

Despite its popularity and dominance for almost sixty years, Beni ngoma then came to an end in the 1960. According to Ranger (1975:141), the death of Beni is associated with "death of formal colonialism in Eastern Africa. (…). Beni came to an end because it was no longer necessary or fitting to emulate Europeans; that Beni was discarded because it was too obviously part of an era of cultural emasculation". Youth who to a large extent performed Beni ngoma due to their flexibility in adopting the cultural change, were now influenced by more modish dance and musical styles such as Congolese rumba and South African jazz[105]. However, until today there are a variety of dance forms that emerged out of Beni ngoma, which include *Kalela* and *Malipeng*a in Central Africa and *Mganda* in East Africa, Tanzania in particular.

In this context, therefore, three types of theatre performances existed during this particular period; indigenous theatrical performances, western /European theatre and syncretic theatre

[102] For more information on how theses groups organized performances and the various groupings existed in various places both in the coast and inland areas refer to Ranger,T.O. (1975)

[103] Ranger,T.O. (1975:42)

[104] Ranger,T.O. (1975:42): Fiebach, 2013

[105] Ranger, T.O. (1975:156-163); Kerr, D. (1995).

performances. In most cases these performances were performed by Africans themselves. The performers' class difference were clear and were particularly enhanced by education levels (elites and non-elites), and drama for instance, because it was a form that was introduced primarily in schools, so those who had the advantage of attending schools had the opportunity to participate in the established drama groups. However, regarding the aesthetic of the performances Plastow argues: "With the introduction of the concept of "fourth wall" naturalism theatre lost the democratic circle-form in which it was traditionally performed, and with the loss of dance and music much of its spectacular aspect was abandoned" (Plastow, 1996:45). Despite Beni ngoma being so influenced with the "foreign performance cultures" it still maintained what Afrocentric scholars perceive as beautiful in African performances; the integration of other forms of theatre. Apart from songs Beni ngoma incorporated also mime. Commenting on its mimic nature of Beni Fiebach states that "the competing groups were organized along the lines of European navy hierarchical – Admiral, Captain etc. They displayed characteristics costumes and acted out salient habits and attitudes of the colonizing powers (…)"[106].

Theatre was also an important tool during the struggle for independence. The quotation below summarises what was perceived as good theatre in that particular period not only in Kenya but also in other African countries.

> "African Literature and African writers are either fighting with the people or aiding imperialism and the class enemies of the people. We believe that good theatre is that which is on the side of the people, that which, without making mistakes and weaknesses, gives people courage and urges them to higher resolves in their struggle for total liberation" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Micere Githae Mugo, 1976: viii-ix).

6.5 The artistic structure of theatrical performances in Post-colonial Tanzania

Post-colonial Tanzania can be categorised into three-phases: the early years of independence (the early 1960s); the Ujamaa (socialist) era from 1967-1977; and the neo-liberal era from the late 1980s. In terms of the artistic performances the periodisation helps to clarify the nature of the performances and what was expected from them in terms of both forms and content. During the early years of independence for instance the country was marked with the initiative to 'decolonize culture' or what other scholars call 'cultural

[106] See Fiebach, J. (2006, 67-91; 2013:4-5)

nationalisation', an initiative spearheaded by the first President of the then Tanganyika, Julius Kambarage Nyerere[107]. And the initiatives started with the establishment of a ministry responsible for culture. Providing justification about the formation of the new Ministry of Youth and Culture immediately after independence Nyerere states:

> "…So I have set up this new Ministry to help us regain our pride in our culture. I want it to seek out the best of the traditions and customs of all our tribes and make them a part of our national culture" (President Nyerere speech to the parliament on 10th December 1962, quoted in Ministry of National Culture and Youth, 1976: 3).

Traditional theatre forms were emphasised in Tanzania, particularly '*Ngoma*[108]'. The preference of *ngoma* over other arts forms was due to the fact that in the Tanzanian context; *ngoma* has traditionally been an essential element accompanied in most of society's activities. In most of the celebrations and ceremonies (individual, group or national celebrations), ngoma has been the core to the events[109]. For that reason, ngoma was chosen "as the national symbol in the national-building strategies of Nyerere after independence. (…). Ngoma was a purely African alternative to colonial cultural products. But for Ngoma to work as a national symbol, it needed to be "de-tribalzed" (…)"[110]. Therefore, to show a good example of what theatre should entail, the government formed the National Dance Troupe with the specific purpose of regaining the 'lost traditional culture', and later followed the establishment of National Drama Troupe. These troupes toured all over the country for performances[111].

Moreover, with the introduction of the Arusha Declaration, it's Ujamaa and self-reliance policy, Tanzanian theatre transformed into a mouthpiece of the Ujamaa policies for its people. In this context Jane Plastow comments that "Art was not to deal with the matters affecting the individual, but with broader society issues. Above all these writers drew on a mixture of Western Socialist theory and the pedagogic traditions of much African art to

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[107] See Lange,1995; Plastow, 1996

[108] Ngoma is a Swahili word. In Tanzania context ngoma may mean "a drum (occasionally any traditional instrument), a dance, or the entire musical event" (Lange 1995:3)

[109] See also Lange, S.(1995:3-4); Penina Mlama and Amandina Lihamba (2001).

[110] Lange, S. (1995: 4).

[111] See Plastow, 1996; Edmondson,2007; Lange, 1995

assert that the new theatre must have a strong didactic purpose" (Plastow, 1996: 131). Most of the plays were then written in Kiswahili language and incorporated traditional elements of dance, storytelling, and songs. On the other hand, the Arusha declaration invented a new theatre form in Tanzania. This newly developed theatre form is famously known as *Ngonjera*[112].

Generally, on an overview of the aesthetic consideration of Tanzanian theatrical performances above, from the pre-colonial period to the socialist post-colonial time, one might recognise that despite the variation of time and theatre practitioners, there are two major observations realised; Firstly, theatre remained to be associated with its usefulness/utility role it plays in society. Secondly, the integration nature of various theatre forms in a performance continued to define the aesthetic of the performances.

6.6 Contemporary Tanzanian Theatrical Performances: what are they?

In his attempt to explain the foundation of Nigerian contemporary theatre practices, Eni (2013:158) argues that "African traditional theatre performances where the contemporary theatre practices grew, has a long history of festivals, storytelling and masquerade performances". Like Nigeria and many other African countries, Tanzania is not exceptional. The contemporary theatre practices in Tanzania emanate from the traditional theatre practices. Storytelling, traditional dances, and music, mime, poetry, acrobatics and praise poetry and heroic recitation performances are among the forms of theatre that have built the foundation of contemporary theatre practices in Tanzania. They are different from traditional theatre performances where a certain group of people from a particular ethnic group or clan of which had the same ethnic cultural background formed the performing group; in the contemporary situation the combination of group members is heterogeneous in nature, it is beyond ethnic and regional boundaries.

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[112] Ngonjera are the poetic verses designed to be performed by two people or more. "To western ears, it sounds rather like a platonic discussion in poem form"(Plastow, 1996: 132). Mostly Ngonjera are designed in question and answer form; one performer seeks knowledge in certain issue and the other one give the answer. Ngonjera is a unique form of performance introduced in Tanzania by Mathias E. Mnyampala in the late 1960s. It was particularly introduced in schools in Tanzania during the Arusha Declaration and the language used is Kiswahili. According to Mnyampala, Ngonjera must be educative, entertaining and inspirational. In respect to this form of performance, Mnyampala wrote a book titled *Ngonjera za Ukuta* in which he presents various poems. The poems have three objectives; first to encourage youth to learn Kiswahili and at the same time convince the audience to love their own language too. Second, these Ngonjera teach people on the politics of the country particularly on the implementation of the Arusha Declaration policies and its taboos. Third, Ngonjera meant to teach the young generation on the values of their own culture (Mnyampala, 1969:3-4).

Contemporary theatre practices in Tanzania can be placed into two categories: commercial theatre and non-commercial theatre (applied theatre)[113] would be a correct term to use here. In the Tanzanian case the main form of the applied theatre is Theatre for Development. Vicensia Shule, a Tanzania theatre scholar, refers to the applied theatre as the "international/non-government organization (I/NGO) theatre"[114]. Commercial theatre, on the other hand, can be identified as being based on specific characteristics such as application of entrance fee and entertainment based[115]. However, the facilitators of applied and commercial theatre are from various theatre groups established mostly in urban Tanzania. Some might be attached to a particular non-governmental organisation or even formed by the non-governmental organisation itself; such a group can be either professional, an amateur or a project based theatre group. My intention in providing this little background is to provide the ground in which most contemporary Tanzania theatrical performances are produced and so the aesthetic considerations cannot be discussed while ignoring some basic questions such as what kind of theatre (commercial or non-commercial theatre), which group; is it an NGO theatre group or non NGO group, or is the group commissioned on a project basis. What are theatre forms used and why? With this regard in mind I discuss the aesthetic consideration of a contemporary Tanzanian theatrical performance based on two selected theatre performances, namely: *Shujaa wa Jando* (The hero of Initiation) performed by Parapanda Theatre Lab, and *Wamichoro* performed by Sabsaba Sanaa Group.

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[113] Applied theatre is a kind of theatre done for a specific purpose /specific goal; it is theatre "on demand". There are various terms used to clarify this kind of theatre such as community theatre (Plastow, 1996; Johansson, 2011), Theatre for Development (Koch, 2008, Odhiambo, 2008; Nyoni, 2008), theatre for social development or theatre for social change are among of the terms used by theatre scholars and researchers too.

[114] Despite that I/NGO theatre being donor dependency, Shule (2010) mention various characteristics of I/NGO theatre. These characteristics are; it presents researched issues- based on 'Research', it is melodramatic entertainment, it uses mostly the traditional theatre forms, Performances are free, there are unpredictable audience, the performance takes place at the open space, it is an interactive and participatory theatre, mostly based on improvisation, it uses Kiswahili language, Amateur/conventional actors and stereotype characters are mostly preferred, and it is used as an advertising tool for the particular I/NGO activities. She further proposes also the basic characteristics of I/NGO theatre group arguing that these groups are donor focused established, based on donor driven activities, the group must adhere to mandatory registration, they usually conform to the political administrative structure (the management pattern) and theatre group suffers the NGO syndrome in the sense that at the end their dream is to transform into an NGO (Shule, 2010:179-250).

[115] See Plastow (1996:200-201)

6.7 Wamichoro[116] Performance by Sabasaba Sanaa Group (May, 2012)

6.7.1 The story

It is evening, even though artists have been at this place since afternoon waiting for the call to perform. This performance is organised by Médecins du Monde (MdM)[117], one of the non-governmental organisations working in Dar es Salaam. The performance takes place at Tandika-*soko la Maguruwe*[118] area found in Temeke Municipal, Dar es Salaam. It is an open stage in a closed street/road of *Soko la Maguruwe*, Tandika outside the MdM office (the road is temporary closed to allow the planned activities to carry on). This performance took place during the official launching of the organisation's activities. The space is very limited; there is *Jukwaa kuu/meza kuu* (a proper arranged and well-designed space/platform for seating the official guests). The audience is composed of men, women and children have to manage one side of the stage; some sitting on the grounds, especially children, others on chairs, and a great number of them standing. On the left side of the stage is the MdM office fence, which is used by the performers as their backstage (only imaginary since it is not backstage anymore in a real usage of the term). The main platform in a different direction to the audience is challenging and confusing to the performers. Performers sometimes fail to understand which side should they really face: is it the high table/main platform where the official guests have seated or to the audience who have squeezed themselves on their right hand side? In such circumstances it is obvious that the ordinary audience are being compromised by the official guests - it becomes a performance for the official guests while the content of the performance is for the ordinary viewers.

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[116] *Wamichoro* is a Kiswahili word originated from the word '*Michoro*' (a noun meaning 'Drawings'). Adding the prefix 'Wa' has personified the word to mean a person who involves into issues that are controversial. However, its application in this performance has nothing to do with the content of the performance. *Wamichoro* is a mere name of the female character in a play and as well as the name of the performance itself.

[117] Médecins du Monde (MdM) is an International Humanitarian Organisation providing medical care to vulnerable populations affected by war, natural disasters, disease, famine, poverty or exclusion, originally established in France in 1980. The organisation started working in Tanzania in 1992 in Kagera region and in 2011 the NGO extended its work to Temeke Municipal in Dar es Salaam. This medical NGO in May 2012 was launching a new project known as Harm reduction. The project aims to reduce social and health risks associated with drug use through a set of interventions, such as voluntary testing and counselling, needle and syringe exchange, antiretroviral and opioid-substitution therapy (www.medicinsdumonde.org/content/download/.../MDM-TANZANIE)

[118] A street found in Temeke Municipal Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

The performance begins with an entrance of two young men on stage. Each one of them has his own wireless microphone; they walk as if they are drunk. Their entrance is accompanied by a conversation among themselves. After few seconds other two young people join them, a girl and a boy, they have no microphone, their movements as well resemble those of the drunken person. We later learn that the girl's name is '*Wamichoro*'. Immediately as they come in, the boy picks up the microphone from one of the other boys. They greet each other by shaking hands. While the greetings continue, surprisingly another young man from the audience also joins them. Thinking it is a real event, the audience make some noise requesting the man to leave the stage. The intruder then leaves the stage. Although interrupted, the actors continue to maintain the mood of the performance and managed to make it look like it was part of the performance. Some smoke and others inject drugs. They have dressed in such a way that we see them as shabby and not organised, some have no shoes, and the two have shoes on one leg and a slipper on the other leg. These four young people from their look, conversation and their dress code are likely not to be more than twenty-five years old. They walk as if they want to fall. Their body seems very weak and they cannot stand motionless for even a second. They are always in the state of tiredness and sleep, either seated or standing. Throughout the performance it is only the girl's name that we get to know; other characters' names are not revealed.

Their conversation revolves around issues of drugs and how MdM is being very useful to them. They remind one another on various issues that have been taught to them by MdM. For instance one of them is being warned not to inject the drugs while he has no new syringe. As he argues "Have you forgotten what the MdM taught us?" From their conversation we find that it is Monday and the specific day for the MdM peer educators to visit them. They encourage each other to somehow be strong so that when the peer educators see them at least they should look stable.

After some minutes, two people join them, a boy and a girl approximately of the same age with them. However, these two look a bit different in terms of their costumes and the way they behave themselves. In seeing these two coming in their direction they want to run away thinking it is the police. After realising and convinced that they are not policemen they relax. I realise that these two young people are the peer educators from the MdM. The boys file complains to the peer educators that they are being harassed by policemen and all their syringes that were in their custody have been taken by them. Moreover, their two

fellows have also been arrested by policemen, so they feel they are not safe anymore. In this performance the youngsters explain all their trouble to the peer educators. Peer educators in turn give them assurance that they have heard their trouble and they will make sure their officers get to know about it. The peer educators apart from providing them with the information on the importance of not sharing the syringes when they take their drugs as it leads to HIV/AIDS transmissions and Hepatitis B disease, they encourage them to express their problems so that they could be helped. The peer educators leave the stage asking those drug addicts to follow them to their car (we don't see the car, it is referred to and parked somewhere) so as they can take their syringes. Finally the single scene performance of about ten minutes ends here.

6.7.2 *Wamichoro* performance analysis

Wamichoro performance falls in a group of edutainment theatre. *Wamichoro* is an applied theatre performance. It is a performance produced by one of the theatre groups in urban Dar es Salaam named Sabasaba Sanaa Group. So far the group do not belong to any governmental/non-government organisation. The group was just commissioned to create the performance. However, I would like to make clear that in terms of the form used it is difficult to conclude that *Wamichoro* is an authentic Theatre for Development performance. This is because the performance was superciliously created in the sense that it did not adhere to the Theatre for Development performance creation processes[119]. As noted, the performance advocates health care issues particularly among the youth drug addict. It advocates for the MdM agenda and activities which are to fight against HIV/AIDS transmission among drug users by providing them with new syringes and encouraging them not to share syringes.

The performance as noted earlier is a one-scene performance. From my observation the performance was more focused on the message than balancing both content and form. The only action noticed apart from smoking and dizziness of actors/actresses, is the action of entering the stage, seating, talking and exchanging microphones, and then leaving the stage. Words/speech is what carried the performance. Despite the artists' efforts the presentation sounds somehow dry. And so instead of watching an artistic performance, one might see it as a 'demonstration' of well-structured events in a play form. Failure to

[119] For clarification on Theatre for Development performance creation processes see, Bakari, J. A, and Materego G.R, (1995); Nyoni; (2008).

incorporate other forms of theatre like dance and songs for instance denies the performance "true aesthetic of what is good", to use Coker's phrase in an African perspective.

Another particular observation that appeals to many theatre groups in recent context in Tanzania is the use of wired or wireless hand-held microphones in contemporary theatre performances: Now the question is; is it necessary? I have chosen to tackle this in a question format so as to express the state of a dilemma I face as an audience when watching a performance, and then, I find the performers struggling to handle the microphones and at the same time they are supposed to master their characters as well (make believe). I would like to make it clear that not all the contemporary theatre performances in Tanzania use microphones to enhance the audibility of the performers. It is an observation which has been realised in some of the performances in contemporary Tanzania and it is somehow mistakenly considered as one of the props in a theatre performance. Shule (2010), for instance, comprehends this tendency as one of the characteristics of international/non-government organisations (I/NGOs) theatre. She argues that "I/NGO theatre prefer the use of microphone since they place their emphasis on the audibility of actors". This means that because in the NGO theatre the message is very important it intends to impart the audience with their agenda at hand. However, she further provides the impacts of using either wired or a wireless hand-held microphone during the performance. According to her, the microphones affect "actors' emotions and the quality of the performance…Actors have to adjust their mood and emotions regularly when exchanging microphones. In some cases microphones fall on the stage and get broken" (Shule, 2010: 198). I absolutely agree with Shule's observation that the use of microphone not only acts as a disturbing factor to performers during performance, but also it affects artists' concentration as they are forced to master their characters and at the same time they should remember to pick up the microphone from another fellow whenever they want to talk. Usually, most of the performers get to see and even use the microphones in their performances. The microphones are not part of their props while they are rehearsing.

In addition, I would like to argue that somehow it tends to predict artists' action and hence remove the suspense - one of the elements in any production that inspires/fascinates an audience to continue watching the performance. One more observation is that performers when using microphones limit their voice usage. During the performance by Sabasaba Sanaa Group, the performers had a microphone yet there was a complaint from the

audience that the performers are not clearly heard. Several times I could hear the audience saying '*sauti*' (voice) meaning they should adjust their voice so that they could be heard properly. The assumption is that by having the microphone on their hand they believe it is not necessary for them to raise their voices since the microphone could enhance their voice. Unfortunately this kills the power of actors/actresses to use their voice effectively.

However, I would like to make it clear that I am not totally against the use of microphones on stage. I know it is helpful, especially for the performances taking place at open spaces. I think with advanced technology now, the Lavalier/lapel microphones would be better since they allow performers free movement on stage and sometimes they are not even easily noticed by the audience, hence the amount of performers' character destruction is reduced.

Perhaps in understanding this kind of performance one needs to relate to the forces behind their creation. As I have argued before, due to the social problems that arose in the 1990s in Tanzania, theatre has somehow moved, although not a total move, away from the political scene, to now playing the role of activism on various societal problems such as fighting against HIV/AIDS, drug abuse, and gender issues, to name just a few[120]. In this situation some of the theatre groups in Tanzania have been established under the umbrella of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). These kinds of groups have two faces of registration; registration under the National Arts Council to get the permission to do theatre activities and at the same time register as an NGO under the NGO registration act. In such circumstances the particular organisation claims to work on 'societal problems' of the people, but theatre is just a medium used to facilitate the work of that particular NGO. Therefore it is not the central concern of this NGO to observe the artistic quality of the productions. Fumbuka Lubasa, in an interview with the researcher, argued that "sometimes they do forsake professionalism in theatre; for instance, there is no acting, there exists demonstration, in most cases theatre has no meaning because there is no writing a play, there is a director, and that particular director is being guided by what the NGO requires". That is to say that theatre management is being dictated to by the interest of non-governmental organisations and government institutions. In other words, theatre is a

[120] See Johansson (2011) on community theatre and AIDS provide an in-depth discussion on the use of theatre in combating the AIDS pandemic in Tanzania; and Marion Frank (1995) narrating on Ugandan experience also.

megaphone of the financial institutions[121]. There are only few theatre artists and practitioners today who stand for professionalism in theatre. Most in theatre today don't do theatre because they want to (although they have the artistic aspirations), but because of the money[122]. This reminds me of my interview with the secretary of Sabasaba Sanaa Group who declared that when he was contacted by his fellows with an idea of establishing a theatre group, he refused at the beginning, claiming that he had no interest in theatre.

