Our Songs and Other People's Songs

Music and Identities in a Lutheran Diocese in Tanzania

LEENA LAMPINEN

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Abstract

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In the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT), singing in a choir is a popular activity, and there are many choirs of different kinds within its parishes. In this study, the focus is on church choirs and choir conductors (*walimu wa kwaya*) within the North Central Diocese of the ELCT in the northern part of Tanzania. The central question of this research is: In what ways are choral repertoires involved in the formation of diverse identities within church choirs in a Lutheran diocese in Tanzania?

The main theoretical concept employed in this study is that of identity, which I approach from individual, social, and group aspects. In addition to the differentiation between individual, social, and group, identities can be further labeled according to the context to which they are related, which in this study includes religious, ethnic, and national viewpoints. All the aforementioned sides of identity are related to music sung by church choirs of the North Central Diocese.

Methodologically, I have combined several approaches. The main focus was on thematic interviews with ten choir conductors. A larger group – 105 choir conductors – participated in the study through a written survey that contributed especially to the creation of a framework and a basic understanding of the context in which the participants of this study function. In addition, this work contains ethnographic features.

In this research, religious worldview and the church context form the basis for choirs' activities. The choirs also define themselves by choosing a certain way of functioning, including musical and organizational choices. Repetition and routines are important factors in creating cohesiveness within choirs and are accentuated in this context, in which choirs gather for rehearsals several times a week and participate in worship service every Sunday. Sunday services and choirs' various roles within them are important occasions for shaping the choirs'

self-understanding. Choirs see themselves as active agents: they are conveying the Christian message and supporting congregational singing.

At the individual level, the research participants identified themselves in several ways. The interviewees saw themselves as choir conductors, music teachers, composers, singers, performers of certain musical styles, representatives of particular ethnic groups, and/or members of a religious community. Musical collaboration is an important feature in the work of *walimu*, which offers a means for expanding musical resources. It is also a source for the feeling of belonging and collegiality, both within the ELCT and ecumenically with *walimu* from other denominations.

The selection of choral repertoire is a process through which *walimu* and other people involved in repertoire-related decisions influence the image that a choir presents of itself. It is a way of defining who they are, who they are not, and/or who they would like to be. On the other hand, the identity of a choir influences the repertoire selection. In this study, the choral repertoires consist of old and new materials, local and global influences, our songs and other people's songs, and they are intersections of personal, group, musical, religious, local, and ethnic identities.

Keywords: choir, choir conductor, personal identity, group identity, choral identity, choral repertoire, Tanzania, Lutheran church

Tiivistelmä

Leena Lampinen, 2021. *Meidän ja muiden laulut. Musiikki ja identiteetit luterilaisessa hiippakunnassa Tansaniassa.* Studia Musica 84.
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Kuorolaulu on suosittu toimintamuoto Tansanian evankelisluterilaisessa kirkossa, ja monenlaisia kuoroja on paljon. Tutkimukseni keskittyy yhden luterilaisen hiippakunnan (*North Central Diocese*) kuoroihin ja kuoronjohtajiin (*walimu wa kwaya*) Tansanian pohjoisosassa. Tutkimuksen pääkysymys on: Millä tavoin kuorojen ohjelmistot ovat mukana erilaisten identiteettien rakentumisessa yhden tansanialaisen luterilaisen hiippakunnan kuorojen keskuudessa?

Tärkein tässä tutkimuksessa käytetty teoreettinen käsite on identiteetti, jota lähestyn sekä yksilön (henkilökohtainen ja sosiaalinen identiteetti) että ryhmän näkökulmasta. Identiteettejä voidaan myös jaotella sen mukaan, mihin kontekstiin ne liittyvät. Tässä tutkimuksessa näihin kuuluvat uskonnollinen, etninen ja kansallinen identiteetti. Kaikki edellä mainitut näkökulmat liittyvät tavalla tai toisella musiikkiin, jota tutkimuksessa käsitellyt kuorot laulavat.

Käytän työssäni useita metodologisia lähestymistapoja. Keskiössä ovat kymmenen kuoronjohtajan kanssa tehdyt teemahaastattelut. Laajempi joukko kuoronjohtajia – 105 henkilöä – osallistui kyselytutkimukseen, jonka tärkeimpänä tavoitteena oli luoda kokonaiskuvaa kontekstista, jossa tutkimukseen osallistujat toimivat. Työni sisältää myös etnografisia piirteitä.

Tässä tutkimuksessa uskonnollinen maailmankatsomus ja kirkollinen konteksti luovat pohjan kuorojen toiminnalle. Kuorot määrittelevät itseään myös tekemällä esimerkiksi musiikillisia tai organisaation rakenteeseen liittyviä valintoja. Toistuvuus ja rutiinit ovat tärkeitä tekijöitä kuorojen yhteenkuuluvuuden tunteen luojina. Ne korostuvat tässä ympäristössä, jossa kuorot kokoontuvat harjoituksiin useita kertoja viikossa ja osallistuvat jumalanpalvelukseen joka sunnuntai. Jumalanpalvelukset ja kuorojen monet roolit niissä ovat tärkeitä tilanteita kuorojen itseymmärryksen muotoutumiselle. Kuorot näkevät itsensä aktiivisina toimijoina: ne välittävät kristillistä sanomaa ja tukevat seurakuntalaulua.

Yksilötasolla osallistujat identifioivat itsensä monin tavoin. He olivat kuoronjohtajia, musiikinopettajia, säveltäjiä, laulajia, tietyn musiikkityylin esittäjiä, etnisen ryhmän edustajia ja/tai uskonnollisen yhteisön jäseniä. Yksi tärkeä piirre kuoronjohtajien työssä on musiikillinen yhteistyö, joka mahdollistaa musiikillisten resurssien laajentumisen. Yhteistyö luo yhteenkuuluvuuden ja kollegiaalisuuden tunnetta sekä luterilaisen kirkon sisällä että ekumeenisesti muiden kirkkokuntien kuoronjohtajien kanssa.

Kuoro-ohjelmiston valikoituminen on prosessi, jonka kautta kuoronjohtajat ja muut ohjelmistoon liittyvässä päätöksenteossa mukana olevat vaikuttavat kuoron itsestään antamaan kuvaan. Se on keino määritellä ketä he ovat tai eivät ole, ja/tai ketä haluaisivat olla. Toisaalta taas kuoron identiteetti vaikuttaa ohjelmiston valintaan. Tässä tutkimuksessa kuoro-ohjelmistot koostuvat vanhasta ja uudesta materiaalista, paikallisista ja globaaleista vaikutteista, meidän ja muiden lauluista, ja ne ovat yksilö- ja ryhmäidentiteettien sekä musiikillisten, uskonnollisten, paikallisten ja etnisten identiteettien kohtaamispaikkoja.

Avainsanat: kuoro, kuoronjohtaja, yksilöidentiteetti, ryhmäidentiteetti, kuoro-identiteetti, kuoro-ohjelmisto, Tansania, luterilainen kirkko

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Järvenpää, March 23, 2021

Leena Lampinen

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Glossary of Swahili Words

Kayamba	Rattles made of two layers of reed and filled with seeds
Kwaya	Choir(s)
Kwaya za akina mama	Women's choirs
Kwaya za vijana	Youth choirs
Kwaya za wazee	Elderly singers' choirs
Manju	An artist with various skills; composing, singing, song leading, etc.
Manyanga	Rattles made of dried calabashes and filled with seeds
Mtaa/mitaa	Sub-parish/sub-parishes
Muziki wa Injili	Gospel music. *Muziki wa Injili* is church music influenced by various popular music styles, usually accompanied by electric instruments, such as guitar and keyboard. It is performed by choirs, bands, and solo performers.
Muziki wa kwaya	Choral music, including various musical styles and genres, such as (Western) classical church music, gospel music, and music based on/derived from local ethnic traditions.
Mwalimu/Walimu wa kwaya	Literally, teacher(s)/ instructor(s) of a choir. In addition to teaching and leading songs, the tasks of *walimu* may

	include teaching music theory or instrument playing, or taking part in various committees within their choirs.
Mwimbishaji	Leader of songs
Ngoma	(1) Art form including drumming, dancing, singing, acting, storytelling etc. (2) Drum(s)
Njuga	Small bells tied around the ankles during dancing
Noten	Notated music, sheet music, "the music of notes"
Nyimbo za kawaida	Ordinary songs
Pambio/Mapambio	Short chorus/Short choruses
Shanga	A round flat plate made of beads that Maasai women wear around their necks as part of their traditional costume
Ujamaa	Familyhood. The term refers to the Tanzanian socialism during the first decades of the country's independence and is strongly connected to Tanzania's first president Julius Nyerere.
Wimbo/Nyimbo	A song/Songs

1 Introduction

"A Sunday service without music would not feel like a real service" is a sentence that I have heard from many people in Tanzania. Music plays an important role in Christian life, and church choirs of various Christian denominations are one of the most prominent actors in that field. The surrounding society and its history, a variety of ethnicities and their cultures together with more recent cultural practices, and different religious traditions, among others, have impacted church music in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT). In this study, I discuss the ways in which church choir music with all these diverse influences is involved in the formation of identities of both choirs and choral conductors, *walimu wa kwaya*, in a Lutheran diocese in northern Tanzania.

1.1 Choral Singing and Tanzania

In the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT)[1], singing in a choir is a popular activity among church members of all ages. Official statistics concerning the number of choirs in the whole church do not exist but, in any case, it can be said that there are many choirs of different kinds. Choral singing plays an important role in Christian expression, and it is also a visible and audible element in society more broadly.

My interest in Tanzanian church choirs arises from personal experiences with them; I lived in Arusha town in northern Tanzania for five years, between 2010 and 2015. My educational background is in church music, and I was sent to Tanzania by a Finnish missionary organization[2] to teach music at a local Lutheran university. Most importantly regarding this study, during all that time I was a member of a church choir in a Lutheran parish in Arusha. Sometimes I taught music outside the university, in music seminars and workshops that were aimed at choir conductors and organized by the Lutheran church. Several times during those years I was also invited to act as a judge in the church's choir competitions at the parish, district and diocesan levels. I noticed that church choirs were

[1] *Kanisa la Kiinjili la Kilutheri Tanzania (KKKT)* in Swahili.
[2] The Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission (Felm).

numerous, and their life was much more active compared to what I had been used to. All this piqued my curiosity to find out how these choirs function. How do the choir conductors, *walimu wa kwaya*[3]*,* themselves understand their work and their role in the church? Why do the choirs sing what they sing? What do the choirs' repertoire-related choices and decisions possibly reflect? One of the first occasions for me to start pondering these questions about choirs was a diocesan level church choir competition in Arusha in late 2011. It was a big event that was full of enthusiasm, joy, and excitement related to singing, together with pride and importance of belonging to a certain choral group or locality. That was one of the moments that pushed me toward starting this research in 2013.

Identity as an approach for this study was in a way an opportunity that my interviewees offered me. It was presented in the interviews, not in the form of the word "identity" (or *utambulisho* in Swahili), but as a way of viewing oneself in relation to the surrounding people and communities: Who am I? or Who are we? in relation to or in the context of other people or other groups. Discussions about choral repertoires in the form of "our songs" – meaning our choir's, our church's, our ethnic group's songs – and "other people's songs" – including songs from other choirs, other churches, other cultures, or other geographical locations – pointed me toward examining how choirs and *walimu wa kwaya* identify themselves through the music they sing. *Walimu* are the participants of this study, and various identities are examined through their interviews. Identity as a theoretical concept is discussed in chapter 2.1.

Singing, both in choral and congregational form, has been an important component of Lutheranism in Tanzania from its early stages. For a much longer time though, singing has played a significant role in the ethnic cultures of the area. In the same way as in many other places, singing has accompanied people's everyday tasks, both work and leisure, joy and sorrow. Music educators and scholars in the field of choral research Rudolf de Beer and Wilson Shitandi (2012, 185) contend that

[3] *Mwalimu/walimu* = teacher/teachers in Swahili. *Kwaya* = choir(s) in Swahili. In this study, I mainly use the Swahili term *mwalimu wa kwaya/walimu wa kwaya* (or just *mwalimu/walimu*) when discussing choir conductors. I am aware that translating *mwalimu wa kwaya* as "choir conductor" or "choir director" in English may not convey the full meaning of the term (c.f. Barz 2003, 2, footnote 2). Describing different tasks of *walimu* later in this study should help in understanding it. In this research context, the English term that is usually used for *mwalimu wa kwaya* is "choir conductor."

> singing as a group activity existed in Africa long before colonization. [...] These group activities were and still are primarily part of the social activities of the African communities where music making is generally social. The presence of choral forms of African traditional music is exemplified by its social and communal aspects. Indeed, in most indigenous African communities, music making was and still can be conceptualized as choral.

According to de Beer and Shitandi (2012, 186), choral singing has fit many African contexts at least partly due to several common features, such as its social and communal nature, which is characteristic of the traditional ways of music making. They state that

> Africans easily adopted the Western tradition of choral music brought into Africa by missionaries because of the number of concurrences, including the social nature of singing together, polyphonic structures in the music, and the function of music as an enhancement for a social (religious) activity, such as the congregational singing of Christian hymns.

Church choir tradition in Tanzania dates back to the nineteenth century, to the time when European missionaries first came to East Africa. Anthropologist Kelly Askew (2002, 70) calls choirs, or *kwaya* in Swahili, "the musical consequence of Christian evangelism and African churches that traces its roots to European choir music." Singing was found to be an effective way of teaching in the church; at least partly this is due to the oral/aural culture in which people were used to learning by ear (Barz 2003, 42). For instance, von Sicard (1970, 153) writes that missionaries in late-nineteenth-century Tanzania "found that the people could remember a hymn like 'Mungu ni pendo' – God is love, easier than any Scripture passage or story."[4]

Participating in choral activities means much more than just singing. According to ethnomusicologist Gregory Barz (2003, 8), choirs in the Tanzanian Christian context are "communities of people that regularly gather to grow spiritually, mediate conflict, provide each other with emotional support, and to sing." Singing is one part of being in a choir, but it also meets various social needs of the members.

[4] *Mungu ni pendo* (number 301 in the current ELCT hymnal), translated from the German hymn *Gott ist die Liebe*.

Choirs exist in many different forms and use different kinds of musical styles, which all play an important role within the whole. Different repertoires provide people with a variety of possibilities of choice and identifications.

In Tanzania, church choirs are counted as a vital part of popular music culture, popular music referring here to music that is consumed by the masses and distributed through different media such as radio and TV. According to anthropologist and music scholar Alex Perullo (2011, xiv, 363–365), the Tanzanian popular music scene consists of several components including *muziki wa Injili* (gospel music), *muziki wa kwaya* (choral music), *muziki wa dansi* (dance music performed by bands), bongo flava or hip hop (including, for instance, Tanzanian rap music), *taarab* (sung Swahili poetry that is most common in the coastal area), and *ngoma* (traditional dance, drumming, and singing) among others, all of which are important for the country's music economy.[5] With choral music, Perullo refers here to the "Christian choral groups that perform in churches and in competitions throughout Tanzania." Inclusion of both choral music and gospel music in this list reflects the popularity of Christian musical styles; they are part of the everyday soundscape in this context together with other musical forms. The recordings of choir songs of different Christian denominations can be heard in the streets of bigger towns and cities, and there are TV and radio stations broadcasting programs of Christian music, including choirs (see e.g., Barz 2003, 121). The ELCT has its own radio station, Radio Voice of the Gospel (*Radio Sauti ya Injili*) whose broadcasts contain several music programs daily (Program Schedule 2019). Choral music is an important means of expressing Christianity in Tanzanian society, which consists of a plurality of religions.

Although in Tanzania singing in a choir is often a church-related activity, choirs are not limited only to the Christian context; they exist, for instance, in schools or in political environments as well (Nyoni 2007, 242). Askew (2002, 70) makes a distinction between sacred and secular choirs and points out that secular choirs' goal is to communicate "political themes and rhetoric during state-organized events."

In this study, concerning the definition for a choir, I make use of descriptions given by music scholar Karen Ahlquist (2006, 3). Thus, by "choirs" I refer to groups of singers, and these groups are based on a membership; one joins a choir

[5] For more information about Tanzanian popular music, see e.g., Englert 2008, Perullo 2011, Suriano 2011, Sanga 2013b, and Kerr 2018.

and participates more or less regularly in its various activities. Often, in this research context, the participation is active and involves several gatherings weekly. Choirs have rehearsals that aim to prepare a chosen repertoire for performances. They are led by people with the status of a leader – in this study, those leaders are called *walimu wa kwaya*. The music is produced as a group, and the choir members do not necessarily read music. To add to Ahlquist's definition, in the choirs of this research, individual choir members or a group of singers may sometimes act as soloists. Some of these groups perform *a cappella*, while others use instrumental accompaniment. Furthermore, since this research has taken place in a church context, the choirs in this study are affiliated with a local parish within a particular Lutheran diocese in Tanzania. In addition to these musical components, it is important throughout this study to keep in mind choral singing's strong social aspect. I did not ask the research participants to define *kwaya*, but based on our discussions and my experiences in the field, I am inclined to believe that we shared an understanding of the description of what a choir is, i.e., of the characteristics given above. By "choral repertoire" in this study, I refer to a collection of songs that a particular choir knows and is able to perform.

Musicologist Christopher Small (1998, 134) describes music-making as follows:

> Those taking part in a musical performance are in effect saying – to themselves, to one another, and to anyone else who may be watching or listening – *This is who we are.*

I see choral singing as a fruitful context for the exploration of the relationship between music and identities both at individual and group levels due to this capacity to claim "who we are" as a choir or "who I am" as an individual choir member or a *mwalimu*.

1.2 Theoretical Underpinnings and Research Questions

This study is based on the understanding that the world is and gets constructed by people's social actions. It is an ongoing process; our knowledge about the world is not fixed but is constantly transforming. This idea can be connected to social constructionism, which has been described as "the view that people are not determined by internal or external causes, but that they are constructed through the processes of social interaction and through language" (Burr 2002, 155). Our identities and those of the groups to which we belong are shaped in the interaction

with and in relation to other people and groups around us. Social constructionism as a framework for research "is concerned to allow the voices of those researched to be heard and to be properly contextualised." It also calls for reflexivity on the researcher's part concerning one's own role in the entire research process (ibid. 130). In this study, I have let the participants talk as much as possible through the interview passages quoted in my text. I have also described the research context quite thoroughly in order to help the reader to understand the framework in which this research takes place. Due to my connections to this research context, it has also been necessary to keep in mind and to openly reflect my various roles in relation to the research participants.

The main theoretical concept employed in this study is that of identity, which I approach from individual, social, and group perspectives. Methodologically, I combine several approaches. The main focus was on interviews with ten choral conductors, *walimu wa kwaya*. A larger group of *walimu* were participants of a written survey that was the first stage of generating research materials and contributed especially to the creation of a framework and a basic understanding of the context in which the choirs of my study function. In addition, as a result of my staying in Tanzania for some years before starting and during the first years of this research, this work also contains ethnographic features.

Through my experiences with Tanzanian church choirs, I started to ponder the connections between choral repertoires and identities. If different musical genres offer people different identities (Frith 1998, 275), then different choral repertoires should also lead to divergent identities within choirs. Thus, the central question of this research is:

- In what ways are choral repertoires involved in the formation of diverse identities within church choirs in a Lutheran diocese in Tanzania?

My approach to choral repertoires and identities contains exploration of three aspects: the groups that perform the music, the individual *walimu* who are actively involved in the processes of creating or choosing songs as well as teaching and performing them, and, lastly, the choral repertoires in their various forms. The sub-questions resulting from this are:

- What is music's role both in creating the sense of belonging and in marking difference within choral groups?

- What kinds of music-related identities do *walimu wa kwaya* have?

- What other kinds of identities are expressed through choral repertoires?

This work covers one geographically and organizationally defined area of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania, namely the North Central Diocese[6], partly because, among all the dioceses, this was the most accessible and the most familiar to me. Church choirs also have a long history in this particular area, dating back to the late nineteenth century, but there are no studies on them. This study is not meant to and cannot describe the situation of the entire church. Although the basic organizational structure and the basic activities of the church are quite similar regardless of the location, each diocese has a significant amount of independence.[7] Also, the dioceses have different backgrounds; some of them were quite recently founded while others, such as the North Central Diocese, are located in areas in which Christianity originally started to take root in Tanzania.

1.3 Situating the Study

Due to my background and education as a church musician, the disciplinary starting point for this study has been church music, although the topic is quite different from most of the church-music-related research in my home institution.[8] During the years that I have spent with this topic, however, I have found myself expanding my views on other disciplines, such as ethnomusicology. Most easily, I place this research in the interdisciplinary field of "Christian congregational music studies" (Porter 2014, 149). Christian congregational music can be understood as including "any and all music performed in or as worship by a gathered community that considers itself to be Christian" (Ingalls et al. 2016 [2013], 2). This is a definition that can easily incorporate Tanzanian Lutheran choirs and choral music in its various forms, which play such a significant role in the worship context of the ELCT.

Christian congregational music studies as a disciplinary field is a combination of a variety of approaches, such as musicology, theology, and ethnomusicology, all of which discuss congregational music from different perspectives (Porter 2014,

[6] *Dayosisi ya Kaskazini Kati (DKK)* in Swahili.
[7] Rev. Dr. George Fihavango (2007, 235), currently also the assistant bishop of the Southern Diocese of the ELCT, states that "in reality, dioceses seem to consider themselves as being autonomous."
[8] An exception to this is Sakari Löytty's doctoral research project (2012) on the contextualization of liturgical music in a Lutheran church in Namibia.

149; Ingalls et al. 2018, 15). Ethnomusicologist Mark Porter (2014, 156) states that ethnomusicology "has provided much of the ground necessary for increased interdisciplinary study of congregational music studies, broadening study of music beyond the Western Art Music canon and at the same time bringing with it a new range of disciplinary tools necessitated by such study." I consider ethnomusicological perspective necessary for the examination of Tanzanian church choir music since it brings along a deeper cultural and contextual viewpoint.

This work joins a vast body of choral-related research. Musicologist Ursula Geisler's (2010) *Choral Research. A Global Bibliography* presents a wide variety of studies dealing with choirs. Geisler's work also reveals that identities in the choral context have been the subject of many studies.

Although music has a prominent role in the church and its activities, the research concerning the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania focuses much on theological aspects and/or theologians. However, there are studies dealing with church music as well. For instance, ethnomusicologists Gregory Barz (e.g., 1997 and 2003) and Imani Sanga (e.g., 2006a, 2006b, 2008, 2010, and 2013a) discuss church choir music in Tanzania in its different forms. Their background is in ethnomusicology, and the geographical focus of these studies is one city, Dar es Salaam. Sanga examines mostly Tanzanian gospel music, *muziki wa Injili*, which is a vital and growing church music genre in Tanzania.

My work has aspects in common with Barz's PhD dissertation *The Performance of Religious and Social Identity: An Ethnography of Post-Mission Kwaya Music in Tanzania* (1997) and his later book *Performing Religion. Negotiating Past and Present in Kwaya Music of Tanzania* (2003). Barz's works offer a detailed picture of the functioning of Lutheran choirs in Dar es Salaam and explore choirs' understanding of themselves. However, as a church musician myself, as a practitioner and, thus, as a kind of insider, I have a different perspective to this theme. I deal with topics such as what it means to be a musician in a church context and how cooperation in parishes works – issues that influence the *walimu*'s everyday lives at a very practical level. I as a church musician find it important to give voice to and make visible those who are engaged in making music in the church. Thus, my work offers a church musician's view on a topic that has previously been studied by ethnomusicologists.

Since the church music fields in the two East African countries Tanzania and Kenya have many features in common, ethnomusicologist Jean Kidula's studies (e.g., 2010 and 2013) dealing with a variety of Christian music in Kenya have provided valuable insight for my research. For instance, the growing popularity of gospel music is a notable phenomenon in both countries, as well as church choirs, which are a significant channel of the Christian musical expression in the area. In this study, I also refer to some choral-related-studies that are conducted in the South African context. Although South Africa is not a neighboring country to Tanzania, it is a useful point of reference due to the country's rich choral scene, which has also been studied by several scholars.

1.4 Cultural and Musical Context of the Study

Tanzanian Lutheran church choirs and their repertoires as they are today are borne of the intertwining of various components and influences. I briefly discuss here Tanzania's history and socio-cultural elements, which have been and are effective in shaping choirs' musical expression.

The United Republic of Tanzania is an East African country that had approximately 45 million inhabitants according to the 2012 Census. Its population is growing fast, and the United Nations' estimation for the year 2020 was nearly 60 million inhabitants (UNdata 2021). Although the administrative capital of Tanzania is Dodoma, the largest city is Dar es Salaam where much of the country's businesses and commerce are located. Christianity and Islam are the main religions. The statistics concerning the percentages vary, but most commonly the figures are shown as one third for both Christianity and Islam, and the last third for indigenous and other religions. Exact numbers for these are not available, and one reason for this may be the attempt "to avoid religious competition and conflict" (Vähäkangas 2014, 173).

During colonial times the region which is now known as Tanzania was under German and British rule (Martin 1997, 633). Missionary activities were linked to the colonial ones; the first German missionaries came to the area soon after the arrival of German colonial officials (Barz 2003, 38–39). This was the time when colonial powers – Germany included – expanded, and "the churches and mission organizations of those countries showed a correspondingly dramatic increase" (Bosch 1992, 301).

Tanzania is a union of two states, the mainland Tanganyika and the island of Zanzibar, and it was formed in 1964; Tanganyika had become independent a few years earlier, in 1961 (Askew 2002, 47). The borders between Tanzania and its neighboring countries are a result of the colonial period, as is the case with many African countries. The North Central Diocese of the ELCT is located in Arusha and Manyara regions in the northern part of the country, near the Kenyan border (Figure 1).