However, it is important to note that not that all the applied theatre forsakes/ignores the artistic values during its creation process. Jule Koch, for instance, while providing "an overview over the contemporary forms of Theatre for Development in Tanzania"[123], suggests good examples of Theatre for Development performances that in her view incorporate various indigenous artistic forms such as drama, song, traditional dance, storytelling recitations and poetry, riddles, Vichekesho and Ngonjera. In her analysis she argues that despite the integration of different artistic genre in a performance, drama (speech based theatre) plays an important role as it stands as a form itself. Clarifying the importance of the inclusion of various theatre forms in a single performance Koch states: "…music and dance were added for 'decorative' purposes, to create a certain atmosphere or with the function of clarifying messages and scenes…Apart from performing genres, forms of fine art are also occasionally integrated into TFD" (Koch, 2008:137).

6.8 *Shujaa wa Jando* (the Hero of Initiation) performance by Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust

6.8.1 The story

This is an indoor performance. On the stage we see the backdrop which has been painted with houses and coconut trees; the painted backdrop suggests that setting of the story is in one of the coastal villages. There is also a set of drums and other traditional music instruments that are well-arranged on the left side of the stage. The performance opens with performers playing traditional music instruments and singing (it is a Gogo[124] traditional music tune. Then we see a man coming on stage - a strong man, with other

[121] See also shule, (2010; 2011)

[122] See also Ntangaare, (2008) in her discussion on theatre in Ugandan Changing Environment.

[123] See Koch, 2008

[124]Gogo (Wagogo) is an ethnic group found in Dodoma, central Tanzania.

performers who squeeze themselves to one side of the stage to pave the way for him. The man's focus is on the painted coconut tree on the backdrop. He raises his hands and kneels down in front of the coconut tree as if he is praying. He then stand up, still his hands raised in a slow movement faces the audience and starts narrating:

Maisha, maisha hatuyahesabu kwa kazi na miaka	Life, life is not measured for the works and years
Ni matendo tu ya wajibu sekunde ama dakika	It is only actions of the responsibilities of seconds or minutes
Yatakayoleta thawabu kwa watu kuyakumbuka	That will bring the rewards for people to remember
Ndiyo maisha thawabu na yanayohesabika	That is life reward and countable
Ndiyo maisha thawabu na yanayohitajika	That is life reward and anticipated

Emphasising whatever he speaks using body language, he poses and then we hear a song from backstage again in Gogo traditional music tune:

Lead Singer: Ohiye ohiye parapanda, ohiye ohiye imelia
Chorus: Ohiye ohiye parapanda, ohiye ohiye imelia

As the song fades away we see him climbing the coconut tree and harvesting coconuts, and coming down the tree. After collecting the harvested coconut, he happily shares it all with the audience. Then he realises it was not enough as some of the audience have not had any. He decides to go back to the tree to have more so that everyone can have a share. When he goes back he gets some difficulties in climbing the coconut tree; some unseen forces stop him and pull him down, and he severally falls. However, he summons the courage and repeats the action again and again. Then he becomes weak and decides not to go again. In a very remorseful mood he stands up and starts narrating the story. Now he takes the role of the narrator; as the narrator he first teaches the audience how to respond to what he is saying.

Narrator: Utamu wa ngoma unaambiwa ingieni mcheze si ndiyo? - You can only enjoy the dance when you are also dancing. Isn't it? *-throwing the question to the audience*. Basi vivyo hivyo hadithi - the same applies to the story telling. Nikisema "atokeani"… mnasema …"naam twaibu" - when I say; "atokeani"… you say…" naam twaibu".

Narrator:	Atokeani	Narrator: Once upon
Audience:	Naam twaibu	Audience: Naam twaib
Narrator:	Atokeani	Narrator: Once upon
Audience:	Naam twaibu	Audience: Naam twaib
Narrator:	Atokeaniiiiiiiiiii	Narrator: Once upon (with much emphasis now)
Audience:	Naaaam twaibu	Audience: Naaaam twaibu (with emphasis also)

Then the Narrator continues with the narration;

Zama hizo kabla mimi Jua sijaliona

Dunia ilikuwa imeshachanua katika mandhali mazuri ya kuvutia

Na nchi zote zilikuwa zimeshakabidhiwa jina ikiwemo nchi ya *Mnaz*i[125]

Wanamnazi ni watu ambao wamejaliwa ardhi safi

Ardhi ambayo inamea kila zao; karanga, maharagwe, kunde, njugu mawe

Vyote vinamea katika ardhi ya Mnazi

Wanamnazi ukiondoa sifa zote hizi walizokuwanazo

Pia bado walikuwa na jambo moja kubwa sana

La kujivunia na kutawala katika maisha yao

Wanamnazi walijua, walijua jinsi ya kuwaandaa na kuwatayarisha vijana wao katika maisha

Translation

Those days before I saw the sun

The Earth was already shining with attractive environments

And all countries had names including *Mnazi* country

People of *Mnazi* have been blessed with fertile land

The land in which every product can be planted; groundnuts, beans, legumes

All can be planted in *Mnazi* land

Apart from all these characteristics of the people of *Mnazi*

They still had something big

Something that they are proud of and that reign their lives

Mnazi people had knowledge; they knew how to prepare their youths for life

[125] *Mnaz*i is a Swahili word which means "Coconut tree". However, in this performance, the word refers to an imaginary country.

The narrator then exits the stage, four women dancers enter and they dance for a moment and then act a scene in which three of them create a circle and one of them sits in the middle – it is an initiation scene for females (*Unyago*) - from the dialogue of the performers I realise that the girl is being trained on how to behave when married.

As the women leave the stage, a group of men come, in also accompanied by a dance. In their hands each one has his own knife. They create a straight line, still singing and dancing in a very high tempo. Then *Ngariba* - a person experienced in circumcision joins the youth. In seeing *Ngariba*, youth hold their knife steadily with their two hands and raise them above their heads. *Ngariba* then inspects them after he has fulfilled their preparation. He picks up the knife from the youth and circumcises them one after another, the youth crying out loud in pain. However, I noted that the louder the cry, the louder the singing. After completing the process suddenly the scene changes to a celebration dance, the same youth with sticks on their hands and new costumes also. The pace of the performance is fast to symbolise their strength and happiness in joining adulthood. Then the dancing fades away and the narrator comes on the stage again continues with the story:

Hadithi hii inanikumbusha shujaa wa Jando Chonde	This story reminds me of the hero of initiation, Chonde
Chonde aliyefia Jandoni usiku ule wa mbalamwezi	Chonde who died that night of a full moon at the initiation scene
Katikati ya vilima vya shoka	At the mid-hills axe
Chonde aliyepanda *Kitarani* huku akijigamba akisema;	Chonde who climbed *Kitarani* while proudly saying;

The narrator now plays the role of Chonde reciting heroically to portray the strength and power of Chonde. He therefore, continues with the story as Chonde and not the narrator;

Ndimi Chonde, ningali tumboni mimi, nililia Jando	I Chonde, still in the womb, I cried initiation (*Jando*)
Nilipotoa kichwa macho yakaona kisu cha Ngariba	When my head came out, my eyes saw Ngariba's knife
Kisu cha Ngariba kilipo niona kikaanza kutetemeka	Ngariba's knife began to tremble after seeing me
Mimi Chonde mtoto wa kiafrika	I Chonde, an African child

Kabla ya kushika titi, mimi nilikamata Mkuki na Ngao	Before holding breast, I caught spear and shield
Nilipoanza kutambaa, mimi nikaingia nyikani	When I started to crawl, I entered the forest
Niliposimama dede nikamuona Simba	When I started to stand, I saw the lion
Simba aliponiona nikaanza kupambana	When the lion saw me, I started fighting

He demonstrates how he fought the lion; the actions are accompanied by fast drumming. He finally declares he is killing the lion. Then Chonde transforms to the narrator's role and continues with the story but now in a sorrowfulness tone;

Baada ya kiapo hicho cha utulivu na utiifu
Chonde aliaanguka, ardhi ikampokea akaenda kulala salama

Translation
After the oath of stability and obedience
Chonde fell; the land received him and he went to sleep safely.

6.8.2 *The Hero of Initiation* performance analysis

The Hero of Initiation is the story of a young man who was strong and faithful to tradition but unfortunately died on the day of initiation in the forest. The story begins with the flashback in which we see the young man coming on the stage, straight to the coconut tree which was painted in the backdrop. He harvests coconut, which he shares with the audience. When he realises the harvested coconuts are not enough he goes back to the coconut tree to take more, but unfortunately he is unable to harvest any more. Then the scene fades away and the young man takes the narrator's role representing various characters within the story of *The Hero of Initiation*. The first (flashback) scene has a symbolic meaning. It represents the young man's readiness to accept the traditions from his forerunners and willingness to share the knowledge with others.

The Hero of Initiation performance employs a storytelling technique as the basic form of presentation. Mlama (1983:268) defines storytelling as "essentially a verbal art involving

the narration of the story to the audience". Storytelling or tale telling "can be an account of the past events which is not for the sake of the past but the message it holds to the society, can be an account of imaginary event which is aimed to foresee the probable outcome in the future given the present trends of events" (Sagamiko, 1991:6). Emphasising the nature of African storytelling, Cora Agatucci asserts that:

> "…most Africans today, as in the past, are primarily oral peoples, and their art forms are oral rather than literary. In contrast to written "literature," African "orature" (to use Kenyan novelist and critic Ngugi wa Thiong'o's term) is orally composed and transmitted, and often created to be verbally and communally performed as an integral part of dance and music" (Agatucci, 2010).

In African societies, storytelling as one of the theatre forms is as old as the history of man himself. Storytelling, in the traditional Tanzanian context, usually takes place in the evening while people gather around the fire. Providing an example of Simo storytelling among the Kaguru people, Mlama (1983) affirms that "the performance takes place in a small Kaguru house room, the audience and performer normally sit around the hearth, there is no specific seating arrangement and no specific space is given to the story teller". Generally, in case of Simo the performer (narrator/storyteller) sits among the audience. Traditionaly storytellers were normally the elderly people in the community - "grandparents, often the grandmothers" used to play the role of the narrators[126]. Jane Plastow points out that "their accumulated knowledge meant that they possessed the widest range of stories and knew … the lessons that these should be used to teach" (Plastow1996: 20). Unlike West Africa where storytelling became a profession, in Tanzania and other African countries it was mainly for children and therefore the primary audience were children of the particular community[127].

There are various characteristics of storytelling traditions. Storytelling is characterised by having an opening and closing formula which is a common practice. The opening formula serves to rouse the interest of the audience as well as set the mood for the start of the narration; for example, in Swahili the narrator starts with "paukwa" and the audience replies "pakawa". Hattmann (1986) argues this opening remark is "the confirmation of the

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[126] Penina Mlama and Amandina Lihamba (2001). *Tanzania.* In D. Rubin et al The World Encyclopedia of Contemporary Theatre: London, Routledge pp. 306

[127] Penina Mlama and Amandina Lihamba (2001). *Tanzania.* In D. Rubin et al The World Encyclopedia of Contemporary Theatre: London, Routledge pp. 306; see also Plastow, (1996:29)

willingness of the performer and audience to interact with each other". However, the opening and closing remarks are not universally used phrases; they normally differ from one ethnic group to the other[128]. Responding to this rule, in *The Hero of Initiation* performance, the narrator begins the story by saying *'Atokeani'* (Once upon)… while the audience respond *'Naam twaib'*, the narrator repeats the utterance of the word *'atokeani'* three times until he has been satisfied that the audience are following him attentively, he then narrates the main story. This kind of opening phrase is very useful, not only in creating the attention of the audience but also is helpful in creating the narrator's mood.

Secondly, storytelling is participatory in nature. It allows audience participation in narrating the story by providing response and singing throughout the narration. With reference to *Simo* storytelling of the Kaguru people of Tanzania as described by Mlama (1983) the audience often utters "dii" and the concluding response at the end "ikala" (it is burnt). According to Mlama, participation of both performer and audience contribute toward exploiting the entertainment element in *simo*. The artistic manipulation of language, voice, gestures, and music by performers as well as the audience's participation in singing and response bring about the perfection of storytelling art. Audiences participate in singing various songs within the story, echoing of the speaker's words, and emotional reaction[129]. In *The Hero of Initiation* performance, when the narrator begins to narrate the story, he asks audience to respond. The narrator says:

> "Utamu wa ngoma unaambiwa ingieni mcheze si ndiyo?-you can only enjoy the dance when you are also dancing. Isn't it? - *Throwing the question to the audience* - Basi vivyo hivyo hadithi- the same applies to the story. Nikisema "Atokeani"… mnasema … "Naam twaibu" - when I say "Atokeani"… you say… "Naam twaibu".

This tendency of throwing questions to the audience and expecting them to provide an answer or even teaching the audience how to respond to different phrases and patterns during the narration, allows participation of audience in the entire process of narration. According to Amandina Lihamba and Penina Mlama (2001: 306), during storytelling "there is deliberate encouragement for the audience to perform also".

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[128] Penina Mlama and Amandina Lihamba (2001). *Tanzania.* In D. Rubin et al The World Encyclopedia of Contemporary Theatre: London, Routledge pp. 306; see also Plastow, (1996:29)

[129] See Mlama, P. (1983)

Thirdly, in the traditional context storytelling is educational; it fulfills certain functions, both aesthetic and social such as teaching proper behaviour, warning and entertaining. Stories are also designed to convey morals to the society and to educate children and other members of the society at large[130]. It was meant to teach children the morals and values of the society. This is what entails in *The Hero of Initiation* performance*;* in terms of the content the performance is didactic in nature, appealing to the audience on the importance of tradition.

Fourthly, storytelling is a form which integrates other forms of theatre in its presentation. *The Hero of Initiation* allows the integration of various carefully selected traditional theatre forms to manifest in the performance. This performance employs various traditional artistic forms of theatre; there is dance and songs (the *Gogo* traditional tune). Dance and songs to the large extent seem to dominate the performance. Commenting on importance of songs in storytelling, Finnegan (1970:386) insists that the songs fulfill various functions in the narratives. "They often mark the structure of the story in a clear and attractive way. (…) songs add a musical aspect (…). The songs also provide a formalized means for audience participation".

Heroic recitation is another form employed. This form of theatre revealed in *Chonde's* scene in which he proudly narrates his strength and courage in dealing with problems and enemies (refer to the way he narrated and acted to kill the 'lion'). Moreover, drama is also employed in the women's initiation scene. In addition, mime is another traditional theatre form that has been well explored in this performance. Mime is well presented in the initiation scene and the first scene in which the Youngman harvests coconut and shares it with the audience. Integrating various artistic forms in a single performance reflects most scholars' observation, with regard to the idea of goodness and beauty when it comes to African performances. For instance, Niyi Coker emphasises that:

> "Drumming, music and dance are common forms in African culture; they are used in daily and ceremonial context. Any author, who intends to transmit an authentic picture of African society, must reproduce the music and dance. This is only natural. Any performance not integrating this would be un-African and defies the true aesthetic of what is good." (2005: 19).

[130] See also Mlama, P.(1983); Hattman, J. (1986); Sagamiko, D. (1991); Penina Mlama and Amandina Lihamba (2001).

Abdul Adeoye, a Nigerian academician also has similar observations as Coker above. He argues:

> "Beyond the Kaleidoscopic momentum of globalisation in theatricalisation, however, the African theatre relies heavily on the total theatre aesthetics of dance, music and songs, puppetry, poetry, acrobatic display, incantation and invocation, evocation and chanting, mime and pantomimic dramatization and so on. All these canons have become a recurring decimal of artistry in the poetic justification African theatrical aesthetics". (Adeoye, 2010:2).

The traditional theatre forms employed in this performance have different functions. For instance, apart from linking other parts of the performance into the single unit, dance and songs in *The Hero of Initiation* are employed to express different situations in the performance such as; first dance has been used as background rhythm to enhance the mood of the performance and action of the performers, for instance Ngariba's actions during the male initiation scene. Dance and songs also support and enhance the plot of the story. The way in which these different theatre forms merge to make this single performance prove that the director and artists were eager not only to communicate the message but also to explore artistic values.

Generally, *The Hero of Initiation* performance is an entertainment based on commercial theatre performance. There are various reasons that depict *The Hero of Initiation* as commercial theatre; the performance takes place in an indoor setting (proscenium stage is used in this context) and the audience had to pay an entrance fee to watch it; a kind of culture which seems to be disappearing since the introduction of applied theatre/ Theatre for development in Tanzania. The use of the storytelling/narration technique for an indoor performance is not a common practice in urban Tanzania; only few groups manage to apply this form of presentation in their performances as it needs much devotion to an artistic creation, which requires also ample time for rehearsals.

However, one needs to understand that *The Hero of Initiation* performance is one of the performances that represent Parapanda Theatre Lab initiatives in experimenting with the traditional theatre forms such as poetry, storytelling, and heroic recitation. An initiative spearheaded by the Tanzania playwrights to write plays by incorporating traditional African Theatre forms. In response to this various Tanzanian Playwrights use Story telling techniques in their plays; An example of such plays include Penina Mhando's *Nguzo Mama* (Mother Pillar, 1982), *Lina ubani* (Antidote to rot,1984) and Ebrahim Hussein's

Jogoo Kijiji; Ngao ya Jadi (1976) to mention just a few. This particular Parapanda initiative began in the late 1990s aiming also to popularize Kiswahili language[131]. And since the introduction of the idea, various performances have been performed, such performances include *'Samaki wa Dhahabu'* (The Golden Fish), Alexander Pushkin's tale about Fisherman and a Fish. This tale was translated in Kiswahili and Parapanda performed it in 2006 employing various African theatrical forms.

6.9 Conclusion

It is difficult to generalise on the artistic structure of contemporary Tanzanian theatrical performances. Since there is a difference of the priority of what to present and where to present, which is between commercial and non-commercial theatre / applied theatre, then it is obvious that this provides a point of departure between these two theatre practices as regards the issue of its aesthetic. While non-commercial theatre will see messages as their key component in production commercial theatre will prefer the forms of presentation. It is through forms of presentation that the idea of originality, creativity and innovation in theatre performance can be attained.

Eni (2013:158) argues that "the key elements of African theatre are costumes and dance and not dialogue". In the Tanzanian experience when a theatre performance has much to do with dialogue the audience loses interest in watching the performance and sometimes they might even scream that the performers should leave the stage. In September, 2013 I participated in the Bagamoyo Arts Festival. The festival is conducted on an annual basis and gives an opportunity for different artists around the world to present their artworks. To my surprise when I asked the festival coordinator why there is no drama on the timetable he replied in with question: "where are the audiences? Our audiences are not interested on drama nowadays" (Bafadhili, 2013).

Looking at the two examples of the performances provided above, the difference in the application of these two elements of costumes and dance are candid. Costumes and props in any performance normally suggest the character's age, profession and even social status from which the particular character/characters belong. Therefore their importance in any production cannot be ignored. Unfortunately in some of the contemporary theatre performances the use of proper costumes and props - with regards to the particular

[131] See also Thomas Riccio, (2001:147). Tanzanian Theatre: From Marx to the Market Place.

performance needs is not considered as important as the message to be communicated through the performance. For example, in *Wamichoro* performance, some of the performers (the peer educators) had t-shirts which were provided by the particular NGO with the NGO logo on it. Probably they were meant to assist in communicating the message to the audience, but it seems as if the performers were not prepared themselves. Assume there were not t-shirts, what could they wear that could differentiate them from the other actors/actresses? Unlike *Wamichoro* performance, in *Mnazi and the hero of initiation* costumes, dance and props are well explored. This actually signifies both efforts and commitment in producing a performance that is artistically presented.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

This study is inspired by the recently growing trend of theatre groups collapsing, particularly urban established theatre groups. This alarming trend of theatre groups' rapid and frequent collapse has prompted me to probe into the root causes, among which management plays a major role. In recent years, some studies on theatre have directly associateed 'management' with the collapse of these theatre groups[132]. Such assertions, however, look at management as the ultimate entity and ignore the fact that these groups work in integration with the existing external environment, and therefore sustainability of theatre groups, particularly in urban Tanzania depends also on the external environments in which these theatre groups have to adjust. By employing an open system theory the study analyses theatre groups' management in urban Tanzania in relation to the sustainability of the particular theatre groups. Through interviews, archival information and participant observation, the study reveals that despite management's contribution towards sustainability of theatre groups, their sustainability in urban Tanzania is beyond management's challenges.

In analysing the connection between theatre groups' management, external environment and sustainability of urban based theatre groups, various existing and collapsed theatre groups have been used in the analysis process. This study argues that it is not just management who is the cause of theatre groups' collapse; external environment also have a role to play. Apart from observing groups' organisation cultures, the study focuses on social, political, economic and technological environments. In this context the concept of 'system' in managing theatre groups takes its cause. The study reveals the organisational culture of existing theatre groups', through the objectives for establishing various groups, linking system and structures to their operation in urban Tanzania. It clarifies that their sustainability and existence is particularly defined, based on the context of the groups' establishment, the government bodies responsible for administering the arts, theatre in particular (includings policies that guide the operations of these groups), theatre

[132] See Bazaale, A. (2006); Lange, S. (2008)

infrastructures and finance. It extends further to the artists at an individual level; that is, commitment of each artist to make sure that the established theatre groups are sustainable.

Accordingly, this study focused on how management and the external environment have influenced theatre groups' sustainability in urban Tanzania. More specifically, it investigates theatre groups organisational culture by defining who establishes and manages theatre groups in urban Tanzania and why. Chapter four gives a detailed discussion on this. This study reveals that there are theatre groups established and managed by various governments and non-governmental organisations as well as groups established by individuals, which can be considered either professional, amateur, or project based groups. The particular form of a group's operation is what defines the category in which the particular theatre group belongs. However, establishing a theatre group is one thing but maintaining that same group is a great challenge to many founders and artists.

The study shows that despite other factors, most urban theatre groups are established by youth who are in search of a way to earn a living. Furthermore, the high rate of unemployed youth has created a high demand for establishing theatre groups. In this regard skills and knowledge in arts is not a priority. Despite theatre being a platform for many people with good intentions of the arts, people have emerged who take this opportunity for granted, such as people who establish groups for their own financial gain. This trend of establishing theatre groups for financial motives and not artistic inspiration, as referred to some theatre groups' managers, has led to their establishment famously known as 'hunger healers' threatre groups'[133]. They have also been established for acquiring power; there is a relationship between power acquisition and being a founder of these groups. In most groups, there is a link between leadership and the state of being a founder of the group, having power in decision-making within the group and financial control. Furthermore, one needs to be the founder of the group to acquire management posts within a theatre group in order to be powerful in decision-making within the group. Consequently, this practice has motivated a number of artists to establish theatre groups either when they don't agree with the policies with their group or when they are famous and so they feel they can stand on their own. I argue that the practice of everyone being eager to establish his/her own theatre group does not add any value to the development of theatre and theatre groups in general.

[133] This reflects Nyoni's interpretation while discussing the idea of Theatre in Development (TiD) as opposed to Theatre for Development (TfD), calling the artists belonging to the Theatre in Development as corn artists. Artists interested on the money while producing poor performances (Nyoni 208:174-175).

This tendency in turn has developed a common structure of managing theatre groups in urban Tanzania labelled as the 'founder-manager-owner' structure.

Furthermore, chapter four clarifies that the establishment of theatre groups has all the blessings from the government. The 1997 cultural policy the government stipulates roles and responsibilities of various institutions dealing with arts, for instance, the National Arts Council. However, this study argues that most of the commitments articulated by the government through its cultural policy are merely written policies as in practice they are hardly implemented by the same government and its various institutions. A good example is failure of the government to invest in theatre houses, particularly in urban Tanzania. Generally, the study shows that the existing system and groups' structure do not support the existence and sustainability of theatre groups in urban Tanzania.

In chapter five, the study analyses the external environment that influences sustainability of theatre groups in urban Tanzania, namely the political, social, economic and technological environment. Tanzania has been a one party state since independence up to the early 1990s when it changed to a multiparty political system. Theatre groups during the single party system were almost equally favoured as the groups worked in support of government policies. In a multiparty system most theatre groups are detached from the government since the ruling party has now established its own theatre group. In this circumstance the eye of the government "through the ruling party" has its own established theatre group; hence other groups were left aside to find their own sustainability in the theatre industry. Various government policies introduced in Tanzania since independence have to the large extent contributed to both the existence and development of theatre groups[134]. The government initiative to establish National Arts Groups and subsidising theatre was worth the effort to develop theatre in Tanzania.

The study suggests that the downfall of many theatre groups from the early 2000s, are as a result of changing external environment when many groups failed to adjust to the changes. In my view, it came about as a reaction to; first, the new liberal economy/free market economy, where everything is privatized, including the arts, when the arts no longer receive a subsidy from the government. The privatisation process opened doors for other media to be introduced in Tanzania such as television and radio, which, together with home video cassette recorders resulted in spearheading other entertainment genres to

[134] See also Lange, S. (2008)

develop, such as television drama, video films, bongo Flava music, and Gospel music. As noted, these new genres are less expensive in terms of production, and as a result, it has attracted the attention of both producers and artists. In terms of distribution, despite the existing challenges with pirates, it can reach a large number audience within a short time (as audiences can buy the DVD or VCD and watch/listen while sitting at home). Since the recorders and DVDs have become very cheap nowadays, it has brought in a huge competition, which threatens and devalues people's interest in theatre performances. The chapter therefore suggests that the changing social, political, economic and technological environment plays an important role in the collapse or existence of theatre groups in urban Tanzania.

In addition this study argues that there is lack of proper systems of managing theatre/arts activities. The system of arts and cultural sectors in Tanzania is still not well structured. There are some coordination challenges when one examines this system. For instance, the cultural officer who is under the Ministry of Information, Youth, Culture and Sports, in the Department of Culture is working under the District/Municipal/City Director, who is under the Ministry of Regional Administration and Local Government (MRALG). These Cultural Officers also work under the National Arts Council (BASATA) which exists under the Ministry of Information, Youth, Culture and Sports. Despite being from the same Ministry; the cultural officer and BASATA have to communicate through the Director who is from another Ministry. There is no direct coordination. In this circumstance during my interview with these cultural officers, most of them seemed to be confused themselves. This missing link has given mandate to the cultural officers to deviate from full implementation of some of their responsibilities directing them towards the National Arts Council. They interpret their role as that of "helping the National Arts Council" which has no staff at regional and district levels.

I suggest that there is a need for having a well-defined theatre management system from the Ministry to the artists. This will be helpful in guiding the implementation of various responsibilities. Cultural offices, for instance, have not put in place favourable environments for the operation of registered theatre groups, and there is lack of proximity between theatre groups and the cultural offices. Cultural officers in every district/city need to keep a close eye on those registered theatre groups. I believe it is their responsibility to see theatre groups' working and to see whether the groups conform to the rules and

regulations set down by the National Arts Council and even assess the quality of work that these groups produce. Moreover, it can be a platform for cultural officers to provide suggestions and other professional advice to theatre groups.

In addition, the National Arts Council in collaboration with cultural officers, arts managers and artists need to go further in this process of theatre management. It has to set some payment rates for performances and other artistic works. The performance rates have to be transparent to both theatre groups and theatre consumers. It should be clear, for example, that any work that reaches a certain level of quality that the lowest rate of payment is a certain amount. Despite the difficulty to define quality production or even define the standards of a quality production, one can still put this into practice. Perhaps the question is: how one can set these standards? I suggest that it be based on the rehearsing time and on the performance time. This means it needs to be clear that a performance that has to be rehearsed for seven days, for instance, will not cost the same as the performance that will need a group to rehearse for a month, three months or more than that. The second suggestion is through evaluating a performance by time; that is, a fifteen minutes production cannot be termed as the same as a thirty minutes or an hour's performance. This variation should be clear and applied by all theatre groups. In this way theatre groups' concentration would be on working hard to produce artistic work that would attract attention and will automatically sell their group. The focus of theatre groups will be on how they can convince the consumers to buy their products instead of theatre groups' outsmarting each other during price negotiations. At the same time this would develop a tendency for theatre consumers to consider more theatre groups that produce high quality performances and hence encourage groups to invest more on creativity. The cultural officer in every district has to act as supervisors to ensure that is implemented. For now, there have been many imposters in arts, payment rates are not clear because there is no special supervision; people come together only for a short time and work on art/theatre project they have acquired. As a result it is hard to know who has registered and has a working license, because the current system allows anyone to operate without interference /to be known by any authority. Consequently, we find that the registered theatre groups are not getting work; instead the 'hunger healers groups' are the ones benefiting. Since they do not also observe the quality of their productions, the entire image of quality arts get destroyed by their putrefaction arts.

Through the analysis of two theatre performances; *Wamichoro* performance by Sabasaba Sanaa Group and the *The Hero of Initiation* by Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust, chapter six is devoted to looking at the aesthetic consideration of a contemporary theatrical performance in urban Tanzania. Taking a stand from the Afrocentric perspective on aesthetic, I argue that the aesthetic of Tanzanian theatrical performances, are essentially understood within the context of the artistic structure/ forms employed in a specific performance. However, the study concludes that it is difficult to generalise on the artistic structure of contemporary Tanzanian theatrical performances. Since there is a difference in the priority of what to present and where to present between the commercial and non-commercial theatre/applied theatre, it is obvious that this provides a point of departure between these two theatre practices as regards the issue of its aesthetic. While non-commercial theatre will see messages as their key component in production the commercial theatre will prefer the forms of presentation. It is through forms of presentation that the idea of originality, creativity and innovation in theatre performance can be attained.

In a general view, this study provides insights on theatre groups' culture in defining the role of leadership, employees, system and structures in relation to their sustainability. The study, however, shows that the existing system and groups' structures do not support the existence and sustainability of theatre groups in urban Tanzania unless theatre groups re-evaluate their current forms of operation to fit into the new cultural trend monopolised by video film and Bongo Flava music.

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Appendices

Interviews

Theatre practioners, Theatre managers and artists

Abdallah, Tumaini (2012, August 03): Founder and Instructor and artists of Sabasaba Sanaa Group.

Bafadhili, Abraham (2013, September 25): Lecturer at the Institue of Arts and Culture, Bagamoyo, he was also the Coordinator of Bagamoyo Arts Festival in 2013.

Chenga, Norbert (2012, August 28): Founder and Director of Muungano Cultural Troupe

Ditenya Stephene (2013, November 26): Municipal Cultural office, Morogoro

Erasmo (2013, November 26): The Founder and General Manager of Dira Theatre Group

John, Gerald (2013, November 21): Discipline Master and artist of Situmbe Arts Group

Joseph, Paulo (2013, November 21): Planning Officer of Solution Artist Group

Juma, Said (2012, August 10): Artists of the Sun Theatre Group

Kichumvi, Sunday Said (2012, August 06): Artists of the Sun Theatre Group

Kidyalla Martha (2013, November 26): Municipal Cultural office, Morogoro

Kimwaga, Agness (2012, May 22):: Information Officer at the National Arts Council

Kishiwa, Lameck Rashidi (2012, August 03): Founder and Secretary of Sabasaba Sanaa Group

Kunambi, Gasper (2013, November 21): Chairperson of Mikano Arts Group

Lauo, Haika (2012, July 16): Mwanza City Cultural Officer

Lubasa, Fumbuka (2012, July 13): The former Lecturer and Principal of Butimba Arts College, experienced theatre practioner.

Lupindo, Hashim .I. (2013, November 21): Secretary of Msonge Arts Group

Malimi, Eliachim E (2013, November 29): Project Coordinator of Professionalising Theatre Arts Practices in Tanzania.

Makene, Abubakari Rajab (2012, July 12). Artsist of Mwanza Sanaa Group.

Makenke, Rosemary (2012, July 16): Mwanza City Cultural Officer

Makwali, Issa (2012, August 08): Pasha Sanaa Group

Mapala, Hassan .A. (2013, November 21): Chairperson of Msonge Arts Group

Mapunda, Irene (2012, August 13): Artists of the Sun Theatre Group

Mashili, Malimi (2012, May 22): Arts Officer at the National Arts Council

Mkasi, Zebaki (2013, November 21): Artist of Morogoro Youth Universe of Talent (MYUT)

Mkude, Koba (2013, November 21): Founder and Secretary of Mikano Arts Group

Msusa, Amina Rashidi (2013, November 21): Secretary and artsist of Situmbe Arts Group

Mziray, Zaina (2012, September 01): The executive Director of parapanda Theatre Lab Trust

Cultrual officer (2012, August 03): Cultural Officer Temeke Municipal Council

Ngelengela, Tatu (2012, July 16): The founder, Instructor and Treasurer of Hangano Cultural Troupe.

Nghaligula, Mashiku (2012, July 10): Chairperson of Chapakazi Arts Group

Njovu, Marekani (2013, November 26): Founder and Director of Towelo Sanaa Group

Omari, Abraham (2013, November 21): Director of the World Arts Group

Petro, Jumanne(2012, July 10): Secretary of Chapakazi Arts Group

Rajabu, Mohamed. (2012, July 12). Artsist of Mwanza Sanaa Group.

Rajabu, Sikudhani (2012, August 09): Artists of Pasha Sanaa Group

Shule, Vicensia Dr. (2013, November 20): Lecturer and researcher in theatre and film at the Department of Fine and Performing Arts, University of Dar es Salaam. She is also the Producer and/ or Director for Theatre, Video film, Radio and Television productions

Waziri, Gulam (2013, November 21): Artist of Morogoro Youth Universe of Talent (MYUT)

Apendix 1: Mahojiano

A: Mahojiano na Viongozi wa Vikundi vya Sanaa vilivyo hai

Mahojiano na Meneja Mkuu wa Kikundi cha Sanaa cha Dira yaliyofanyika tarehe 26 Novemba, 2013

1. **Kikundi chenu kinaitwaje na kilianzishwa lini?**

   Kikundi chetu kinaitwa Dira Theatre Group. Kikundi kilianzaishwa mwaka 2005, nakusajiliwa rasmi na Baraza la Sanaa la Taifa mwaka 2006.

2. **Nani alianzisha kikundi na kwa malengo gani?**

   Waanzilishi ni baadhi ya wananachama na mimi nikiwa mmojawapo. Wazo la kikundi lilianzia kwangu. Lakini waswahili husema kidole kimoja hakivunji chawa, hivyo niliwashirikisha wenzangu kama watatu hivi na hatimaye tukaunganisha nguvu na kuanzisha kikundi.

   Wazo la kuanzisha kikundi cha Sanaa lilitokana na na sababu kuu nne; kwanza ni upendo wa kufanya Sanaa, kukuza na kuendeleza utamaduni, tuliona Sanaa ni nafasi ya ajira hususani kwa vijana hapa Morogoro, na pia msukumo tuliopata wa kutumia Sanaa katika kuelimisha jamii juu ya masuala mbalimbali hususani jamii za vijijini.

   Kwa ujumla tuliona tutumike kwakutumia Sanaa zetu kutoa elimu kwa jamii, kuendeleza utamaduni wetu, kujitafutia kipato kwa maana ya kujiajiri. Unajua kwenye Sanaa huku ndiyo sekta pekee ambayo inaongoza kwa kuwapokea watu ambao yawezekana sehemu/sekta nyingine yoyote anaweza asipokelewe. Ukimuelekeza tu anaweza akawa mahiri kwa kile alichochagua kujifunza; wanakuwa waigizaji wazuri tu na hatimaye kuwa watu wenye manufaa katika jamii.

3. **Kikundi kinajishughulisha hasa na Sanaa zipi?**

   Kama nilivyosema hapo awali tunajishughulisha sana katika utoaji elimu kwa jamii. Na hiyo kwa kipindi chote tumekuwa tukiifanya sana kwa maeneo ya Morogoro. Kikundi chetu kinafanya kazi kwa njia tofauti. Baadhi ya wateja wetu

wamekuwa wakitaka tuandae maonyesho mahsusi kwa ajili ya burudani tu, wengine wamekuwa wakituhitaji kwa ajili ya burudani sambamba na elimu, na wamekuwa wakituletea dhima hasa wanayoitaka nasi tunaandaa onyesho kutokana na dhima tuliyopewa. Kuna mazingira pia tunapewa ambapo maonyesho yanakusudiwa kuwa ya kuelimisha zaidi. Kwa mfano tumekuwa tukielimisha wananchi kuhusiana na matumizi ya sera na sheria hizi za ardhi ili kuepukana na migogoro isiyo ya lazima. Pia tunawaelimisha viongozi wa vijiji juu ya misingi ya utawala bora kwani tunaamini wakitekeleza misingi ya utawala bora watakuwa karibu na wananchi wao. Wakati wa uchaguzi pia tunawahamasisha watu juu ya haki yao ya kupiga kura, wajitokeze kupiga kura na kuchagua viongozi walio bora. Mara nyingi inategemea mahitaji ya jamii kwa wakati husika.

Kikundi kimejikita zaidi katika Sanaa ya michezo ya kuigiza, Ngoma (ngoma za ubunifu na ngoma za makabila). Wakati mwingine tumekuwa tukitumia Vichekesho na Sarakasi. Ila ngoma na Uigizaji (maigizo) ndiyo vinachukua nafasi kubwa.

4. Kikundi kina wasanii wangapi? Wanawake wangapi /wanaume wangapi?

Kikundi kina wasanii hai kumi na Saba (17). Kati yao wanawake ni sita (6) wakati wanaume wakiwa kumi na moja (11). Kwa idadi hii utagundua Wanawake ni wachache, uchache wao unatokana na uchache wa mahitaji yao pia. Kwa mfano tunalazimika kuwa na wanaume wengi katika kikundi kwa ajili ya upigaji ngoma kwani wanawake hawapendi kujifunza kupiga ngoma. Wanawake ni wachache kwanza wale ambao wanaweza kujitolea kujifunza kupiga ngoma lakini pia wakaweza kumudu upigaji ngoma.

5. Zipi hasa taratibu za kujiunga na Kikundi?

Utaratibu uliopo ni kwamba kuna fomu ambayo anapaswa kujaza. Fomu hii inaambatana na kiingilio cha shilling 10,000/=. Baada ya hapo anakuwa mwanakikundi ila tuna muda wa kuangalia kama utendaji wake pia ili kujiridhisha kabla hajaidhinishwa rasmi.

6. Kikundi kinapataje pesa ya kuendeshea shughuli zake mara baada ya kuanzishwa?

Sisi tuna namna nyingi za kupata fedha: kwanza tuna ada na viingilio ambavyo vinamgusa moja kwa moja mwanachama. Kiingilio ni shilingi 10,000/=, hii hutolewa mara moja tu pale mwanakikundi anapojiunga. Ada ni shilingi elfu kumi na mbili (12,000/=) kwa mwaka. Kikundi kimekubaliana kwamba ada inaweza kutolewa kwa awamu, hususani kila mwezi mwanakikundi anaweza kutoa shilingi 1,000/= au kama mtu anaona anauwezo wa kutoa mara mbili pia siyo mbaya. Ili mradi tu ndani ya ule muda uliopangwa mtu awe amekamilisha ada yake. Pili, ni pesa tunayoipata kutokana na mialiko na maonyesho mbalimbali. Tatu ni wahisani, japokuwa siyo kwa kiwango kikubwa lakini pia wanatusaidia. Japokuwa ni ngumu kuwapata ila hasa pia inategemea ushawishi wenu. Hususani tumewahi kupata pesa kutoka 'Foundation for Civil Society', Halmashauri ya Manispaa ya Morogoro pia wamewahi tupatia kazi na wadau mbalimbali pia. Nne, Pia tunatengezena bidhaa za kazi za Sanaa hususani vifaa vya kazi za Sanaa kama Ngoma na Maleba. Tunazitengeneza na kuziuza.

7. **Ni changamoto zipi mnazozikabili katika kupata fedha kwa ajili ya miradi na shughuli za kikundi?**

   Changamoto zipo, kwani ni vigumu sana kupata ufadhili wa kazi za Sanaa za jukwaani kwa sasa hususani michezo ya kuigiza. Wadau wengi wamejikita zaidi katika kufadhili muziki wa kizazi kipya (bongo fleva), muziki wa injili na filamu. Sanaa za maigizo ya jukwaani zimepigwa teke kwa kiasi fulani. Sina hakika ni kwa sababu gani lakini nafikiri pia upya wa tasnia hizi umepelekea kuonekana kana kwamba ni kitu tofauti katika jamii. Pia mtu anaweza kusikiliza/kuangalia muziki, filamu mahali popote haimlazimishi afike mahali maalumu kwa wakati maalumu. Anaweza kusikiliza/kutazama muziki au filamu akiwa nyumbani na hata katika vyombo vya usafiri pia.

8. **Je, kuna miradi/shughuli zozote zinazoendelea katika kikundi kwa sasa?**

   Kwa sasa tunaendelea na mazoezi ya ngoma ambapo tunategemea kufanya onyesho wiki ijayo.

9. **Mfumo wa uongozi wa kikundi upoje? Yaani mwenyekiti, katibu au Mkurugenzi, meneja nk. na kazi zao hasa ni zipi?**

Kikundi chetu kinaongozwa na Meneja mkuu, Mratibu wa mipango, Mratibu wa fedha na Mratibu wa malezi. Kwa muundo wa kwetu sisi Mratibu wa malezi ndiye ambaye katika idara ya Sanaa, mazoezini au tunapokwenda katika maonyesho, ndiye anayeangalia jukwaa na pia ni vitu gani tutavihitaji. Nafasi yake ni kama vile ya Meneja wa jukwaaa. Lakini katika kikundi chetu tumeona tumuite mratibu wa malezi kwa sababu anashughulikia pia nidhamu ya wanakikundi. Ikiwa tunasafiri yeye ndiye anayeangalia masuala ya chakula pia. Anafanya kazi kwa karibu sana na mratibu wa mipango.