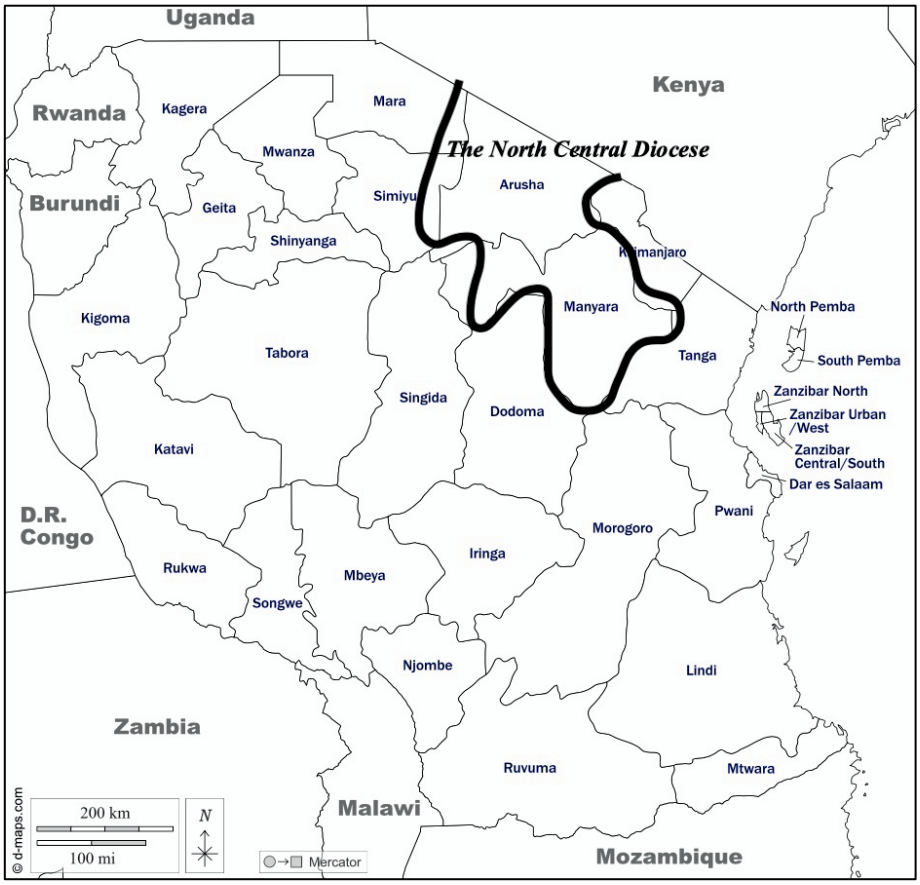

Figure 1. The Location of the North Central Diocese. (Map of Tanzania: d-maps.com.)

The decisions concerning the geographical borders that had originally come from outside have affected the life of some ethnicities, such as the Maasai, which are one prominent group in my research context. Sanga (2008, 54) explains how, through the imposition of these boundaries, "some Masai, for example, found themselves Kenyans while their fellow kinsmen (belonging to the same clan) became Tanzanians."

The Tanzanian population is multi-ethnic: there are about 120 ethnic groups living within the area. Many of them belong to the larger group of "Bantu-speaking agriculturalists" (Cooke 2008, 301). There is a wide variety of ethnicities living in northern Tanzania, the geographical scope of this study. There are Bantu peoples such as the Chagga, the Meru, the Mbugwe, and the Sonjo (or Batemi) and non-Bantu groups including, for instance, the Maasai, the Arusha, and the Iraqw (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Main ethnic groups in the Arusha and Manyara districts. (Ethnic composition – Map Outline ©Sémhur/Wikimedia Commons.)

Peoples with similar origins share similar cultural and linguistic features, and influences move between neighboring groups. In bigger cities or towns like Arusha, which is the largest urban area within this research context, there is a presence of many ethnicities from all over the country. However, since the Census in Tanzania does not include information about ethnicities, it is not possible to give statistics concerning the ethnic composition.

The North Central Diocese of the ELCT is partly located in the Maasai area, and Maasai culture has a strong presence within the diocese and in its activities. For instance, in the choir competitions organized in the North Central Diocese, the category that includes choirs singing traditional music is divided into two groups: (1) the Maasai choirs and (2) all the other choirs performing traditional music.

According to some estimations, there are approximately 400,000 Maasai living in Tanzania (Salazar 2010, 61). They are nomadic and pastoral people whose source of livelihood is cattle-keeping. Maasai society is traditionally based on both lineage and age-based systems; the lineage system connects people to their families and ancestors, while through the age-set one is joined with people of about the same age (Floyd 2000a, 196–198; 2000b, 85–88). Rituals have an important role in defining and shaping the cultural identity of the Maasai. As an ethnic group the Maasai can be divided into several subgroups. Depending on the scholar, these sub-groups are seen either as being more like one ethnicity or as quite separate groups (ibid.). The Arusha people, living in and around the Arusha town, are one of the ethnic groups closely related to the Maasai. They originated from the Maasai and settled on the south-western slopes of Mount Meru (Gulliver 2004 [1969], 324). The Arusha speak the same language and share many cultural features with the Maasai.[9]

The Chagga people are one of the largest ethnic groups in Tanzania. They live next to Mount Kilimanjaro on its southern and eastern slopes (Moore 1977, 4). The traditional Chagga society has been described as "one which was open to change and accepted myriad innovations long before Europeans came to stay" (ibid., 73). The Chagga are known as a people of commerce. The Meru (or the Rwa) people live on the south-eastern slopes of Mount Meru and historically are related to their eastern neighbors, the Chagga (Baroin 1996, 533–534). From the late nineteenth century, Lutheran missions and the Lutheran Church have had a strong position in both the Chaggas and the Merus' territories. These areas in which the Chagga and the Meru traditionally live are not located within the North Central Diocese. However, since the Chagga are a large group and there are many Chagga living, for instance, in Arusha town, and since the Meru are the eastern neighbors of the Arusha people, both the Chagga and the Meru are briefly discussed in this study. The Mbugwe people live south of Lake Manyara, in and around Babati town (Wilhelmsen 2018, 35). They are farmers who traditionally made their living also from hunting (Årlin 2011, 71). The Sonjo are farmers as well and live among the Maasai in the northern part of this area (Olson 1996, 533).[10]

[9] The Maa language is divided into various dialects (see, e.g., Spear and Nurse 1992, 481).
[10] Smedjebacka (1973, 22–27) provides a brief history of the main ethnic groups living in northern Tanzania before the German colonial period.

The diversity of ethnicities makes it difficult if not impossible to define clearly what so-called Tanzanian culture is like. For instance, Emmanuel Kaghondi (2018, 5), a scholar in music education, states that as a nation, due to this diversity, "Tanzania has no musical identity." The so-called national culture is a combination of various ethnic cultures, and it has been influenced by, for example, the colonial period, Islam, various Christian denominations, and socialist *ujamaa* politics, a form of African socialism presented after independence (Akarro 2008, 299). The *ujamaa* policy is strongly connected to Tanzania's first president, Julius Nyerere. Equality and community building were important themes in Nyerere's politics – the Swahili word *ujamaa* means familyhood – and Tanzanians regarded him as a leader who was "profoundly committed to their welfare" (Pratt 2000, 366–367). However, aiming at equality also meant weakening traditional cultures and local ethnic identities (Edmondson 2001, 155; Sanga 2008, 59).

The national language in Tanzania is Swahili (or Kiswahili). Swahili is a Bantu-language that has been affected by Arabic, Persian, and Portuguese (Maganda and Moshi 2014, 115–116, 133–135). Originally it was spoken on the so-called Swahili Coast, in the East African coastal area. It is the language of official communication and is spoken by more than 90 percent of the Tanzanian population, although for many people it is not their first language (ibid.). Swahili played an important role as a means of communication before and during the colonial period, especially in trade and administration (Sigalla 2010, 111). It does not come from any specific Tanzanian ethnic group, which has been seen as one of the unifying factors of the country (Martin 1997, 634). A common language facilitates communication, but according to several scholars, choosing Swahili for this position has also been contributing to the decline of Tanzania's more than 120 indigenous languages (Edmondson 2001, 155; Askew 2002, 184; Sanga 2008, 54). Swahili is the dominant language of the church choir repertoires in the North Central Diocese of the ELCT.

After independence in 1961, the political leaders' aim was to unify the people as a new nation (Malm 1981, 44). Musical performance became an important part of country's cultural policy, and traditional music was used for this purpose. In 1962, president Nyerere established the Ministry of Culture and stated that "culture is the essence and spirit of any nation" (quoted in Nyoni 2007, 246). As a consequence of this, music groups that were "ideologically motivated" were founded. Their goals were, for instance, "to praise the political leadership and state policies" and "to celebrate the achievements of the nation as a whole." One of these groups was the National Dance Troupe, founded in 1963, with two

distinctive objectives: to create a positive image of the country to people outside Tanzania and to act "as a symbol of pride and unity" to Tanzanians themselves (ibid., 246–247). Traditional dances, *ngoma*, featured the ethnic groups and their customs, but at the same time, the dances were being modified in order to serve political goals; government administrators evaluated local cultural practices and decided which of those were suitable for their purposes and which were to be banned (Askew 2002, 14, 193). The general tendency was to stress the national features or the national culture and to obscure the differences in ethnic traditions (Kubik 1981, 85). In addition to the national dance group, components such as Swahili as a national language, national anthem *Mungu ibariki Afrika*,[11] and national holidays acted as symbols of national identity (Askew 2002, 277). Traditionalism was a defining feature during the first years of independence, but starting from the Arusha declaration in 1967, it was replaced by socialism (ibid.).

The socialist *ujamaa* goals were reflected in the musical performances. In *ngoma* performances, uniformity was central feature for both movement and dress, together with synchronization and linear formation (Askew 2002, 278). Also, some *ngoma* that originally were gender-specific were now changed to be performed by both men and women (ibid.). Uniformity in relation to musical performances is a feature that is still visible in many choir performances, especially in the context of choir competitions. The socialist period in Tanzania ended in the early 1990s, and the country's first multiparty elections were held in 1995 (Nyoni 2007, 253).

According to Askew (2002, 195), although cultural practices were evaluated by government officials, that did not mean that their goals were accepted by people. She states that

> Culture policymakers may hold certain conceptions of both the object and the objectives of national cultural production, but these ultimately were and continue to be subject to public approval.

As suggested by several scholars and formulated by arts researcher Frowin Paul Nyoni (2007, 271), "the history of arts in Tanzania is political and it has been shaped and influenced by all political changes that have taken place in Tanzania before and after independence." Colonialism, nationalism, socialism, and

[11] "God bless Africa" in Swahili. This melody, *Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika,* is from South Africa and is composed by Enoch Sontonga.

liberalization have all been influential to the cultural production of the country (Askew 2003, 160).

Traditionally in Tanzania, as in many other parts of Africa as well, music has played an important role in people's everyday life, not as a separate activity but as functional, accompanying daily activities such as work, different ceremonies and rituals (Cooke 2008, 301). It is important to point out, however, that the Swahili term for music – *muziki* – is itself of foreign origin.

A central concept related to many traditional cultures in Tanzania is that of *ngoma*. The Swahili word *ngoma*, which originates from Bantu-languages (Gunderson 2010, xxiii), can be translated as drums, drumming, dancing, and singing, but it also contains a wider meaning. According to musician, DMus Arnold Chiwalala (2009, 17–18, 21), *ngoma* can be understood as "a traditional art form, which combines music, dancing, storytelling, acting and even some acrobatic movements (such as somersaults)." He further states that these elements are combined in a variety of ways depending on the *ngoma* itself, on the cultural context of the community in question, and, to some extent, on the performers as well. Some *ngoma* are associated with certain groups of people based on, for instance, their profession or livelihood, while other *ngoma* play an important part in rites, weddings and funerals among others. They can have other functions as well, such as their use as recreational and leisure time activities. Songs are an important part of *ngoma*, especially due to their capacity for conveying messages. Singing can also serve, for instance, as a signal for structural or musical changes within *ngoma*. All performers that are involved in *ngoma* participate in singing (ibid.). Since some *ngoma* are related to rites, they may also contain a spiritual aspect.

Chiwalala (2009, 18, 23) describes the significance of *ngoma* in the Tanzanian context as follows:

> Moreover, ngoma functions as an identity for social groups, professional groups in the community, as an identity for ethnic groups as well as an identity for the nation. [...] Ngoma is one of the cultural aspects which can identify these ethnic groups or tribes. You can understand and recognise a certain ethnic group by studying or watching their ngoma. At festivals and other international events the nation can use ngoma to represent its national identity. [...] Ngoma carries life; the life of the community, the life of the people, the life of the nation.

Although traditional music-making is communal, there are also individuals who are known and acknowledged for their artistic and performance skills. This kind of person is called *manju* in Swahili. *Manju* can be defined as "an expert at composing songs and leading the singing at dances," "a master of composing songs and singing poetry," or as "a master poet, a skilled singer/composer, and a song leader" (Johnson 1971, 259; Johnson 1982, 106; Abdulla et al. 2009, 145). According to Chiwalala (April 7, 2020), a *manju* is a versatile artist, a composer, a philosopher, or an educator who has leadership skills, too.

Of all the ethnicities in Tanzania, the Maasai are among the most engaged in preserving their own culture and resistant to influences of foreign cultures (Sanga 2008, 66; Askew 2002, 218). The music of the Maasai is mostly purely vocal, arranged in parts (Malm 1981, 31), while the surrounding Bantu peoples also play a variety of instruments in addition to singing. Traditionally, the Maasai use instruments such as animal horns, but drums do not play such a central role as in many Bantu cultures. For instance, wooden flutes, bells and drums are part of the Chagga's musical performance (Moore 1977, 72), while the traditional Meru singing and dancing can be accompanied with instruments such as ankle bells and rattles, as well as drums (Puritt 1977, 133–134). The music of the Meru has been influenced by the Maasai since they live in neighboring areas (Cooke 2008, 301).

Women's fast upper body movements with *shangas*, the round and flat plates made of beads worn around their necks, and men's high jumping are important features of Maasai music making. Traditionally, age and gender often define what kind of songs people sing; for instance, there are specific songs for women or for children (Floyd 2000b, 93). However, there are also songs that women and men sing together (Sululu, February 15, 2019); this offers a model for mixed choirs in the church context. Music usually plays an important role in Maasai rituals.[12] There are not necessarily specific songs for specific rituals, but rather "repertoires of songs and song types which are employed widely, and which have resonances with the focus of rituals" (Floyd 2000b, 97). Perhaps the centrality and importance of vocal expression in traditional Maasai culture is one component that has contributed to the existence of so many Maasai choirs in the church context.

Ethnologist Gerhard Kubik (1982, 38) has identified eight musical areas within Tanzania. The North Central Diocese does not directly fit any of them but is

[12] However, there are exceptions as well: I remember having participated in a traditional Maasai burial near Arusha, and there was no singing or any other kind of music at all.

located in or near several of those areas. One of those is what Kubik calls the Kilimanjaro region and in which he includes ethnic groups such as the Chagga.

Nowadays, traditional cultural forms play a stronger role in rural areas, while in bigger towns and cities, life is influenced by more urban ways of living. However, since people move and migrate, and the new technologies make communication easier, musical influences spread and get mixed, and new musical forms emerge. Although this is not a new phenomenon, it happens more easily than in earlier times.

Popular music – in the sense of music that is linked to urban emphasis, mass consumption, and distribution via mass media – plays an important part in the cultural environment of this study. In Tanzania, an urban popular culture started to emerge in the 1920s through music recordings, and later, for instance, through the growing number of actively performing musical groups (Perullo 2011, 40, 42, 49, 51). Musicians and audiences sought for both foreign and local music to be used as a starting point for creating popular music forms that could express "the urban African experience." The city of Dar es Salaam became the center of the Tanzania's (first Tanganyika's) music economy. By the late 1960s – during early independence – records and popular magazines from outside Africa were not favored and Congolese and South African music groups were promoted instead (ibid.). During the 1970s and 1980s, important foreign influences on Tanzanian popular music came from Congo when over two hundred Congolese musicians migrated to Tanzania, mostly to Dar es Salaam, due to the political situation and other reasons. Congolese music was popular around Central and Eastern Africa, partly because after gaining independence, in many countries there was a desire for local and, more generally, African music (Perullo 2008, 296–298, 306).

The 1980s was a time for economic liberalization in Tanzania, and it allowed space, for instance, for Tanzanian rap music to develop (Perullo 2005, 78). The following decade brought along a significant change in the Tanzanian music economy in the form of the Broadcasting Services Act in 1993 (Perullo 2011, 188). Instead of only state-controlled radio and TV stations, it was now possible for private businesses and individuals to start private stations. This meant new and wider possibilities for distribution of various kinds of music, also from abroad (ibid.).

In Tanzania, as elsewhere in Africa, new forms of popular music, such as bongo flava, are quite strongly identified with the youth; much of it is created by young

people, and the audience also consists mostly of the younger generations (Englert 2008, 73). Secular forms of popular music have a strong influence especially on gospel music, *muziki wa Injili*, which is a growing genre in the churches. Gospel music choirs and smaller bands are common, and solo performers such as Bahati Bukuku and Rose Muhando have become celebrities similar to popular music artists outside the church context.

In addition to traditional and popular music, other kinds of music are present in this context as well.[13] For instance, Western (European) classical music is performed occasionally. One group that promotes the performance of Western classical music in Tanzania is Dar Choral Society and Orchestra, which is based in Dar es Salaam.

The musical scene in Tanzania is diverse with all its different musical forms, influences, and cultures. Askew (2002, 70) describes Tanzania from a musical point of view as follows:

> [T]he musical landscape Tanzania offers is as rich and diverse as the population that lives within its colonially conceived borders. Musical forms are distinguished by numerous factors – region, ethnicity, gender, class, urban/rural settings, religion, performance context, and performance style being the predominant ones.

Some of these factors mentioned by Askew can be used to distinguish different musical forms also within the Lutheran church. Religion of course is one feature that defines church music in general, but others, such as ethnicity, are also relevant components in distinguishing musical forms in this research context.

1.5 The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania and its Music

The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania, *Kanisa la Kiinjili la Kilutheri Tanzania* in Swahili, is one of the world's largest Lutheran churches with

[13] Agawu (2016, 50–52) uses the division of traditional, popular, and art music. He defines art music in the African context as "music composed on paper by literate African musicians who have been exposed to a portion of the high-art tradition of Europe." However, I find the definition of the term "art music" problematic since it easily contains an idea of superiority; thus, I do not use it to describe the choral music of my research context.

approximately 7.9 million members throughout Tanzania (LWF 2021). The church is currently divided into 26 dioceses, each led by a bishop, and it also has its own mission work in some areas within the country (ELCT 2020). The division of the dioceses in the ELCT is to some extent connected to ethnic boundaries (Fihavango 2007, 309). However, for instance in urban areas, a variety of ethnicities is represented. The dioceses are divided into districts and districts into parishes. Furthermore, some parishes are divided into smaller units, sub-parishes, called *mitaa* in Swahili. The head of the entire ELCT is the Presiding Bishop, who is elected from among the bishops of the dioceses.[14]

The ELCT has a long history that is intertwined with Lutheran missionary organizations and churches. That history is still visible, for instance, in the musical practices of the church. The first Lutheran missionaries came to Tanzania from Germany during the second half of the nineteenth century, and some decades later there were seven Lutheran churches in the area. Those churches united in 1937, forming an organization that was called Mission Church Federation, and since 1952 the Federation of the Lutheran Churches in Tanganyika. This Federation was the basis for the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanganyika, which was founded in 1963, and, after the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 1964, the name was changed to the current form, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT 2020; Maanga 2014, 179, 182–184. See also Fihavango 2007, 228–229 and Smedjebacka 1973, 310–312.) It is noteworthy that the establishment of the united church occurred at approximately the same time that the country was aiming at independence.

The ELCT has an active role in Tanzanian society; it has hospitals and offers education in secondary schools, training centers, universities and other institutions around the country (ELCT 2020). Some of the educational institutions offer training in music as well. The ELCT still continues to cooperate with several European and American churches and missionary organizations (LMC 2020).

The North Central Diocese of the ELCT is located in the Arusha and Manyara regions in northern Tanzania and consists of 95 parishes[15], 920 sub-parishes and approximately 300,000 members (Mashauri, February 18, 2021). According to Rev. Dr. Joseph Parsalaw (1999, 19), Christianity was introduced in this area in

[14] The organizational structure of the ELCT is presented and discussed, for instance, by Fihavango (2007, 235–240).

[15] According to the home page of the North Central Diocese (NCD, accessed February 26, 2021), there are 80 parishes in the diocese.

the 1890s. This diocese – earlier called the Diocese of the Arusha Region – was separated from the Northern Diocese in the early 1970s (ibid., 29). It consists of five districts: East Arusha, West Arusha, Babati, North Maasai, and South Maasai.[16] Each of the districts has a committee of music and a coordinator of music, although in only one of them (West Arusha) is the coordinator an employee of the church (Mashauri, March 10, 2020). In all the other districts, the coordinators are volunteers, and the work is concentrated only on some time periods, such as the choir competition season (ibid.).

The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania is one of the African churches resulting from missionary activity. Musically, it has a similar history with many other churches that share a similar background. For instance, DMus Sakari Löytty's (2012, 59–61) account of the history of the music in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia shows analogous changes with what has been going on in Tanzania. There have been varied ideals and opinions during different historical time periods about what the music that is performed in church should be like. As Barz (2003, 16) points out concerning the Tanzanian context, "Lutheran choirs have always negotiated multiple cultures, multiple ideologies, and multiple musical repertoires."

During the early times of Christianity in Tanzania much of the church music was of foreign origin, and local musical practices were not considered appropriate to be used in the church. Missionaries taught "what they had and what they knew," meaning their own cultural practices, while local traditions were considered evil or demonic (Sululu, March 20, 2016). Western songs and liturgies were translated into local languages, which in Tanzania meant using Swahili or other local languages, such as Maa, the language of the Maasai. Other European musical elements were introduced as well. Church historian Kim Groop (2006, 181, footnote 425) writes that in 1920s in northern Tanzania, "the local Christians were taught how to play the harmonium and the missionaries set up trumpet choirs."

Little by little, local contexts and local musical practices were taken into consideration, and church music began to be created locally as well. Local cultural forms got more attention, and the participation of people from those cultures became more important. For instance, the traditional Maasai melodies began to

[16] For a detailed history of the North Central Diocese, see Joseph Parsalaw's (1999) study *A History of the Lutheran Church Diocese in the Arusha Region From 1904 to 1958*. Furthermore, Kim Groop (2006) writes about the Lutheran mission work among the Arusha and Maasai in Northern Tanzania.

be used in the Lutheran church in northern Tanzania around the 1960s in order "to communicate the Christian message in a new way" (Groop 2006, 294).

Currently, music that arises from local contexts and is created by local people is rooted in the Lutheran church in Tanzania (Bangsund 2001, 177–181). Influences come from many sources and many geographical locations. Dr. James R. Krabill (2008, 70) suggests that the African churches with this kind of history "have passed, or are currently passing, through a number of stages on their way to developing a music for worship they can call their own." Each of these stages contains a varied combination of local and foreign musical elements and influences. Concerning Tanzania, Barz (2003, 40–51) identifies three "critical moments" in the history of Lutheran church music, especially in relation to choirs of this context: the importance of (translated) hymns in Christian conversion during the early missionary times, the development of local forms of Tanzanian Christian music, and the development of contemporary church choir music. Church music was mainly of European origins until the 1960s.

Hymns have been part of the Lutheran practices in Tanzania since the late nineteenth century. The first Lutheran hymnal in Tanzania, *Nyimbo Kisuaheli kwa Dini* (Kiswahili Religious Songs), containing German hymns translated into Swahili, was published in 1894. This hymnal was followed by *Nyimbo za Kikristo* (Christian Songs), which was the first hymnal to include songs that were based on melodies from local ethnic cultures (von Sicard 1970, 182, 209).

Hymns were translated into other local languages as well. For instance, during the early twentieth century German missionaries translated German hymns into Maa – the language of the Maasai and the Arusha people – in the area that is nowadays Arusha town. In 1912 they had 50 translated hymns, and in 1924 the number was 232 (Groop 2006, 66, 126).

Mwimbieni Bwana (Sing to the Lord), a hymnal originally published in 1988 by the ELCT, still contained a very small number of Tanzanian or other African melodies, and most of the hymns originated from Germany. According to Rev. Judith A. Bangsund (2001, 178), 15 percent of the melodies in this book were Tanzanian, 60 percent German, and the remaining 25 percent British, American, and Scandinavian. She contends that *Mwimbieni Bwana* was "a product of the translation stage of interculturation of gospel with Tanzanian music." This hymnal was followed by a notated version of it called *Mwimbieni Bwana na sauti*

zake[17] in 2000, containing four-part arrangements of the hymns but no texts.[18] The current hymnal *Tumwabudu Mungu Wetu* (Let us Worship our God) from 2012 includes all of the songs of its predecessor and 55 additional Western and Tanzanian hymns. It is in use in the entire church, which can be seen as one unifying element in the church (Maanga 2014, 181).

As can be noticed, the work with hymnals has been a continuous process, and the contents have been evaluated and modified regularly. At least for the moment, the current hymnal has not been published as a notated version. This can be due to financial reasons, but I see it also partly as a question of appreciation and setting of priorities. Nevertheless, musicians and choirs would largely benefit from it.

All these above-mentioned publications contain hymns in Swahili. However, there is also a hymnal in Maa called *Sinkolioitin Le Nkai* (God's Songs), which is used in the parishes in the Maasai-areas (Mashauri, June 3, 2017).[19] The first edition contained the songs of *Nyimbo za Kikristo* translated into Maa. In the latter editions, some hymns have been added from another song book called *Tenzi za Rohoni* (Hymns of the Soul) (ibid.).

In addition to the official hymnals, ELCT has also published a song collection called *Tumshangilie Mungu* (Let us Rejoice in God). Its first edition with 81 songs was published in 1968, and the latest, sixth edition, with 152 songs is from 1987 (Bangsund 2001, 181). This collection differs markedly from the hymnals since it contains almost exclusively local Tanzanian and other African melodies. It includes melodies from about 40 ethnic groups (Olson 1987, 4). The goal of this publication was to make African songs available for worship services and to strengthen local voices in Tanzanian churches (Kolowa 1987, 3).

The liturgies that were used in the Lutheran worship services in the country were at first those that had been brought to Tanzania by various missionary groups from, for instance, Germany, Scandinavia, and America (Bangsund 2007, 39–41).

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[17] *Na sauti zake* = literally "with its parts/voices."

[18] This is quite unpractical from the choirs' point of view. One explanation that I was given for the lack of hymn texts is that the arrangements were primarily meant to be played by brass groups. In the Foreword of this book, it says that notation is for "brass choirs and keyboard playing." I remember a discussion that I had with a quite high-ranking representative of the ELCT soon after arriving in Tanzania for the first time in 2010. His response to my wonder concerning this unpracticality of not including both the music and the words was: "That is musicians' problem."