10. **Je tangu kuanzishwa kwake, kikundi kimewahi kubadilisha muundo wake wa uendeshaji na uongozi? Na kama ndiyo ni sababu zipi zimepelekea mabadiliko husika?**

    Muundo kama muundo wa uongozi haujabadilika ila uongozi wenyewe ndiyo umekuwa ukibadilika. Katiba yetu inaruhusu mabadiliko ya uongozi kila baada ya miaka mitano. Kwa uzoefu tulionao kwenye Sanaa, kwa sasa tumeandaa rasimu mpya ya katiba ya kikundi. Rasimu hii ya katiba inamapendekezo ya mabadiliko fulanifulani katika uongozi. Mabadiliko haya bado hayajaanza kufanya kazi ndiyo kwanza tupo katika mchakato tuyawasilishe Baraza la Sanaa la Taifa. Tumebadilisha muundo wa uongozi ili uendane na changamoto mbalimbali tunazoziona katika uendeshaji wa kikundi kwa sasa. Mathalani tumeamua ya kwamba zile nafasi za kitaalamu zaidi zitakuwa zikitangazwa. Kwa mfano nafasi ya Mhasibu au Afisa habari. Hii haitamzuia msanii kama anasifa stahiki kuomba nafasi hizo. Kwa ujumla kuna nafasi ambazo zimeainishwa ambazo hazitatolewa kwa kupigiwa kura (uchaguzi) bali tutazingatia taaluma na uwezo wa mwombaji.

11. **Kuna mahusiano yoyote baina ya kikundi na asasi zingine za kiserikali au zisizo za kiserikali? Kama ndiyo uhusiano huo una mchango gani katika shughuli za kikundi.**

    Kwa sisi Dira, tuna mahusiano mazuri tu na serikali na asasi mabalimbali. Hili linajidhihirisha wazi, kwani shughuli zetu nyingi zinatupasa kufanya kazi na ofisi ya wilaya na kata. Tukitoka wilaya moja kwenda nyingine tunahitaji vibali kutoka wilaya husika na tumekuwa tukipewa ushirikiano na serikali ya wilaya au kijiji husika.

12. **Unadhani Serikali ina mchango wowote katika maendeleo ya vikundi vya Sanaa na Sanaa kwa ujumla?**

    Ndiyo, naweza kusema kwamba serikali ina mchango hususani kwa kupitia ofisi ya Utamaduni wilaya na Baraza la Sanaa la Taifa. Ofisi ya Utamaduni wilaya isimamie kwa karibu vikundi vya Sanaa. Ihakikishe vile ambavyo vinausajili, vibali vya kufanya kazi na pia ina uhakika na mahali/ofisi na kazi zao ndiyo wafanye kazi za Sanaa. Vinginevyo tunaendelea kukumbatia utamaduni wa kuwa na vikundi ambayo kiutendaji vinaboronga tu. Matokeo yake Sanaa inatazamwa kwa jicho la dharau na wadau mbalimbali. Serikali idhibiti vikundi vya Sanaa vya 'waganga njaa'. Kwa hali hii thamani ya Sanaa itaoneka na wasanii watazingatia ubora wa kazi zao.

13. **Je kikundi kimewahi kupata/kinapata msaada wowote kutoka mashirika mbalimbali? Kama ndiyo ni yapi hasa (yataje).**

    Tumewahi kupata kutoka Foundation for Civil Society na Halmashauri ya Manispaa kama nilivyosema hapo awali.

14. **Je msaada huo uliambatana na masharti yoyote? Kama ndiyo yataje**

    Hakuna fedha isiyo na masharti hata siku moja. Tunaingia nao mikataba na mikataba ni hiari. Masharti yaliyopo ni ya msingi, maranyingi ni kukumbusha kutekeleza yale tuliyokusudia. Masharti tunayopewa mara nyingi yanaturahisishia uwajibikaji pia.

15. **Je, kuna ushirikiano wowote wa wazi baina ya viongozi na wafanyakazi (wasanii na wasio wasanii) katika kundi? Ni kwa namna gani kila mwanachama hushiriki katika mchakato wa mipango ya kundi na utekelezaji wake?**

    Kwa kweli tunafanya kazi kama familia. Mchango wa kila mmoja wetu katika kazi unathaminiwa. Na imekuwa ikisaidia katika kupunguza migogoro isiyo ya lazima katika kikundi.

16. **Ni kwa jinsi gani mabadiliko ya Kijamii, kiuchumi, kisiasa na kiteknolojia yameathriri shughuli za kikundi na Sanaa kwa ujumla?**

Athari zipo, zingine hujidhihirisha moja kwa moja lakini nyingi huchukua muda kuonekana. Kwa upande wangu naona athari zaidi zinazoletwa na teknologia ya filamu. Kwa sasa, wasanii (hapa namaanisha mmojammoja) na hata vikundi vingi vya Sanaa vimebadilisha mwelekeo wa utendaji kazi za Sanaa. Vikundi vingi vya Sanaa hivi sasa vinakimbilia kwenye utengenezaji wa filamu au michezo ya televisheni (Luninga). Ikumbukwe kwamba siyo vikundi vyote vina vifaa vya kutosha au hata uwezo wa kutengeneza filamu zenye ubora. Matokeo yake vikundi vingi vinajikuta vikiishia kufanya mazoezi ya filamu na filamu hazitengenezwi miaka nenda rudi.

17. Je kikundi kimewahi kufanya kazi kwa ushirikianao na vikundi vingine ndani au nje ya nchi kwa mfano?

Kwa nje ya nchi bado, isipokuwa ndani ya nchi, tumekuwa na utaratibu mara nyingine wa kuazima wasanii kutoka vikundi vingine pale inapobidi.

18. Ni tukio gani unalolikumbuka lilitishia/lilileta changamoto ambayo ikiwa lisingethibitiwa ingepelekea kusambaratika kwa kikundi?

Kwa kikundi cha Dira haijawahi kufikia katika hatua hiyo. Kwani wengi wetu hata uongozi wa uendeshaji wa vikundi vya Sanaa hatukuanzia katika kikundi cha Dira. Tulikuwa na uzoefu wa kuendesha vikundi vya Sanaa kabla hata hatujajiunga na Dira. Pia tumepitia mafunzo mbalimbali ya uendeshaji wa vikundi, hivyo elimu hii imetusaidia kusuluhisha migogoro kabla haijafikia hatua ya kuathiri mwenendo wa kikundi. Kupitia vikao shirikishi vya wanakikundi tumeweza kujadili kwa pamoja pale tunapoona kunaupotokaji wa mwanachama mmojammoja. Hii imetusaidia kutofikia hatua hatarishi kwa kikundi.

Pia kuna kanuni na taratibu tulizojiwekea ambazo zimeainishwa katika katiba ya kikundi. Kanuni na taratibu hizi pia zinatuongoza. Kiongozi na mwanakikundi anapaswa kufuata kanuni na taratibu tulizojiwekea.

Na muhimu zaidi ni kwamba tunaishi kama familia, na hata mgeni anapojiunga anaelekezwa jinsi tunavyoishi. Kwa hiyo hatupo tayari kuruhusu kukatatishana tamaa kutakakopelekea kuvunjika kwa kikundi, kwani tumetoka mbali sana hadi kufikia hapa.

19. Unadhani wasanii/ Menejimenti ndiyo chanzo cha kikundi kusambaratika?

Uongozi pia unachangia sana katika kuua vikundi. Sisi viongozi tumekuwa na kasumba ya kuwatumia wasanii kama vitu. 'Wao vitu na sisi watu'. Unajua vitu unavitumia kama unavyotaka wewe. Tumekuwa hatuna utaratibu wa kutoa ripoti za mapato na matumizi mathalani. Kwa hali hii wasanii wanatengeneza dhana kwamba wananyonywa na hatimaye wanavikimbia baadhi ya vikundi. Kikundi hakina akaunti ya benki kwa mfano. Vikundi vingi wanajitahidi kufanikisha usajili wakishasajiliwa hata katiba nayo inapotea haijulikani ilipo. Kwa misingi hiyo uendeshaji wa kikundi una kuwa ni mgumu.

20. Kwa maoni yako unadhani nini kifanyike ili tuweze kuwa na vikundi vya sanaa endelevu Tanzania

Changamoto zilizopo ni nyingi lakini nitajaribu kuzisema kwa ufupi. Kwanza vikundi vingi huanzishwaji wake hauna malengo maalumu. Hiyo inapelekea vikundi vingi kuanzishwa na kwa muda mfupi tu vinakufa. Watu wanaweza wakakurupuka tu kwa malengo gani, ili iweje? Hawaliangalii hilo. Wao wanaanzisha/kujiunga na vikundi vya Sanaa kwa kuwa tu kuna watu fulani wapo na alishawahi kucheza ngoma labda. Wanafanya mazoezi bila mipango yoyote endelevu mwisho wa siku watu wanakata tamaa na kuondoka katika kikundi.

Pili, ukosefu wa ubunifu katika kufanya kazi za Sanaa kunapelekea vikundi vingi kufa

Tatu, jingine kubwa zaidi ni kutokana na kutokuungwa mkono na serikali. Vikundi vinaanzishwa, viongozi wa vikundi wanaweza kuwa wanasuasua, lakini serikali inapaswa kuwapa nguvu. Kwani serikali inajukumu la msingi sana, mathalani kupitia shughuli zao, Serikali imekuwa ikinyonya wasanii. Kwa mfano mnaitwa kufanya kazi lakini mnaishia kupewa soda na nauli. Huu ni udhalilishaji wa Sanaa unaofanywa na Serikali. Serikali inapaswa kutambua kwamba wasanii wanaacha shughuli zao na kufanya mazoezi hivyo muda wao wa mazaoezi hauwezi kuthaminishwa kwa soda na nauli.

Nne ni ukatishawaji tamaa unaotokea kutokana na serikali, kutotoa kipaumbele kwa masomo ya Sanaa na utamaduni. Jamii bado inakasumba kwamba Sanaa na

utamaduni ni kupoteza muda. Serikali ikirudisha masomo ya Sanaa na utamaduni mashuleni watoto watajifunza kuthamini Sanaa na utamduni tangu wangali wadogo.

Mahojiano na Katibu wa Kikundi cha Sanaa cha Sabasaba yaliyofanyika tarehe 03 Agosti, 2012.

1. **Kikundi chenu kinaitwaje na kilianzishwa lini?**

   Jina rasmi la kikundi ni 'Sabasaba Sanaa Group'. Kikundi kilianzishwa mwaka 2005 na kusajiliwa rasmi na Baraza la Sanaa la Taifa mnamo mwaka 2007. Hapa Dar es Salaam kikundi hiki kipo eneo la Mtoni Mtongani, Mtaa wa Sabasaba kwa Azizi Ally-Temeke.

2. **Nani alianzisha kikundi na kwa malengo gani?**

   Kikundi kilitokana na kundi la Sanaa lijulikanalo kama 'Tumaini'. Mimi nilikuwa kama mwanachama wa kawaida, isipokuwa kilikuwa na porojo zaidi kuliko utekelezaji, hivyo binafsi nikajitoa kwani sikuona mwelekeo wa kikundi. Baada ya miezi miwili kikundi cha Tumaini kikafa. Baadhi ya wasanii wa kilichokuwa kikundi cha Sanaa cha Tumaini wakanifuata wakitaka tuanzishe kikundi kipya, binafsi sikuwa tayari kwani sikuwa mpenzi sana wa Sanaa, ila kutokana na kunisihi sana nikakubali kuungana nao kuanzisha kikundi. Hivyo ndivyo kikundi cha Sanaa cha Sabasaba kilivyoanzishwa sasa na jumla ya watu wanne, na baadae tukawatafuta watu wengine wawlil ili kufanya jumla ya waanzilishi sita. Tukasajili rasmi kikundi BASATA kwa gharama ya Shilingi 60,000/= ambazo nakumbuka nilizitoa mimi mwenyewe mfukoni mwangu, kwani katika wanachama wote ni mimi peke yangu ndiye nilikuwa nafanya kazi, hivyo niligharamia gharama zote za usajili zilizokuwa zikihitajika.

   Lengo la kuanzisha kikundi ni kwamba tuliona vijana wengi wanajihusisha na makundi mabovu ya ngono zembe na madawa ya kulevya, hii ni kutokana na kukosa mahali maalum ambapo wanaweza kukusanyika. Pia vijana wengi hawana ajira hivyo tuliona kuunda kikundi ni muhimu kwani ni rahisi kupata msaada mkiwa kama kundi kuliko mtu mmoja mmoja. Hivyo tukaona tuanzishe kikundi ili tuweze

kuwasaidia hawa vijana na pia kuelimisha jamii katika masuala ya elimu mazingira na milipuko ya magonjwa mbalimbali.

3. **Kikundi kinajishughulisha hasa na Sanaa zipi?**

   Tunafanya Sanaa ambayo inavuta watazamaji, tumejikita zaidi katika Ngoma za makabila mbalimbali, Maigizo, Michezo ya Luninga na Filamu na kiasi Sarakasi japo siyo sana.

4. **Kikundi kina wasanii wangapi? Wanawake wangapi /wanaume wangapi?**

   Kikundi kina wasanii 48 wanaume 16 na wanaobakia ni wanawake.

5. **Zipi hasa taratibu za kujiunga na Kikundi?**

   Sabasaba ni kama chuo, awali gharama za kujiunga na kikundi ilikuwa ni shilingi 10,000/=. Lakini sasa tukagundua kwamba wasanii wanajiunga, halafu wakishajua Sanaa wanaondoka na kwenda kujiunga na makundi mengine. Hivyo sasa tumebadilisha utaratibu, kujiunga ni shilingi 42,000/=. Tumetengeneza fomu, ambapo 30,000/= ni gharama za kujiunga, 10,000/= kwa ajili ya t-shirt, na shilingi 2,000/= kwa ajili ya kitambulisho. Hii inatusaidia sisi katika kuwapata wasanii ambao wana nia ya dhati na hata kama wataondoka basi ionekane kwamba wametoa mchango ambao ni kama gharama za mafunzo kwa kipindi walichoshiriki nasi.

6. **Kikundi kinapataje pesa ya kuendeshea shughuli zake mara baada ya kuanzishwa?**

   Kuna michango ile ambayo kila msanii anaitoa wakati anajiunga na kikundi. Pia Msanii anachangia asilimia kumi ya pato lake kwa kila onyesho analofanya ili kutunisha mfuko wa kikundi. Pesa hiyo inatumika kununua Maleba, zana mbalimbali kama vile Ngoma na pia kutoa huduma kwa msanii endapo ameumia akiwa mazoezini.

7. **Ni changamoto zipi mnazozikabili katika kupata fedha kwa ajili ya miradi na shughuli za kikundi?**

   Tanzania ‘funds’ zinatolewa kwa upendeleo. Vikundi vingi vinaomba lakini kupata inategemea kama kuna mtu ambaye anaweza kuwapigia debe ili wazo lenu lipewe

kipaumbele, hivyo vikundi vinapata pesa siyo kwa sababu ya uwezo wa kikundi bali kwa kuwa kuna mtu fulani anayewawakilisha. Labda kama hizo 'funds' zinatolewa na taasisi za nje ndiyo kuna matumaini ya kupata kwa haki.

8. **Je, kuna miradi/shughuli zozote zinazoendelea katika kikundi kwa sasa?**

   Kwa sasa kikundi kimepanga kazi lakini tatizo hakuna pesa. Tulikubaliana walau kikundi kiwe na Kantini, kwani hii itasaidia sana pale ambapo kundi halijapata shughuli za sanaa kwa muda mrefu. Mpango mwingine ni kutengeneza filamu, mpaka hivi sasa tuna miswada miwili ya filamu lakini bado kipato kinasumbua tunashindwa kutengezaza kwani hatuna pesa.

9. **Mfumo wa uongozi wa kikundi upoje? Yaani mwenyekiti, katibu au Mkurugenzi, meneja nk. na kazi zao hasa ni zipi?**

   Uongozi wa kikundi unafuata mfumo wa Mwenyekiti, Katibu, Mtunza hazina na Kiongozi wa nidhamu. Hata hivyo Mwenyekiti wa kikundi alishajivua madaraka yake na kujitoa kabisa katika kikundi, kwa maana hiyo nafasi hii ipo wazi mpaka sasa. Na hii ilitokana na kutokuwa na maelewano au uchonganishi baina ya wanakikundi kutokana na tuhuma kwamba, katibu amechukua/amekula fedha za kikundi. Mgogoro huo ulipelekea kuwepo kwa kikao cha kikundi na hivyo ikadhihirika kwamba Mwenyekiti amedanganya. Hivyo akajitoa katika kundi kwa miadi kwamba ataanzisha kikundi chake.

10. **Je tangu kuanzishwa kwake, kikundi kimewahi kubadilisha muundo wake wa uendeshaji na uongozi? Na kama ndiyo ni sababu zipi zimepelekea mabadiliko husika?**

    Kikundi cha Sabasaba kimepiga hatua. Hivi sasa tuna ngoma zetu, sare na tumeshafungua akaunti. Makundi mengi hayajafanikiwa kufikia hapa sisi tulipofika, japokuwa wana muda mrefu katika fani hii ya Sanaa.

    Kwa tathmini yangu naona kuna mabadiliko makubwa, na kwa sababu mimi ni mtendaji naliona hilo, naona kila mwaka tunakuwa, kwa sababu baada ya kusajiliwa kundi halikuwa na chochote, lakini tumejitahidi kutafuta kazi mbalimbali kutoka kwa wadau mbalimbali; unatafuta watu ambao unaona wanauwezo unaenda kuwaomba na kuwauzia maneno ambao hutusaidia walau laki mbili, laki tano

ambazo mara nyingi zinatusaidia katika uendeshaji wa shughuli za kikundi, kushiriki katika matamasha mbalimbali. Kwa hakika tumejitanganza kwani kuna taasisi na mashirika mengi yanatufahamu.

Hata hivyo kikundi bado ni tegemezi, kwani kuna vitu muhimu kama kamera hatuna na kamera ni muhimu katika tasnia ya filamu.

11. **Kuna mahusiano yoyote baina ya kikundi na asasi zingine za kiserikali au zisizo za kiserikali? Kama ndiyo uhusiano huo una mchango gani katika shughuli za kikundi.**

    Kikundi kina mahusiano ya karibu na Mashirika binafsi mfano mzuri ni Shirika la 'Medicine du Monde'. Tumekuwa tukifanya kazi kwa karibu sana na Manispaa ya Temeke kupitia ofisi yake ya Utamaduni kwa mfano wamewahi kutupatia kazi ya kutengeneza filamu kuhusu madhara ya madawa ya kulevya kwa jamii.

12. **Unadhani serikali ina mchango wowote katika maendeleo ya vikundi vya Sanaa na Sanaa kwa ujumla?**

    Ndio. Lakini tatizo ni kwamba haitoi pesa kwa vikundi vya Sanaa.

13. **Je kikundi kimewahi kupata/kinapata msaada wowote kutoka mashirika mbalimbali? Kama ndiyo ni yapi hasa (yataje).**

    Sijui kama naweza kuita tunachopewa ni masaada, ila tumekuwa tukifanya kazi na baadhi ya mashirika mbalimbali.

14. **Je msaada huo uliambatana na masharti yoyote? Kama ndiyo yataje.**

    Tunafanya kazi na taasisi mbalimbali kwa ajili ya uhamasishaji wa masuala mbalimbali ya kijamii. Masharti ya kazi ni kwamba iwe bora, ubora wa kazi ni muhimu sana na pia ripoti itolewe.

15. **Je, kuna ushirikiano wowote wa wazi baina ya viongozi na wafanyakazi (wasanii na wasio wasanii) katika kundi? Ni kwa namna gani kila mwanachama hushiriki katika mchakato wa mipango ya kundi na utekelezaji wake?**

Tuna kikao kila mwisho wa mwezi kwa wanachama wote. Katika kikao hiki mrejesho wa masuala na mipango mbalimbali inatolewa kwa wanakikundi wote. Lakini pia ikitokea dharula, tunaitisha kikao ambapo wanachama wote wanapaswa kushiriki.

16. **Ni kwa jinsi gani mabadiliko ya Kijamii, kiuchumi, kisiasa na kiteknolojia yameathriri shughuli za kikundi na Sanaa kwa ujumla?**

Kikundi chetu hakifungamani na chama chochote, kwani tunahitaji kuwa huru kufanya shughuli zetu. Watu wengi wanakuja kutuomba tufanye kazi za siasa, ila tunakataa kwani itatuwia vigumu kukosoa utendaji wa chama husika pale tunapopaswa kufanya hivyo.

Mtikisiko wa uchumi pia unatuathiri sana hususani kwa wale walezi wetu ambao wanatusaidia ikiwa masuala yao ya kifedha hayaendi vyema nasi pia tunakwama katika utendaji.

17. **Je kikundi kimewahi kufanya kazi kwa ushirikianao na vikundi vingine ndani au nje ya nchi kwa mfano?**

Kuna wasanii mara nyingine tumekuwa tukiwaazima kutoka katika makundi mengine. Tunafanya nao kazi kwa muda fulani kutegemeana na mahitaji ya kazi husika. Hatujawai kushiriki katika maonyesho nje ya Tanzania kwa mfano.

18. **Ni tukio gani unalolikumbuka lilitishia/lilileta changamoto ambayo ikiwa lisingethibitiwa ingepelekea kusambaratika kwa kikundi?**

Kuna matukio mawili yalitokea ambayo yalitaka kupelekea kikundi kufa. Kuna kundi lilianzisha hapa eneo la Mtoni Mtongani ambalo lilitangaza linavifaa vyote na ofisi na hivyo litaanza kufanya filamu mara kwa mara. Wasanii wote walisambaratika, tukabaki wanne tu, ambao ni waanzilishi wa kikundi. Ilituchukua miezi sita kuweza kukusanya nguvu na kuendelea tena. Mara ya pili pia wasanii wakapata taarifa kwamba kuna kikundi kimeanzishwa Mwananyamala ambapo wasanii wakike wenye uwezo wakakimbia, tukakaa kwa muda wa miezi minne pasipo kuwa na wasanii, baadaye tukasajili wasanii wengine tukaendeleza kikundi hadi hivi sasa.

Baadhi ya wasanii wanahamahama kutoka kikundi kimoja kwenda kikngine kutokana na kukosekana kwa kazi za kuonekana. Hapa namaanisha filamu; wao wanaamini kuwa filamu au maigizo ya luninga ndiyo yatakayo wafanya wajulikana na watu wengi. Kwani wasanii wengi wanafanya Sanaa kwa lengo la kuonekana zaidi; kupata umaarufu na siyo maslahi. Ndiyo maana wanapenda sana kufanya filamu au maigizo ya luninga kuliko Sanaa za aina nyingine. Wanapenda ule umaarufu. Angalau hivi sasa ndiyo wanagundua kwamba filamu hailipi, kwani wanajikuta wanatumia pesa zao kununua maleba na props zinazohitajika. Ni tu vile wanafanyakazi bure, lakini kipato hakuna kabisa ukilinganisha na jinsi wanavyojitolea na matarajio yao!

19. Unadhani wasanii/ Menejimenti ndiyo chanzo cha kikundi kusambaratika?

Ninachoweza kusema ni kwamba, kikundi kitakufa kama Uongozi ukifa, kama uongozi haujafa kundi hata siku moja haliwezi kufa au kwa maneno mengine kampuni haifi kama wapo waendeshaji.

20. Kwa maoni yako unadhani nini kifanyike ili tuweze kuwa na vikundi vya sanaa endelevu Tanzania

Kwa mtazamo wangu, napenda kuelekeza sauti yangu kwenye aina ya kazi tunazofanya. Wasanii tuache vitu vya kuiga. Tuzalishe Sanaa inayo bebwa na ubunifu na ubora wa hali ya juu. Kwa mantiki hiyo kazi ya Sanaa itaheshimika na hata sisi tunaofanya kazi ya Sanaa tutaheshimika pia.

Pia kuna suala la udanganyifu unaojitokeza juu ya maslahi. Wasanii wanatakiwa wawe na msimamo katika vikundi vya Sanaa. Wasidanganyike na maslahi ambayo hawana uhakika nayo, udanganyifu wa kufuata maslahi makubwa umepelekea wasanii kuwa ‘bendera ifuatayo upepo’, mara nyingi wasanii wamekuwa wakikosa msimamo, wakipata ushawishi kidogo tu wanaondoka katika kikundi hivyo tunabaki na wasanii ambao unahitaji nguvu za ziada kuwafundisha upya. Kwa namna hii ni ngumu kuwa na vikundi vya Sanaa endelevu.

Mahojiano na Mwenyekiti na Katibu wa Kikundi cha Sanaa Cha Chapakazi (Chapakazi Arts Group) tarehe 10 July, 2012

1. **Kikundi chenu kinaitwaje na kilianzishwa lini?**

   Kikundi ni Chapakazi Ats Group na kilianzishwa mnamo mwaka 1995.

2. **Nani alianzisha kikundi na kwa malengo gani?**

   Kikundi kilianzishwa na mwalimu Lukas Njigu, ambaye alikuwa mtunzi wa nyimbo, pia alikuwa ni mwalimu wa sanaa. Yeye ndiye aliyehamasisha watu wawili watatu kuanzisha kikundi, na ndipo baadaye watu wengine wakaomba kujiunga. Mwalimu Lukas Njigu hivi sasa ni Marehemu.

   Kikundi kilianzishwa kwa lengo la kutoa hamasa wakati wa kampeni za uchaguzi kwa ajili ya Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM). Kwa ujumla kikundi kiliundwa kwa ajili ya kukipigia kampeni Chama cha Mapinduzi. Uhamasishaji wetu ulifanyika zaidi kupitia kwaya. Tulianza na wazo la kufanya kwaya, lakini baadaye kutokana na ushauri wa walimu kwamba kwaya pekee haitaweza kuendeleza sanaa yetu, hivyo tukabadilisha mwelekeo, tukafanya ngoma na kwaya kwa pamoja na michezo ya kuigiza ili pia kuibua utamaduni kwani walimu walishauri kwamba kwaya inakosa mvuto na soko kwa watazamaji na wadau wengine wa sanaa. Mwanzo tulikuwa tukifanya zaidi kazi za Chama cha Mapinduzi lakini kwa sasa tunatoa huduma kwa yeyote anayetuhitaji.

3. **Kikundi kinajishughulisha hasa na sanaa zipi?**

   Kikundi kinajishughulisha zaidi na Ngoma za asili, kwaya na kwa kiasi maigizo. Kwa kawaida huwa tunafanya mazoezi kwa wiki mara tatu ili wasanii wasisahau na kujiweza 'fit'. Isipokuwa tukiwa na onyesho tunafaya mazoezi kila siku. Changamoto kubwa katika mazoezi ni kuweza kutengeneza ujumbe uliokusudiwa kupitia nyimbo kwani unahitajika umakini wa hali ya juu katika utunzi. Lakini ngoma tumekuwa tukizifanya mara kwa mara hivyo haitupi shida kabisa.

4. **Kikundi kina wasanii wangapi? Wanawake wangapi /wanaume wangapi?**

   Kikundi kina jumla ya watu ishirini na saba (27). Katika idadi hii kuna wasanii Ishirini (20) wanaoshiriki mazoezi na maonyesho. Wanawake ni kumi na nne (14), na

wanaume ni saba (7), katika wanawake 14 mmoja hachezi. Pia kuna wazee wa kikundi wapatao Saba (7), hawa hawashiriki katika mazoezi na maonyesho. Wao ni kama waangalizi. Wanashiriki katika harambee mbalimbali za kikundi na vikao, ni washauri tu wa kikundi. Idadi ya wanaume ni ndogo kuliko wanawake kwa sababu wanaume wanaona kucheza ngoma ni ujinga na ushamba, lakini wanawake ni waelewa na wepesi kujifunza.

5. **Zipi hasa taratibu za kujiunga na Kikundi?**

Sisi kama wanakikundi pamoja, kuna taratibu tumeziweka za kujiunga na kikundi. Hata hivyo ni lazima tujiridhishe kuwa, mtu anayejiunga na kikundi chetu ana dhamira njema na maendeleo ya kikundi. Ni lazima tuwe tumejiridhisha kuwa, mtu huyo hana lengo la kukiyumbisha kikundi. Kikundi kina katiba na kimesajiliwa na BASATA. Katiba ndiyo huwa inatulinda kwa mtu yeyote yule. Na kila mwanachama wakati wa kujiunga lazima atoe kiingilio ambacho ni shilingi 10,000/=. Akishatoa hiyo pesa basi ruksa kujiunga hakuna michango mingine.

6. **Kikundi kinapataje pesa ya kuendeshea shughuli zake mara baada ya kuanzishwa?**

Tulikuwa tunategemea zaidi kampeni. Kampeni zinapoanza tumekuwa tukichukuliwa kuhamasisha sehemu mabalimbali. Hivyo chama ndiyo kilikuwa kinatoa pesa ya kuendeshea shughuli za kikundi hususani wakati wa kampeni. Tumefanya maonyesho maeneo mengi sana jiji Mwanza hususan kata ya Buswelu, Kayenze, Mwanza mjini maeneo ya Ilemela tukiwa chini ya Chama cha Mapinduzi. Na tulikuwa tunalipwa.

7. **Ni changamoto zipi mnazozikabili katika kupata fedha kwa ajili ya miradi na shughuli za kikundi?**

Hatuna wafadhili wa kutupatia kazi. Sisi hatuwezi kutafuta kazi nadhani na kwa vile hatuna mtu wa masoko tumekuwa tukishindwa kabisa la kufanya. Hatujui tuanzie wapi kutafuta kazi, zaidi tunasuburi tu mialiko kutoka kwa watu na taasisi zinazofahamu shughili zetu. Mara nyingi sana tunategemea wito tu kutoka kwa afisa utamaduni, au mashirika yanayopitia ofisi ya afisa utamaduni, ndiyo naye atawachagulia kikundi, ikitokea bahati akatuchagua siye basi bahati yetu. Tunatamani

tupate mtu wa kututafutia masoko ya kazi zetu mwenye taaluma hiyo, uongozi wetu ni ngumu kutafuta kazi kwani wengi wetu hatujasoma sana.

8. **Je, kuna miradi/shughuli zozote zinazoendelea katika kikundi kwa sasa?**

   Hapana. Tupo katika mazoezi tu kulingana na ratiba yetu.

9. **Mfumo wa uongozi wa kikundi upoje? Yaani mwenyekiti, katibu au Mkurugenzi, meneja nk. na kazi zao hasa ni zipi?**

   Kikundi hakina meneja wala wadhamini. Kikundi kinalelewa na Mwenyekiti, Mwenyekiti msaidizi, Katibu mkuu na Katibu msaidizi pamoja na Mhasibu. Huo ndiyo uongozi kamili wa kikundi.

   Japokuwa tuna uongozi, lakini hatuna mtu rasmi anayetafuta kazi kwa ajili ya kikundi. Ila kwa kuwa tumefanya Sanaa kwa muda mrefu tunafahamika, hivyo tunapata mialiko kutoka kwa watu binafsi na mashirika.

10. **Je tangu kuanzishwa kwake, kikundi kiliwahi kubadilisha muundo wake wa uendeshaji na uongozi? Na kama ndiyo ni sababu zipi zilipelekea mabadiliko husika?**

    Muundo wa uongozi wa kikundi haujwahi kubadilika. Kadri ya muongozo wa katiba yetu, ni kwamba kila baada ya miaka mitatu viongozi wanachaguliwa wengine/uongozi unabadilishwa. Na tunafanya uchaguzi ili kuwapata viongozi wapya.

    Mwanzo kikundi hakikuwa na muelekeo wa kimaendeleo. Ilikuwa tukipata pesa tunagawana wanakikundi, lakini hivi sasa tunafanya Sanaa kwa malengo. Tumefungua akaunti benki. Hivi sasa tukipata pesa tunaweka benki. Hivi karibuni kikundi kiliamua kuanzisha mradi/mfuko wa kuweka na kukopa kwa ajili ya wanakikundi, kwani tuliamini utakuwa na manufaa makubwa kwa wanakikundi. Kwa hiyo kikundi kina mradi wa kuweka na kukopa kwa sasa. Tunakutana mara moja kwa mwezi ili kupata taarifa za maendeleo ya mradi/mfuko.

    Mabadiliko haya yamesababishwa na kutembea, kukutana na vikundi vingine/ watu ambao wana mtazamo wa kuviendeleza vikundi vya Sanaa. Tukapata mawazo mapya ya namna ya kuendeleza kikundi chetu.

11. **Kuna mahusiano yoyote baina ya kikundi na asasi zingine za kiserikali au zisizo za kiserikali? Kama ndiyo uhusiano huo una mchango gani katika shughuli za kikundi.**

Kikundi hakina mahusiano ya moja kwa moja na serikali, labda kupitia ofisi ya Afisa Utamaduni wa jiji ambaye wakati mwingine anatujulisha kushiriki katika shughuli za kiserikali hususani mapokezi ya Mawaziri.

Kuhusu suala la kampeni hapa kata ya buswelu, kikundi cha ngoma ni chetu tu, hivyo viongozi wa kata wanapohitaji kikundi wanatupa taarifa. Siyo ngoma tu tunafanya pia maigizo japo ni mara chache.

12. **Unadhani serikali ina mchango wowote katika maendeleo ya vikundi vya Sanaa na Sanaa kwa ujumla?**

Serikali inamchango mkubwa sana maana ndiyo wadau wakuu wa Sanaa hapa nchini.

13. **Je kikundi kimewahi kupata/kinapata msaada wowote kutoka mashirika mbalimbali? Kama ndiyo ni yapi hasa (yataje).**

Kikundi hakipati msaada wowote kutoka popote pale. Isipokuwa tumekuwa tukifanya kazi kwa karibu na shirika la Kivulini linalojishughulisha na kutetea haki za binadamu. Shirika hili tumefanya nao kazi kwa muda mrefu hususani katika masuala ya kuzuia ukatili wa kijinsia. Wao wanatupatia 'theme' wanayoitaka na sisi tunatunga nyimbo au igizo kutokana na 'theme' tuliyopewa. Wakati mwingine taasisi za elimu zinatualika hususani wakati wa sherehe za mahafali kwenda kutoa burudani.

Kwa ujumla kikundi kinategemea zaidi mialiko. Inategemea, kwa mwaka mfano; tunaweza kuwa na maonyesho hata ishirini (20). Kwa mwezi mara nyingine tunakuwa na maonyesho hata manne (4), na kunawakati tunakaa hata miezi miwili bila ya maonyesho. Tumekuwa tukishiriki pia mashindano ya ngoma za asili ya Bailimi[135] tangu mwaka 2009.

14. **Je msaada huo uliambatana na masharti yoyote? Kama ndiyo yataje**

[135] Haya ni Mashindano ya Ngoma za asili yanayoandaliwa na kudhaminiwa na Kampuni ya Bia ya 'Tanzania Breweries Limited' (TBL) kupitia moja ya bidhaa zake ijulikanayo kama 'Balimi Extra Lager'. Mashindano haya yamekuwa yakifanyika kila mwaka katika Mikoa ya Kanda ya Ziwa yaani Geita, Mwanza, Shinyanga, Simiyu, Kagera na Mara. Mashindano haya ya ngoma za asili yanalengo la kuenzi, kulinda na kuendeleza utamaduni wa asili.

15. **Je, kuna ushirikiano wowote wa wazi baina ya viongozi na wafanyakazi (wasanii na wasio wasanii) katika kundi? Ni kwa namna gani kila mwanachama hushiriki katika mchakato wa mipango ya kundi na utekelezaji wake?**

    Tunashirikiana vizuri sana. Na hii ni kwa sababu uongozi unaheshimu wasanii na wasanii wanaheshimu uongozi wao, bila hivyo kikundi hakiwezi kuendelea.

16. **Ni kwa jinsi gani mabadiliko ya Kijamii, kiuchumi, kisiasa na kiteknolojia yameathriri shughuli za kikundi na Sanaa kwa ujumla?**

    Hivi sasa mwamko wa jamii juu ya Sanaa si mkubwa sana. Hata hivyo inategemeana na mazingira kuna maeneo mengine ukienda kufanya onyesho unaona kabisa jamii inaona utamaduni ni 'bullshit'. Watu hawathamini Sanaa, hususani ngoma wanaona ni kama wanapoteza muda kabisa, lakini kunasehemu nyingine mkishapiga ngoma tu hata kama ni mjini utakuta watu wamejaa. Nadhani vitu kama televisheni vimechangia kwani watu wengi hususani vijana wametekwa na tamaduni za kimagharibi. Wewe waangalie hawa vijana wetu wanaojiita wa bongo fleva. Angalia tu namna wanavyo vaa na kutembea.

17. **Je kikundi kimewahi kufanya kazi kwa ushirikianao na vikundi vingine ndani au nje ya nchi kwa mfano?**

    Bado, labda kwa siku zijazo.

18. **Ni tukio gani unalolikumbuka lilitishia/lilileta changamoto ambayo ikiwa isingethibitiwa ingepelekea kusambaratika kwa kikundi?**

    Wakati ambapo mwanzilishi wa kikundi alipofariki. Ilituchukua muda kiasi kuweza kumudu kuendelea na kikundi, kwani masuala mengi tulikuwa tukimtegemea yeye ayafanye.

    Pia kuna matatizo madogo madogo, lakini migogoro hiyo inasuluhishwa kwani huwa tunalindwa na katiba ikiwa mwanachama anaenda kinyume na katiba basi anaruhusiwa kujitoa. Hususani msanii asipohudhuria mara tatu mfululizo pasipokuwa na sababu ya msingi anaondolewa katika kikundi. Kwa kawaida kuna maonyo yanatolewa ikiwa msanii anakwenda kinyume na matakwa ya kikundi, anapewa maonyo mara mbili na mara ya tatu akirudia maana yake amejitoa.

19. Unadhani wasanii/ Menejimenti ndiyo chanzo cha kikundi kusambaratika?

Nadhani pande zote mbili zinachangia. Kwa sababu kila upande unamajukumu ya kufanya. Hawa watu wanategemeana kwa kiasi kikubwa sana. Tukumbuke kuwa viongozi siyo malaika na wakati huohuo wasanii siyo watumwa. Maendeleo ya kikundi yatategemea ushirikiano baina yao.

20. Kwa maoni yako unadhani nini kifanyike ili tuweze kuwa na vikundi vya sanaa endelevu Tanzania.

Kwa maoni yangu viongozi, hususani viongozi wetu wa serikali bado hawana mwamko na Sanaa. Viongozi wa serikali hawatilii maanani Sanaa za Maigizo, Ngoma, Sarakasi nk. Hali hii inapelekea vikundi vile ambavyo havina wafadhili vinakufa.Viongozi wa serikali wanapaswa kuzungumza na wasanii ili wajue changamoto zinazoikabili tasnia ya Sanaa hasa ya Sanaa na hatimaye watatue changamoto mbalimbali, ili wasanii waweze kufanya kazi ya Sanaa kwa moyo wa dhati. Kwa hali ilivyo sasa jitihada za wasanii zinakosa 'support' kutoka serikalini.

B: Mahojiano na Viongozi/Wsanii wa Vikundi Vya Sanaa vilivyokufa

Mahojiano na Afisa Mipango/Katibu wa Kikundi cha Sanaa cha 'the Sun' tarehe 06 August, 2012

1. **Kikundi chenu kinaitwaje na kilianzishwa lini?**
   Kikundi chetu kinajulikana kama 'the Sun Theatre Group'. Kikundi kilianzishwa mwaka 1995.
2. **Nani alianzisha kikundi na kwa malengo gani?**
   Kikundi kilianzishwa na wasanii wengi ambao tulimegeka katika kikundi cha Sunrise. Kikundi kilianzishwa ili Kufanya sanaa kuwa kama ajira, Kuwakusanya vijana ili waepukane na vishawishi, Kuwa maarufu, Tuliona pia tunaweza kujipatia kipato kikubwa kupitia Sanaa japo haikuwa hivyo na madhumuni yetu pia yalikuwa kuitangaza sanaa yetu nje na ndani ya nchi.
3. **Kikundi kilijishughulisha hasa na sanaa zipi?**
   Kikundi kilikusudia kujikita zaidi katika Maigizo ya jukwaaani. Lakini baadaye ikageuka ikawa ngoma japokuwa ilikuwepo katika malengo yetu lakini tulikuwa

hatuifanyi katika kipindi cha nyuma. Then tukawa tunafanya vyote ngoma na maagizo. Ijapokuwa wasanii wengi walikuwa wanataka zaidi filamu kutokana na kikundi tulichokuwa tumetoka mwanzo kilikuwa kimejikita katika uigizaji wa filamu zaidi.

4. **Kikundi kilikuwa na wasanii wangapi? Wanawake wangapi /wanaume wangapi?**

   Kundi lilikuwa na wasanii takribani 30. Wanawake takribani ishirini (20) hivi na wanaume kama nane (8). Kwa ujumla wake wanawake na watoto ndiyo walikuwa wengi zaidi katika kikundi.

5. **Zipi hasa taratibu za kujiunga na Kikundi?**

   Kwa kawaida kulikuwa na fomu ya kujiunga na kikundi, ambapo yeyote aliyekuwa akitaka kujiunga na kikundi huijaza na kulipa kiingilio cha shilingi elfu kumi.

6. **Kikundi kilikuwa kinapataje pesa ya kuendeshea shughuli zake mara baada ya kuanzishwa?**

   Kikundi kilikuwa kinategemea maonyesho, kualikwa na wadhamini mbalimbali na mashirika mbalimbali. Pia tulipanga kuaandaa miradi mbalimbali itakayoweza kusaidia katika uendeshaji wa kikundi. Lakini hata hivyo hatukufanikisha kufikia hatua ya kuanzisha na kuratibu miradi yetu kama kikundi kwani kikundi kilikufa.

7. **Ni changamoto zipi mnazozikabili katika kupata fedha kwa ajili ya miradi na shughuli za kikundi?**

   Sisi tulikuwa tukitegemea zaidi maonyesho. Na maonyesho pesa yake ni ndogo sana. Sasa mkishapata hiyo pesa, mkagawana mnajikuta hamuendelei. Tulikuwa pia hatuna watu ambao wanaujuzi wa kuandika rasimu ya miradi ambayo tungeombea pesa kwenye mashirika yanayohusika na kupiga vita ukimwi, malaria au hata madawa ya kulevya. Hivyo tukawa tunaishia kwenye maonyesho ya kawaida tu.