[19] There are hymnals in other Tanzanian ethnic languages as well. However, they are not central to this study.

A locally created liturgy, *The Liturgy of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania*, which is influenced by "the liturgy of Lutherans and other Protestants from around the world, and especially from Africa" was published in 1968. This liturgy did not yet contain music; that task was accomplished several years later (ibid.).

The music of the ELCT liturgy is a combination of newly composed tunes, melodies borrowed from local music traditions, and chant (Bangsund 2007, 41). Some liturgical melodies are based on Haya-tradition[20] from Northwest Tanzania, and the *Agnus Dei* is a Maasai tune (Mashauri, June 2, 2017; Bangsund 2007, 42). The committee that was chosen for the liturgy work pointed out in the foreword of the booklet containing the liturgical melodies that during the completion of the task they explored traditions of a variety of churches and took into account the liturgical practices of the dioceses within the ELCT and the musical richness of the Tanzanian cultures (*Utangulizi, Sauti kwa liturgia ya ELCT–KKKT*, 1985).

Although this liturgy has existed for several decades, it is not in active use in all parishes. For instance, rural parishes of the North Central Diocese especially in the Maasai areas still use the old German liturgy translated into Maa (Mashauri, June 2, 2017). This is at least partly because in those parishes the liturgy is officiated in Maa, the language of the Maasai, and the 1968 liturgy employs Swahili (Mashauri, March 25, 2020). Swahili as a Bantu language differs greatly from Maa, which brings the challenge of translating song texts to fit existing melodies. Nevertheless, I see the use of the old German liturgy also as a question of habit and familiarity.

In general, it can be said that congregational singing and choral music play a dominant role in the musical scene of the ELCT. Barz (2003, 16), whose research concentrated on Lutheran choirs in Dar es Salaam, has described Tanzanian church choir repertoires as follows:

> [C]ontemporary Tanzanian *kwayas* draw inspiration from several sources: European mission hymnody, traditional Tanzanian cultures, new post-independence "invented" choral traditions, African-American choral repertoires, and pan-African musical traditions. Often, contemporary *wanakwaya*[21] subvert the form and structure of European

[20] The Haya is one of the Bantu-speaking ethnicities in Tanzania. They live in Kagera region west of Lake Victoria, bordering on Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi.
[21] Choir members in Swahili.

> hymnody, transferring the emphasis to more African qualities of musical expression.

Although choirs and congregational singing dominate, there are also small bands and individual performers whose repertoires consist mainly of gospel music, *muziki wa Injili*. Electric guitars and keyboards are common, and they are mainly used for providing accompaniment for choirs (Photo 1).

Photo 1. Guitar and keyboard in use in a worship service. (The original video and the snapshot: Leena Lampinen.)

Congregational singing is often not accompanied, although in some parishes keyboard and/or brass instruments may be used for this purpose.[22] Brass groups of different sizes exist in some parishes (Photo 2), and a vast part of their repertoire consists of hymns and other songs. Brass bands were introduced in East Africa by Germans and British in the early twentieth century (Martin 1997, 643).

The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania lives with a constant interaction with the surrounding society, including other Christian denominations, and different influences, musical ones included, traverse denominational boundaries.

[22] There are pipe organs in some churches in Tanzania, for instance, in the Lutheran cathedral in Arusha.

Theologian Dr. Johannes Habib Zeiler (2018, 154) describes the current situation as follows:

> [T]he ELCT is currently navigating in the midst of a diverse multireligious landscape, characterised by an increasingly complex mixture of contesting claims and practices.

Photo 2. A brass group playing in a worship service in Arusha. (Photo: Tarja Seppänen. Used with permission.)

The Roman Catholic Church is the largest Christian church in Tanzania. In addition to the Catholics and Lutherans, other large Christian denominations are, for instance, the Anglican, Baptist, Moravian, Pentecostal[23], and Seventh Day Adventist churches (WCC 2019).

Each of the Christian churches in Tanzania has certain musical features of its own, as Sanga (2006a, 223) points out:

> Different religious denominations in Tanzania have been developing different brands of church music. Upon hearing or seeing a video of a choir members of these denominations can tell that the music is by a Roman Catholic (RC), African Inland Church (AIC), Lutheran, Seventh

[23] "Pentecostals" include a variety of churches. The term applied by many scholars is Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity. See e.g., Lindhart 2014.

> Day Adventist (SDA), Anglican, Assemblies of God or Moravian choir, to name a few. The differences include, *inter alia*, tunes, rhythms, musical instruments and various ways of using them, manner of singing, tone colour and dance movements.

Some of my interviewees pointed out these denominational differences by stating, for instance, that the Pentecostals "have bands, like gospel bands," the Seventh Day Adventists "play piano without mixing it with many instruments" and have a "very different vocal color," or that the Roman Catholics "sometimes play guitar, but not in the worship service."[24] However, according to Sanga (2006a, 225), the differences have been decreasing, especially in gospel music, *muziki wa Injili*. He states that this is mostly due to the interaction between musicians, which can be seen in different forms, such as the sharing of choir teachers and instrumentalists, and joint performances. In addition, radio and TV channels regularly broadcast programs of church music, and they are popular among many people despite the denomination (ibid.). Musicians of these different churches cooperate across denominational boundaries, and music could even be seen as a prominent way to promote ecumenism in Tanzania.

1.6 The Structure of This Dissertation

This dissertation is divided into six chapters. Chapter two starts with the presentation of the theoretical foundation of this study, which centers on the concept of identity. I explore it from several viewpoints. I also discuss some terms central to my study. One of these terms is musical localization, a process through which music originally from a different cultural context can become or be felt as "ours." In this chapter, I also examine ethical issues related to this study and my position as a researcher among others. Lastly, I go through the research process by describing how the research materials were generated and analyzed.

In chapters three, four, and five, I present the results of this research under three main themes: personal identities, group identities, and choral repertoires and identities. In chapter three, I discuss church choirs and the construction of group identities. I describe church choirs' organizational structure and performance contexts, including Sunday services and other church-related events and explore

[24] Interviews one and nine.

environments' impact on identities. At the end of the chapter, I examine choirs' relations with other choirs, and choir competitions as sites for identity formation.

In chapter four, I approach identities from the viewpoint of the individual *walimu*. I examine what it means or what it is like to be a *mwalimu wa kwaya* in the Tanzanian Lutheran church context, and what kind of roles they have in relation to this work. In addition, training in music and musical collaboration are aspects that I bring out in this chapter.

In chapter five, I discuss choral repertoires and their connections to various identities. I explore how choral repertoires are engaged in constructing, strengthening, and preserving identities, and how choral music works both in connecting people and in marking difference in this context. I discuss the contents of choral repertoires in more detail, choirs' decision-making and musical choices, and the religious framework within which the choirs function. I also present a categorization of choral music that is based on my interviewees' own descriptions.

In the final chapter, chapter six, I draw together the main results of this dissertation, evaluate the significance of the study, and present perspectives to consider for further research.

2 Theory and Methods

Identity is the main theoretical concept of this study, and in this chapter, I approach identities from personal, social, and group aspects, as well as from musical, cultural, religious, national, and ethnic perspectives. I also examine and define some theoretical terms and concepts that are frequently used in my study. This chapter further addresses the research process. The reflection of my position as a researcher and of other ethical questions was important during the entire research process and is brought up here. I also discuss fieldwork methods used in this study and the analysis of research materials.

2.1 Identities

Identities are about searching answers to questions such as "Who am I?" or "Who are we?" They are about belonging to and bonding with certain people or groups of people and about distinguishing oneself from some other people or groups. In general, identities can be understood as "a network of connecting ideas about the self/group and the other/s" (Wild-Wood 2008, 8). Although there are various approaches to identities and a variety of definitions, the important aspect is the relationship between individuals and/or groups; we need other people and other groups to compare ourselves and our groups with in order to make sense of who we are. As sociologist Kath Woodward (2002, 16) asserts, "identity involves the interrelationship between the personal and the social; between what I feel inside and what is known about me from the outside."

As the title of this chapter suggests, identities are multiple; we all possess several identities, not just one, and they are not fixed nor static but flexible and transformable. The boundaries are drawn and redrawn again and again (Woodward 2002, 167). Some of our identities are concerned about the individual or personal side, while others stress the social or group aspects. In addition, not all the different identities are actively in use all the time. We shift between or emphasize certain identities according to the situation and the environment we are in.

The concept of identity is a challenging one, and its use as an analytical category has also been criticized. For instance, sociologist Rogers Brubaker and historian Frederik Cooper (2004, 28, 35, 41–46) assert that identity "tends to mean too much (when understood in a strong sense), too little (when understood in a weak sense), or nothing at all (because of its sheer ambiguity)," and argue that the concept is loaded with a wide variety of meanings pointing "in sharply differing directions." Instead, they suggest alternative, "less congested" terms such as identification, self-understanding, or connectedness.

I find identity a useful concept in the exploration of both choral groups and individual *walimu wa kwaya* as well as their relation to choral repertoires since it offers a way to combine various components, such as individual, group, musical, religious/Christian/denominational, ethnic, and national aspects. My discussion about identities is connected to choral repertoires and is restricted to what the interviewees brought up. That is why other identity-related aspects such as gender or age are not explored here.

Personal – Social – Group

Our identities include both individual and social sides. Personal identity includes the elements that differentiate a person from other people, the "unique characteristics of the individual" (Worchel et al. 2000, 29). Social identity refers to features that a person as a member of a group shares with that group in comparison to other groups (Helkama et al. 2015, 184). Social psychologist Henri Tajfel (1981, 255) defines social identity as

> that *part* of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership.

The feeling of togetherness experienced through being a member in a group and the simultaneous distancing from other groups is a natural part of people's being, as Anna Duszak (2002, 2), a scholar of linguistics, points out:

> The sense of belonging to a group fulfils the human desire for solidarity, rapport, safety or psychological comfort that comes from sharing things with other people. However, by aligning with some we also detach ourselves from others.

My discussion of personal identity concentrates on that of *walimu wa kwaya*, not on other individuals such as choir members, since *walimu* were the participants of this study.

In addition to individual *walimu*, choral groups are of great importance in this study, and therefore I discuss group identities as well. Group identity can be defined as "the image which a group has in the context of the other groups" (Brown and Capozza 2000, 9). In the same way as the personal identity of an individual refers to the characteristics and elements unique to that person, group identity includes the unique features of a group, "establish[ing] and characteriz[ing] the group within the community of groups" (Worchel et al. 2000, 32).

A group, after being formed, focuses on constructing its identity, a process which includes defining the groups' boundaries in relation to other groups and the relationships between the members of the group (Worchel 1998, 58–59). Social psychologist Stephen Worchel (1998, 65) states that

> [G]roups are engaged in struggle with other groups and with individual members to establish and maintain a group identity. [...] Groups strive for their independence from other groups, and they struggle with group members to keep the identity of the group equal to, if not more important than, individual identity.

This applies to choirs as well and takes place in various situations. For instance, ethnicity, nationality, professional status, or ideology can be points of reference between groups of people (Duszak 2002, 2), many of which proved to be important in this study as well. Group identity is something which choirs have, in a similar way as any other group, whether they actively think about it or not. I approach choirs' group identity here through the interview accounts of *walimu*.

Identities are about sameness and difference that are marked out both at the individual and group levels (Hammack 2014, 12; Woodward 2002, 74). According to sociologist and cultural theorist Stuart Hall (1996b, 4), difference is the setting through which identities are constructed; it is needed in the process. While identifying ourselves, for instance, with a group with which we share features, ideas, or interests in common, we simultaneously exclude other groups or people. Identity formation often involves drawing lines between us/I and them or us/I and others; it is a way of making sense of where and with whom we belong

(Woodward 2002, viii–ix). These kinds of demarcations were common in my research participants' talk.

Identities are processes rather than something fixed, and elements such as history, language, and culture are all influential in this process (Hall 1996b, 4). Since we do not live in a vacuum but in a constant interaction with the surrounding society, it influences our self-understanding. Different cultural practices and a variety of discourses around us and available to us are engaged in the construction of identities (Burr 1995, 34; Woodward 2002, 74). This process is never complete (Hall 1999, 223); the formation of identities continues throughout our lives.

One concept that is connected to identities is that of agency; what I do and how I do it influences the image that I have of myself. According to psychologist Albert Bandura (2006, 164), "to be an agent is to influence intentionally one's functioning and life circumstances." Agency can thus be understood as an individual's "capacity for intentional, willful behavior" (Côté and Levine 2002, 219). In this study, agency manifests itself, for instance, in the interview accounts of *walimu*, especially in their discussions about the role of *walimu* in the church and its activities.

Cultural – National – Ethnic

In addition to the differentiation between individual, social, and group identities, identities can be further labeled according to the context to which they are related. This includes, for instance, ethnic or national identities. Cultural identity contains components of ethnic, racial, linguistic, religious, and national cultures to which we belong (Hall 1996a, 596). Cultural identity can be understood as "a 'bottom-up' concept" which, in relation to music, means that "cultural identity has a direct bearing on the music itself, and the musical context in which it exists" (Folkestad 2002, 154). According to this definition, music arises from the grass-roots level. However, it is important to keep in mind that there have been circumstances in which the direction has been the opposite, colonial and early missionary settings being examples of this. For instance, the music that was first sung in the Tanzanian Lutheran context was brought from elsewhere, not created locally, and it took almost a century before the direction started or was allowed to change.

Nationality is one possible basis for identity formation. Hall (1996a, 613) asserts that "national cultures construct identities by producing meanings about 'the nation' with which we can identify," and stories, memories, and images about the

nation are the bearers of these meanings. Nationality can be seen as a factor that unites different regions that contain cultural and ethnic differences (Folkestad 2002, 153). However, at least in the African context, the situation is more complex. The concept of nation and the creation of national identities have been and still are challenging issues largely due to the continent's colonial past. Sociologist Ronald Aminzade (2013, 124) describes the early days of Tanzania's (former Tanganyika) independence as follows:

> Given that the boundaries of the nation of Tanganyika had been arbitrarily drawn by colonial officials, that colonial rule had long since fostered ethnic and racial divisions, and that those living within the national boundaries did not share a common culture or language, the creation of a national community and identity in Tanganyika required extensive action across localities and regions.

In this new nation, constituted of a wide variety of different cultures, finding a way to unite them was not unproblematic. This unification meant that ethnic affiliations needed to give way, and the emphasis moved on to national aspects (ibid., 125).

In a country like Tanzania, where the ethnic cultures are many and some of them are spread across national borders, language is one means that has been used in attempts to construct national identity. In Tanzania, Swahili was "in the vanguard of nation-building" (Topan 2008, 259). However, the use of Swahili as a unifying factor has also been criticized. For instance, Sanga (2008, 54) states about its influence on national identity that "making a claim that we are or should be one nation since we all speak Kiswahili [...] is really an 'invention of tradition'." Historian Eric Hobsbawm (1983, 1) defines invented tradition as

> a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past.

Although Swahili has been used in Tanzania for a long time, its role as a common language and as a factor uniting all the people within the area can be seen as a relatively new development; it was originally the language of the eastern African coastal area. It was through the primary education system established during the socialist period that Swahili gained the role as a dominant language in Tanzanian society (Aminzade 2013, 162). As stated earlier, identity formation is an ongoing process, and this is the case with national identities as well. Askew (2002, 292)

contends concerning Tanzania that it is in a continuous process of finding its national identity.

Ethnic identities contain "notions of shared origins" with a certain group of people in contrast to or in the context of other groups. The importance of ethnicity varies depending on the situation and context, and it is often the people themselves who make the decisions concerning the weight given to it (Eriksen 2010, 39, 70). For some people or in some situations, ethnicity may be accentuated while at another moment or for other people it may be, for instance, nationality that is considered more significant. This kind of variation was notable in my interviews; for some participants, their ethnic background was something that they wanted to highlight, for instance, by stating that "I am a Maasai," while others did not pay much attention to it. However, in another situation and with someone else, they may have acted differently.

Religious

Aspects related to religion are important components when discussing church choirs and their identity formation in this study since choirs are a part of a religious organization, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania. Furthermore, this viewpoint is important because religion and religiosity as a part of everyday life was visible in my research participants' statements and views. One approach to religion and to the sense of belonging, although maybe a bit surprisingly, is political scientist and historian Benedict Andersson's (2006[1983], 6) concept of "imagined community," which he uses in relation to nations. In his view, all nations are imagined because "the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them." In spite of this, according to Andersson, the members of a nation have a sense of belonging to a larger community. This concept has been applied to religious communities as well, as, for instance, in the discussion of "evangelical imagined community" in the North American context (Ingalls 2011, 263). In the same way, the members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania, or the members of the North Central Diocese form this kind of imagined community, bonding to others without having personally met most of the people of that community.

Concerning religious identity, theologian Emma Wild-Wood (2008, 8) states that "the sense of the supernatural, the supportive belonging to others, the belief system and rituals which make sense of the world, and the social activities of

religious experience are powerful and cohesive idioms in which to develop identity." Singing in a church choir is this kind of social activity of religious experience, that is, supporting members' belonging to others both within the choir and within the larger community in the church. Being a member in a particular Christian group offers "a particular expression of belief and belonging and a particular way of being within society in a specific historical, social, political and religious context" (ibid.). It is like a foundation or framework through which one can explore his/her being in society in relation to other people and their beliefs. Sociologist Meredith B. McGuire (2008, 209) contends that religious identity "may include some sense of connection or continuity with a larger tradition, religious group, family and other bases of commitment and sense of belonging but is not limited to them." In my research context, this continuity appears, for instance, in relation to the Lutheran denomination and Christianity in general.

In comparison to, for instance, ethnic identities which are usually more or less predefined, religious identities normally contain more freedom in choosing to which group one possibly belongs (Dueck 2017, 143). Music often plays an important role in identifying with a certain religious group. This is because through music, religious identities can enter into dialogue with other aspects of identities, such as ethnicity, nationality, or denominational differences (Ingalls et al. 2016 [2013], 6). In the Tanzanian Christian context, music is a prominent component in shaping these various aspects of identity. Church choirs function "as a negotiation between everyday and historical social identities" (Barz 2003, 30); they combine components from the past and the present.

Music and Identities

Music, and choral music in particular, is a central component of my study. I focus on how the participants identify themselves and their choirs – Who am I as a *mwalimu wa kwaya*? Who are we as a group, as a choir? – and how choral repertoires are involved in this process. These musical identities can be approached from two viewpoints by making a distinction between *identities in music* and *music in identities* (Macdonald et al. 2002, 12–14). The first, identities in music, includes identities that are "defined by social and cultural roles within music," containing categories such as composer, performer, or teacher, and identities that are related, for instance, to playing certain musical instruments or to being representatives of certain musical genres (ibid., 12). These are identities that have their foundation in music and music-making. In my work, I apply these definitions both to individuals and to groups; for instance, a choir may have an

identity as a performer of a certain musical style. The second viewpoint, music in identities, describes how music for its part, together with various other components, is engaged in constructing identities that are not directly connected to music (ibid., 14). For instance, music may have an influence on forming, preserving, and expressing ethnic, national, or religious identities, but these processes include other contributing elements as well.

Music has the ability to "*both* construct new identities *and* reflect existing ones" (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000, 31–32). For a choir that is recently founded, its repertoire can function as a means to find out the group's way of being, its identity as a choir, while, for instance, a choir with a long history of performing a certain kind of repertoire uses music to confirm "this is who we are." Through music we can also draw lines between us and others; this is ours and that is yours. In addition to its ability to strengthen the feeling of togetherness or the sense of belonging, music is thus used to mark the differences between people or groups (Waligórska 2013, 1; Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000, 32).

Music is a powerful means of bonding and separation also in religious contexts. Particular kinds of music can function as a defining feature of a particular religious community and distinguish it from others. One contemporary example of this is the Hillsong Church and its worship music. There is also music that originates, for instance, from a certain Christian tradition but has become a part of the repertoire of many other Christian communities. These kinds of shared musical repertoires can function as a unifying component across various boundaries, but they can also challenge existing identities, such as denominational or regional ones (Ingalls et al. 2016 [2013], 1).

Composing plays an important role in my study, and it is used as one means for strengthening ethnic or cultural identity. Musicologist Ndwamato George Mugovhani (2010, 60) points out in his study that South African choral music composers have been in search for a choral tradition that would spring from their own culture and its traditions. This has been implemented by including "indigenous African musical elements" to the choral compositions (ibid., 61). In my research context, *walimu wa kwaya* are also often composers, and local music traditions are one source of inspiration for many of them.

Choirs as groups make a distinction between their choir and other choirs, for example, in terms of their repertoire, traditions, age structure, or environment, which all are involved in the formation of group identity. In performance contexts,

the congregation or the audience can be seen as the choirs' "other." Since choir competitions are common in the context of this study, it is important to note that they are significant moments of comparison and marking of boundaries, and thus they are influential situations for shaping and performing identities (cf. Detterbeck 2002, 269; Giddy and Detterbeck 2005, 33).

Choirs possess their individual choral identities, which are transformable and get shaped over time (Bower and Swart 2016, 1, 4). Choral identities thus function in a similar way as other kinds of identities. In their study concerning choral identity in three children's choirs in South Africa, choral scholars Rudy Bower and Jan-Erik Swart (2016, 1, 4, 7–12) divided the elements that influence the choral identity construction into four categories, which include both musical and extra-musical components. This is a model that I use in my discussion of church choirs and their choral (group) identities. The first category is musical identity elements, which contains choral repertoires and the use of instrumental accompaniment. Secondly, there are visual identity elements, such as uniform or costume, body movements and choreography. National, cultural, and ethnic identity elements form the third category. The fourth category includes organizational identity elements, which in this South African case, refers to the affiliation with particular schools and/or to choirs' identity as a private organization.

Repeated rituals, repetitive practices, and being together in rehearsals and in performances are, for their part, involved in the construction of choral identity (Nenola 2019, 199).[25] This repetition is an important aspect in my study, since a choir in this particular context gathers several times every week. Each choir has created its own forms of action related to choir rehearsals and worship services which are then repeated regularly day after day and week after week.

For individuals, engagement in choral singing can be seen as "a slice of identity that people don for the duration of choral activities," a part of one's self-understanding that is accentuated when involved in choir-related activities, although it may influence other areas of life as well (Garnett 2017, 132). In my research context, the influence that choral singing has on various points of individuals' lives is especially strong, since with several rehearsals and a Sunday service each week, it includes such a high level of commitment. Musicologist Liz Garnett (2017, 130) suggests that in the same way as a choir is "a distinct social

[25] For further examples concerning the construction of identities in choral context, see Ros-Mari Djupsund's (2019) research *Hur härlig sången klingar* discussing choirs in the Finland-Swedish environment and Colin Durrant's (2005) study *Shaping Identity Through Choral Activity*.

environment, separated from daily life by location and activity," an individual's understanding of oneself as a choral singer is a distinct component of one's identity as a whole.

I deal with the concepts of personal/social and group identities as general terms or as top-level concepts that include various other aspects, including, for instance, musical, religious, or ethnic identity. These, in turn, can be divided into sub-categories such as choral identity, denominational identity, or Maasai identity. (See Figure 3.)

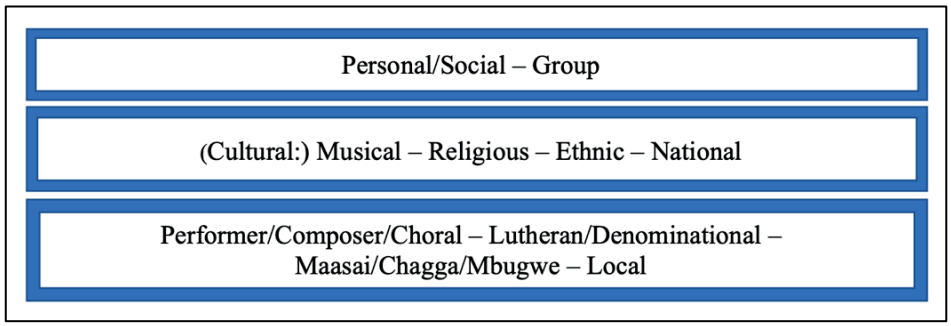


Figure 3. Identities.

In my work, these different aspects are emphasized depending on the topic in question, although the main focus is on musical identities in their different forms.

2.2 Conceptual Remarks

Choral music in this study can be seen as a continuum that started with the imported Western hymns in the nineteenth century and have continued through different phases and processes to the present moment, in which the past and the present, and the foreign and the local are intertwined with each other (cf. Perullo 2012, 187). Choral music practices are dynamic and keep transforming according to the context in which they are situated, which means that the continuum does not have an end; the transformation continues.

There are terms such as indigenization, inculturation, and contextualization, which have been used to define the transformation that springs from the interaction between Christian beliefs and local ideas and that aims at incorporating

local cultural practices in Christian contexts (Ingalls et al. 2018, 6–7).[26] The goal is to make the Christian message and practices resonate with the context in question. Incorporating traditional Haya or Maasai melodies in the liturgy of the ELCT is one example of these kinds of processes.

In this study, I employ the term musical localization. Ingalls et al. (2018, 3) define it in the church context as

> the process by which Christian communities take a variety of musical practices – some considered 'indigenous,' some 'foreign,' some shared across spatial and cultural divides; some linked to past practice, some innovative – and make them locally meaningful and useful in the construction of Christian beliefs, theology, practice, and identity.

Localization as a term related to church music allows for a discussion concerning many different musical styles and influences, which makes it a useful concept for my research, compared to the other terms. Church music in various forms, whether local or from elsewhere, contemporary or historical, can be used as a means of Christian expression if it is felt to be meaningful. Music that conveys a sense of being "ours" in some way most probably also contains this meaningfulness. This process of localization is ongoing and visible in the ELCT; choirs combine many kinds of music in their repertoires and modify those to suit their own needs and contexts. This reshaping happens, for instance, in relation to the use of instruments, the arrangement of music, or language choices. Other people's songs are made into our songs.