8. **Mfumo wa uongozi wa kikundi ulikuwaje? Yaani mwenyekiti, katibu au Mkurugenzi, meneja nk? Na kazi zao hasa zilikuwa ni zipi?**

   Tulikuwa na Afisa Tawala/Katibu, Mkurugenzi/Mwenyekiti, Mtunza hazina/Mwalimu. Kikundi chetu hakikuwa na mlezi wa kikundi kama ambavyo makundi mengi ya Sanaa hapa Tanzania yalivyo.

Afisa Tawala/Katibu ndiyo alikuwa mtendaji mkuu wa kikundi, alikuwa akishughulika na kuaandaa ratiba ya mikutano na kufanya ufuatiliaji wa masuala mbalimbali ya kikundi. Mwenyekiti alikuwa ni msemaji mkuu. Hata hivyo, viongozi wote tulikuwa wasanii pia. Mtunza hazina alikuwa anatunza pia baadhi ya vifaa ya kikundi siyo pesa tu.

9. **Je tangu kuanzishwa kwake, kikundi kiliwahi kubadilisha muundo wake wa uendeshaji na uongozi? Na kama ndiyo, je ni sababu zipi hasa zilipelekea mabadiliko husika?**

   Kikundi hakijwahi kubadilisha muundo wake wa uendeshaji na uongozi. Kwa upande wa uongozi, utaratibu uliwekwa kwamba kila baada ya miaka mitatu (3), uongozi ubadilishwe. Lakini wasanii waliona sisi tuendelee na uongozi hata wakati ule wa kubadilisha uongozi ulipowadia. Yawezekana walikuwa waoga wa majukumu, uvivu au walituona tunafaya vizuri ndiyo maana wakaona sisi tuendelee na uongozi.

10. **Kulikuwa na mahusiano yoyote baina ya kikundi na asasi zingine za kiserikali au zisizo za kiserikali?**

    Uhusioano na Roads Projects ambao ulikuwa wa kikazi zaidi. Mahusiano na serikali ni mpaka siye tuwafuate. Nakumbuka tuliwahi kuandaa programme ambayo tulimwalika pia mwenyekiti wa serikali ya mtaa, na kama mwakilishi wa serikali alishiriki. Hatujawahi kupata msaada wowote kutoka katika serikali au asasi yoyote ile.

11. **Unadhani serikali ilikuwa na mchango wowote katika maendeleo ya kikundi?**

    Sina uhakika sana, labda niseme kwa minajili ya kutupatia vibali vya usajili na vile vya kufanya shughuli za Sanaa. Hilo sina tatizo nalo.

12. **Je kikundi kilikuwa kikipata msaada wowote kutoka mashirika mbalimbali? Kama ndiyo ni yapi hasa (yataje)**

    Huatujawahi kupata msaada wowote kutoka katika serikali au asasi yoyote ile. Sisi tulikuwa bado wachanga katika tasnia ya Sanaa, nadhani kikundi kisingekufa mapema basi ipo siku tungeweza hata kufanya kazi na mashirika mbalimbali.

13. **Je msaada huo uliambatana na masharti yoyote? Kama ndiyo yataje**

14. **Je, kuna ushirikiano wowote wa wazi baina ya viongozi na wafanyakazi (wasanii na wasio wasanii) katika kundi? Ni kwa namna gani kila mwanachama hushiriki katika mchakato wa mipango ya kundi na utekelezaji wake?**

Ulikuwepo, lakini majukumu mengi yalikuwa yakifanywa na viongozi.

15. **Ni kwa jinsi gani mabadiliko ya Kijamii, kiuchumi, kisiasa na kiteknolojia yameathriri shughuli za kikundi na Sanaa kwa ujumla?**

    Unajua uwepo wa televisheni kwa sasa umeathiri sana vikundi vya Sanaa za maonyesho hasahasa maigizo? Wewe kumbuka tu miaka ile ya 1990 watu walikuwa na utaratibu wa kwenda kuangalia maonyesho ya jukwaani. Wakati ule TOT na Muungano kwa mfano walikuwa wanawika mno. Sasa hivi ni wachache sana, wengi wapo majumbani mwao wanaangalia Luninga, video na hata muziki tu. Sanaa ya Maonyesho ya jukwaani haivumi sasa. Hivi sasa nguvu imehamia kwa muziki wa bongofleva, filamu na muziki wa injili. Sijui ni nini kimetokea hapa, labda ndiyo maslahi yalipo kwa sasa.

16. **Lini hasa kikudi kilikufa/sambaratika?**

    Kikundi chetu kilisambaratika rasmi mwaka 2010.

17. **Ni tukio gani unalolikumbuka lilitishia/lilileta changamoto ya kikundi kufa?**

    Ukosefu wa mahali pa kufanyia mazoezi. Mahala pa kufanyia mazoezi ilikuwa ni suala tata sana kwa kikundi chetu. Mwanzo tulikuwa tukifanyia mazoezi nyumbani kwa mtu, lakini baadaye tukagundua kwamba hafurahihi uwepo wetu pale, kwa hiyo tukaamua kutafuta mahali pengine, na msamaria mwema mwingine akaturuhusu tufanyie mazoezi nyumbani kwake. Lakini tulipata mahali ambapo kulikuwa na kikundi kingine hivvo tulipaswa kuwekeana zamu. Wenzetu wakawa wanaanza mazoezi saa kumi jioni na sisi saa nane mchana. Ratiba hii ikawa ngumu kwani baadhi ya wasanii ni wanafunzi hivyo muda huo ukawa hauwezekani kwao. Tukajikuta tunakuja wachache mazoezini hatimaye kikundi kikaparaganyika.

18. **Ni sababu zipi zilipelekea kikundi kufa/kusambaratika?**

    Kwanza ni kukosa sehemu maalumu ya kufanyia mazoezi. Kukosekana kwa mahali pa kufanyia mazoezi kulisababisha wasanii wengi kukata tamaa. Na ndipo kikundi kilipoanza kukosa muelekeo pia. Pili, malengo baina ya wasanii yalikuwa tofauti, kikundi kilikuwa na lengo la kufanya sanaa za kawaida hususani za jukwaani. Na utambulisho wetu zaidi ujikite katika maigizo ya jukwaani na ushairi. Lakini wasanii walitaka zaidi kufanya Filamu. Hivyo wasanii wengi walikuwa wakichukuliwa na makundi mbalimbali kwa ajili ya kucheza filamu. Wengi walikuwa na tama ya

kuonekana haraka na kuwa maarufu, walikuwa na tamaa ya kupata umaarufu kwa haraka hivo kikundi kikabaki pasipo wasanii.

19. **Unadhani pengine wasanii/ Menejimenti walisababisha kikundi kusambaratika?**

    Wanakikundi wote bila kujali kiongozi au msanii tunachangia katika kuua vikundi vya Sanaa. Mimi nadhani tunapaswa kuwa wastahimilivu katika kazi za Sanaa, tusikimbilie mafanikio kwani mafanikio huja taratibu.

20. **Nini hasa tathmini yako ya kushindwa kwa Kikundi?**

    Malengo, ikiwa mmewekeana malengo lazima myatimize. Akishatokea mmoja asiyekuwa na muelekeo kunakuwa na upotoshaji. Katika kikundi yakishaanza makundi madogo madogo ndipo hapo mgogoro unapoanzia. Uwepo wa makundi madogo madogo ndani ya kikundi inaleta shida pia katika kuongoza kikundi.

21. **Kwa maoni yako unadhani nini kifanyike ili tuweze kuwa na vikundi vya sanaa endelevu Tanzania.**

    Kuwepo na mahusiano mazuri baina ya Serikali na vikundi vya sanaa. Serikali inatambua vikundi vichache tu. Imevipiga teke vikundi vingine vya sanaa. Serikali itambue kwamba sanaa ni ajira, isiangalie kuwatumikisha/kuwatumia wasanii katika shughuli za kisiasa pekee.

Mahojiano na Msanii wa kikundi cha Sanaa cha Pasha yaliyofanyika tarehe 08 August, 2012

1. **Kikundi chenu kinaitwaje na kilianzishwa lini?**

   Kikundi chetu kinajulikana kwa jina la 'Pasha Sanaa Group'. Kikundi kilianzishwa mwaka 2000 lakini usajili ulifanyika tarehe 21 December, 2001.

2. **Nani alianzisha kikundi na kwa malengo gani?**

   Kikundi kilianzishwa na vijana takribani kumi na tano hivi. Vijana hawa walikuwa wakitoke mtaa wa Wailes Temeke Mikoroshini katika kata ya Sandali. Kikundi kilianzishwa kwa lengo la kuendeleza sanaa za utamaduni kwani kwa kipindi hicho sanaa za utamaduni zilikuwa zinawika na pia hamasa ya kufanya sanaa ilikuwa kubwa sana miongoni mwa vijana. Lengo kubwa hasa lilikuwa ni kujipatia kipato/ajira kwa baadhi yetu kwa njia ya Sanaa. Nasema kwa baadhi yetu kwani kuna wengine walijiunga na kikundi kwa sababu walikuwa na 'hobby' tu ya kufanya sanaa.

3. **Kikundi kilijishughulisha hasa na sanaa zipi?**

   Kikundi kilikuwa kikifanya zaidi Ngoma za asili, Muziki wa Bongo fleva na maigizo. Ilifika kipindi tulishaanza kutafuta wafadhili kwa ajili ya kurekodi michezo kadha wa kadha ili tuweze kuirushwa katika Luninga. Kuna wakati pia tuliwahi kufanya maonesho ya jukwani na kikundi cha taarabu cha East African Melody, kwetu ilikuwa ni fahari kubwa sana kwani wakati huo East African Melody ilikuwa ni mojawapo ya makundi ya taarabu maarufu sana Tanzania.

4. **Kikundi kilikuwa na wasanii wangapi? Wanawake wangapi /wanaume wangapi?**

   Kikundi kilikuwa na wasanii zaidi ya 20. Wanawake walikuwa kama kumi na moja (11). Mwanzoni Wanaume walikuwa wachache ingawaje baadaye waliongezeka.

5. **Zipi hasa taratibu za kujiunga na Kikundi?**

   Ilikuwa unajaza fomu ya kujiunga ambayo inaambatana na mchango wa shilingi elfu kumi kama Kiingilio.

6. **Kikundi kilikuwa kinapataje pesa ya kuendeshea shughuli zake mara baada ya kuanzishwa?**

   Mwanzo tulikuwa tukichanga kutoka katika mifuko yetu. Lakini baadaye tuliunda mbinu ya kuomba 'show' katika kumbi tulishawahi kuomba 'show' na bendi kubwa kubwa mfano na East Africa Melody. Na hivyo tulikuwa tukilipwa kiasi kidogo cha pesa.

7. **Ni changamoto zipi mnazozikabili katika kupata fedha kwa ajili ya miradi na shughuli za kikundi?**

   Masuala ya Pesa yanahitaji utaalamu. Sisi tulijikusanya tu kama vijana, hivyo tulikuwa bado hatuna ujuzi wa mambo mengi.

8. **Mfumo wa uongozi wa kikundi ulikuwaje? Yaani mwenyekiti, katibu au Mkurugenzi, meneja nk. na kazi zao hasa zilikuwa ni zipi?**

   Kikundi kilikuwa na mwenyekiti, makamu mwenyekit, katibu na msaidizi wake pamoja na muweka hazina mmoja.

   Mwenyekiti/makamu mwenyekiti alikuwa akisimamia mikutano na ni mmoja kati ya watia saini benki. Makamu mwenyekiti alikuwa na kazi ya kusimamia mikutano

hususani pale ambapo mwenyekiti anakuwa hayupo, hata hivyo yeye hakuwa mweka saini benki. Katibu/na msaidizi wake kikatiba alikuwa ndiyo mtendaji wa kila siku na mtunza mali za kikundi zile ambazo zinashikika kama vile ngoma, makaratasi n.k

Mwekahazina alikuwa anashughulika na masuala ya fedha tu.

9. **Je tangu kuanzishwa kwake, kikundi kiliwahi kubadilisha muundo wake wa uendeshaji na uongozi? Na kama ndiyo, je ni sababu zipi hasa zilipelekea mabadiliko husika?**

   Katika suala la uongozi nafasi zilibaki kama zilivyo isipokuwa watu ndiyo walikuwa wakibadilika. Kwa mujibu wa katiba yetu nafasi za uongozi zilikuwa zinabadilishwa kila baada ya miaka mitatu. Lakini kutokana na majukumu ya watu binafsi ilifika hatua hata kabla ya kufikia kipindi kilichoainishwa katika katiba mtu anakuja kuomba nafasi yake akaimu mtu mwingine.

   Kuna wakati tulibadilisha fani. Kwa upande wa fani tulikuwa na mabadiliko hayo kwa sababu tuliamua kujikita katika maonyesho ya jukwaani badala ya michezo ya Luninga. Hivyo tulibadilisha dhamira ya kuwa na waigizaji wa Luninga na kujikita zaidi katika maonyesho ya jukwaani. Kwa mfano yale mazoezi yaliyokuwa yakijikita katika filamu tuliyaacha.

   Mabadiliko haya yalitokana na msukumo wa soko la Sanaa kwa wakati huo. Kwa mfano kwa kipindi kile cha mwaka 2001 kuna vikundi vingi vilikuwa vimekamata nafasi zilizopo katika Luninga. Hususani tulikwenda Televisheni ya taifa kwa wakati ule tukaambiwa tungoje kwa muda kwani kwa wakati huo hakukuwa na nafasi iliyo wazi. Yaani tukae kwenye foleni, sasa sisi tukaona kwanini tukae tukingoja ilhali tuna michezo yetu ambayo tayari imeandikwa hivyo tunaweza kuandaa onyesho kila wiki mathalani.

10. **Kulikuwa na mahusiano yoyote baina ya kikundi na asasi zingine za kiserikali au zisizo za kiserikali?**

    Ndiyo. Kwa upande wa asasi zisizo za kiserikali tulikuwa na uhusiano na UMATI na SAGETA, yale mahusioano ya kikazi zaidi, kwani tulikuwa tukienda kujifunza masuala mbalimbali hususani ‘life skills’ etc. Kwa upande wa serikali tulikuwa na uhusiano wa karibu sana na ofisi ya Afisa Utamaduni wa wilaya Temeke na Baraza

la Sanaa la Taifa (BASATA). Ofisi ya utamaduni ilikuwa ikitupatia kazi mbalimbali hususani siku ya ukimwi duniani, kupiga vita malaria tulikuwa tukialikwa kuburudisha au kutoa elimu kwa njia ya Sanaa.

11. **Unadhani serikali ilikuwa na mchango wowote katika maendeleo ya kikundi?**

    Kwa ujumla tunategemea serikali ndiyo itoe muongozo utakaoboresha Sanaa nchini. Vitu kama maeneo ya kufanyia maonyesho yawe bayana. Lakini pia sisi kama wasanii tuna nafasi kubwa ya kuisukuma serikali itekeleze majukumu yake wakati nasisi pia tukiotoa ushirikiano stahiki pale tunapopaswa kufanya hivyo

12. **Je kikundi kilikuwa kikipata msaada wowote kutoka mashirika mbalimbali? Kama ndiyo ni yapi hasa (yataje)**

    Hapana.

13. **Je msaada huo uliambatana na masharti yoyote? Kama ndiyo yataje**

14. **Je, kuna ushirikiano wowote wa wazi baina ya viongozi na wafanyakazi (wasanii na wasio wasanii) katika kundi? Ni kwa namna gani kila mwanachama hushiriki katika mchakato wa mipango ya kundi na utekelezaji wake?**

    Ushirikiano ulikuwepo hasa mwanzo tu baada ya kikundi kuanzishwa. Ila baada ya kubadilisha fani wasanii wengi wakawa hawapo tayari, hivyo kukawa na sintofahamu fulani katika kupanga au kutekeleza baadhi ya majukumu ya kikundi. Viliibuka vikundi ndani ya kikundi.

15. **Ni kwa jinsi gani mabadiliko ya Kijamii, kiuchumi, kisiasa na kiteknolojia yameathriri shughuli za kikundi na Sanaa kwa ujumla?**

    Viongozi wa ngazi za juu wa wizara wanatoka na siasa, na kwa kuwa wanatokana na siasa hawaji na mifumo ambayo imelea utamaduni wetu. Kwa hiyo unapozungumzia vikundi vyetu lazima urudi katika mila na tamaduni zetu za asili ambapo vikudi hivi vilijitokeza ili kukuza hizo tamaduni. Sasa kama viongozi hawaviangalii hivi vikundi kwa hiyo wanapotosha Sanaa.

Kiuchumi, vikundi vingi vimeathirika kwa sababu hakuna utaratibu maalum kuanzia wizara, baraza la sanaa mpaka ofisi ya afisa utamaduni kwani kama kungekuwa na utaratibu mzuri hata yale mafungu kwa ajili ya utamaduni yangekuwa yanatumika vizuri kuwawezesha wasanii, kwa kuwapa mafunzo mbalimbaili ya Sanaa, kwa mfano mafunzo ya namna wanaweza kuibadilisha Sanaa kuwa ajira rasmi. Lakini mafungu haya hayatumiki vizuri kwa manufa ya maendeleo ya Sanaa na Wasanii.

16. Lini hasa kikudi kilikufa/sambaratika?

Kikundi kilikufa mwaka 2004.

17. Ni tukio gani unalolikumbuka lilitishia/lilileta changamoto ya kikundi kufa?

Kwa ujumla ni vigumu kusema kulikuwa na tukio maalumu lililopelekea kikundi kufa. Isipokuwa ninachokumbuka ni kwamba kikundi kilikufa kwa kuanzia na msanii mmoja mmoja kutokuhudhuria mazoezini, mwishowe kikundi kilibaki na watu wapato watatu ambao tuliamua kujiunga na kikundi kingine.

18. Ni sababu zipi zilipelekea kikundi kufa/kusambaratika?

Kukosa hamasa na ‘support’ miongoni mwetu Wasanii. Kama Kiongozi kwa mfano unahamasisha watu kuja mazoezini, lakini muitikio haupo kwa wasanii hivyo inakuwa ngumu kuwalazimisha. Kwa kuwa hii siyo ajira huwezi kumuhukumu mtu kwa kusema unamfukuza kazi/kumsimamisha kazi. Kwa mujibu wa katiba Msanii asipohudhuria mazoezi kwa muda wa siku tatu mfululizo inapaswa ajieleze na apewe nafasi ya kujitetea mbele ya kamati ya nidhamu ya kikundi. Sasa tatizo linakuja, kama kiongozi unamuita kwa barua msanii aliyekiuka utaratibu na bado haji. Sasa, hii katiba unaitekeleza vipi? Kiongozi unajikuta huna mamlaka zaidi juu ya Msanii na huwezi kumfuata nyumbani kwake.

19. Unadhani wasanii/ Menejimenti walisababisha kikundi kusambaratika?

Sababu kubwa ya kusambaratika kwa kikundi ni wasanii na siyo menejimenti. Ninachojua mimi kikundi ni mali ya wasanii. Na kama ingekuwa menegement wasanii wanauwezo wa kuiondoa management na kuiweka nyingine kulingana na matakwa yao. Jambo lingine lililochangia ni changamoto za kimaisha. Sanaa bado hailipi hivyo hii inasababisha watu waache ‘talent’ walizonazo na wakimbilie viwandani kwenda kufanya vibarua ili wapate pesa ya kujikimu.

20. Nini hasa tathmini yako ya kushindwa kwa Kikundi?

Kubwa ni maono ya mtu mmoja mmoja juu ya kikundi chenyewe, juu ya muda ambao ataitumikia hiyo Sanaa na kupata mafanikio, juu ya kile ambacho anakitaka.

Mfano tulipoamua kujikita katika mfumo wa sanaa za jukwaani badala ya michezo ya luninga wasanii wengi walipungua 'automatically' kwani dhamira yao ilikuwa kuonekana zaidi, hivyo waliona kikundi hakiwafai tena kwani hakitaweza kukamilisha matakwa yao.

21. **Kwa maoni yako unadhani nini kifanyike ili tuweze kuwa na vikundi vya sanaa endelevu Tanzania.**

    Tunahitaji watu wanaoielewa vizuri Sanaa katika Nyanja mbalimbali, tukianza na viongozi wa serikali na hatimaye wasanii wenyewe. Wakishapatikana watu ambao wako sehemu moja, wanadhamira moja na wanaongea lugha moja, na hata yale ambayo wanakusudia kuyafanya inaonekana yana muelekeo, basi ofisi husika mfano ofisi ya utamaduni, Baraza la Sanaa la Taifa na hata Wizara ya Utamaduni yenyewe iwe na mifumo ya kuendeleza jitihada hizi. Kwa mfano, Baraza la michezo wanaprogramme mbalimbali za kuboresha michezo, hususani michezo kwa watoto vijana n.k. Iwe hivi pia kwa Sanaa.

Appendix I: Interviews

A: Interview with the leaders/Managers of the existing Theatre Groups

Interview with the General Manager of Dira Theatre Group, on 26th November, 2014

1. **What is the name of your group and when was it established?**

   Our group is known as Dira Theatre Group. It was established in 2005. In 2006 it was then registered by the National Arts Council.