In this research, the words "ethnic" and "ethnicity" appear often and warrant discussion. On many occasions, I use the term "ethnic group" as an equivalent of "a people," but it does not automatically refer to a minority group. With "ethnic traditions" I usually refer to the cultural traditions of a certain people living in Tanzania. In this Tanzanian context, it is important to acknowledge the diversity of local cultures and to keep in mind the complexity of the term "Tanzanian culture."[27] Ethnicity contains the aspects of cultural differentiation perceived by the peoples themselves (see Jenkins 2008, 14). There may, for instance, be certain musical components that are seen as related to a particular people. Ethnic groups

[26] For earlier discussions on this topic, see Kaplan (1995). "Nairobi Statement on Worship and culture" produced by the Lutheran World Federation (1996) is one example of applying the concept of contextualization in the Lutheran context.

[27] When I started teaching in Tanzania, I was often reminded both by my students and others that "there is no such thing as Tanzanian music," underscoring the diversity of local music cultures.

in Tanzania also typically have their own languages, while the use of Swahili highlights the national aspect.

Another frequently used term in my text is "traditional." This usually describes music that originates from or is related to a certain ethnic group and is used to distinguish this kind of music from more contemporary styles, such as gospel music or music influenced by (Western) classical music. My interviewees used the terms "traditional" and/or "cultural" to refer to music with components perceived to be characteristic of the musical expression of particular local cultures.[28] This includes both newly-composed melodies and those that are part of a longer tradition.

Finding an appropriate description for "traditional" in relation to culture or music is a challenging task. Musicologist Johannes Brusila (2002, 43) states that

> The dividing line between what should be considered traditional and modern cannot always be drawn sharply. This is so for many reasons. One is the nature of oral cultures where tradition changes while being transmitted. A second reason is the fact that musical genres that are called modern in fact often have a long continuous history.

In Tanzania, one component influencing the complexity of the term "traditional" could be the country's history and the use of musical performances in reinforcing the unity of the nation during the early years of independence. Traditional *ngoma* were modified to suit the government's goals, but yet they were considered traditional.

People and their culture are and have been in constant interaction with other people and their cultures, not isolated from each other. As ethnomusicologist Laurent Aubert (2007, 20) points out:

> The arts we consider today as traditional [...] are thus the products of multiple contacts and events, of convergent influences whose fusion was achieved through long periods of assimilation; and all this in proportion and according to modes determined by the particular needs of each culture at each period in its history.

[28] Both the term *nyimbo za asili*, traditional songs, and *nyimbo za utamaduni*, cultural songs, were used by the interviewees.

Traditional music is thus not a picture of "an intact musical past," but alive and expressing the current time while also combining the past and the present (ibid., 22). New traditions are being born and created continuously.

In present-day Tanzania, *walimu* of the church choirs who are also often composers choose and combine components and influences that they find the most suitable for their compositional purposes: individuals play an important part in musical transformation and cultural changes. Musical and cultural changes, according to ethnomusicologist John Blacking (1986, 3),

> are the results of decisions made by individuals about music-making and music or about social and cultural practice, on the basis of their experiences of music and social life and their attitudes to them in different social contexts.

Transformations do not just happen; there are active individuals and everyday life behind them. With regard to the traditional music in my research context, Kubik (1981, 86) states that

> many of the East African musical forms which are regarded today as traditional show some influence of the diatonic scale, imported with church and school music as well as that of the three- and four-voice part-writing of nineteenth-century hymns and church song.

As discussed earlier, the use of hymns in teaching the Christian message was a conscious choice on the part of the early missionaries, a choice that had far-reaching consequences.

Music in the Lutheran Church in Tanzania results from transformation, border crossings and individual creativity. In the choral repertoires, the church's history with music from abroad is visible, but there are also various alternatives to that. Local traditional music cultures are more and more influential in the everyday life of the church together with contemporary components. Tanzanian gospel music is locally created, but it draws influences from popular music styles from many geographical locations. Although the majority of hymns in the ELCT hymnal are still of foreign origin, the number of Tanzanian and African songs has been increasing. The church music scene is not static but in constant motion.

2.3 Researcher's Position

During this study, I have often needed to ponder my roles in relation to my research context and research participants. Due to my background and experiences in Tanzania, I have had to consider to what extent I am an insider or outsider in this environment and how to deal with this issue. I have come to the conclusion that, as a researcher, I place myself somewhere in between: "I am neither insider nor outsider," to use the expression by ethnomusicologists Marcia Herndon (1993, 77) and Timothy Rice (2008, 51). To some extent, I am familiar with the cultural context of this study. However, my personal experience is that the longer you live in another culture, the better you see how little you actually understand it.

For me, the concepts of insider and outsider are not fixed but in constant motion, and both of them bring along "benefits and costs" in relation to research (Puttergill and Leildé 2006, 16). The level of "inside-ness" and "outside-ness" varies in different situations and even in relation to different issues. This is not restricted only to me as a researcher – the same applies to the research participants. Since people's backgrounds and experiences differ, they are not "insiders" of everything just because they all work with choirs in this one diocese in Tanzania. One can be an insider of a certain musical style while being an outsider of another, or an insider of a particular cultural group and outsider of other groups.

As a member of one choir in Arusha, I had the possibility to see from the inside how a church choir in Tanzania functions and what it means to belong to that kind of community. This is similar to Barz's experiences (2003, 8); he describes how, by joining a local church choir in Dar es Salaam, he "approached an understanding of what it means to belong to a *kwaya* community, a unique and specialized 'performance community.'" My starting point was different, however: initially, the purpose for joining a choir was my desire to sing, and only a couple of years later did it become the context of my research.

Many of the participants of this study knew me or had met me before the research process started, but they knew me in a different role, not as a researcher. I was a music teacher (at a university or at music workshops/seminars), an employee of a missionary organization, a *mwalimu wa kwaya*, a choir member, or a friend, among others. Whether the participants had met me earlier or not, they most certainly formed some kind of view of me at least when we met. As sociologists Charles Puttergill and Anne Leildé (2006, 16) point out, "during field research,

subjects categorise the researcher as belonging to particular groups in society and embedded in collective social relations."

I understand that my many roles in this particular context and my connections to these people and to institutions such as the ELCT and Tumaini University Makumira have influenced my research in its different phases. However, while generating research materials, I stressed the importance of voluntary participation: each person should make his or her own decision concerning their participation, and each person had the right to withdraw at any time. However, in a culture where hierarchy is quite an important feature and where authority is respected, how easy is it for people to say no to a university teacher who asks them to fill in a questionnaire or would like to know if one is still available for an interview? In group situations especially, it may have been difficult to openly admit that one did not want to be engaged in the research.

Maybe those who were not very interested in the survey but participated anyway because others did were also those who left several questions blank and, in that way, exercised their right not to answer. I also needed to replace one person from my original group of interviewees. I interpreted this person's constant difficulty in trying to find a suitable time for meeting me as reluctance to participate; it may have seemed almost impossible for him/her to say it to me directly. It is as sociologist Anne Ryen (2007, 226) observes: "The problem is that no one refuses to be interviewed. Being asked to participate is, for many reasons, very difficult to refuse face to face in a local East African setting." Furthermore, the whole concept of research was new to many which, for some *walimu*, may have reduced their interest in participation.

In contrast, when generating the research materials, there was one *mwalimu* who enabled many practical things related to my research by organizing possibilities for filling in survey forms during music seminars, contacting some interviewees, and helping me to find my way to some rural areas. At the same time, he was also one of my interviewees. I interviewed him first, so that those few situations in which he was available as a translator would not influence his own interview account. It is possible, however, that the presence of this *mwalimu,* who is also the musical director of the North Central Diocese and thus a representative of the church organization, somehow influenced the situations in which he was involved. During the interviews, some participants referred to him by saying, for instance, that "the *mwalimu* with whom you came here." However, the overall

feeling that I had after finishing all the interviews was that people were eager to share their thoughts, and they did that quite openly.

Interviews were the situations in which my various roles can be seen the most. Many of the interviewees referred to me as *mwalimu,* a teacher. They talked about seminars and workshops in which I had been one of the teachers or told me that they had been working with their choirs "as you told us to do." I was often referred to as one of the "experts" or one of "those who know." The teacher-student hierarchy became visible, for instance, in the following interview situations:

> And you were one of my teachers, too. (Int. 9)
> *Na wewe ukiwa mwalimu wangu pia mmojawapo.*

> I have participated. [...] It was your seminar. (Int. 6)
> *Nimeshahudhuria. [...] Ni semina yako ile.*

Once, an interview was interrupted for a moment by the interviewee who, in the middle of everything, asked if I was able to come to their choir rehearsal to teach:

> [W]e would like to have someone to teach us, and if you could help us, we would be very happy. (Int. 7)
> *[T]ungependa sana tungepata mtu wa kutufundisha. Na ungeweza kutusaidia wewe, tungefurahi sana.*

A bit later, this person even gave me the exact days and times for their choir rehearsals.

To be known was not necessarily a negative thing. For some participants, it may have been much easier to talk with someone they already knew, and we may have been able to get much deeper in our discussions than would have been the case with a total foreigner. I had lived in their country, I knew Swahili well enough to conduct the interviews myself – a translator being available in a couple of cases – and as a church musician and a choir member, I was familiar with many aspects of their work.

It was clear to me since the beginning of the research process that my position in the field would not and could not be neutral, and my connections to and relationships with the participants were visible in the interviews. Many

interviewees positioned themselves in relation to me, for instance, in the following ways:[29]

> You are in a high position. If I say this, you'll understand me. Look at us who are lower. (Int. 3)
> *Wewe ni mkubwa. Nikisema hivyo utanielewa. Mtuangalie sisi tuliopo chini.*

> I am a person in a low position. You came to find me, to interview me about these choral issues. (Int. 9)
> *Mimi ni mtu wa chini kabisa. Unakuja kunitafuta, kunihoji kuhusiana na haya mambo ya ualimu.*

> [Y]ou can't finish your thesis unless there are people helping you. [...] And those who help you are below you. (Int. 10)
> *[H]uwezi kukamilisha andiko isipokuwa kuna watu wanaokusaidia. [...] Na wanaokusaidia ni wa chini yako sana.*

Comments such as these made me think about the reasons for this kind of positioning. Besides the obvious explanations, such as my being a teacher, were there other ways of thinking that contributed to the experience of unequal relationships? To what extent did I, both as a foreigner of European/Nordic origin and as a missionary, evoke even unconscious thoughts related to issues such as colonialism?

One interviewee said to me that "You can't understand," which I interpreted as that person's way of expressing my being "an outsider" in that context, not being able to understand all the challenges that "the insiders" faced. It has been necessary to keep these positions in mind during the whole research process. Recognizing power positions of the interview situations is important due to their influence both on the situations themselves and on the materials generated during them (Tolonen and Palmu 2007, 93).

My constant thought during the research process has been: Have these people responded according to their real thoughts and opinions or have they tried to give me the answers they think I would like to hear? Am I missing something because of the familiarity with the context? All this is possible, of course. My background as a kind of representative of the church, may have strengthened the participants'

[29] The English excerpts here are not word-to-word translations. The interviewees do not use the word "position," but relate the words big/great (*mkubwa*) and low/below (*chini*) directly to people. Thus, *wewe ni mkubwa* means "You are great," and *mtu wa chini* translates literally as "a low person."

views related to issues such as humility in contrast to fame and success. My professional status as a university teacher and my educational level may have evoked in the interviewees a stronger desire to underline the importance of musical education. As a church musician, I may also have been seen as an advocate for the *walimu wa kwaya* in the ELCT. There are thus many points in which I have needed to ponder my own influence on the process.

This study has taken place at the intersection of various cultural contexts, such as the national/Tanzanian context, the research participants' ethnic backgrounds, as well as my own Western/European/Finnish background. Concerning cross-cultural research, education researcher Saeeda Shah (2004, 569) asserts that "a cultural insider has a definite advantage of 'shared cultural experience', which facilitates understanding and interpretation of what the research participants share." She continues that being a cultural insider also helps to see what the research participants "may not wish to share or may try hold back, or what they might be assuming on the basis of shared cultural knowledge and experience" (ibid.). It is easy to agree with Shah since even with some years of experience "in the field," there were things in the cultural context that appeared almost unreachable to me. For instance, for myself, as a person who is used to a fairly equal society, trying to understand and somehow accept the hierarchical social system was difficult. On the other hand, it may be even more difficult for these *walimu wa kwaya* to analyze their own work from various viewpoints because it is such an everyday routine to them.

2.4 Fieldwork Methods and Research Materials

In planning this study, I decided to combine two methods for generating the research materials, namely the survey and thematic interview.[30] In addition, even before starting and then during the first years of this research, I had been participating in the everyday life and functioning of one choir as a choir member, a *mwalimu*, an accompanist, and a music teacher; often, all of these roles were present in a single choir rehearsal. With the choir I attended rehearsals, Sunday services, choir competitions, choir trips, and concerts among other activities, which could be defined as participant observation. Based on these experiences in

[30] This is a model that, for instance, Forbes (2001) uses in his study, which deals with the repertoire selection practices of choral directors.

the field, I had an overall idea of what the Lutheran church choirs in Tanzania were like, and the survey was a way to gain deeper knowledge.

By using the survey, I aimed at getting background information about the choirs, their *walimu*, and choral repertoires, since there is not much written material on this topic in this particular context. In my research context, in which speech played a much stronger role than written text, interviews offered a possibility for a deeper and more detailed exploration of selected themes and issues. I found it necessary to give voice to the participants and to give them space to express how they see the music they make and the work they do. Of course, using several methods has also meant combining several forms of analysis which has made the work more challenging. Throughout the process, however, my main focus has been on the interview materials. Due to components such as the use of various research methods, my active and quite long engagement with the field, and the importance that is given to the research context, this study contains ethnographic features, although this is not an ethnography in its pure sense.[31] Musicologist Thomas Solomon (2012, 235) sees ethnographic methods, such as interviewing and participant observation, as "an important tool for investigating contemporary postcolonial musical practice."

For both the survey and interview phases of this research, in 2014–2015 and 2016, I applied for and received a research permit from the local authority, the Tanzania Commission of Science and Technology (COSTECH). Also, before starting the process I informed the leaders of the North Central Diocese about my research.

This work concentrates on the research participants' thoughts, either in the form of interviews or the survey responses. My study contains some musical examples with short explanations, but for the sake of brevity, in-depth musical analysis must be left for another study.

Survey

The first step in generating research materials was a printed questionnaire (Appendix 1) that consisted of 23 questions. Four *walimu* of different choirs were asked to fill in a pilot questionnaire in May 2014; three of those forms were returned, and some minor changes were made to the form after this. The final questionnaire was distributed to 148 *walimu* between August 2014 and April 2015

[31] For a definition of ethnography, see, for instance, Skeggs 2001, 426.

on several different occasions within the North Central Diocese, mainly during music workshops or seminar days. My participation in these kinds of gatherings was made possible by the musical director of the diocese. Scholars David Wilkinson and Peter Birmingham (2003, 10) state that this kind of "group-administered questionnaire" as my survey can be called, "is a useful instrument for collecting data from a sample of respondents who can naturally be brought together for the purpose." For myself, it was a good way of communicating with many *walimu wa kwaya* at once in an environment where otherwise I would have needed to spend a lot of time in trying to reach that number of people. In most of the events I was present myself, in which case some of the workshop/seminar time was dedicated to filling in the questionnaire. In other cases, *walimu* received the forms in a meeting, workshop, seminar, or on another occasion and were asked to fill them in and return them afterwards. Among the survey participants, there were about 15 to 20 people whom I had known beforehand, meaning people whom I actually recognized. It is not possible to know the exact number, since it was possible to return the survey anonymously, and some respondents were not participants in the workshops or seminars.

The questionnaire was divided into three sections. Section A (questions one to nine) dealt with choirs, including information such as choirs' demographic information and leadership structure. Section B (questions 10 to 15) concentrated on choral repertoires, and it included questions about sources of repertoire and criteria for repertoire selection among others. In question number 14, respondents were asked to provide information about 20 songs that their choir had performed during the two previous years (following Forbes 2001, 105). The last part, section C (questions 16 to 23), focused on *walimu wa kwaya*, their educational background, work experience, and tasks in the choir. Many questions were in a multiple-choice format in order to make answering the questions as easy as possible. In some cases, the choices often/sometimes/never were given, and some questions required only yes or no responses. A few questions were open-ended, giving the respondents a possibility to explain certain issues in more detail. One question included statements with a one to five Likert-scale.

In many multiple-choice questions, it appears that the respondents had chosen the options that suited their choir and left other points unanswered. There were only a few participants who had completed all parts of the questionnaire.[32] Although at

[32] Only six respondents managed to fill in the multiple-choice questions as I intended, and four completed the entire questionnaire.

least some of the unanswered points could have also been interpreted as representing the option "never," it would be difficult to figure out other possible reasons for disregarding some parts of the questions, and that is why I have not included those in my study. People were not familiar with the concept of "survey," although on most occasions I was present and explained how to do it.

In a few cases, I was not able to use responses given to multiple choice questions since those respondents had either chosen all the options (often, sometimes, and never), or they had ticked both the option "sometimes" and "never." If a respondent chose both "often" and "sometimes," I have interpreted it as "often." The survey question number 15, with statements with a one to five Likert-scale, seemed to be challenging since it was a new concept to many. Very often it was left blank, and those few who responded chose mostly either one or five. Due to this, the responses to this question are not very reliable and, thus, not used in this study. The same sentences, however, were used as a part of the interviews in order to get an idea of what those 10 participants think about the statements.

Survey questions and multiple-choice options were based mostly on my previous knowledge about the topic and on my experiences in the field. The respondents were obliged to choose among the choices I had given them, which limited the variety of responses. In many cases, there was the option "other" and space for more explanations, but not many respondents used that possibility. All questions were presented in two languages, first in Swahili and then in English, and I had a person to help me with translations and to review the final text. However, since there were several languages included in the process, there is always a possibility for misunderstandings and translation errors.

In all, 107 questionnaires, 72 percent of those delivered, were returned, among which two were not included in this study since they did not represent the target group, that is, choirs that function in a parish.[33] The 105 questionnaires that form the survey materials include the three pilot questionnaires as well, since only minor changes were made to the form after testing it. Survey material includes information about choirs from 32 parishes, which is about half of the total number of parishes in the time during which the research materials were generated. The survey participants represent all the five districts of the North Central Diocese.[34]

[33] One respondent's answers dealt with a "brass choir," i.e., a brass band, and the other one talked about a choir that was not related to any parish.

[34] Survey respondents by district (survey question number 1): East Arusha 12, West Arusha 12, Babati 32, North Masai 24, and South Masai 25.

In addition, the participants have a varying level of experience in choral conducting. For example, one survey respondent stated having started to conduct choirs in 1972, and another one said that (s)he has been conducting his/her choir for 27 years. There were also respondents who had started their career as *walimu* quite recently: eight of those who stated having worked with their choirs less than two years confirmed that they had not conducted other choirs before.[35]

Since the survey did not include a question concerning respondents' gender, and since giving one's contact information was voluntary, I do not have official numbers concerning the proportion of female and male respondents. However, my estimation is that among the survey participants, there were at least twice as many male respondents as females, since men usually formed the majority of the workshop and seminar participants.

In some workshops or seminars there were two or even three *walimu* from a single choir. In those cases, I asked each participant to fill in the form individually. The forms were labeled with a number in the order they were returned and with an abbreviation of the participant's district.

When delivering the questionnaires, *walimu* were informed about the research and about their freedom to choose whether they wanted to participate or not. The survey was long and completing it seemed to be a challenging task, although they had a possibility to ask for help if needed. Most participants were quite or totally unfamiliar with the concept of research, which meant that it was important to try to explain and clarify its meaning. Traditionally, the local culture is concentrated on oral/aural activities, not in reading or writing, which in part could challenge the survey approach. However, despite some weaknesses and challenges, the survey has offered valuable background information that I could not have received using the interview as the only method for generating research materials. The 105 survey respondents gave me an overall picture of the topic that I could not have obtained with the 10 interviewees only.

Interviews

As the main instrument for generating research materials, I used the semi-structured thematic interview. One pilot-interview using Swahili was conducted in February 2016 and based on that experience, some adjustments were made to

[35] Comparison between survey questions number 19 and 22.

the interview frame. I selected ten interviewees, of whom three were women and seven were men, among the survey respondents who had expressed their willingness to be interviewed. My intention was to find different *walimu* in terms of education, experience, geographical location, repertoire, and choir type. Four interviewees had received formal education (certificate, diploma, or bachelor's degree in music), while the rest had studied by themselves or did not have any training in music. The representation of urban and rural parishes was divided evenly, five for both, and there were interviewees from all the districts of the North Central Diocese.[36]

Some *walimu* I contacted by e-mail, and in that mail, they received information about the research. Others were contacted by phone by myself or by my assistant, once I got to Tanzania in March 2016. One person in my original list of interviewees seemed to have changed his/her mind about the availability for the interview – it was very difficult to try to find time for us to meet – so I decided to choose another person instead. Six of the ten interviewees were people who I knew or with whom I had talked before we met for the interviews.

Due to the environment, long distances, and challenges in communication, it was sometimes a kind of an adventure to find the interviewees, to physically locate them, as can be seen in this passage from my research diary from March 15, 2016:

> We started driving at 11:00 a.m. without knowing if we can actually reach the *mwalimu* of that place. The phone said "haipatikani" ["not available" in Swahili], and a couple of evangelists and some other people were looking for him/her. Now, a couple of hours later, we are waiting for food and don't know if we find that person. Hopefully we will.

The previous passage also reveals the difficulty in trying to maintain the anonymity of the interviewees in an environment where e-mail is not an everyday means of communication or where there are areas outside mobile phone network coverage. Another research diary entry (March 8, 2016) points out a similar observation:

> Here, away from town, it is quite impossible to keep secret who we are looking for. For example, we asked for X from another choir and from

[36] Interviewees by district: East Arusha 3, West Arusha 1, Babati 1, North Masai 2, and South Masai 3.

> many choir members. Otherwise, it would have been impossible to find him/her. (S)he had left his/her phone.

On the other hand, the communal way of living and people's willingness to help enabled me to find the persons that I needed in order to complete the interviews.

The interviews consisted of predetermined themes that were based on the information I received through the survey and on my preconceptions related to the research topic (see Appendix 2). The same questions were discussed with all the participants, although not necessarily following the same order. The interview themes contained topics such as interviewees' musical and educational background, their choir's repertoire, choirs' working context/environment, choir competitions, and future plans and dreams. Each theme was divided into more detailed questions, although not all of them were needed every time since sometimes the interviewees brought up certain issues by themselves.

Although the interview themes were predetermined, and I was the one leading discussion, there was still "flexibility to allow the interviewee an opportunity to shape the flow of information" (Wilkinson and Birmingham 2003, 45). This can be seen, for instance, in the varying lengths of the interviews; they lasted from 30 minutes to about one and a half hours, the average being around 55 minutes. I always started with repeating the information about the research and with asking whether the person was still willing to participate or not. The interviews with the participants' consent were recorded (audio).

In most of the cases, the interviews were conducted in sufficiently peaceful environments with no other people present, which in part helped to create an atmosphere in which focusing on the topic itself was possible. I was familiar with the context and knew or had at least met many of the interviewees beforehand, which facilitated the opening of those situations. It seemed to me that the participants felt that they were being heard. My observation with several interviewees was that "participants often see interviews as opportunity to voice opinions and 'let off steam' about subjects" (Wilkinson and Birmingham 2003, 63).

In addition to the formal interviews, I recorded two informal discussions with Seth Sululu. He is a pastor, a *mwalimu wa kwaya*, and the Head of the Music Department at Tumaini University Makumira and is actively involved in many musical activities within the North Central Diocese. These discussions provided

useful information concerning some of my research themes, such as choir competitions.

I was able to conduct all the interviews and discussions in Swahili. On two occasions only, my assistant was present in the same space but was needed for translation only once. Knowledge and understanding about the research context are important in order to enable the researcher to understand the phenomenon in question (Brown and Hale 2014, 202). Knowledge about the context plays an even bigger role when operating outside one's own environment. Since language and culture are inseparable from each other, in addition to language skills, knowledge of the context, including areas such as culture, history, and customs related to face-to-face communications, is important when analyzing foreign language material (Pietilä 2010, 412). Shah (2004, 562) states that "language grows in context in response to contextual communication needs" and that is why knowing the context is important.

The interviews, a little bit over nine hours of recorded material, were almost entirely in Swahili, and I transcribed them myself. This phase took a long time and was a hard task; the final transcripts included about 370 pages altogether. I started to transcribe the first interviews while I was still in Tanzania in March 2016 and finished the work in June. Despite the challenges, this was an important opportunity for me to get acquainted with the materials and to start pondering the issues that at that point appeared relevant for the study.

The translation from Swahili to English took place when I started to write down the first remarks on the materials; all the writing, since the beginning, was in English. As mentioned earlier, in the survey form both Swahili and English were used. Using foreign language materials is always a challenge, and using two foreign languages is even more challenging. I have translated the interviews and other materials from Swahili to English myself, and I am aware that the risk of misunderstandings and misinterpretations is even bigger when not operating in one's own language. In this dissertation, the interview excerpts are presented in both the original Swahili form and in English translation, and in the case that an interview in Swahili has included English words, I have kept it in the original form. The translations are not necessarily always exact word-to-word translations; my goal has been to convey the meaning as clearly as possible.

Nine interviews out of ten have been anonymized: names, places of residence and other personal information have been removed from the research materials. In my

text, they are referred to by numbers only in order to maintain anonymity. One interviewee is presented by name with his permission, since his professional status in the research context would have made anonymization very challenging, if not impossible.

2.5 Analyzing Research Materials

I started the work with the research materials by going through the questionnaires I had received. Since written material of this topic has generally not been available, the survey was meant to be a tool for collecting basic information, for instance, about the choirs' organizational structure, their performance context, and origins of choral repertoire, and as such it worked well. I chose my interviewees based on the survey responses trying to find *walimu* with different backgrounds and experiences. Information received through the survey was also influential in my process of planning the interview structure. Numerical information from the survey was transformed into an Excel file, and the answers given to the open-ended survey questions were collected in a separate document.

Most of the survey materials is quantitative. In this study, some of the results are presented in graphical form, while others appear in written form. I have organized my text according to the various themes by combining materials from both survey and interviews, not according to the source of information. I have used the survey materials for describing certain functions or activities, for confirming my presumptions of the topic, and for complementing the picture of choirs received through the interviews. I have also made comparison between results of some survey questions, for instance, by contrasting educational background and *walimu*'s geographical location.

The open-ended questions of the survey have provided additional information about some topics that were discussed in the interviews, especially in relation to the participants' background. The question about how one became *mwalimu* was the most useful of all the open-ended questions since, although it was at the end of the questionnaire, quite a few participants had described what their background was like, giving me a wide view of the whole picture. For the purposes of this study, the survey materials were sufficient, but for a deeper quantitative analysis, it should have been designed differently and/or realized in a way that would have suited the local context better.

The repertoire lists that were provided in survey question number 14 were used as a point of reference to the interviewees' talk about their choirs' repertoires. Comparison between the survey results dealing with choral repertoires and the interviewees' speech concerning the same issue gave me a possibility to ponder, for example, how much of the interviewees' ideas about musical variety is actually happening in their everyday actions with choirs and how much of it is possibly more like an ideal. Another interesting question is whether the respondents listed songs that first came into their minds or wanted perhaps to give a certain kind of image of their choirs and the choral repertoires. At a general level, this question indicated some common features in choirs' repertoires regarding topics such as language and origins of songs. Thus, although completing a list of 20 songs with many details of each song was a difficult task, and I did not get as much material as I originally anticipated, it was a valuable part of the survey.

The approach I used to analyze the interviews is thematic analysis, which is particularly suitable for research dealing with topics such as "questions about people's conceptualizations or ways of thinking about particular social phenomena" (Willig 2013, 59). Thematic analysis is a process that contains several phases (for a detailed explanation of these phases, see Braun and Clarke 2006, 87–93). In my case, this included reading and coding the interviews, searching for and developing themes, comparing interview and survey materials, and writing. The work was a continuous movement between the themes and writing. In fact, writing is not separate from analysis but an important part of it, a way of thinking through the topics. Writing raised new questions to which I tried to respond by reading the interviews or survey materials again.

After transcribing the interviews, I read them through and wrote down my first remarks. Since I had done the transcriptions myself, I already had an idea of some topics that I wanted to start with. The semi-structured interview contained certain themes that I used as a starting point for organizing the materials and that were central to the research questions. In this kind of approach, "the analyst frequently begins with a list of themes known (or at least anticipated) to be found in the data" because, for instance, of the method that was used for generating research materials (Ayres 2008, 867). Although I had some points of interest in mind, I did not use any "pre-existing coding frame" and was open to topics that I could not predict when I started to code the interview materials (see Braun and Clarke 2006, 83). This can also be defined as an "inductive approach to thematic analysis" (Willig 2013, 60).

Through coding I gathered a list of topics that at first sight appeared important to my research. I organized them into groups of similar or related ideas which then formed the following main themes: 1) Musical training, 2) Musical collaboration, 3) Choirs in the church, 4) Repertoire, 5) Musicians in the church, and 6) Other topics. The last category includes miscellaneous topics, of which some are discussed briefly in my text and some were left out altogether. (See Appendix 3.)

Already at an early stage, I had started looking for different positions and contrasting binaries in the interviewees' speech since they appeared to be many. The participants saw themselves not just as *walimu wa kwaya* but as teachers, musicians, choir members, composers, colleagues, Africans and Tanzanians, Lutherans and Christians, experts, instrumentalists, or members of certain ethnic groups. They also pointed out contrasting pairs, such as "those who know and those who do not know," "expert and ordinary," "church and world," "musicians and leaders of the church," and "our songs and other people's songs." These comparisons offered me a starting point both for the discussion of identities and the categorization of choral songs through the interviewees' descriptions. Finally, I organized the various topics both from survey and interview materials together into three sections that discuss choirs, *walimu wa kwaya*, and choral repertoire, since each of them offer a different perspective on the question of the connection between music and identities. This division is visible in the structure of the entire work. I have tried to offer a quite thorough description of the research context in order to make it easier for the reader to understand in which kind of surroundings this study operates and how the context influences the respondents' thinking.

The idea of looking for binaries and various positions in the interviewees' speech could be seen as belonging to discourse analysis. According to social psychologist Vivien Burr (1995, 115), discourse analysis "might involve identifying the subject positions offered by different discourses, and the identity and political implications of these." My interviewees used different positions on various occasions to describe their work with choirs and their work in the church in general. Power-related questions, which are one central aspect in critical discourse analysis, became visible in the speech of several of my interviewees, especially in regard to the musicians' role in the church context. Scholars working in critical discourse analysis Thao Lê and Quynh Lê (2009, 12) suggest that

> When we talk about power, we need to consider power in terms of power sharing. Who has the most power or more access to power than others? Who suffer due to lack of power? How are they treated?

These were questions for which I needed to search for answers when analyzing my interviewees' narratives concerning their position in the local parishes and in the church more widely.

Qualitative research often includes both emic and etic views; "an emic perspective" is the viewpoint that arises from the people who are part of the culture in question, while "an etic perspective" is the viewpoint from outside, "a social scientific perspective" (Fetterman 2008, 249). The emic/etic dichotomy is complex and, for example, ethnomusicologist Bruno Nettl (2005, 250) suggests that, instead, it could be more productive to talk about "the culture's and the analyst's statements." In my study, I offer both the culture's point of view through the participants' accounts and "the analyst's statements," meaning my own analysis of the topics.

The interview as a method for studying identities is a commonly used approach since it offers participants a means to express their thoughts and experiences. The survey, on the other hand, may not seem such an obvious choice in this kind of research context, which is based on oral/aural expression. However, although challenging sometimes, this combination proved to be a useful tool in the exploration of the connection between music and identities.

3 Constructing Identities in/as a Group: The Choirs

In this chapter, I focus on choirs and on the construction of their identities as groups. In the studied choirs, their religious worldview and church context form the basis for their activities. The choirs also define themselves by choosing a certain way of functioning, including musical and organizational choices. Repetition and routines are important factors in creating cohesiveness within choirs and are accentuated in this context, in which choirs gather for rehearsals several times a week and participate in worship service every Sunday. Sunday services and choirs' role in them are important occasions for shaping the choirs' self-understanding. Choirs see themselves as active agents: they are preaching through music, conveying the Christian message, and supporting the congregation.

A choir's physical environment also influences its self-understanding. Different surroundings offer varying access to resources, such as musical instruments, training in music, availability of music teachers, or financial resources. In this study, some choirs clearly identified themselves as rural or urban choirs. The comparison between groups is a way to define who one is or would like to be. Bonding with some choirs and differentiating oneself from others happens, for instance, through musical choices. Comparison of groups appears both within and without the choirs. Choir competitions are important sites for shaping, strengthening, and expressing various identities, such as choral, denominational, and religious ones and those related to locality.

3.1 Our Choir: Social, Musical, and Organizational Aspects

Singing in a choir has become a family tradition for many Lutherans in Tanzania; it is inherited from "the grand-fathers and fathers," as one survey respondent observed.[37] Seven of my ten interviewees stated having family members who sing

[37] Although my study is limited to Lutherans, this could describe other denominations as well. Choral singing is a common activity in many churches in Tanzania.

or have sung in a choir. One *mwalimu* described the role of singing in their family as follows:

> My father and my mother are singers – mother sings alto, father tenor – and all my siblings from my older brother to the youngest child, all are singers. (Int. 5)
> *Baba yangu na mama yangu ni waimbaji. Mama ni sauti ya pili, baba sauti ya tatu. Na wandugu zangu wote nikianza na kaka yangu mkubwa. Tuseme mpaka kitindamimba kweli. Wote ni waimbaji.*

Many interviewees expressed having a similar kind of background as this *mwalimu*. In my experience, it is not an exception to see several members of one family singing in the same choir, fathers or mothers singing together with their children, or alternatively, several members of a family being choir singers but in different choirs of one parish. One can join a church choir as a young teenager, after confirmation. Some interviewees had started singing in a Sunday school choir or in a family choir, as was the case with the following *walimu*:

> In the family we were many, so we had a choir at home. (Int. 10)
> *Katika familia tulikuwa wengi. Kwa hivyo tuko tuna kwaya pale nyumbani.*

> I sang in Sunday school [choir]. (Int. 3)
> *Nilikuwa naimba [kwaya ya] Sunday school.*

The influence of the family background on the interest in choral singing is not a surprise; similar observations have been made in other choral-related studies as well. For instance, choral researcher Pirjo Nenola (2019, 166) points out a similar tendency in her research: many of her research participants – choir singers themselves – stated having family members, either parents or siblings, who sing or have in sung in a choir. Sociologist Sigrún Lilja Einarsdóttir's (2012, 207) study on choral identities indicated that parents' interest in music in the childhood home played a central role in the formation of her research participants' musical identities.

However, despite the popularity of choral singing in this Tanzanian context, there are other kinds of backgrounds as well. Not everyone has a family full of choir singers – or even Christians – around them, as can be seen in these interview excerpts:

> I started to sing in a choir [...] when I was young because my parents were people who liked to go to church. But they were not singers. (Int. 4)

> *Nilianza kuimba kwaya [...] nikiwa mdogo. Kwa sababu wazazi wangu walikuwa ni watu wanaopenda kwenda kanisani. Lakini wao hawakuwa waimbaji.*
>
> In my family there was no parent who sang in a choir. [...] Only me [of the children in the family], I started to live in Jesus and continued to preach about Him through being a *mwalimu*. (Int. 8)
> *Kwenye familia yangu hakuna mzazi aliyeimba kwaya. [...] Mimi tu nimetokea kukaa ndani ya Yesu na kuendelea kumhubiri kwa kupitia ualimu.*

The *walimu* that I interviewed did not hesitate to state what they regard as the basis for singing in a church choir. They openly expressed their religious worldview as the starting point for the engagement in this activity:

> They [the choir members] work for us as volunteers [...] they know that when they work, they are serving God. (Int. 1)
> *[Waimbaji] wanatufanyia kazi kwa kujitolea [...] wanajua wanapofanya kazi wanamtumikia Mungu.*
>
> [W]hen we sing, we know for sure that we are singing to God. (Int. 4)
> *[T]unapoimba tunafahamu kabisa kwamba tunamwimbia Mungu.*

Being actively involved in choral activities can be seen as a visible statement of one's belonging to a particular religious community and as a way of strengthening the identification with it and its values. Whether the emphasis is on the denominational identity or Christian in general depends on the situation in question. Although the religious aspect was accentuated, I also see choral singing as a possibility for relaxation in the midst of many everyday responsibilities and as a way to socialize and to be connected with other people (as, for instance, in Bartolome 2018, 276–277). That would at least partly explain the choir members' level of commitment to their task.

These church choirs could be labeled as "cultural cohorts" or "identity cohorts," applying the term used by ethnomusicologist Thomas Turino (2008, 111, 235), who makes a distinction between cultural cohorts and cultural formations. He defines the former as "cultural/identity units based on a restricted number of shared habits and parts of the self," while the latter are cultural groups that can exist on different levels and are "primary models for socialization and shared habits among members." In other words, cultural cohorts are related only to certain areas of an individual's life, while cultural formations are wider constructions or frameworks that guide or influence one's actions. Turino (2008, 187) asserts that

> a religious group can be the basis of a cohort within a broader formation if, for the most part, the members still operate in relation to the habits of thought and practice of the formation. If the group isolates itself and its tenets become the primary basis for living, however, it becomes a distinct cultural formation.

Drawing from this, church choirs can be seen as cultural cohorts, a kind of interest group within the broader cultural formation of the church. A choir is a part of its members' lives, sometimes a very important and meaningful one, but "the habits of thought and practice" of the church are still the "primary basis for living"; a choir is a smaller unit within the larger entity, the church in this case.

The most common choir type in the North Central Diocese of the ELCT is a mixed choir, typically singing in four parts (soprano, alto, tenor, and bass).[38] The tenor section is often a combination of male and female singers. Mixed choirs may be further defined according to the age-structure of its members; youth choirs – *kwaya za vijana* in Swahili – are common, and in some parishes, choirs for elderly – *kwaya za wazee* – exist as well. Although age can act as a point of identification, many choirs include people of different ages, from teenagers to seniors.

The choral repertoires vary: some mixed choirs sing gospel music accompanied by electric instruments, while others are more concentrated on singing *a cappella* compositions.[39] With gospel music in this research, I refer to Tanzanian gospel music, *muziki wa Injili*, and more specifically to its performance as choral music. Gospel music does not only belong to choirs; many individual artists and gospel bands perform it as well.

In addition to mixed choirs, in some parishes there are also women's choirs – *kwaya za akina mama* – usually singing in three parts (SSA). In my observation, especially in the choir competition context, their repertoire is quite similar to that of the *a cappella* choirs, although here again there is variation; there are, for instance, women's choirs whose repertoire contains gospel music with electric

[38] Fifty-six survey respondents stated singing arrangements for SATB-choir often or sometimes. In addition, there are choirs that use SAB or SAT arrangements. (Survey question number 11.)

[39] Sanga (2006b, 250) makes a distinction between "popular church music" and "art church music." According to him, art church music includes Western hymns, traditional Tanzanian songs adapted for choirs, and new songs composed by *walimu*. Popular church music refers to music that draws influences from popular music styles and is accompanied by electric instruments such as guitars and keyboards. However, Sanga states that the choirs do not necessarily limit themselves to only a certain category but mix different styles in their repertoires.

instrument accompaniment. Women's choirs are a quite recent phenomenon in this context: first, they were groups responsible for the annual day of prayer worship service led by women, and over the years some of them organized themselves into choirs that met on a regular basis (Mashauri, December 4, 2017). Possibly due to their still relatively short history, women's choirs are not very common, and at least some of them seem to be active mostly during the choir competition season, a phenomenon that I call "seasonal singing."[40] With regard to women's choirs, one *mwalimu* stated that

> They [women's choirs] sing during the competitions [and then] they go home to sleep. (Int. 10)
> *[Kwaya za akina mama] zinaimba kipindi cha mashindano, zinaenda nyumbani kulala.*

Sunday schools are commonly organized in the parishes of the ELCT, and Sunday school children may form a kind of a choir as well, sometimes with one of the children acting as the leader. However, those choirs and their repertoires are not included in this study since they do not meet the definition of "choir" in this study. For instance, they do not usually have separate rehearsals as the youth or adult choirs.

Repertoires form a significant part of choirs' musical identity elements (Bower & Swart 2016, 7). Some of the choirs of this study have been functioning for a long time and have large repertoires containing songs that can be seen as their "musical trademarks," as something they are known for. Other choirs were founded quite recently and are still in the process of finding their style, their musical identity, and their way of functioning. Three *walimu* described their choirs, all of which are at different stages of development, as follows (emphasis added):

> It's **a choir that was founded two years ago** in our church. [...] I gathered people who like singing. Others don't know how to sing, they have not sung [in a choir]. We started slowly. [...] I started by giving them easy songs, like those of Sunday. (Int. 10)
> *Ni kwaya ambayo **ina miaka miwili kuanzishwa** katika kanisa letu. [...] Nilichukua watu wenye moyo wa kuimba. Lakini hawajui kabisa wengine kuimba, hawajawahi kuimba [kwenye kwaya]. Kwanza kufanya mazoezi taratibu tukajifunza kuimba. [...] Nikaanza kuwapa nyimbo nyepesi kama za wa Sunday.*

[40] In this diocese, choir competitions are organized every other year (Mashauri, May 14, 2020).

> For now, we still teach [the choir] ordinary [choir] songs. We try also to do pieces that are a bit more difficult. [...] We also have cooperation with other choirs; we visit each other regularly, but not much right now because **we are still building the choir**. (Int. 2)
> *Kwa sasa bado tunafundisha nyimbo za kawaida. Tunajaribu kufanya pieces pia ambazo ni ngumu kidogo. [...] Na pia tuna ushirikiano na kwaya nyingine kwa kutembeleana. Mara kwa mara, lakini siyo sana kwa sasa, kwa sababu* ***bado tunajenga kwaya****.*

> Our choir was founded [...] in **1969**. (Int. 7)
> *Kwaya yetu ilianzishwa [...]* ***mwaka sitini na tisa****.*

At the time of the interviews, the first of these choirs was still a new choir; it had been functioning only for two years. The *mwalimu* had "started slowly" and with "easy songs," trying to find music that would suit the group – they were in a process of figuring out who they were musically. The second choir had more experience and were singing songs that already were "a bit more difficult." However, the *mwalimu* regarded the choir as being in transition; they were "still building the choir" aiming at becoming something they were not yet. The third choir had a long history with a large repertoire, and the interviewee presented a clear image of what the group was like.

The choirs' musical choices include the use of musical instruments, which forms a part of their musical identity elements as well (Bower and Swart 2016, 8). Most church choirs use some instruments, at least occasionally: 71 survey respondents answered "yes" to the question "Do you use musical instruments?"[41] Electric instruments such as keyboards, guitars, and bass guitars dominate, and drums, *ngoma* in Swahili, are the most common traditional instruments. In addition, the survey respondents mentioned other instruments, mainly traditional ones, including horns, bells, flutes, and some idiophones such as *manyanga*, *kayamba* and *njuga.*

Manyanga are rattles that are usually made of dried calabashes and filled with seeds, while *kayamba* is a reed rattle consisting of two layers of reed that are attached together, with seeds inside it (Martin 1997, 638). *Njuga* is an instrument that consists of small bells, and it is tied around ankles during dancing (ibid.). *Shanga*, the round and flat plate made of beads that Maasai women wear around their necks as part of the traditional costume, were also mentioned among the

[41] Survey question number 12.

musical instruments since they have an important role in the performance of Maasai music.

It is noteworthy that 16 respondents who had marked "no" for the use of instruments or had left that question unanswered indicated later that they, however, use drums in their choirs. I suggest that this refers to the drum's role as a rhythmic instrument, rather than a melodic one. It can also be possible that for some respondents, drum is such an ordinary part of the activities that they just did not think about it.

My initial idea of these choirs was that, stylistically, they had quite fixed repertoires. Later, however, I gave up on that perception at least partly since the interviewees presented a quite different image. Although a choir's focus may be on a certain musical genre, the boundaries are fluid, and the repertoires may contain various styles. For instance, in choir competitions, Maasai choirs usually perform Christian songs that are based on traditional Maasai melodies and arranged for choir (Sululu, March 20, 2016). However, in Sunday services and on other occasions, their repertoire may be quite different: *walimu*'s compositions containing components of Maasai music traditions or short choruses performed in Swahili or Maa with keyboard accompaniment, influenced by more popular or gospel music style bands (ibid.).[42]

If there are several choirs in one parish, they may have quite different repertoires, which offers possibilities for both the singers and the audience to choose among or to identify with different musical styles. In bigger parishes, there are usually more choirs, which means more possibilities from which to choose. One interviewee described the situation in his/her parish as follows:

> [S]tyles are different in each choir. There isn't any common style. [...] In our parish, we have three choirs. Each choir has its style. [...] there isn't any particular format, [which dictates] that it's necessary to do this way. (Int. 10)
> *[S]taili ziko tofauti kila kwaya. Lakini hakuna pia iliyo common. [...] Kwenye usharika wetu tuna kwaya tatu. Kila kwaya ina staili yake. [...] hakuna fomu kwamba lazima mtafanya hivi.*

[42] For an example of combining local musical elements (Maasai) with a more popular music style and electric instruments, see Upendo Choir from Terat parish in North Central Diocese singing *Kinare Engisisa Enkai* – God, you are worthy to be praised (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=erBh-8PaCoY).

According to this *mwalimu*, choirs have the freedom to make their own decisions concerning their musical choices. By doing this, they also make decisions concerning the image they have "in the context of the other groups" (Brown and Cappozza 2000, 9), that is, concerning their group identity.

Following ethnomusicologist Kay Kaufman Shelemay (2011, 373), these choirs could be regarded as "affinity communities": personal musical preferences influence one's decision of joining a certain choir, sometimes combined with other criteria, such as ethnic identity, age, or gender. Shelemay states that "ultimately, affinity communities derive their strength from the presence and proximity of a sizeable group and for the sense of belonging and prestige that this affiliation offers." In choirs the feeling of togetherness or belonging can be created and maintained in many ways – singing music that one takes pleasure from is one influential way of doing it. Making music together is something which people in a choir enjoy. Belonging to that group brings satisfaction and thus contributes to the construction of the individuals' social identity (see Tajfel 1981, 256).

Most of the choirs that participated in this study have more than one *mwalimu*.[43] In addition to *mwalimu* or *walimu*, choir leadership usually includes at least a chairperson, a secretary, and a treasurer. The organization is often expanded with different committees, each of them having a special task in reinforcing the choir's musical, spiritual, or other activities. Several choirs in the Maasai area stated having a post of *mama/baba kwaya* – literally a mother or a father of a choir – which is mainly related to looking after the choir's everyday routines. Choirs vary in size, although the number of members is rarely less than ten people.[44]

The survey indicated that choir rehearsals are held most commonly three times a week for one and half to two hours each time.[45] Usually they take place in churches or their surroundings, but other locations are possible as well (Photo 3). For instance, I remember having participated in rehearsals in choir members' homes for many times as well as organizing choir rehearsals in our own home.

[43] Sixty-eight survey respondents stated having several *walimu* in their choir, while twenty-eight respondents said that their choir has only one *mwalimu* (survey question number 8).

[44] Only one survey respondent stated having ten or less people in his/her choir. The largest number of responses, 35 (of 105 responses), fell into the category "21–30 members." (Survey question number 2.)

[45] A large majority of the respondents (85 of 103) stated having rehearsals three times a week. Forty-six respondents said that their rehearsals lasted for one and half hours, and 35 said that they rehearsed for two hours each time. (Survey questions number 3 and number 4.)

Photo 3. Choir rehearsal. (Photo: Leena Lampinen.)

Some choirs' weekly program may include more than three rehearsals, but quite seldom the number is less than three. In my experience, in addition to rehearsals, choirs may have other activities, such as sports, as well. The organizational structure that a choir decides to follow and the activities they maintain influence its self-understanding – they are part of the choir's organizational identity elements (Bower & Swart 2016, 7).

Choral activities are based on repetition and on certain routines: rehearsals follow a certain order day after day, and the weekly program remains quite the same week after week, including several gatherings and the Sunday service. This is likely to strengthen the cohesion and the sense of togetherness within choirs. Garnett (2017, 141) contends that

> the iterative patterns of a choir's activities also bind the group together in shared experience, both musical and extramusical. Some forms of behavior are explicitly invested with meanings to articulate group identity, such as wearing visible tokens of belonging or the marking of occasions with particular pieces of music. But simple routines of regular rehearsal form the experiential substrate of what it is to be part of that choir.

Repetitive forms of action and routines contribute to the formation and preservation of choirs' group identity. In my research context, this repetitiveness is particularly accentuated since choirs come together so many times each week, both for rehearsals and church services. Ingalls et al. (2016 [2013], 5) suggest that identities are "(re-)produced through repeated actions, including music-making as a part of public ritual performances." In the case of church choirs, in addition to group/choral identity, these repeated actions influence the religious identity as well, both at the individual and the group level. For instance, opening and closing prayers are part of the regular choir rehearsals, and the weekly Sunday service is a major occasion for the performance of one's Christian beliefs and the strengthening of Christian and denominational identities.

3.2 Singing with/to the Congregation

The church choirs within this research context perform in various events, but clearly the main occasion is the church service on Sunday, in which most of the choirs participate every week (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Choirs' participation in Sunday service. (Survey question number 5.)

Larger parishes and sub-parishes usually have several services each Sunday and also several choirs functioning within the parish.[46] In these cases, choirs may have a rotational system: this week a certain choir attends the first service and the following week they sing in the second one, while the other choir does the opposite. There can be one or several choirs participating in one service.

Some interviewees talked quite analytically about the choirs' role in the Sunday service, while others did not pay much attention to it. The *walimu* used several expressions when talking about those people to whom or with whom they sing: congregants (*washarika*), Christians (*Wakristo*), community (*jamii*), and listeners (*wasikilizaji*). They also identified different roles for choirs in the context of Sunday service, and saw them on some occasions as performers or mediators, while in some other moments, choirs were counted as a part of the congregation (Photo 4). Different roles and tasks bring along different aspects of identity.

Photo 4. Choirs as a part of congregation singing a hymn after a Sunday service in Arusha. (Photo: Sirpa Ahola. Used with permission.)

[46] Sub-parishes are smaller entities within parishes, and they are called *mtaa* (sing.)/*mitaa* (pl.) in Swahili. Fihavango (2007, 239) uses the English term "congregational unit."

In church services, choirs usually have certain pews or chairs reserved for them, usually at the front of the church or the area in which the service is held. This makes it easy for the congregation to see the choir(s) and easy for the pastor(s) or the evangelist(s) to communicate with them during the service. The choir in which I sang had (and still has, I think) its regular place at the front of the church, on the left when viewed from among the congregation. The first row was reserved for sopranos, and that is where I was as well. There were usually two choirs in the services, and the other choir was facing us on the other side of the church. Through those physical and quite fixed locations, it became evident which group one was part of. That same spot we used in the rehearsals as well, which added to the feeling of a place of our own – sitting on that particular place was a sign of belonging.

Based on the interview materials, I have divided the role of choirs in relation to the congregation into three points: practical, spiritual, and emotional. These are aspects that came up in the interviews, and through them we can explore the choirs' different functions in church services. The practical aspect contains issues that can be quite easily noticed in a service. For instance, some of my interviewees stated that the choirs' task is to lead and to help the congregation in singing.

> Singers should lead the service well. (Int. 1)
> *Waimbaji waongoze ibada vizuri.*

> I believe that one of the choir's tasks is to guide the congregation to sing well in the service. (Int. 2)
> *Naamini mimi kazi ya kwaya mmojawapo ni kuelekeza Wakristo waimbe vizuri kwenye ibada.*

Since congregational singing is often unaccompanied, the *walimu wa kwaya* together with their choirs have a great possibility to influence the singing of the hymns and the liturgy, if they are able to or interested in doing so. Another practical task for the choirs is to help the congregation to tune in to the occasion – to choose songs that follow the church year, and, thus, inform the listeners of the time period in question. One *mwalimu* explained that

> for instance, if it's Easter time, my choir should sing Easter songs, and this makes the Christians see that Easter is coming. (Int. 4)
> *Kwa mfano kama ni wakati wa Pasaka sasa ni lazima kwaya yangu iimbe nyimbo za Pasaka. Na wakifanya hivyo inawagusa Wakristo waone kwamba Pasaka imekaribia.*

The spiritual aspect of choirs' tasks in the services is related to the church choir songs and to the way they are performed. It is about conveying a message in a way that the listeners can understand it and be nourished by it. One interviewee explained that

> we should explain to the congregation the meaning of that reading. [...] We should translate [it] to the congregation. It should be like the sermon of that day. (Int. 8)
> *Tuwaelezee Wakristo na washarika kwa ujumla, nini lengo ya somo lile. [...] Tuwatafsirie na Wakristo. Iwe kama vile mahubiri ya siku hiyo.*

According to this view, one of choirs' tasks is to transform the biblical message into a form that would be easier for the congregation to understand; the language that is used in the liturgical context may sometimes be more complicated than that of the song texts. This resonates with ethnomusicologist Kassomo Mkallyah's (2015, 157) findings related to church choirs of different denominations in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. He asserts that these choirs' task is to lead the congregation – choirs act as "a connection between the Gospel, the priest, and the churchgoers," and they "preach the Gospel through music repertoires." Preparation plays an important role in the realization of this task: some of my interviewees said that sometimes the upcoming Sunday's biblical texts are read in the choir rehearsal, which helps people to orientate to the theme of that particular day. Explaining or interpreting biblical texts through songs is not an easy task. It brings along the question related to the contents of songs and a certain responsibility for it since a single text can be understood in many ways.