2. **Who established the group and why?**

   This group was initially established by some members of the group including myself. I was the one who came with the idea of establishing the group. But there is a Swahili saying that "*Kidole kimoja hakivunji chawa"* (one finger cannot kill lice). After consultation with some other two people then we joined our forces and established Dira Theatre group.

   The idea came out due to four reasons: first it was because of the passion we had in arts and theatre in particular, to promote and develop culture, looking at theatre as an employment opportunity particularly to the youth in Morogoro and finally the idea of

using theatre to educate the community on various issues especially the rural community.

Generally, we thought, we could use theatre to educate society, to develop our culture, and as a source of income in the sense that we can employ ourselves. You know art sector is among of the fields/places that accept people who have been probably rejected elsewhere. They are being taught how to dance, drum and even acting. They become skilled in whatever one has chosen; they become good performers' hence good people with good influence in the community.

3. **What kind of arts does the group produces?**

As I have said earlier, we are much concerned with educating the society. And we have done that for a long time in most of the Morogoro areas. Our group works in different ways some of our clients might just contact us to produce performances that are merely for entertainment purpose only, some may want edutainment kind of performances, and they bring also their own theme and we create a performance based on that main theme. In some occasions the performances are purely educational. For instance, we have been producing many plays aiming at creating consciousness on land policy, educating the community on how to use land and avoid unnecessary land disputes. Also civic education on good governance particularly to the village leaders in the community is among of the areas given priority with our group. During elections campaigns also we educate the masses on good leadership, their rights to vote. In most cases it depends on the needs that arise at specific time.

The group performs dance (both traditional and contemporary dances) and stage plays. In some occasions we use *Vichekesho* and *Sarakasi*. However, dance and stage plays are mostly preferred by the group.

4. **How many members do the group has? How many women/men?**

The group has seventeen (17) active members. Amongst them women are six (6) while men are eleven (11). Based on that number, you will realize that the group has few women compared to men. This is because women cannot drum. For instance, we are supposed to have great number of men because they are the ones drumming,

women do not like drumming and they don't want to learn too. There are only few who can volunteer to learn drumming and hence master the art of drumming.

5. **What procedures one need to follow to joining the Group?**

   The procedures involved is filling in the joining form and then pay an entrance fee of 10,000/= Tanzanian shillings. After that the person becomes a member. However, we have some probation time.

6. **What is the group's original source of funding?**

   We have various means of getting money: First, it is through entrance and annual membership fee which involves directly an individual member of the group. The entrance fee is 10,000/=Tanzanian Shillings. This amount of money is normally paid only once when an individual joins the group. The annual fee is twelve thousand shillings (12,000 / =) per year, per person. The group members have agreed that the annual fee can be paid in instalments; for instance, a member can decide every month to pay 1,000 / = Tanzanian shillings or if someone decides to pay in two instalments it is also acceptable. What matters is that within the provided timeframe one should have completed his/her fee. Second, it is the money we get from the invitations to the various performances. Third, is through sponsors, although not on a large scale but also it helps us. Although it is hard to find sponsors, but also it depends on your ability to influence. For instance, we had received supports from the 'Foundation for Civil Society', Morogoro Municipal Council also has provided us jobs and we get support from various stakeholders. Fourth, we also produce arts products like drums and costumes and hence sell them.

7. **What are the difficulties in getting funding for the group's projects and activities**

   Challenges exist, as nowadays; it is very difficult to get funding for theatre performances especially stage plays. Many arts stakeholders have focused more on funding the music of the 'new generation' (Bongo flava), Gospel music and films. Theatre performances are somehow being forgotten. I am not sure what the reasons are, but I think the newness of these industries in the entertainment sector, has made to be seen as something different in the community. Also one can listen / watch music, film anywhere; it does not necessitate one being in a special place at specific

time. One can listen / watch music or movies while at home and even in public transport too.

8. **Are there projects going on in the group now?**

   For now, we are in a dance rehearsals; we will have a performance at the end of next week.

9. **What are the group's management/ leadership structure? Is that of Chairperson, Secretary or Director, Manager? And what are their functions?**

   The general manager, Programme Coordinator, Finance Coordinator and the Disciplinary Coordinator are the ones leading the group. In our group/organizational structure, Discipline Coordinator who is in the art department, during rehearsals and even when we travel for performances, is the one responsible for issues of stage and the necessary requirements the group needs. His/her roles resemble that of the Stage Manager. But in our group we have decided to call him/her Discipline Coordinator because he is dealing with the discipline of the group members too. He/she works closely with the Programme Coordinator.

10. **Since its establishment, has the group changed its management/leadership structure? If yes, what influenced such changes?**

    The organizational structure has not changed, but the leadership itself has been changing. Our constitution allows leadership changes in every five years. With experience we have in theatre, for now, we have prepared a new constitution draft of the group. This constitution draft has proposed some changes in leadership. These changes still have not been implemented, since we are still in the process of submitting the draft to the National Arts Council for approval. We have proposed changes on the Organization structure so as to comprehend with the various challenges we see in running of the group for now. For instance, we have decided that the technical positions such as that of an Accountant or Information Officer must be announced. This does not prevent an artist if he/she has the qualifications needed to apply for the position. In general, these are some of identified the management positions, which will not be released by a vote (through election) but we will consider the professionalism and ability of the applicant.

11. **Is there any existing relationship between the group and other governmental and non-governmental institutions/organisations? If yes, how does such a relationship contributes to the group's development?**

    For us Dira, we have good relations with the government and various organisations. This is clearly manifested, since most of our activities need to be done closely with the help of districts and village leaders. Moving from one district to another, we need approvals from the relevant government authorities in districts and we have been given the government's cooperation within the relevant district or villages.

12. **Do you think that the government has any influence on the development and growth of theatre groups and arts in general?**

    Yes, I would say that the government has contribution notably through the District Cultural Office and the National Arts Council. The District Cultural Office needs to watch closely theatre groups. The office should ensure that theatre groups have registration permit, annual working permit and has a place / office, moreover there must be sure of the groups' works also. Otherwise we will continue to embrace the culture of having theatre groups that do not adhere to professionalism. Consequently theatre is being scorned by various stakeholders. Government should control those groups of 'hunger healers'. It should set specific standards for artworks that will also determine the value in terms of payments. In this case the value of theatre will be recognized and artists will consider quality of their work.

13. **Has the group received/being receiving any assistance from other organisation, what are those organisations? (Name them).**

    We had the opportunity to get support from the Foundation for Civil Society and Morogoro Municipal Council, as I said earlier.

14. **What are the rules and regulations that governed the particular assistance?**

    There is no single money which has no conditions. We sign contracts, and contracts are based on voluntary agreement. The existing conditions are important as they often remind us of what we are supposed to accomplish. Conditions given often simplify our accountability also.

15. **Are there any open collaboration between leaders and staffs (artists and non-artists) in the group? How is every member involved in the process of the group's program planning and implementation?**

    Actually we work as one family. Everyone's contribution in the process of planning and production is appreciated. And it helps really in avoiding some unnecessary conflicts in the group.

16. **How have the external forces such as economic, social, cultural, political and technological influenced the group activities?**

    Impacts are there, some are directly revealed but some might take a lot of time to recognize. On my side, I see more impacts posed by film technology. Nowadays, artists (here I mean individuals) and even many theatre groups have changed the groups' operation from stage performances to video film production. Many groups are now rushing to video film production or television drama. It should be noted that not all theatre groups have adequate facilities or even the ability to create high-quality films. Consequently many groups end up just rehearsing for films and films are not produced for years and years.

17. **Has the group worked in collaboration with other groups/organisations within or outside the country?**

    Outside the country not yet, except locally, we have borrowed artists from other groups sometimes; especially when such need arise.

18. **What situations if any have threatened the survival of the group since its establishment to date?**

    Dira Theatre Group has never reached that stage. For most of us leadership in theatre groups did not start at Dira Theatre Group. We had experience of managing theatre groups before we even joined Dira Theatre Group. We also went through various theatre groups' management training programmes. So the knowledge helped us to resolve conflicts before they reached the stage of affecting operation of the group. Through interactive sessions with group members we have been able to discuss together each time we see an individual member violating groups' rules. This has helped in not falling to a risky stage for the group.

Also there are rules and regulations described in the group's constitution. These rules and regulations also guide us. Leaders and members have to follow the rules and regulations as set by ourselves.

And more important, we live as a family. And even when a new member joins the group, he/she is given orientation of how we live. Therefore, we are not ready to allow disappointments that will lead to the collapse of the group, since we have come from too far.

19. **Do you think artists / Management is a source of groups' disintegration? Why?**

    Leadership also contribute much in destroying theatre groups. We as leaders like to use artists as 'objects' and we as the people. 'They are the objects and we the people'. You know objects are normally used as one wants. In such that we don't bother to provide the income and expenditure report to the artists for instance, assuming that it does not matter for them to know. Hence as leaders we create the environment for artists not to trust us. In this situation artists create the notion that they are exploited and eventually they run from some of the groups. The group has no bank account. Many theatre groups are struggling to get the registration permit but after registration even the group constitution also disappears. On this circumstance, operation of the group is difficult.

20. **In your opinion what do you think should be done so that we can have sustainable theatre groups in Tanzania?**

    The existing challenges are many but I will try explaining them briefly. Fist many of the theatre groups are established without specific goals. This leads to the collapse of many established theatre groups within a short time. People normally rush to establish a theatre group, but for what purpose, so what? They don't consider this. They establish/join theatre groups since there are some certain people somewhere and he/she once danced maybe. They end up rehearsing without any sustainable planning and at the end of the day people give up and leave the group.

    Second, is the lack of creativity in doing theatre productions/arts, hence leads to the collapse of many theatre groups.

Thirdly, another serious issue is lack of government support. Theatre groups are established, the leaders of the groups may be slow-moving, but the government should encourage them also. Since the government has the primary role in the development of theatre, for example through their activities. However, the government has been exploiting artists. For example, you are invited to perform, but after the performance you end up being given soft drinks and transport fare. This is an abuse of theatre/arts by the government. The government should realize that artists stopped their activities and rehearsed for the performance, therefore, their rehearsing time cannot be equated or compromised to the value of soft drinks and transport fare.

Interview with the Secretary of Sabasaba Sanaa Group on 3rd August, 2012

1. **What is the name of your group and when was it established?**

   The group is known as Sabasaba Sanaa Group. We established this group in 2005 and got registered formally by the National Arts Council in 2007. In Dar es Salaam, the group is at Mtoni Mtongani, Sabasaba Street-Kwa Azizi Ally, Temeke Municipal.

2. **Who established the group and why?**

   The group came as a result of Tumaini Arts Group. I was one of its members, but I left the group after realizing that mere words dominated than working. After two months since its establishment, Tumaini Arts Group collapsed. Some of the artists asked me to join them so that we can establish a new group, at the beginning I refused but after much pressure from my fellows, I agreed. That is how Sabasaba Sanaa Group started, with a total of four people and then we asked for other two to make a total of six founders. We registered officially the group with the National Arts Council at a cost of 60,000/= Tanzanian shillings, which I remember, I contributed from my pocket, because most of the members had no jobs, so I had to incur the cost needed for the registration process.

   Therefore, we established the group after realizing that there are many young people who engage in unprotected sex and drugs. We believed they engage in such misconduct due to lack of some activities that could keep them busy. Also there are many unemployed youths; we thought theatre group will be helpful since it is easy to get a help as a group than as an individual. So, we felt we should start a group so that

we can help these young people, and use theatre to educate the community on various important issues.

3. **What kind of arts does the group produces?**

   We are concerned with art genres that have audience attraction; we are more focused on various ethnic dances (*ngoma*), *Maigizo* (plays), Television drama, video film and a bit of acrobatics, though rarely.

4. **How many members do the group has? How many women/men?**

   The group has forty-eight (48) members. Sixteen (16) are men and the remaining are women.

5. **What procedures one need to follow to join the Group?**

   Sabasaba is like a college, formerly the cost for joining the group was 10,000/=. But then again we realized that artists are joining, when they become competent they will leave the group to join other groups. So, now we have devised new ways; to join the group one has to pay a total of 42,000 / =Tanzanian Shillings. We have a joining form, pay 30,000/= as an entrance fee, pay 10,000/= for t-shirts, and 2,000 /= Tanzanian shillings for identity. These help us in spotting artists who are seriously interested with our group and even if they leave, their contributions act as a training cost.

6. **What is the group's original source of funding?**

   There are contributions which every artist contributes at the time of joining the group. The artist also contributes ten percent of his/her income in every performance he/she participate. This money is for costumes, working equipment such as drums and supports any artist who gets problems while performing group duties.

7. **What are the difficulties in getting funding for the group's projects and activities**

   In Tanzania, funds are unfairly provided to some theatre groups. Many theatre groups apply for funds but getting depends on technical know who formula. So, some groups receive money not because of the ability they have, but there is someone who is representing them in the committee. Maybe when the funds provided by external organizations there is a hope of benefiting the right group.

8. **Are there projects going on in the group now?**

The group has a working plan but the problem is money. We agreed that the group should have at least a Canteen, as this will help a lot when the group has no performances for a long time. Another plan is to produce video films, until the moment, we have two film scripts but still we haven't produced them because there is no money.

9. **What are the group's management/ leadership structure? Is that of Chairperson, Secretary or Director, Manager? And what are their functions?**

   Leadership of the group follows the Chairperson, Secretary, Treasurer and Discipline personnel structure. However, the group's Chairperson is no longer in power and has left the group; that means the Chairperson position is still open. This was as a result of misunderstanding among the group members erupt due to the claim/rumour that the Secretary has swindled some of the group's money. The misunderstanding led to the group meeting and it proved that the Chairperson created that rumour. So, out of shame he left the group with a promise that he is going to start his own theatre group.

10. **Since its establishment, has the group changed its management/leadership structure? If yes, what influenced such changes?**

    Sabasaba group has progressed. Now, we have our drums, costumes and a bank account. Many groups have not reached this stage despite that they have been in the industry for so long.

    In my view, I see changes; I see our group evolving, I can see us growing every year. Because after registration the group had nothing, but we have struggled to find various jobs from various stakeholders; you look for people who can see the potential in your group, hence they are convinced to give you 200,000/= or 500,000/= Tanzanian shillings which often help us in the operations of group's activities and participation in various concerts. In fact, we have advertised our group as there are many institutions and organizations that know us.

    However, the group is still dependant, as there is important equipment such as Camera, we still do not have and camera is important in the film industry.

11. **Is there any existing relationship between the group and other governmental and non-governmental institutions/organisations? If yes, how does such a relationship contributes to the group's development?**

    The group has close ties with the private organisations; Medicine du Monde is a good example of such Organisations. We have worked also closely with Temeke Municipal through its Office of Culture, for example, they commissioned us to produce a film on the impact of drugs to the community.

12. **Do you think that the government has any influence on the development and growth of theatre groups and arts in general?**

    Yes. But the problem is the government does not provide financial supports to the theatre groups.

13. **Has the group received/being receiving any assistance from other organisation, what are those organisations? (Name them).**

    I do not know if I can call that as assistance, but we have worked with some various Organisations.

14. **What are the rules and regulations that governed the particular assistance?**

    We work with various organisations on various social issues. The working conditions give emphasis on quality of the productions and reports also.

15. **Are there any open collaboration between leaders and staffs (artists and non-artists) in the group? How is every member involved in the process of the group's program planning and implementation?**

    We have a meeting at the end of each month for all members. In this meeting, feedback on various issues and programs are presented and discussed by the entire group members. But also when an emergency happens, we call a meeting of which all members have to participate.

16. **How have the external forces such as economic, social, cultural, political and technological influenced the group activities?**

Our group has no ties with any political party because we want to work freely. Many people have come to ask us to engage in political works, we have refused because it will be very difficult to criticize performance of the relevant parties when we have to do so.

The economic crisis also affects theatre groups, if the patrons/supporters, who help us, shake financially, we too get affected.

17. **Has the group worked in collaboration with other groups/organisations within or outside the country?**

    Sometimes we borrow artists from other theatre groups. We work with them for a specific time depending on the job requirements. We have never participated in any performance outside the country.

18. **What situations if any have threatened the survival of the group since its establishment to date?**

    As a group, we came across two unforgettable events that threatened the death of the group. The first instance occurred here in Mtoni Mtongani area. There was a group established, and the announcement spread all over Mtoni Mtongani that they have all necessary equipment for film productions and they will constantly produce films. So, they were only searching for artists. Many of the artists disintegrated with our group and joined the new group. We remained only four, who are the founders of the group. It took us six months to recover from the shock and move on. The second incidence when artists again heard of another new group established in Mwananyamala with the same inspiration of film productions. Most of the women artists we had in our group again left. After four months, we for the second time gathered the strength and registered new artists.

    Some of the artists are moving from one group to another, just because sometimes groups have no jobs that make them famous in the community. Here, I mean films; to them it is only film or television drama that could make them known by many people. Therefore, due to the fact that most of them are fond of / aim to achieve the stardom, they are very interested to do films more than any other art forms. They just like the star thing. At least it has come to the senses of many artists today that films do not pay that much as they were dreaming. The understanding came as they realized that sometimes artists have to spend their own money for costumes and other

properties necessary for a character to fit his/her role. They are almost working for free, but honestly they don't get enough income in relation to their expectations and devotions!

19. **Do you think artists / Management is a source of groups' disintegration? Why?**

    All I can say is that the group can collapse if the management also collapses, if the management does not collapse then the group will never collapse or in other words, the company does not die when there are operators.

20. **In your opinion what do you think should be done so that we can have sustainable theatre groups in Tanzania?**

    In my opinion, I would like to voice out on the kind of works we produce. Artists should stop emulating others. We should produce performances based on creativity and focusing on the quality of the highest standard. In this way arts will be respected and even (we) who are doing the arts will be respected as well.

    There is also the issue of deception on the income matters. Artists need to have a stand in theatre groups. They are easily deceived by the promised income that they are not even sure of. This deception of getting high income has led artists being 'the flag that follows the wind'. Often the inconsistent/unstable artists in theatre groups are inconveniencing other members, and when they are slightly influenced they abandon their groups, so we remain with artists who need extra energy to train them. In this way, it is difficult to have sustainable theatre groups.

Interview with the Chairperson and Secretary of Chapakazi Arts Group on 10th July, 2012

1. **What is the name of your group and when was it established?**

   Our group is Chapakazi Arts Group. It started in 1995.

2. **Who established the group and why?**

   The group was initially established by the late Lukas Njigu, a teacher, who was a songwriter also. He was the one who encouraged two or three people to start the group, and later some people asked to join.

This group started with the aim of providing impetus during the election campaign for the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM-Revolutionary Political Party). Generally, the group was established for Chama Cha Mapinduzi campaigns. We began with the idea of providing entertainment through choir, but later on our teacher advice that choir alone is very limited in terms of its marketability to audiences and other art stakeholders. So we changed, and we decided to include other performing arts like dance and stage plays. However dance is given priority because it provides us the opportunity to explore and develop our culture. At first we were doing more work for CCM, but now we works with anyone who needs our service.

3. **What kind of arts does the group produces?**

The group focus more on traditional dance (*ngoma za asili*), choir and a bit of stage plays. We usually rehearse three times a week so that artists will not forget and for keeping them fit. However, when we have performances we rehearse every day. The biggest challenge in rehearsals is to produce a song with the intended message as it needs much concentration in the composition process. But in regards to dance, we have no problem since we are used to dance performances.

4. **How many members do the group has? How many women/men?**

The group has a total of twenty-seven (27) people. It includes twenty artists who are active in rehearsals and performances. Women are fourteen (14) and seven (7) men, among the 14 women one is not a performer. There are also about seven (7) group elders who are not involved in rehearsals and performances. They are like observers. They participate in several group's synergy and meetings, they are group's advisors only. The number of men is lesser than that of women because men find dancing as an outlandish practise, but women understand and learn quickly.

5. **What procedures one need to follow to join the Group?**

We as a group together, there are regulations set for joining the group. However, we must be satisfied that the person joining our group has goodwill with the group's development. We must be satisfied that the person has no intention of destroying the group. Our group is registered by the National Arts Council and has

a constitution. The Constitution protects members from any threat. In joining the group each member has to pay an entrance fee of 10,000/= Tanzanian shillings. After paying that amount of money he/she is accepted in the group, there are no other contributions.

6. **What was the group's original source of funding**

We were more dependants on the campaign trail. When the campaign begins, we get invitations to perform in various places. So, the party provides money for running the group's activities, especially during the campaign. We have performed in many areas in Mwanza city particularly at the Buswelu ward, Kayenze, and Ilemela under CCM. And we get paid.

7. **What are the difficulties in getting funding for the group's projects and activities**

We do not have sponsors. We cannot look for jobs, because we have no marketing personnel or manager, we are completely unable to look for the jobs. We do not know where to start looking for the jobs; we are just waiting for invitations from people and institutions that know us. In most cases, we do expect calls from the Cultural Officer or Organisations that provide their jobs through the cultural office, if it happened we are chosen then it is our lucky. We wish we could get a person with that profession who can work as our marketing officer; it is hard for our leadership to look for jobs since most of us are not that much educated.