Contextualizing the message of a song, making it resonate with people's everyday environments, can be one possible means of conveying the message in a meaningful and understandable way, as one *mwalimu* explained:

> I watch, I learn from the community, then I compose according to the community – how it is there, where they live – so that they could get the message. (Int. 9)
> *[N]aangalia nilijifunza kutokana na jamii, halafu natunga kulingana na jamii jinsi ilivyo pale wanapoishi ili kwamba waweze kupata ujumbe.*

Some interviewees brought up music's strong connection to emotions: music should touch people.[47] They suggested that if music reaches listeners at the

[47] Especially interviewees 2 and 10 were very analytical about the emotional effectiveness of music.

emotional level, the message is more likely to reach them in a more meaningful way. One participant analyzed this process as follows:

> I teach choir members to sing things that come from inside, meaning that what I sing, that is my life. So if it is my life, it will touch people. You notice that people receive that message. (Int. 10)
> *[N]inawafundisha waimbaji kuimba kitu ambacho kinatoka ndani. Kwamba ninachokiimba mimi, ndiyo maisha yangu. Kwa hivyo kama ni maisha yangu ni lazima mtu alioko pembeni ataguswa. Kwa hivyo unakuta ule ujumbe, watu yaani wanaopokea.*

What I hear stressed in this passage is that music goes through the performer before reaching the listeners. This is in line with Ahlquist's (2006, 8) notion that "choral music's first line of reception is not the audience in a public performance but the singers themselves." I understand this in the way that if the message is important to the performer, if it has become personally meaningful to him/her, it will be meaningful to the listeners as well. Another interviewee explained that

> every time, I try hard to get them [the choir] to focus on the message. Sometimes I even tell them to close their eyes so that they could digest the message, [and] then deliver it as it is. [...] They must wear that message because... every time I tell them that if you just sing, but you don't feel it in your heart, even the listener won't be touched. Now, it is very automatically connected that, first, they [the choir] should be touched by the songs they sing so that the listeners could be touched even more. (Int. 2)
> *Najaribu sana kuwaorient [kwaya] na message mara zote. Hata wakati mwingine nawaambia waimbe wakifunga macho. Ili waweze kudigest ile message, halafu waweze kuideliver jinsi ilivyo. [...] Lazima uvae ile message. Kwa sababu... mara zote nawaambia kama unaimba tu, lakini hausikii kwenye moyo wako, hata mtu anayesikiliza huguswi. Sasa hii it's very automatically connected kwamba waguswe kwanza wao na nyimbo wanazoziimba ili wasikilizaji waguswe zaidi.*

These ideas of feeling the music and the message resonate with music scholar Gordon Adnams' (2013, 192) concept of "really worshipping" in his study on congregational singing:

> Really worshipping singers seem to experience something feelingful and rich that is centred on and given form primarily by the sung word. [...] To feel words, sung or spoken, they have to be drawn near, brought within reach, grasped and admitted inside our various boundaries. [...] Singers who are really worshipping are purposefully singing, deliberately mining every word to discover a greater realization of its potential for feelingfulness.

In Adnams' (2013, 187–191) study, really worshipping means for instance "feeling the words," while the opposite, "just singing," could be described as "unminded" or "dispassionate" singing. According to some of my interviewees, the choir members should be "really worshipping" instead of "just singing," to extend the terminology offered by Adnams to include not only the congregation but choirs as well. By doing so, by really worshipping – or should I say by "devoutly concentrating on choral singing" – they help the listeners, the congregation, to be touched by the message. This could be seen as the emotional aspect to the choirs' role in the worship service context.

In the following excerpt, the emotional aspect is also present. It is combined with the idea of music as a medium or an instrument for achieving something, in this case for "drawing people to Jesus."

> [W]e try to please all the people, but also to draw them to Jesus because the goal is that they should get what God has to give, because through a song their heart is drawn to love God in an amazing way. (Int. 10)
> *[T]unajaribu kuwaaridhisha watu wote, lakini pia kuwavuta kwa Yesu, kwa sababu nia na lengo, wapate kile kitu cha ki-Mungu, maana mtu kwa kupitia wimbo moyo wake unavutika kumpenda Mungu kwa namna ya ajabu.*

It is possible that the spiritual or religious aspect was emphasized in the interviewees' talk if they saw me as a representative of the church in some way, and the religious discourse concerning music was more common among the non-trained *walimu*. However, it is important to keep in mind the Tanzanian context in which talking about one's personal religious beliefs is not something to be avoided as it may be the case in many Western societies. People's perspective on religion is holistic. Religion belongs to all the areas of life, it is not separated from them.[48]

A choir's role in worship services is complex since the expectations from the listeners' part are various, as this interviewee explained:

> [I]n the church, each person has his/her taste. When someone hears a song of praise, (s)he wants to cry. Meaning that for him/her this is now a true service. When we sing and dance someone else says that now this is a proper service. When we sing a traditional song, yet another one says that now you brought me home. [...] the goal is to make sure that together with the pastor who is preaching... the songs that we sing are

[48] For a brief discussion concerning this topic, see "A Perspective of holism" in *Worship in African Contexts of Holism and Crisis*, edited by Itonde A. Kakoma (2005, 9–10).

> the sermon, and I try to compose songs that touch people's hearts. (Int. 10)
> *[K]atika kanisa, kila mtu ana kionjo chake. Mwingine ukiimba wimbo wa kuabudu, anatamani kulia. Yaani anaona sasa ibada ndiyo imekuwa ibada. Mwingine mkiimba wimbo wa kucheza anasema sasa hiyo ibada. Mwingine mkiimba ki-asili anasema hapa mmenifikisha nyumbani. [...] nia na lengo ni kuhakikisha kwamba pamoja na mchungaji anayehubiri... lakini kwa nyimbo tunazozitoa, ni mahubiri na najaribu sana kutengeneza nyimbo ambazo zinagusa mioyo za watu.*

According to this *mwalimu*, anticipating the listeners' assumed needs is a part of or at least related to influencing people at the emotional level. People, their needs, and their musical preferences differ. In order to be able to serve as many people as possible, many interviewees stated that it is important to perform many kinds of music. The various roles – practical, spiritual, and emotional – that choirs of this research have in worship services are influential regarding choirs' identities, choirs see themselves as active agents in this context. A theme that was brought out several times in the interviews was choirs' understanding of themselves as servants through music: servants of God and servants of the congregation that is gathered in a Sunday service.

In the order of the worship service of the ELCT, following the order as it is printed in the current hymnal, the word "music" as such is not mentioned at all. However, the words *wimbo* and *nyimbo* – song and songs – are mentioned several times (Figure 5). This may be related to the fact that the Swahili word for music – *muziki* – is a foreign word, and traditionally music has been referred to through various other expressions, singing among others.

Music in this worship service context is predominantly sung music. Instrumental music is performed, for instance, by brass bands on some festive occasions. Singing is an integral part of the church's activities, either as congregational singing or in the form of choirs. The word "choir" is mentioned only once in the worship service order, during the offering, and the whole congregation sings the songs in the first part of the service. Otherwise, there is no indication of just who is carrying out the music in the service, which can lead to a variety of implementations. On some Sundays, a choir or choirs may have a bigger role, while on other days, the congregation may have more possibilities to sing. Quite often though, it is choral music that dominates. This challenges the congregation's role as an active participant (see e.g., Tönsing 2009, 322, 327).

SUNDAY SERVICE (*IBADA YA SIKU YA BWANA*)

♪ = This part is sung.

1. Preparations, confession and absolution (*Maandalio, ungamo na ondoleo la dhambi*)
(*Leaders of the service enter; congregation stands while singing the opening song. ♪ *Viongozi wa ibada wanaingia; usharika umesimama ukiimba wimbo wa utangulizi.* ♪)
Psalm (*Zaburi*) → ♪ Song - all (*Wimbo - wote*)
Confession of sins (*Ungamo la dhambi*) → Absolution (*Ondoleo la dhambi*)

2. Prayer and praise to God (*Ombi na sifa kwa Mungu*)
♪ Psalm and antiphon (*Zaburi na antifon maalumu*)
(*Following the church year. *Kwa kufuata majira ya Mwaka wa Kanisa*)
♪ Kyrie (*Bwana uturehemu*) → ♪ Gloria *(Utukufu kwa Mungu*)

3. Greeting, reading, confession of faith and sermon (*Salamu, somo, imani na mahubiri*)
Greeting ♪, prayer, reading (*Salamu* ♪, *sala*, *somo*)
Credo (*Imani ya Kikristo*) → ♪ Song (*Wimbo*)
Announcements (*Matangazo*) → ♪ Song (*Wimbo*)
Reading (*Somo*)
Sermon (*Mahubiri)* → ♪ Song (*Wimbo*)

4. Offering and prayers (*Matoleo na maombezi*)
(*During the offering, choir songs and/or songs from the hymnal are sung. ♪ *Wakati wa matoleo, nyimbo za kwaya na/au kutoka kitabu cha Tumwabudu Mungu Wetu zinaendelea kuimbwa.* ♪)
Offering (*Matoleo*) → ♪ Song (*Wimbo*)
Prayer for the offering (*Kuombea matoleo*)
Intercession (*Sala kuu ya maombezi*) → The Lord's prayer (*Sala ya Bwana*)

5. Sending (*Utume*)
Greeting ♪ and thanksgiving (*Salamu* ♪ *na shukrani*) → The blessing (*Baraka*)
♪ Song (*Wimbo*)

[*Author's note:* Usually during the final song, the leaders of the service and the congregation exit. Outside, an auction often takes place and choir(s) may sing.]

Figure 5. Order of the Sunday service (without the Holy Communion).[49]

If the worship service includes the Holy Communion, the choir(s) may sing during the Eucharist. Sometimes there is a section of praise and worship music before the actual service starts. These are often led by youth bands or other small groups of younger congregants.

[49] This is a simplified and shortened version of the worship order presented in the hymnal *Tumwabudu Mungu Wetu* (ELCT 2012, 329–356). The original text is only in Swahili.

In my experience, the worship order is used in a quite flexible manner. In practice, the number of songs in the services is not fixed. A section of the service that in the written order is expressed as "a song" can include, for instance, one song from each of the choirs present in that service. The leader of the service, usually a pastor or an evangelist, is in many cases the person who decides the number of songs – choral or congregational – in a given service, as confirmed by one interviewee:

> For each Sunday, we write a list of seven songs. [...] We may sing five of them, but it's important to have two extra songs. It depends on the leader of the service. (Int. 7)
> *Kila Jumapili tunaandika listi ya nyimbo saba. [...] Tunaweza kuziimba tano. Lakini lazima uweke reserve mbili. Inategemea anayesimamia ibada.*

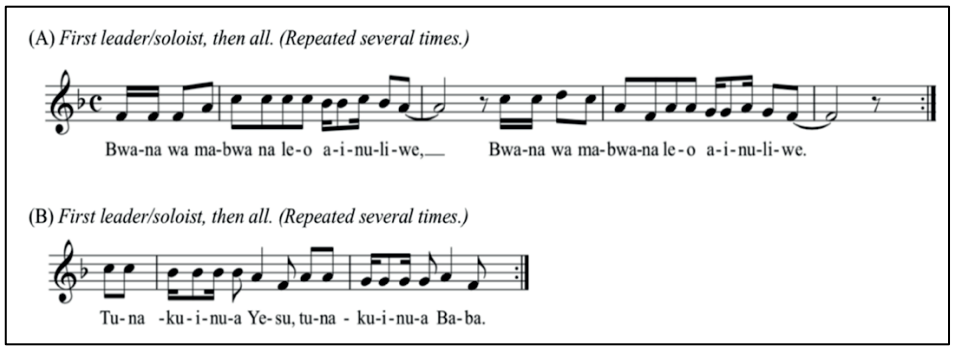
In this particular parish, there is usually one choir attending each service, which means that they need to be well prepared in order to be able to sing whenever they are asked to do so. This is in conflict with the interviewees' understanding of choirs as active agents – the decisions concerning the number of choir songs performed in a given worship service comes from outside choirs.

Choirs employ different musical styles quite freely in different parts of the service. However, if *mapambio*[50] are sung, it often takes place during the offering. *Mapambio* are short songs that are repeated many times. They employ improvisation and are in call-and-response form; one person leads the singing, and the choir or congregation responds (Barz 2003, 122). The performance of *mapambio* also includes dancing and clapping of hands on the part of all participants. One *pambio* is *Bwana wa mabwana* (Lord of Lords), presented in Example 1. This song consists of two sections (A and B) that both include repetition, and the AB-form is also repeated as many times as needed. The melody is usually harmonized by the singers (Mashauri, November 3, 2017).

The use of *mapambio* is a somewhat controversial practice; while living in Tanzania, I heard both positive and negative comments about it. For some people, *mapambio* appear as a foreign element to Lutheranism, while others welcome them as a freer mode of musical expression.[51]

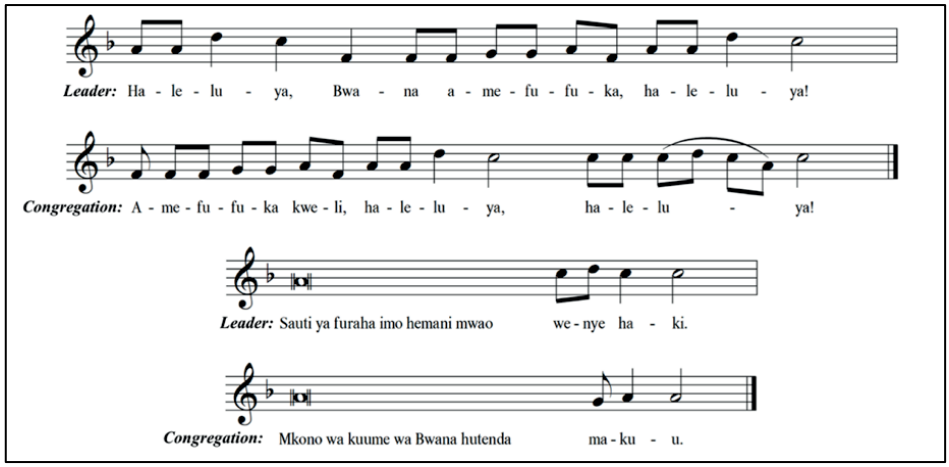
[50] For a more detailed discussion of *mapambio*, see Kathleen Warke's (1999) master's thesis "Praise and Empowerment: Performing Mapambio in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania."
[51] For instance, Rev. Dr. Parsalaw (quoted in Zeiler 2018, 61) contrasts "meaningless choruses" with hymns.

Example 1. Pambio *Bwana wa mabwana*. (Originally transcribed by Hezron Mashauri.)



In addition to the congregational hymns and choir songs, the liturgy of the ELCT includes other sung parts as well. These are usually alternated between the leader of the service and the entire congregation. This practice includes the realization of the psalm and antiphon – *zaburi na antifon* in Swahili – as the beginning of the psalm and antiphon for Easter in Example 2 indicates. The texts of the psalms and antiphons for different times of the church year are included in the church's hymnal.

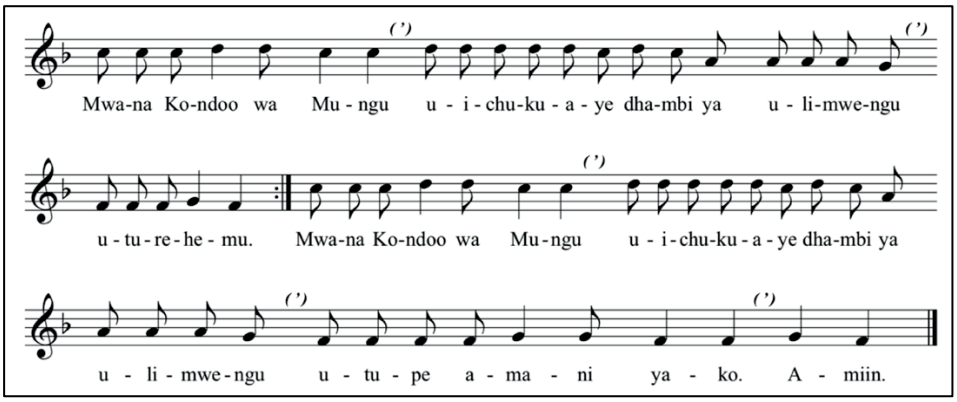
Example 2. The beginning of the psalm and antiphon for Easter.[52]



[52] Translation of the text: "Alleluia, the Lord is risen, alleluia! He is risen indeed, alleluia! Shouts of joy resound in the tents of the righteous: The Lord's right hand has done mighty things!"

The liturgical melodies include some traditional tunes. For instance, *Agnus Dei* (Example 3) is originally a Maasai melody (Bangsund 2001, 180). However, at least in my experience, the performance practice of *Agnus Dei* differs remarkably from that of Maasai music in general. In Sunday services, this melody is often sung quite slowly, which sometimes leads to a blurring of the rhythm.

Example 3. *Mwana Kondoo wa Mungu – Agnus Dei*. (Notated from Sauti kwa liturgia ya ELCT – KKKT.)[53]



In general, it can be said that the more festive the event, the more music there is, especially choral music. The following passage from my field diary during my stay in Arusha in March 2016 reflects the previous statement. During a three-and-a-half-hour service on one specific day, four choirs were singing at several points of the service in addition to congregational hymns and *mapambio*.[54]

> **Sunday service in Arusha – March 6, 2016**
>
> 7:15 a.m. The service started. There is exceptionally only one service in this church this Sunday.
>
> 8:00 a.m. After 45 minutes, fourth choir is singing. There has also been reading from Bible (Psalm text) and introduction to the day (*siku ya maombi*, day of prayer). The congregation sang the opening song, one verse of the hymn *Mungu yupo hapa* (number 233 in the hymnal).

[53] A slightly different version of this is published in the book *Tumshangilie Mungu*. It is closer to the original Maasai tune (confirmed by Mashauri, May 15, 2020).

[54] In this service, there was a youth band, a choir consisting of elderly, and two other mixed choirs including singers of different ages.

> 8:15 a.m. Biblical readings continue, and there were two more choir songs. One verse of a hymn. Then more readings and a congregational hymn with three verses.
>
> 9:00 a.m. Two verses of a hymn (included in the confession of sin). Then the offerings during which three choirs singing.
>
> 9:15 a.m. A dramatical presentation based on the theme "Let the children come," then worship music.
>
> 9:40 a.m. The sermon started and it continued until 10:00 a.m. After the sermon (until 10:40 a.m.), the congregation sang hymn verses here and there between the different parts of the service. Another round of offerings during which choir songs and *mapambio*.
>
> 10:50 a.m. Ending, followed by an auction outside the church.

This service was a combination of different kinds of vocal church music – choir songs both *a cappella* and accompanied by electric instruments, congregational hymns, and *mapambio* – as is often the case with services in this context. Mkallyah's (2015, 166) account of the variety and the use of different musical styles in Christian worship services in Dar es Salaam could easily be a description of my research context as well:

> Sometimes, the mass can start with Western music and then continue with indigenous Tanzanian music traditions and finally end with modern music. Such a combination also helps to sustain the church members' varied interests in music: some churchgoers want Western-oriented music, others popular and others indigenous Tanzanian music.

Different musical styles in a worship service complement each other, and they are seen as a response to the needs of the congregation present.

Dancing and different kinds of body movements are an integral part of many church choir performances in this context. They are what Bower and Swart (2016, 9–10) label as part of the "visual elements of identity." Dance and other movements are often choreographed, especially when performing gospel music, and the movements are designed to underline the message of the songs. However, according to some *walimu*, certain limits are needed. One interviewee claimed that too much dancing or movement distracts the congregation since it may prevent people from properly concentrating on the message of the song.

> We have [songs with] dancing. We dance. [...] It is not singing with jumping. You know, if you sing songs with lots of jumping, the congregation does not listen to the message. They just watch how you jump. If you sing a song, just swing a little, but pronounce the words well, so that the people know [what] you say. (Int. 7)
> *Kuna kucheza. Kuna ambazo tunacheza. [...] Siyo kuimba ile ya kurukaruka. Unajua, ukiimba nyimbo za kurukaruka sana, Mkristo hasikilizi ujumbe. Anaangalia unavyoruka. Wewe kama unaimba wimbo, swing tu kidogo, lakini tamka maneno, mtu anajua unasema [nini].*

Based on my observations and experiences in this context, during the choir performances, for instance in the worship services, the audience's reactions to music vary. Music such as Western classical music or music composed in that style is most often listened to quite silently, without much participation from the listeners' part. Traditional style music or gospel music usually evokes movement, for instance dancing or hand clapping, among the audience. One of the most spontaneous forms of performance is singing *mapambio*, short choruses. They usually include both choir(s) and congregation singing in call-and-response form. For instance, during the offering, one singer starts a solo and the rest of the choir and the congregation join in singing a refrain. Instruments such as drums may be added as well.

In addition to the weekly Sunday services, choirs perform often or sometimes in weddings, evangelistic gatherings, church concerts, funerals, and other church-related events (Figure 6). Evangelistic gatherings received the smallest number of "never" responses among all the responses. I see this as connected to the popularity of those events in general, and it also underlines the image that these church choirs have of themselves as tools for spreading the Christian message. Although the largest number of responses in the category of "other events" was that of the option "never," there were individual responses that pointed out activities such as visits to different kinds of institutions including hospitals or schools.

Sometimes choirs are invited to sing in private homes and in other private events, and they may occasionally participate in fundraisers, events related to local traditions (e.g., circumcision), educational events (e.g., related to health), and different kinds of festivities as well. Some of the activities are bound to local customs. One of these customs is visits to homes for expressing condolences after having heard about a bereavement in that household. I remember visiting many homes when, for instance, a choir member's relative had passed away. These visits were something that happened quite automatically: if it was the day of

rehearsal, the rehearsal was cancelled, and the choir went to the family in question to sing hymns and other suitable choir songs in order to comfort people and to take part in their grief.

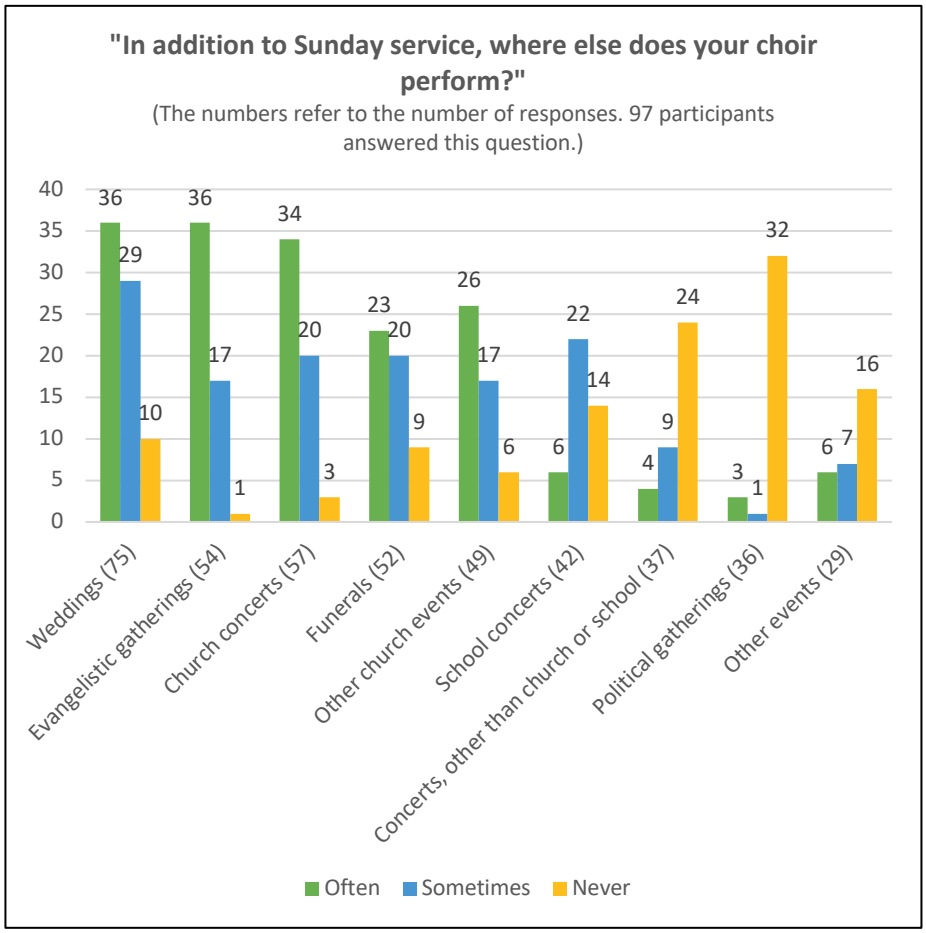


Figure 6. Choirs' participation in events other than the Sunday service. (Survey question number 6.)[55]

Although choirs participate in a variety of events, they identify themselves as church choirs; in Figure 6, there is a clear division between church-related and other events, especially concerning the option "often." It is further confirmed by the quite high numbers in the "never" column for "political gatherings" and "concerts, other than church or school." This gives an idea of the choirs' focus

[55] I am inclined to believe that in the multiple-choice questions like this, many respondents chose the occasions that applied for their choirs and left other parts unfinished.

and, respectively, of the occasions with which they would not want to be identified. It is connected to these choirs' affiliation with a particular church organization (c.f. Bower and Swart 2016, 12) and their religious/Christian worldview.

As can be seen, these choirs are active and present in many kinds of situations. In this light, it is not surprising that one interviewee called their church "the singers' church":

> And us traditionally, our church is a singers' church. It is a church of singing. (Int. 9)
> *Na sisi kwa asili, kanisa letu ni wa waimbaji. Ni kanisa la uimbaji.*

Vocal music in congregational and in choral forms is an integral part of church services and other events in this context. It could be said that singing forms a part of the self-understanding of what it means to be a Lutheran in Tanzania.

3.3 Our Environment

The choirs of this study reside in many kinds of environments. Some of them operate in very urban surroundings, while others function in quite remote rural areas. My interviewees represented both of these evenly, five of them from urban and five from rural parishes. Although the music or the musical styles that the choirs employ may not necessarily be dependent on their geographical location, there is variation in the availability of different resources, such as musical instruments, trained musicians or music teachers, and financial resources, among others. An urban environment often provides more possibilities in relation to these elements.

Among the participants, there were some *walimu* who referred to their choir's environment on several occasions during the interviews. The following interviewee explained first how the choir's surroundings influence its musical choices. The comment about the low income was raised in relation to the costs incurred by choir competitions.

> My choir has different kinds of songs, but they are used to those I teach myself, my songs, due to our environment – because our environment is challenging. We don't have any other instruments than a drum. [...] Everyone is a farmer here, you know? Low income. (Int. 8)

> *Kwaya yangu ina nyimbo tofauti tofauti. Lakini imezoea zile nyimbo nazofundisha mimi. Mimi nyimbo zangu, hutokana na hali halisi ya mazingira yetu. Kwa sababu mazingira yetu ni magumu. Hatuna chombo chochote zaidi ya ngoma. [...] Unajua hapa wote ni wakulima? Kipato cha chini.*

Another interviewee described their choir's possibilities in a rather different way. This *mwalimu* seems to have access to many kinds of resources quite effortlessly.

> If here in town there is a choir that has been conducted and taught by many *walimu*, it is the choir X [this person's own choir]. [...] I like to go to YouTube, I watch songs on YouTube a lot. [...] When I see a song that I like a lot, I find the music and... I find it, I get the pdf, I print it, I teach it. (Int. 2)
> *Kama kuna kwaya ya hapa mjini inaongozwa na kufundishwa na walimu wengi, ni kwaya X. [...] Napenda kwenda YouTube, natazama sana nyimbo kwenye YouTube. [...] Nikiangalia wimbo nikaupenda sana natafuta muziki wake na... natafuta, napata pdf, naprint, nafundisha.*

For some *walimu* that I interviewed, such as for the one in the above passage, the Internet has become a source of new materials for choirs and/or a tool for learning. However, it is still a distant world for others: "I don't know [how to use] the Internet," stated several interviewees.[56] Since there are differences in the availability of Internet connections and since its use is quite expensive, the Internet is not an obvious part of people's lives, as confirmed by the following *mwalimu*:

> I use the Internet only for communications because of the expenses. [...] if you say that you use the Internet for many purposes, you need to have enough money. (Int. 10)
> *Internet naitumia tu kwa ajili ya mawasiliano. Kutokana na gharama za data. [...] ukisema unaingia kwenye Internet kwa ajili ya vitu vingi na uweka hela ya kutosha.*

However, even though the Internet does not necessarily play a significant role in everyday activities, its possibilities are recognized. One interviewee stated that

> we should get a website [for the choir]. [...] If we could put the choir's songs on a website. People should know [them]. (Int. 7)
> *Tupate hata ingiza kwenye website huko. [...] Lakini tungepata kuweka kwenye website nyimbo za kwaya. Watu wajue.*

[56] Interviews 4, 5, and 7.

In addition to these new technologies, there are other issues that cause division between different areas. One of these is musical training and the benefits it brings. According to some interviewees, the trained musicians are more available in urban areas. This statement got some confirmation from the survey results (Figure 7): the farther one gets from Arusha town and its surrounding districts (East Arusha and West Arusha), the fewer trained *walimu*. This was the case at least among the survey participants. Of those who participated in this research from the South Maasai district, only one stated having studied music.

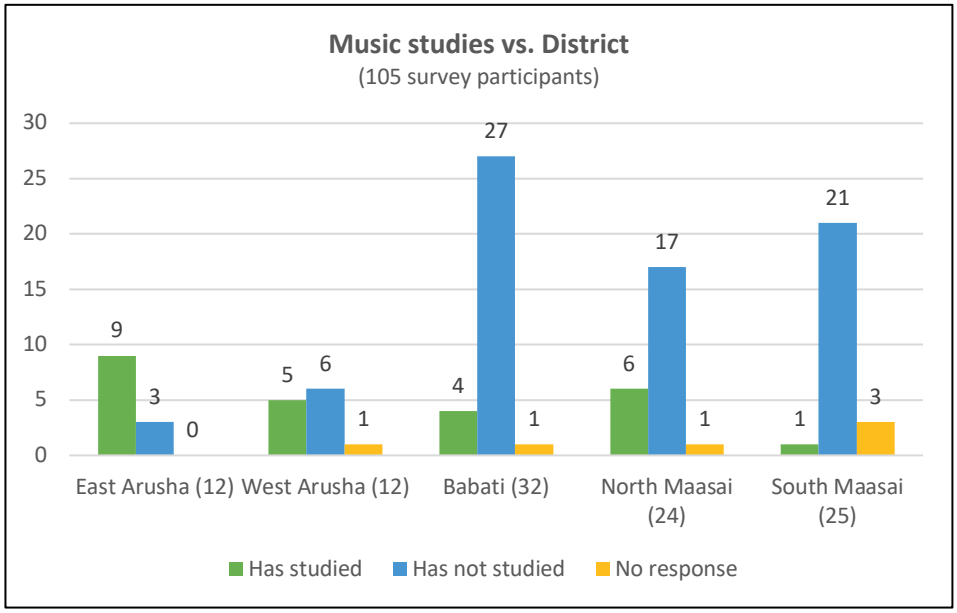


Figure 7. Music studies of the survey participants according to the districts.

There was a similar tendency regarding the participation in music workshops and seminars. In districts both East Arusha and West Arusha, more than half of the respondents (seven out of twelve in each) stated having attended workshops or seminars, while in the other districts participation had been lower.[57] This may at least partly be attributed to the difficulty in organizing workshops or seminars and gathering people to these events in rural areas, in which distances are longer and people are engaged in activities such as farming and cattle-raising.

[57] Eleven (of 32) in Babati, nine (of 24) in North Masai, and seven (of 25) in South Masai.

Collaboration between *walimu* from urban and rural areas exists, as indicated in the following interview passage:

> We often use people from town, our friends. Yes, they help us to teach notated things. (Int. 4)
> *Tunawatumia sana watu wa mjini. Marafiki zetu. Ndiyo wanatusaidia kufundisha mambo ya noten.*

Here, the *mwalimu* points out the choir's identity as a rural choir by expressing the existence of the "people from town," a group to which his/her choir does not belong. However, this person did not indicate any negative attitudes toward the differences between "us" and "them"; the different abilities are seen rather as a useful resource than a subject of envy. This recognition of sameness and difference, in this case in relation to music and to musical abilities, is part of the identity construction that happens "through difference" (Hall 1996b, 4).

However, criticism regarding the differences between urban and rural settings was expressed as well. One such issue was the availability of and the collaboration with the trained *walimu* and/or music teachers. Although this kind of cooperation exists, according to the following interviewee, it is active mostly during the choir competition season.

> I often go there [to town], and you know, town is town, and we are there in the rural areas. No, not in the rural area, in remote areas. In towns, at least sometimes, there are professionals, and these music teachers who have studied music, they like so much to stay in towns. [...] The time when they go to teach these [rural] choirs is the time for [teaching the] competition songs. (Int. 9)
> *Huwa naendaga pale [mjini] wakati mwingine, na unajua mjini ni mjini tu, sasa sisi tuko kule shamba wakati. Siyo shamba ni porini kabisa. Sehemu za mjini unakuta mara nyingine wataalamu angalau wapo. Na hawa walimu wa muziki pia ambao wamesoma muziki wanapenda sana pia hata kukaa sehemu za mjini. [...] Wakati ambapo wanapokwenda kufundisha hizi kwaya, ni wakati ule tu wa nyimbo za mashindano.*

The question concerning the mobility of trained *walimu* is complex, and it is not only about whether "they like so much to stay in towns" or not. It can be linked, for instance, to one's employment situation or to the long and challenging distances between different parts of the diocese, among other issues. The *mwalimu* of the previous excerpt continued with the topic and stated that

> it is also possible that this is due to the lack of money. Meaning that, you know, you need also to take care of the *mwalimu* [when (s)he travels from elsewhere to teach]. (Int. 9)
> *[I]nawezekana pia hilo linasababisha pia na ukosefu wa fedha. Kwa maana ya kwamba unajua lazima mwalimu umtunze pia.*

This particular interviewee analyzed quite thoroughly the differences between urban and rural settings and saw it also as a challenge at the organizational level and for the church, and not just as a hardship for individual choirs.

> So the church has got a problem of... I should maybe say in the remote areas, different from the urban areas because in towns you see that at least there are professionals. (Int. 9)
> *Kwa hiyo kanisa limepata shida ya... niseme labda sehemu ya pembezoni. Tofauti na sehemu za mijini. Maana sehemu ya mijini unakuta wataalamu angalau wapo.*

According to this interviewee, the consequences of the current situation are visible, for instance, in the realization of music in church services.

Two interviewees pointed out differences in the use of traditional music between urban and rural areas, especially in relation to the younger generations.

> In towns not, but in villages they [youth choirs] sing traditional songs more frequently. But in towns the youth like other things. (Int. 1)
> *Kwa mjini hapana, lakini kwa vijijini [kwaya za vijana] wanaimba nyimbo za utamaduni zaidi. Lakini kwa mjini vijana wanapenda mambo mengine.*

> You may find them [youth singing traditional songs] but in the rural areas, not in the areas here nearby. They are those rural areas, those remote areas to which even arriving by car is difficult. (Int. 10)
> *Unaweza ukawapata [vijana ambao wanaimba nyimbo za utamaduni] lakini porini sana. Si maeneo ya hapa karibu. Ni maeneo ya huko porini, porini huko maeneo ambayo, yaani hata ufikaji wake wa magari ni shida.*

In urban settings, a variety of ethnicities intermingle with each other, and it may be more challenging to maintain traditions of and identification with a certain ethnic culture. Global youth cultures conquer the field in Tanzania as well, which for its part influences the musical environment.

Changes related to the environment are part of larger changes in society. One interviewee discussed this by giving an example concerning women: in earlier times, after a day of farming, women came back home to cook, after which there

was time for singing and dancing, while nowadays, according to this *mwalimu*, things are different:

> Now everyone is working. [...] I don't think one has time to learn about traditions, music or anything else that is related to culture. (Int. 10)
> *Sasa hivi kila mtu anafanya kazi. [...] Sidhani kama atapata muda wa kujua habari za tradition. Music au kitu chochote kinahusu culture.*

This may be a generalization, but I see this passage as reflecting the changes in society. Many people work outside the home and, especially in the urban areas, traveling between home and workplace can take a long time.

The environment in which a choir operates influences its self-understanding; some *walimu* clearly indicated their choir's position as either a rural or urban group. Different surroundings offer different kinds of possibilities from which one can profit, but also various challenges to cope with. While environment plays a significant role in the choirs' identity formation by creating these possibilities and challenges, it is an important aspect of the organizational identity at the diocesan/church level as well. Different environments offer different foundations for the formation of identities.

3.4 Our Choir and Other Choirs: Drawing Lines, Crossing Boundaries

An important part of the formation of identities is the continuous demarcation and negotiation of boundaries. This happens between individuals as well as between groups, and choirs are not an exception in this matter. Musicologist Philip V. Bohlman (1999, 20–21) argues for music's ability to both unite and to distinguish among communities:

> Music exhibits a powerful capacity to contribute to social and communal cohesiveness. It contributes to the building of community, but even more powerfully, it articulates the bulwark that distinguishes one community from another.

Since choirs are social and communal by nature, this cohesiveness becomes even more accentuated through singing together. Choirs as communities draw lines between themselves and others but they also connect with other groups, and much of this happens through comparison related to music and musical activities; it is

about marking sameness and difference (Hammack 2014, 12; Woodward 2002, 74). The interviewees of this study pointed out several ways through which their choirs compare themselves with other choirs. One of the points of comparison is choirs' musical competence, as these two interviewees pointed out:

> It is necessary to build up our group so that it would have an ability to sing, in comparison to other choirs. (Int. 4)
> *Ni lazima tujenge kikundi chetu kiwe na uwezo wa kuimba. Ukilinganisha na kwaya zingine.*

> We should be like other choirs that are at a high level. (Int. 5)
> *Tufanane na kwaya zingine ambazo ziko juu.*

The interviewees here were consciously examining their own choirs in contrast to or "in the context of" other choirs (c.f. Brown and Cappozza 2009, 9). However, these were not moments of claiming groups as better or worse than others but more like goal-oriented thoughts of who they would like to be. The acts of comparison were acts of marking difference, but also wishes of belonging to a group to which they do not (yet) feel they belong.

Crossing of a choir's own boundaries and bonding with others may happen, for instance, in relation to choirs that employ similar musical styles, as suggested by one *mwalimu*:

> How I see it is that choirs are friends with other choirs that sing similar kind of music as they do themselves. (Int. 1)
> *Ninachoona ni kwamba wanakwaya wanakuwa na marafiki na kwaya ambazo wanaimba staili ya kwao.*

This could be interpreted as a way of strengthening a choir's musical identity as a performer of a certain kind of music. It can also strengthen the sense of belonging to a larger group or entity – belonging to a group of choirs that perform similar kinds of music. This is related to what ethnomusicologist Jonathan Dueck (2017, 125–126) suggests concerning musical genres:

> genre, while crucially about musical sound, forms a kind of social currency *between* related groups. Genres are part of the interactions of communities that accept them and communities that reject them.

Dueck (2017, 129) further states that "the musical institutions of church music genres might be imagined to enable or even perhaps are certain kinds of sociability, ways of interacting and in the most human of terms, contexts for

friendship, for love and community." Choirs seek the company of those who share their musical interests in order to strengthen and maintain their choral identity. In addition to the identification with a musical genre or style, the opposite is possible as well – one may not want to be a representative of a particular musical style, as the following interviewee points out:

> I really would like to find a professional of music, [of music] that is not just about jumping. (Int. 5)
> *[N]atamani sana kupata wataalamu wa muziki huu ambao siyo wa kurukaruka.*

Again, this does not necessarily mean declaring something good or bad, but it is a way of distinguishing oneself from a certain group and defining what (s)he does not want his/her choir to be like, that is, a choir that sings only "music of jumping." This term – music of jumping – most probably refers to gospel music, which usually includes a lot of dancing and other body movements as well.

An individual choir member's actions may have an impact, either positive or negative, on the entire choral group. One *mwalimu* explained what happens if one choir member is behaving inappropriately on public occasions, in choir competitions in this case:

> [I]t can be a problem because (s)he goes [and] brings us as a choir bad reputation. (6)
> *[I]le inawezekana ni shida kwa sababu atakwenda, atupa sisi kama kwaya sifa chafu.*

Here the individual's undesirable actions are seen to become a part of the entire choir's representation in the eyes of others. According to this interviewee, the entire choir can be identified as inappropriately behaving due to one individual.

So far, this chapter has mainly concentrated on the comparison of choirs by the choirs themselves. However, they are being compared from outside as well. Differences in musical preferences may lead to appreciation of certain groups over others, as pointed out in these comments:

> And there are parishes that like certain choirs and ask them to come to perform in the parish. (Int. 1)
> *Na kuna sharika ambazo zinapenda kwaya fulani, kwa hivyo wanaomba kwaya waje kufanya huduma kwenye usharika.*

> You may see that the evangelist or the pastor likes a certain choir more than other choirs. (Int. 6)

> *Unakuta mwinjilisti au mchungaji anapendelea kwaya fulani sana kuliko kwaya fulani.*
>
> [W]hy are they [another choir] always favored? (Int. 5)
> *[M]bona ni wao [kwaya nyingine] tu kila wakati wana pendeleo?*

Fundamentally, I see this as a question about personal musical preferences that are expressed either by an individual or by a group of individuals from outside the choir. If one belongs to a less appreciated group, this kind of practice may cause feelings of injustice.

3.5 Comparison through Choir Competitions

An important occasion in which church choirs compare themselves and are being compared with other choirs are choir competitions.[58] They are popular events in the North Central Diocese, as well as in the ELCT more generally and in other Christian denominations in the country.[59] I still remember very clearly what it felt like to be present in the diocesan level competition for the first time in 2011. Upon arriving in the morning, I could see hundreds of people gathered outside in a square surrounded by big trees. There were men and women of different ages, talking, smiling, and laughing. There were groups of people in similar costumes, excited but also a bit nervous about what was coming, enjoying the atmosphere. After a church service, one choir after another came to the stage, to the open space under the trees. The first choirs got the chance to relax and to enjoy others' music after their own work was done, while the last ones waited patiently for several hours for their turn to perform. The audience cheerfully listened to all of them. Finally, just before sunset it was time to hear the feedback, to reveal the results and to let the emotions flow. By this point I realized that something important and meaningful had taken place that day.

In the North Central diocese, choir competitions are organized every other year, and they are occasions on which sameness and difference become accentuated. In addition to competing and demonstrating choirs' and *walimu*'s musical skills, competitions are important sites for building, strengthening, and expressing

[58] This chapter has also been published as an article (see Lampinen 2020).

[59] Ninety-two of my survey respondents stated having participated in competitions, of which seventy-eight indicated that they have participated more than once. The largest number of responses, 36, fell into the category of "more than ten times." (Survey question number 7.)

identities. Although these competitions are popular, they are not organized in all the dioceses of the ELCT. Some dioceses organize joint competitions for their best performing choirs, but an event which would gather the best choirs from the entire ELCT does not exist. At least partly, this could be because the ELCT does not have a coordinator of music at the highest level of its administration (Sululu, March 12, 2016).

The form of competition differs between dioceses, and the model presented here is the one used in the North Central Diocese (see Barz 2000 and Kameli 2010 for discussions concerning choir competitions in some other Lutheran dioceses in Tanzania). Competitive musical events in this area are not restricted only to choirs or to the church context; they exist in many forms throughout East Africa (see e.g., Gunderson and Barz 2000).

In the North Central Diocese, choir competitions start at the local level, in the parishes, and the best choirs continue up to the diocesan level competition. There were several goals in mind when the competitions were first initiated: to raise the level of musical skills of both choirs and *walimu*, to teach hymns to congregations through the choirs, to preserve and document traditional Tanzanian music, to build unity in the church, and to spread the Christian message (Sululu March 12, 2016). Since many of these themes were brought up several times by *walimu* during the interviews, it could be said that *walimu* are aware of these goals or that their thinking has been influenced by them at least to some extent. However, whether the goals have had wider implications, for example, on teaching congregations or preserving traditional music is a more arguable question (ibid.). These goals can be defined at a more general level as musical, ethnic/national, and religious aspects, and they can be seen as contributing to various processes of identity formation in the choir competitions.

Choral competitions have been organized in North Central Diocese for several decades now. Other dioceses had these events as well. For instance, in the North Western Diocese of the ELCT, competitions started in 1960s in order to foster "the process of evangelization" in that diocese (Kameli 2010, 83). Additionally, the model for competitions may have come from the governmental side or been influenced by them. With regard to the beginning of socialism in Tanzania, ethnomusicologist Frank Gunderson (2010, 354) contends that "by the time of the Arusha Declaration, Nyerere's governmental policies had turned toward the use of music competitions to promote official cultural values." I see here some connections to what was stated earlier about the goals of church choir

competitions: the idea of promoting values that were seen as important to the community is a common feature for both. Additionally, building unity was one important theme during the socialist era.

At the parish level, all the choirs within a particular parish compete against each other regardless of the musical style they employ, but at the higher levels the choirs perform under four categories. In the first category, there are mixed choirs singing *a cappella* – *bila vyombo*, without instruments, in Swahili – and often in four parts (SATB). The next category is women's choirs – *kwaya za akina mama* in Swahili – who usually sing in three parts (SSA) and *a cappella* as well. Choirs singing traditional music – *kwaya za utamaduni* – belong to the third category. This group is usually divided into two sub-categories: Maasai choirs (Photo 5) and choirs employing other traditional styles (or "Bantu choirs"). In the fourth category, there are mixed choirs that use instrumental accompaniment. Instruments are electric – *vyombo moto* in Swahili. This includes keyboards, guitars, and bass guitars, although sometimes other instruments may be added as well. Choreographed movements are an important part of the performance in this category, and the movements are well rehearsed in order to be as uniform as possible.

Photo 5. A Maasai choir performing in a competition. (Photo: Gary Sperl. Used with permission.)

I see the competition categories as one visible sign of marking sameness and difference between the participating choirs, even before the singing starts. These demarcations are based on different musical styles that are performed in different categories. The choice of the category in which to compete comes from within a choir and is more generally related to the repertoire that a particular choir sings, with *walimu* usually being the persons responsible for the repertoire-related matters. In addition to the identification with a certain musical style or tradition, choosing a particular category can in some situations be seen as an expression of ethnic identity.

In competitions, each choir enters while singing a song that is freely chosen (Photo 6). In the assessment of the performance, this song does not get as much weight as the other songs – the focus is on organized entry and on unity.

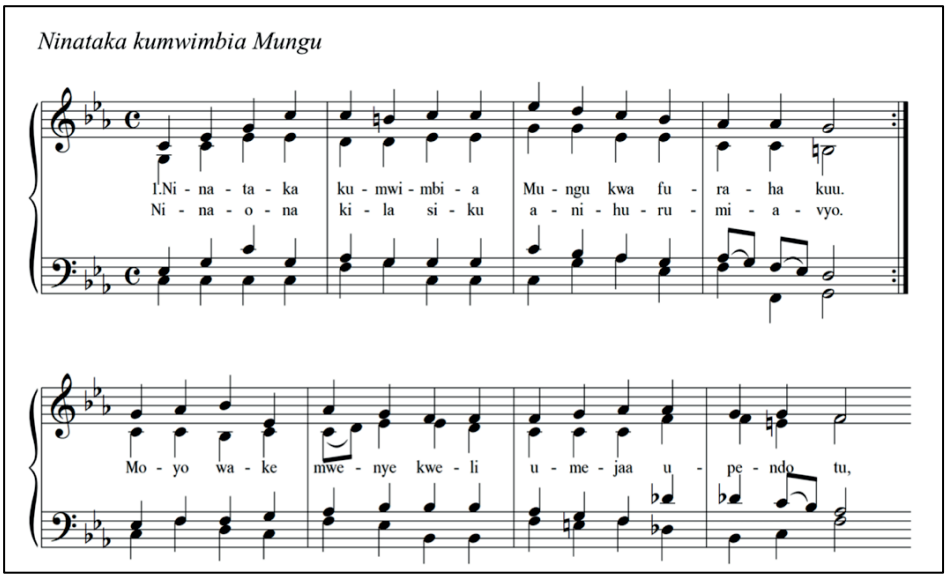
Photo 6. A choir entering the performance area in a competition. (Photo: Gary Sperl. Used with permission.)

Each choir in its turn approaches the designated performance area, usually in a formation of two queues, singing and trying to make a good impression right from the beginning. My experience is that the organization of a performance in a competition situation is quite strictly predefined, choirs need to follow certain instructions.

In each category, there is a so-called set song, an obligatory piece for all the choirs of that category, and one song that is freely chosen by the choirs themselves. The

goal of the set song is to teach choirs, and through them the congregations, the most difficult and less-used hymns from the ELCT's hymnal, such as hymns using minor keys (Int. 1). In 2015, the set song for the *a cappella* choirs was the hymn *Ninataka kumwimbia Mungu* (I want to sing to God), number 254 in the ELCT hymnal (Example 4).

Example 4. The beginning of the hymn number 254, *Ninataka kumwimbia Mungu*. (Harmonization as in the book *Mwimbieni Bwana na sauti zake*.)



The freely-chosen song is usually considered as a possibility to display choirs' musical skills, as one *mwalimu* pointed out:

> [Y]ou are given a set song, but there is a [song of] choir's choice. Now, to the choir's choice you put all your skills. (Int. 8)
> *[U]napewa wimbo wa set song. Lakini kuna chaguo la kwaya. Sasa, kwa chaguo la kwaya unatakiwa uweke ufundi wote.*

This "choir's choice" is an opportunity for a choir to further differentiate itself from other choirs within a given category through "putting all your skills" in it, as the previous interviewee explained. I consider these musical choices and the demonstration of musical skills as part of the choirs' "musical identity elements" in the choir competition situations (Bower and Swart 2016, 7).

Although the emphasis here is on group identities, competitions can be important sites for shaping or maintaining personal musical identities as well. For instance,

the freely-chosen song is a chance for individual *mwalimu* to stand out from others and to be profiled as a certain kind of musician and to show "this is who I am" as a *mwalimu*. Many *walimu* compose songs for their choirs; performing one's own compositions is also an opportunity to demonstrate one's skills and to be identified as a composer.

Music is an important component in the process of group identity formation in choir competitions, but there are other elements as well. Although wearing identical costumes or uniforms is a part of choirs' routines regarding many performances, in choir competitions it is highlighted (Photo 7).

Photo 7. Highly unified costumes are important in creating the sense of togetherness in choir competitions. (Photo: Gary Sperl. Used with permission.)

One interviewee explained that

> in each competition at the district level, we need to have new costumes. (Int. 8)
> *kila uimbaji wa jimbo lazima tuingie na sare mpya.*

In these situations, wearing uniform dress is a noticeable sign of togetherness and belonging to a specific group of people. Sometimes this includes even braiding women's hair in a similar fashion. Bower and Swart (2016, 7) have labeled these kinds of components as part of the "elements of visual identity." A uniform can

be understood as a symbol that for its part marks identity (Woodward 2002, ix; Nenola 2019, 220). I suggest that the emphasis on unity, at least partly, echoes from the past, from the socialist *ujamaa* period and the musical performance of that time, which stressed aspects such as equality. In the case of choirs that sing music based on local ethnic cultures, the costumes may carry a deeper meaning of their own cultural background.