8. **Are there projects going on in the group now?**

No. We are just in our normal rehearsal routine.

9. **What are the group's management/ leadership structure? Is that of Chairperson, Secretary or Director, manager? And what are their functions?**

The group has neither a manager nor the sponsors. The group is under the leadership of the Chairman, Assistant Chairman, Secretary General and Assistant Secretary, and the Treasurer. That is the leadership structure of the group.

Although we have leadership, we have no official person who is responsible for searching for works for the group. But provided that we have done performances

for the long time, we are known, therefore, we get invitations from various people and organizations.

10. **Since its establishment, has the group changed its management/leadership structure? If yes, what influenced such changes?**

    The leadership structure has never changed. According to our constitution, after every three years we select new leaders/ there is change of leadership. And we do election to get new leaders.

    Formerly the group had no development plan. When we got money, we divided the money among the group members, but now we are doing theatre with goals. We have opened a group bank account. Now when we get money we keep in the bank. Currently, the group decided to start a new project that we thought will benefit a lot the group members. The group has a saving and loan project for its members, established after having some savings. So, we meet once in a month, at least to get information on the progress of our project.

    These changes came out as a result of meeting with other groups / people who have visions in developing arts' groups. We got new ideas on the ways of developing our group.

11. **Is there any existing relationship between the group and other governmental and non-governmental institutions/organisations? If yes, how does such a relationship contributes to the group's development?**

    The group has no direct relationship with the government, maybe through the offices of the city's Cultural Officer who sometimes lets' us participate in government affairs, especially reception of the Ministers.

    Regarding campaign here at the Buswelu area, the dance group is ours only, so when officials need our group, they inform us. It is not dance only; we do plays, though it is rarely.

12. **Do you think that the government has any influence on the development and growth of theatre groups and arts in general?**

The government has great contribution in the development of the cultural sector, as they are the main stakeholders of arts in this country.

13. **Has the group received/being receiving any assistance from other organisation, what are those organisations? (Name them).**

    The group is not receiving any support. But we are working closely with '*Kivulini*', an organisation which deals with human rights issues. We have been working with this organisation for a very long time especially on gender violence. They give us a theme and we compose a song or produce a play according to the given theme. Sometimes Educational Institutions, especially during graduation ceremonies invites us to provide entertainment.

    Generally the group depends on invitations. It depends, in a year for example; we can have up to twenty (20) performances. In a month sometimes we can have even four (4) performances, and at times we can stay for even two months without any performance. We have participated in Balimi traditional dance competition[136] every year since 2009.

14. **What are the rules and regulations that governed the particular assistance?**

15. **Are there any open collaboration between leaders and staffs (artists and non-artists) in the group? How is every member involved in the process of the group's program planning and implementation?**

    We cooperate very well. And this is because the leadership respects artists and artists respect their leadership too, otherwise the group cannot survive.

16. **How have the external forces such as economic, social, cultural, political and technological influenced the group activities?**

    Currently, community awareness on arts is not great. However, depending on the environment, there are some places if you do performances; you realize the community sees culture as 'bullshit'. People do not appreciate the arts, particularly *Ngoma* they think it is a waste of time, but there are other places, when people just

[136] Balimi Traditional dance competitions are the annual traditional dance competitions organized and sponsored by the Tanzania Breweries Limited through one of its products known as Balimi Extra Lager. These competitions have been held in the Lake Zone regions that is Geita, Mwanza, Shinyanga, Simiyu, Kagera and Mara. The competitions meant to honour, develop and protect indigenous culture.

here drums even if it is in town, the place will be full. I think things like television have contributed since many people; especially youth are captured by Western cultures. You should see our young men who call themselves the Bongo flava musicians. Just look at how they are dressing and walking.

17. **Has the group worked in collaboration with other group/organisation within or outside the country?**

    Not yet, maybe in the future.

18. **What situations if any have threatened the survival of the group since its establishment to date?**

    It was when the group's founder died. It took us time to continue with the group, as many of the issues we had entrusted him to do them.

    There are also minor problems, but such conflicts are normally solved. Since, we have the constitution, if a member goes against the group's constitution; he/she is has to leave the group. If the artist does not participate in rehearsals for three consecutive times without any proper explanation/reasons, he is automatically no longer a member of the group. Usually there are warnings given if any artist goes against the wishes of the group, he/she is given two warnings and the third time if he/she repeats means she/he is no longer a member.

19. **Do you think artists / Management is a source of groups' disintegration? Why?**

    I think both sides contribute. Since each side has a role to play. These people depend largely on each other. Remember that leaders are not angels and at the same time artists are not slaves. The group's development depends on their cooperation.

20. **In your opinion what do you think should be done so that we can have sustainable theatre groups in Tanzania?**

    In my opinion leaders, especially our government officials still do not have the awareness on arts. Government officials do not fully appreciate the stage performances particularly *maigizo*, *Ngoma*, acrobatics, etc. This situation leads to such groups that have no sponsors to collapse. Government officials should talk to

the artists to know the challenges facing the industry, and finally solve the existing challenges, so that artists can work with sincere hearts. In the current situation, the artists' efforts lack support from the government.

B: Interview with Leader/artist of collapsed Theatre Groups

Interview with the planning officer/Secretary of the Sun Theatre Group on 6th August, 2012

1. **What was the name of your group and when was it established?**
   Our group is known as 'the Sun Theatre Group'. The group started in 1995.
2. **Who established the group and why?**

   The group was established by some of the group members who also disintegrated from another group known as 'Sunrise theatre Group'. We wanted to use theatre as an employment, mobilize youth and help them to abstain from bad peer pressure, to be famous, we thought also we could get income through theatre although it didn't happen and our aims included promoting theatre inside and outside the country. This is why we established this group.

3. **What kind of arts did the group produce?**
   The group wanted to do plays (*maigizo ya jukwaani*). Later the idea changed to dance, although it was in our plan but we were not doing it at the beginning. Then we performed both dance and plays. However, most of the artists had interest in films due to the fact that our former group was more into video films.
4. **How many members did the group has? How many women/men?**
   The group had almost thirty (30) artists. It had about twenty (20) women and ten (10) men. Generally the group had more women and children.
5. **What procedures one needed to follow to join the Group?**
   Usually there was a joining form to be filled in for one to join the group. Any person interested to join the group had to fill the form and pay an entrance fee of ten thousand Tanzanian shillings.
6. **What was the group's original source of funding?**
   The group depended on performances, invitation from various organizations and other theatre stakeholders. We had also a plan of establishing various projects that

will contribute to the development of the group. However, we didn't succeed to start those projects as the group collapsed.

7. **What were the difficulties in getting funding for the group's projects and activities**

   We relied more on performances. And the money we got out of the performances was very little. After getting the money, we divided the money among the artists; hence the group did not develop. The group didn't have people who have the expertise in writing project proposals that could be submitted to various organizations involved in the fight against AIDS, Malaria or even drugs for instance. So, we ended up depending on normal shows/performances.

8. **What were the group's management/ leadership structure? Was that of a Chairperson, Secretary or Director, manager? And what were their functions?**

   We had the Director/Chairperson, Planning Officer/Secretary, Treasurer/ Teacher. Our group had no the 'group guardian' (Patron/matron) like most of theatre groups in Tanzania.

   The planning Officer/ Secretary is the main group operator, he /she is responsible for organizing meetings and do follow-up of various matters that concern the group. The Chairperson is the main spokesperson of the group. However, all leaders were also artists. The Treasurer apart from handling financial issues he was also handling other group equipment.

9. **Since its establishment, did the group change its management/leadership structure? If yes, what influenced such changes?**

   The group has never changed its management and leadership structure. On leadership, the procedure was, in every after three (3) years the leadership must change. But artists suggested the existing leadership should continue even when that time came. Possibly they were afraid of responsibilities, lazy or they were satisfied that we were doing better that is why they suggested we should continue with the leadership.

10. **Was there any existing relationship between the group and other governmental and non-governmental institutions/organisations? If yes, how did such relationship contributes to the group's development?**

We had a work relationship with 'Roads Projects'. Relationship with the government is until us we follow them. I remember we once prepared a programme which we invited the local government Chairman in our area as the government representative. We have never got any help from the government or any other organisation.

11. **Do you think that the government has any influence on the development and growth of theatre groups and arts in general?**

    I am not so sure, I can say may be in terms of providing us with the registration and work permit to enable us to work.

12. **Did the group receive any assistance from other organisation, what were those organisations? (Name them).**

    We have never received any support from either the government or any other organisation. We were still young in the arts sector, I think if the group couldn't have collapsed, there could come a day when we could work even with different Organisations.

13. **What were the rules and regulations that governed the particular assistance?**
14. **Were there any open collaboration between leaders and staffs (artists and non-artists) in the group? How was every member involved in the process of the group's program planning and implementation?**

    There was, but most of the tasks performed by the group leaders.

15. **How have the external forces such as economic, social, cultural, political and technological influenced the group activities?**

    Do you know the presence of television has heavily affected theatre groups? Remember in those years, the 1990s when people used to attend theatre performances, a period, when the Tanzania One Theatre and Muungano Cultural Troupe were in their peak. Now very few people attend stage performances, most of them stay at their homes watching Television, videos and even music. Theatre performances are no longer that popular. Right now, the interest of many people has moved to Bongo flava music, film and gospel music. I do not know what has happened; maybe, it is where the money is.

16. **When was the group collapsed?**

    Our group collapsed formally in 2010.

17. **What situations if any threatened the survival of the group during its life time?**

Lack of convenient rehearsing space, Rehearsing space was a very complicated issue for our group. At first we used to rehearse at someone house, but we later learned that they are not comfortable with our presence, so we decided to ask for another space and so another Good Samaritan agreed that we can rehearse at his home compound. But there was already another group rehearsing there. So, the needs of shifts arise and then we agreed we should start our rehearsals at 2.00 pm while the other group starts at 4.00 pm. This change of timetable had negative impacts to our group. It became difficult for some artists who were students to cope with the new timetable, and finally only few members were able to meet hence the group collapsed.

18. **What were the reasons for the group's collapse?**

First is lack of rehearsing space. The lack of a rehearsing space caused many artists to give up. And then the group began to lose direction as well. Second, difference of goals among the artists was another reason; the group intended to earn identification through stage plays and poetry. But artists were more interested in films .Some artists demanded that the group should completely engage in the film productions, and because by that time we were not ready for the film productions, many artists were then invited by other groups to play roles in their films. Many were desperate to gain popularity quickly, so the group remained without artists and that was the end.

19. **Do you think artists / Management were a source of groups' disintegration? Why?**

All Members, either the leader or artist, we contribute in destroying theatre groups. I think we should exercise patience when working in theatre groups; we should not force ourselves into success because success comes slowly.

20. **How do you describe the group's failure?**

Objectives, when there are objectives set by the group, and then they must be achieved. Otherwise, when a group had a member who can mislead others, it is now when the fabrication and misdirection of the group activities happens. Hence, small groups start. When small groups begin to emerge within a group, conflicts

begins also. Presence of small groups within the group creates problems in leading the group also.

21. **In your opinion what do you think should be done so that we can have sustainable theatre groups in Tanzania?**

    There should be a positive relationship between the government and the arts groups. The government recognizes only few groups. Other groups have been kicked away. The government should recognize that art is employment; it should not use artists in their political activities only.

Interview with the an artists from Pasha Sanaa Group on 8th August, 2012

1. **What was the name of your group and when was it established?**
   Our group is known as 'Pasha Sanaa Group', established in 2000 but got formally registered by the National Arts Council in 2001.
2. **Who established the group and why?**

   Fifteen (15) youth established this group. These youth were from Wailes Temeke Mikoroshini, Sandali ward. The group aimed to promote culture, as by that time cultural performances were in peak and even the inspiration to do theatre was highest among young people. The main objective for some of us was to generate income/get employment through theatre. I am saying for some of us because there were others who joined the group because they had a 'hobby' to do theatre.
3. **What kind of arts did the group produce?**
   The group was into traditional dances, Bongo Flava Music and *Maigizo* (Plays). It reached the time when we started looking for sponsors, so that we can record plays and air them on Television. There are times when we also had performed stage plays with the East African Melody, for us it was a very great achievement as by that particular time East African Melody was one of the popular *taarabu* groups in Tanzania.
4. **How many members did the group has? How many women/men?**
   The group had more than twenty artists. Women were about eleven (11). At the beginning men were few, but later the number increased.
5. **What procedures one needed to follow to join the Group?**

One had to fill in a joining form and pay an amount of ten thousands Tanzania shillings as an entrance fee.

6. **What was the group's original source of funding?**

   Mostly, we depended on the contribution from our own pockets. But later, we devised a new means of asking to perform with famous Music bands like East African Melody. We usually performed before the Band coming to stage. And so we got paid a little amount of money.

7. **What were the difficulties in getting funding for the group's projects and activities?**

   Money matters needs expertise. We just came together as youths, so, we still had no enough knowledge on various issues.

8. **What were the group's management/ leadership structure? Was that of a Chairperson, Secretary or Director, manager? And what were their functions?**

   The group had a Chairperson, Assistant Chairperson, Secretary, Assistant Secretary and the Treasurer.

   The Chairperson/Assistant Chairperson was responsible for organizing and chairing group meetings. The chairperson was also one of the bank signatories. Assistant chairperson was leading also group meetings, but he was not among the bank signatories. Based on the constitution, the Secretary and his assistant were the daily main operators of the group responsibilities and they were the ones taking care of some group's assets like drums, group documents etc. Treasurer had been dealing with financial matters only.

9. **Since its establishment, did the group change its management/leadership structure? If yes, what influenced such changes?**

   In terms of leadership, the positions remained as they are but people were the one changing. According to our constitution, selection of new leaders was after every three years. But given the individual responsibilities, it reached a moment that even before the specified constitution time elapsed; one might ask a substitution of his/her position by another person.

   There were times we changed the focus on the artistic forms also. We decided to concentrate on the stage performances instead of television drama. Therefore we

changed our mission from being the Television actors/actresses to stage performers. For instance, we abandoned the rehearsals that were basically for film/Television.

These changes were due to the artistic market pressure during that time. For example, by that period of the year 2001, there were many theatre groups that had contracts with various Television stations already. We contacted the national Television by that time and the management asked us to wait as for that specific time there was no open slot to accommodate our group. That means we had to stay in a waiting Queue. We then thought why should we wait while we have our plays already written and so we can organize the every week show?

10. **Was there any existing relationship between the group and other governmental and non-governmental institutions/organisations? If yes, how did such relationship contributes to the group's development?**

    Yes. For the non-governmental organisations we related with UMATI and SAGETA, it was more professional kind of relationship, as we were learning various matters on different aspects of life in particular 'life skills' etc. On the government side, we worked closely with the Cultural Office of Temeke Municipal and the National Arts Council. The cultural office provided our group various jobs, for example, we were invited by the cultural office to perform on the National AIDS day, and even on the programmes of a fight against Malaria.

11. **Do you think that the government has any influence on the development and growth of theatre groups and arts in general?**

    In general we expect the government to provide guidance in improving the arts in the country. Things like the performances premises should be set clear. But also we as artists have a great opportunity to push the government to implement its obligations. At the same time, as the artists, we should also offer support to the government each time the need arise.

12. **Did the group receive any assistance from other organisation, what were those organisations? (Name them).**

    No.

13. **What were the rules and regulations that governed the particular assistance?**

14. **Were there any open collaboration between leaders and staffs (artists and non-artists) in the group? How was every member involved in the process of the group's program planning and implementation?**

    We had good cooperation especially immediately after establishing the group. But after changing the focus from producing video film and television drama to stage performances many artists were not ready to accord the support, so there was an uncertainty in planning or implementing some of the group's plans. Then groups emerged within the group.

15. **How have the external forces such as economic, social, cultural, political and technological influenced the group activities?**

    The Ministry's top officials are the products of politics, since they are the products of politics they do not come with the systems that nurse arts. So when one is talking about our cultural groups, there is a need of going back to the customs and traditions from which these groups came into being aiming to promote culture. Now if leaders don't consider these groups then they pervert art.

    Economically groups have suffered; because there is no clear mandate from the Ministry, the National Arts Council to the district/city/municipal cultural office, if there was, even the provided money for cultural development would have been used for providing training to the artists, for example training on how arts can be changed into a formal employment. But the money is not that well administered in favour of the arts and artists' development.

16. **When was the group collapsed?**

    The group collapsed in the year 2004.

17. **What situations if any threatened the survival of the group during its life time?**

    In general, it is hard to say there was a special event that brought about the group's downfall. I remember that the group started collapsing after individual artists failed to attend rehearsals, and eventually the group remained with almost three people who decided to join another group.

18. **What were the reasons for the group's collapse?**

Lack of motivation and support among artists is the main reason. As a leader for instance, you encourage artists to attend rehearsals, but there is no response, so it is difficult to force them. Since this is not a formal employment, one cannot be fired either. According to the constitution, if the artist do not attend the rehearsals for three consecutive days, he/she should express himself and be given the opportunity to defend him/herself in a group disciplinary committee. Now the problem comes, as a leader you call the artist who had violated the group rules and regulations and he/she still doesn't come. Now, how is this constitution fulfilled? As a leader you find you do not have the authority over the artist, and you cannot follow him/her at his/her home.

19. **Do you think artists / Management were a source of groups' disintegration? Why?**

The main reason for the collapse of the groups is the artists and not management. From what I know, a group belongs to the artists. If it is management, artists have the mandate to remove the irresponsible management and replace it with the responsible one according to their wishes. Another contributing factor is life challenges. Theatre still does not pay that much, so this causes most artists forsaking their talents in arts in expense of the industrial labour in order to gain money for subsistence.

20. **How do you describe the group's failure?**

It is all about personal vision towards a group itself, about the time which he/she will serve the group and achieve success; on what he/she wants. For example, when we decided to focus on stage performances instead of television drama/plays many artists automatically left the group, as their mission was to be seen on television, so they realized the group will no longer fit them.

21. **In your opinion what do you think should be done so that we can have sustainable theatre groups in Tanzania?**

We need people who understand well arts in different aspects, starting with the government officials and ultimately the artists themselves. When we have people who are in the same place, with the same intention and they speak the same language, and even what they intend to do seems to have a direction, then the office concerned e.g. the city, district/municipal office of culture, the National Arts

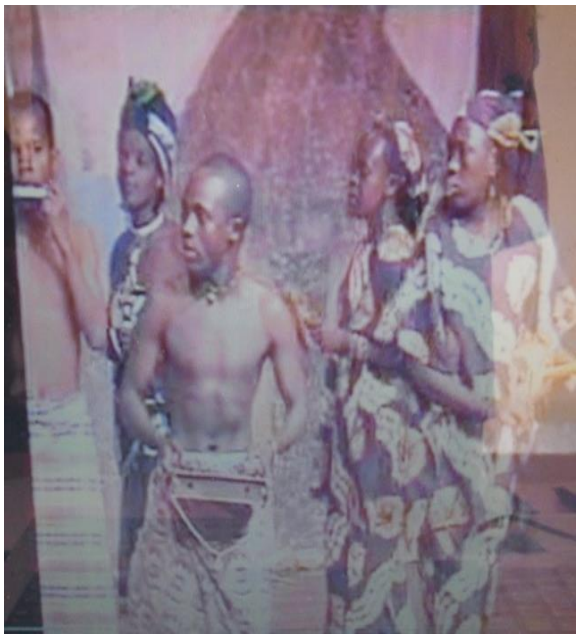
Council, and even the Ministry of Culture itself should have systems to develop these efforts. For example, the National Sports Council has different programs to improve sports, especially for children and youth. This also should be done in arts.

Appendix 2: Pictures of various Theatre Groups' rehearsals and performances

Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust artists in a rehearsal

Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust performing Traditional Music at the Makumbusho Cultural Centre

Audience taking over the performance during Parapanda Performance at the Makumbusho Cultural Centre (Photos by courtesy of Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust)



Shujaa wa Jando (the Hero of Initiation) Performance by Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust

(Photos by courtesy of Parapanda Theatre Lab Trust)

Hangano Cultural Troupe in a Dressing Rehearsal (Preparation for the Balimi annual traditional dance competition for the 2012)

Above Hangano Cultural Troupe rehearsing on *Igizo* (Photos by Novetha Kigombe)

Chapakazi Arts Group in one of their rehearsals on the Bugobogobo traditional dance (Photos by Novetha Kigombe through the courtesy of Chapakazi Arts Group)

Mikano artists in a rehearsal (Photos by Novetha Kigombe by courtesy of Mikano Arts Group)

Some *Igizo* scenes in one of the Sabasaba Sanaa Group rehearsals

Sabasaba Sanaa Group in Various Traditional Dance Performances (Photos by Novetha Kigombe by courtesy of Sabasaba Sanaa Group)

Sabasaba Sanaa Group in *Wamichoro* Performance (Photos by Novetha Kigombe)

CURRICULUM VITAE

For reasons of data protection, the Curriculum vitae is not published in the online version.