Being part of a certain locality, belonging to a certain place, is an important feature in choir competitions (Sululu, March 12, 2016). Especially at the higher levels of competition, the domicile of a choir is underlined: the parishioners, other choirs, and pastor(s) of a certain parish support "their choir," and the choir's successes or setbacks are shared within this wider group.[60] Choirs are representatives of certain communities and the people of those communities. I see this emphasis on locality as contributing to the national/cultural/ethnic identity elements suggested by Bower and Swart (2016, 7). The choir becomes a kind of a symbol of the local parish, and the competition becomes a way of strengthening the local congregational identity. This is related to what Gunderson (2000, 16) states about the identification between performers and their supporters in the East African competition context:

> [C]ompetitors and their fans identify at numerous levels with each other, a fact which signifies an interesting identity construction indicator; competitive performances are powerful magnets that can attract the like-minded and repel others.

In addition to the actual competing, these events are thus a way of connecting with some people and separating from others, and this is the case for both the competitors and the audience. People from a certain parish can be bound together and separated from people from other parishes through a competitive performance of "their" choir. Since these events are related to and organized by a religious organization, the Lutheran church, their basis is religious, and one of the original goals of the competitions was to spread the Christian message. In the light of this, participating in choir competitions is a public act demonstrating one's membership in a specific Christian group, which in turn enhances one's religious identity.

[60] This resonates with Nenola's (2019, 223) statement that "winning a choral singing contest builds identity" and that it "conveys something about the victorious community or the nation."

In my interviews, choir competitions evoked strong feelings, such as frustration, anger, or disappointment, and attitudes toward these events varied significantly. Some interviewees said that competing is good and should be encouraged, while others think that there should not be competitions at all. These varying opinions are visible in the following interview excerpts:

> I don't like much this word "competition" because you waste time, you waste money, and you don't get justice. [...] If it's [about] singing to God, it is to give Him praise and glory. People should just sing without competing. (Int. 7)
> *Hilo neno la mashindano sipendi sana. Kwa sababu unapoteza muda, unapoteza gharama, na haki haitendeki. [...] Kama ni kumwimbia Mungu, ni kumpa sifa na utukufu. Watu waimbe tu bila kushindana.*

> It is not really a joy for choir members and not even for *walimu*. They just don't say [it]. (Int. 9)
> *Siyo furaha sana kwa waimbaji. Na hata kwa walimu wenyewe. Hawasemi tu.*

> [I]t costs a lot, it is just this, but choir members enjoy. [...] They get good things, they learn, and their singing improves. (Int. 8)
> *[G]harama inakuwa ni kubwa, kwa hiyo ndiyo hicho tu, lakini waimbaji wanafurahia. [...] Wanapata mambo mazuri na wanajifunza. Na uimbaji wao wakirudi unakua.*

> I think there isn't any other place where choir members meet, all from the entire diocese. [It is] only in the competitions. [...] They build a vast network of music. (Int. 1)
> *Nafikiri hakuna mahali pengine ambapo wanakwaya wanakutana, wote wa dayosisi nzima. Kwenye mashindano tu. [...] Wanajenga mtandao mkubwa sana wa muziki.*

It is noteworthy that the last excerpt here could also be seen as a kind of an "official" statement concerning the choir competitions due to the interviewee's role as the musical director in the North Central Diocese, organization of choir competitions being a part of his job description. It is also important to keep in mind that these are the thoughts and experiences of *walimu*. Interviewing choir members, for instance, would probably have provided differing viewpoints on the same topic.

Competitions are not just about constructing and strengthening identities, or about building togetherness – they can also lead to a clash of identities. For some of those who oppose competitions, the challenge is possibly a religious one, as is the case with the interviewee in the first passage above (Int. 7). The idea of competing

may be in contrast with one's understanding of what a Christian should be like – in some interviews, humility was seen as a virtue which does not always match with the concept of competing. Sometimes the identities imposed from outside, for instance, by the judges of the competition, do not fit together with the image that a group has of itself. A choir may see itself as being at a certain level of skill, while the final results of the competition may indicate something different, which then causes disappointment or even anger: Why did the other choir get more points than we did? Of course, a fear of being assessed, which can be seen as a natural human characteristic, can contribute to the negative views concerning competitions.

Some interviewees considered the organization of competitions unfair because the experienced and the newly-founded choirs compete in the same categories, and the winners of each category at the diocesan level were awarded with a direct entry to the next diocesan level competition, without starting again from the bottom as others do. One interviewee argued that if all choirs started at the same level each time, it would benefit all of them: the less experienced choirs would be motivated to work hard and to challenge the previous winners, while those who performed well last time would need to continue working in order to earn their place in the competition again next time.

> If all the choirs started from the scratch... Because it would motivate even the choirs that don't have much competence to practice and to work so that they themselves could become competent. If they knew that "we'll meet the winners of the diocesan level," they would be motivated to work. [...] Even the choir that won can't become better because there's no challenge. [...] Just to come and sing at the level of diocese. (Int. 2)
> *Kwaya zote zingeanza kwenye scratch... Kwa sababu ingemotivate hata kwaya ambazo hazina uwezo mkubwa kufanya mazoezi na jitihada ili zenyewe zipate uwezo mkubwa. Zikijua tunakutana na mshindi aliyeshinda dayosisi, kwa hiyo wanakuwa motivated kufanya kazi. [...] Hata kwaya iliyoshinda haiwezi kuimprove zaidi kwa sababu haina challenge. [...] Tu kuja kuimba the level of diocese.*

Thus, according to this interviewee, this kind of change in the organization would challenge all the choirs, even the previous winners, and make them reset their goals.

In spite of the many challenges, interviewees seem to agree that it is important to come together and see what others do. Common effort is a significant part of the preparation for and the actual performance in the competitions, and it strengthens

the sense of togetherness within a group. Competitions bring together people with common interests, and togetherness can be felt over the boundaries of one's own choir as well. Many of the positive aspects that my interviewees expressed regarding the competitions are in line with what Detterbeck (2002, 269) writes about choir competitions in South Africa:

> The prospect of challenging other choirs motivates them. It is this goal that binds the members of a choir together socially. Competitions are also social events that provide choirs with the opportunity of observing and interacting with other choirs.

The interviewees had suggestions concerning what should or could be done regarding choir competitions. The thoughts of several participants could be summarized as follows: Let's continue these gatherings, let's keep the set song and the possibility for feedback at the end of the event, but let's leave out the assessment scores, let's call it a concert or something else instead. Meeting, sharing, and learning are seen as the major advantages of competitions.

Choir competitions seem to be a firmly established institution within the Lutheran church, and they do not show any signs of decline. These competitions are exciting and intriguing events, and they offer possibilities to perform in front of a large audience that consists of other choirs, ordinary parishioners, and officials of the church (Photo 8).

In my experience, for instance, the pastors of the diocese appear to be eager to follow the success of "their choirs," the choirs from their respective parishes, especially in the district and diocesan level competitions. Excitement and the feeling of togetherness, in addition to the musical aspects, could be some of the reasons for participating in the competitions again and again, although competing itself may not be the most inspiring or rewarding part of these events.

The need to belong to a group is a basic human feature and belonging to a choir is one form of fulfilling this need. Belonging to a certain group means detaching or distancing oneself from some other groups, and it brings along with the idea of us versus them. It is also natural for choirs to compare themselves with other choirs – this can happen in terms of musical aspects as well as from other perspectives. The comparisons made and identities imposed from outside can be difficult to accept, and they may sometimes challenge choirs' self-understanding.

Photo 8. Choir competitions gather lots of people and are important occasions for meeting and sharing. (Photo: Gary Sperl. Used with permission.)

Choir competitions are events in which group and individual identities are actively involved. These include musical, religious, and ethnic components, as well as aspects related to locality, among others. Competitions are sites for strengthening and expressing these identities, and the higher the level of competition, the more significant this becomes.

4 Personal Identities: *Walimu wa Kwaya*

Singing in a choir is an activity that involves a group of individuals. The previous chapter focused on identities at the group level, while in this chapter the perspective shifts to individuals. More specifically, the focus is on choir conductors – *walimu wa kwaya*. Being a *mwalimu* is a combination of various tasks and expectations that this role may bring along. For the participants of this study, reasons for becoming a *mwalimu* were manifold, but the most commonly mentioned motives were connected to religious aspects. *Walimu wa kwaya* are usually volunteers who act as teachers, leaders of music, and composers, all of which are their musical identities.

Musical training is a challenging issue in this research context; it is not easily available to most of the *walimu*. My interviewees raised the question of the responsibility for organizing training for *walimu* and of the roles of the ELCT and the dioceses in creating employment for musicians. Despite these challenges, the interviewees agreed that musical training leads to change regarding many aspects of their work. It influences *walimu*'s self-understanding and is linked to their experience of agency. The experience of many trained *walimu* is that in the church they are not allowed to use their full potential as musicians and as experts in their field. Despite the fact that music is expected to be present in almost all events in the church, *walimu* do not always get as much recognition as they wish for.

Musical collaboration is an important feature in the work of *walimu* that offers a means for expanding musical resources. It is also a source of the feeling of belonging and collegiality, both within the ELCT and ecumenically with *walimu* from other denominations.

4.1 Being a *Mwalimu wa Kwaya*

The Swahili word *mwalimu* means a teacher or an instructor. *Mwalimu wa kwaya* then translates literally as a teacher or instructor of a choir, in other words, a choir conductor or choir director. However, the term "choir conductor" or "choir director," as usually used in the Western context, may not always be broad enough

for the Tanzanian context.[61] On the other hand, although the Swahili verb *kuongoza*, to lead, can also be translated as "to conduct" and is used for conducting a choir as well, the word *kiongozi/viongozi*, leader(s), which is derived from the verb, refers to all officials of a choir, including posts such as chairperson, secretary, and treasurer as well. In the interviews, the participants sometimes used just the word *mwalimu* to refer to choir conductors, while other times with *mwalimu* they referred to other teachers – the meaning of the word needed to be understood from the surrounding context.

The vast majority of the *walimu* in the context of this research are volunteers, and only a few of them get income from music.[62] Of the 59 survey respondents who answered the question concerning their employment, only six stated getting at least some income from music, be it choir or something else. The largest group, consisting of 21 respondents, said they were farmers. Being a *mwalimu* is a demanding commitment because it usually means working on a voluntary basis several times a week. This is most often the case, whether one has studied music or not, since the church is seldom able to provide employment. From the viewpoint of *walimu*, being involved in choral activities could be even called "serious leisure" (Stebbins 2012, 69). Some *walimu* also work as evangelists in the church and thus have a "double commitment" to the church.

Some *walimu* work regularly with several choirs.[63] In addition to being a *mwalimu* of more than one choir on a weekly basis, they may every now and then visit and teach other choirs by invitation, which was brought up in several interviews and in survey responses. This can take place during regular rehearsals or, for instance, during choir competition season. Also, some respondents stated that they sing in another choir.[64]

Most of these choirs have more than one *mwalimu*, and in the interviews, the participants usually positioned themselves in relation to their colleagues within their choirs; inside choirs the roles of *walimu* appear to be quite well defined. In some choirs, there is only one *mwalimu* who is responsible for all the teaching,

[61] See Barz 2003, 2 (footnote 2) for further discussion of this topic.
[62] Survey question number 16.
[63] Sixty-nine (of 99) respondents stated that they teach other choirs as well, in addition to the one to which they referred in the questionnaire (survey question number 20).
[64] Thirty-two (of 99) respondents confirmed that they sing in another choir (survey question number 21).

while others help in leading the songs when the main person is not present, as one interviewee explained:

> Right now we have only one *mwalimu*. If (s)he is not present, those songs that (s)he has already taught [...] someone like me will rehearse. We practice the song that *mwalimu* taught us. (Int. 7)
> *Sasa hivi tuna mwalimu mmoja tu. Kama yeye hayupo, zile nyimbo ambazo alishawahi kufundisha na zikawa tayari [...] mtu kama mimi nakumbushia. Tunafanya zoezi kwa ule wimbo mwalimu alifundisha.*

This particular person was the only one among the interviewees who stated being a *mwimbishaji* and not a *mwalimu*. *Mwimbishaji* could be translated as "someone who leads singing" in the choir, and this does not include teaching.

Some choirs may have a head conductor/director with assistant(s)[65], which means that one person, usually the most experienced one, has the main responsibility for teaching and conducting the choir, but there are other people helping with the task as well. The difference between this and the previous model is that the assistants may teach as well. In the following quotations, the first interviewee stated being an assistant, while the second *mwalimu* was a head conductor:

> I help the head *mwalimu*. (Int. 5)
> *Namsaidia mwalimu mkuu.*

> I may ask the less experienced[66] *walimu* to express their opinions. (Int. 3)
> *Naweza nikawatumia walimu wadogo kwenye kwaya waletee maoni.*

There are also choirs in which the roles of *walimu* are more equal. One interviewee stated that

> We [*walimu*] do everything together. (Int. 6)
> *Katika zote [walimu wa kwaya] tunafanya pamoja.*

In some choirs, teaching happens in turns – a certain *mwalimu* may be responsible, for instance, for one rehearsal or for one week's rehearsals at a time. Also, in a single rehearsal, responsibilities may be shared between *walimu* – each person

[65] Head conductor = *mwalimu mkuu* and assistant(s) = *msaidizi/wasaidizi* in Swahili.
[66] Literally the Swahili term *wadogo* (pl.) means "small," but in this context, it translates to "less experienced."

takes care of teaching and leading a certain song or songs. The roles are not fixed, and each choir creates the system that best fits its current situation.

The interviewees took different positions when talking about their choirs, the groups with or in which they spend a lot of time every week. Sometimes the *walimu* counted themselves as being a part of the group and talked about "us": we do this, we sing this and so on. On other occasions, the interviewees stepped back and discussed choirs as "them": they want, they sing, they do. According to choral researchers Mike Brewer and Liz Garnett (2012, 270–271), "a conductor who refers to his or her choir as 'we' or 'us' has more power to effect change than one who refers to the choir as 'they' or 'them'." I interpret this in a way that by talking about "us," one increases the feeling of togetherness and belonging, while the use of "them" creates distance between *mwalimu* and the rest of the group.

Tasks of *walimu* are diverse and there is variation between choirs. In addition to conducting or leading songs, composing and teaching are their main responsibilities (Figure 8).

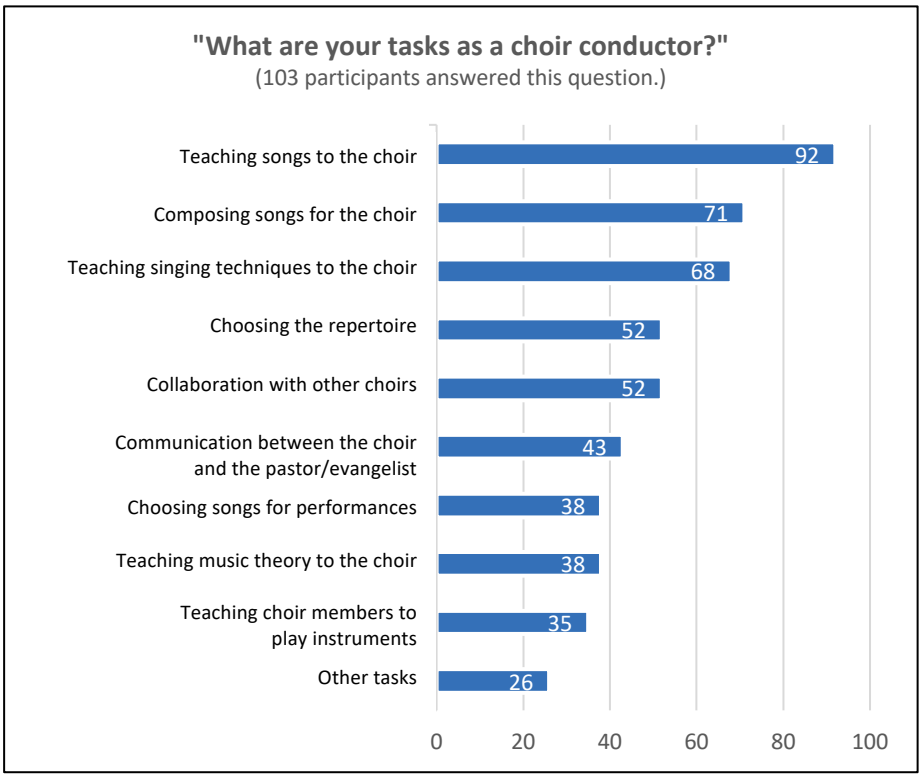


Figure 8. Choir conductors' tasks. (Survey question number 23.)

Conducting was not mentioned as a separate task in the survey question dealing with the work of *walimu* – I included it as an integral part. Making that distinction could have been a good addition, however, since it could have clarified the difference between *mwalimu* and *mwimbishaji*: there are those who teach and conduct, and those who only conduct but do not teach. Different tasks lead to different understandings of oneself and to different identities. The role of *mwalimu* in relation to conducting or leading songs varies according to the musical style in question. For instance, songs in a more classical or "hymn-style" are conducted with *mwalimu* standing in front of the choir, while in traditional style music, for instance, the solo singer may be the leader.

Some survey participants indicated that they also take care of choirs' musical development by teaching singing techniques, music theory, or instrument playing. Collaboration with other choirs and *walimu* may also be included in their tasks. I see this as depending on the respondents' role in their choir; an assistant *mwalimu* or *mwimbishaji* has different tasks than someone who is regarded as a head *mwalimu*. Only half of the respondents saw choosing repertoire as their task which can at least partly be explained by the prevalence of composing: if the majority of songs in a choir are composed by *mwalimu* or *walimu*, there is no need for choosing repertoire from other sources.

Although church choirs are in essence religious groups, and many of their activities aim at religious goals, the survey included a few responses that specifically pointed out or highlighted some religious and/or church-related tasks. Those respondents mentioned prayer or "to do church's work" as their tasks as a *mwalimu*. On the other hand, non-religious tasks were brought up as well. Some *walimu* participate in their choir's economic development, for instance, by creating ways of getting income. There are also *walimu* who organize choir trips and other activities in cooperation with various committees within their choirs.[67]

There are no official eligibility requirements for the posts of *walimu*, and both men and women can work in this position. However, musical training or knowledge acquired by other means is one aspect that is likely to be influential regarding the "job description" of a *mwalimu*. The more versatile musical skills or knowledge one has, the more likely there is teaching of music, for instance, music theory or instruments, in his/her choir. Based on the interviews and on my experiences, I regard these choirs as communities in which many kinds of

[67] Survey question number 23.

individual skills or knowledge, whether musical or other, are used for the benefit of the entire group. Each choir seems to be making its own decisions concerning this matter, based on some criteria or preconceptions – conscious or unconscious – of what the *mwalimu* should be like. Each choir has the freedom to shape the post according to their needs.

The survey participants of this study had many kinds of answers to the open question "Why and how did you become a choir conductor?"[68] For many this question appeared to be, at least to some extent, a religious one: they regarded the ability to act as a *mwalimu wa kwaya* as a calling or a gift from God. Some respondents stated that they were chosen or invited to the position by other choir members. For some the ability to compose songs or to teach, or the desire to sing were the springboards for becoming a *mwalimu*. In many cases, the reasons for engaging in this task were manifold, including several components. The most common responses to this question – with 24 respondents – were that becoming a *mwalimu* was "a gift from God" or "God's calling," or that one became a *mwalimu* "by God's grace." "I was chosen or invited by a choir," and reasons related to singing were both mentioned by 14 participants. Nine respondents stated that the ability to compose or the fact that one was composing choir songs was influential in becoming a *mwalimu*. Ability or desire to teach was mentioned by six respondents and having a talent or a gift for being a *mwalimu* was mentioned by five people. Two people said that "There was an open position or a choir without a *mwalimu*," which led to them becoming one. In addition, there were some individual responses, such as "I had conducted Sunday school choir."

To be called *mwalimu* tells about one's occupation or position, but it is also a sign of respect. This applies to Tanzanian society in general, and not just to the church choir context. For instance, Tanzania's first president, Julius Nyerere, originally a teacher by education, is usually very respectfully referred to as *mwalimu* Nyerere. *Mwalimu* is higher in the hierarchy than "ordinary" people – (s)he knows something more or is able to do something better than others. At the same time, however, it may also bring along some expectations on how one should act or be like. This is why it is not surprising that the interviewees expressed some critical opinions as well, concerning the question of who can become a *mwalimu*. In the following excerpt, the critique deals with the level of musical abilities and knowledge:

[68] Survey question number 22. Sixty-one participants responded this question.

> I mean that here you can be called *mwalimu*, [although] you don't know one single thing about music. (Int. 3)
> *Maana ki-kwetu huku unaitwa mwalimu, hujui hata kitu kimoja kuhusu muziki.*

The context or place with which this person made the comparison – "here" versus what? – did not become clear in the interview.

There were some features that the interviewees brought up as something that good *walimu* should have. One of those was skills in music theory, which practically means skills of reading and writing music. This is how one *mwalimu* described it:

> I really would like to be an excellent *mwalimu*. I would like to go to school to study music so that my music, too, could be excellent in comparison to other *walimu* with a lot of experience.
> (Interviewer: And when you say excellent [bora], what does it mean to you?)
> What it means... To be able to read notated music or all kinds of music. (Int. 4)
> *Ningependa sana kuwa mwalimu bora. Ningependa kwenda shule kusomea muziki ili muziki wangu naye ingeweza kuwa bora na kushindana na walimu wengine wenye uzoefu mkubwa.*
> *(Anayehoji: Na ukisema "bora" maana yake ni nini sasa kwako?)*
> *Maana yake ni nini... Kuweza kusoma noten au muziki [ya] kila aina.*

For this particular person, these skills were something to aim at, but also something that caused comparison with other *walimu*. Although many active *walimu* do not read music, for some it may become an issue that prevents them from calling themselves *mwalimu*. In the following passage, the interviewee refers to another person who has challenges in accepting the title of *mwalimu*:

> And (s)he says that "I'm not a *mwalimu*," but that's because (s)he doesn't read music. We encourage him/her [by saying] that you can be *mwalimu* even if you don't read music, but you continue to learn to read music. (Int. 1)
> *Na yeye mwenyewe anasema "mimi siyo mwalimu," lakini kwa sababu hajui kusoma muziki. Lakini tunamwencourage kwamba unaweza kuwa mwalimu hata kama hujui kusoma muziki. Lakini utaendelea kujifunza kusoma muziki.*

Yet another moment of comparison between *walimu* was in the following interview, where a certain distinction was made between the interviewee and the other *walimu* in the choir. Since the others are regarded as "ordinary," the position of the interviewee is considered as different or special in some way:

> Those who help me are those ordinary *walimu*. (Int. 9)
> *Wanaonisaidia ni wale ambao walimu hawa wa kawaida.*

The sense of belonging to a certain group of *walimu* may vary according to the situation. In a particular context one can feel, for instance, being connected to the group of educated musicians or "those who know," while in another situation, the same person relates to those who are less experienced, *walimu wadogo*. One example is the *mwalimu* in the following excerpt whose first position is as more experienced and trained in relation to the other *walimu* in the choir:

> I may use the less experienced *walimu* of the choir and ask their opinions. (Int. 3)
> *Naweza nikawatumia walimu wadogo walioko kwenye kwaya waletee maoni.*

However, in the context of choir competitions, this person's position changes into *mwalimu mdogo*, someone with less experience:

> [T]he *mwalimu* that advises us in competitions is a person at a high level. [...] I, as a less experienced *mwalimu*, will learn. (Int. 3)
> *[M]walimu anayetushauri ya mashindano ni mtu wa level ya juu. [...] Mimi kama mwalimu mdogo nitajifunza.*

Another attribute that the interviewees saw as important for *walimu* was musical creativity, especially in relation to composing, as pointed out below:

> When you are a *mwalimu*, you need to be creative. (Int. 4)
> *Unapokuwa mwalimu ni lazima uwe mbunifu.*

> [M]aybe there is a time, maybe let's say ebola or a time of a certain issue. [...] *Walimu* should be creative with their choirs to do something that would be a lesson in a certain community. (Int. 6)
> *[L]abda tuko kwenye kipindi, labda tuseme cha ebola. Au kipindi fulani cha jambo fulani. [...] Walimu wa kwaya wawe wabunifu wa kuifanya kwaya yao kuwa kitu fulani ambacho kitakuwa ni somo katika jamii fulani.*

Fame or popularity and success were themes that came up in the interviews, and they seemed to be complex issues. Some interviewees stated that *walimu* should be humble and not care about fame and success since, according to them, the result of those would be arrogance. This often included a religious aspect as well, as can be seen in the following excerpts:

> Many *walimu* are arrogant. [...] When I become more famous, as a result, I will leave God. (Int. 9)

> *Walimu wengi sana wa kwaya wamekuwa na kiburi. [...] Ninapopata umaarufu zaidi matokeo yake nitakuja kumwacha Mungu.*

> You teach church songs, don't you? Now, what kind of popularity do you want? [...] There is certain arrogance in the word "popularity." You know, popularity is connected to arrogance, that without me that choir won't sing. [...] You just say: I like to teach songs to my choir for God's glory. (Int. 7)
> *Si unafundisha nyimbo za kanisani? Sasa una hamu na umaarufu gani? [...] Neno umaarufu lina kiburi fulani. Unajua umaarufu ni kiburi. Kwamba bila mimi ile kwaya hawataimba. [...] Wewe sema tu: Ninapenda kufundisha waimbaji wangu nyimbo ili sifa na utukufu kwa Mungu.*

The previous questions and critique (Int. 7) were aimed at the interviewer, at me, when I asked this person to take a stand regarding the sentence "I want to become famous as a choir conductor."[69] However, it is noteworthy that elsewhere (see chapter 3.3), with regard to his/her choirs' songs, this interviewee stated that "people should know them." This gives the impression that popularity would be more appropriate if it focuses on the entire choir and its achievements, not just on one individual. These kinds of conflicting thoughts were visible in other interviews as well. For instance, in the following passage the *mwalimu* firmly states that one should be humble:

> I as a *mwalimu*, I can't get, I can't look for fame. [...] *Mwalimu* should... humility is needed. (Int. 10)
> *Mimi kama mwalimu, siwezi kupata, siwezi kutafuta umaarufu. [...] Mwalimu awe... natamani… inatakiwa awe mnyenyekevu.*

However, this person is one of those who elsewhere in the interview insisted that musicians should get more visibility and appreciation in the church. So, although many comments were against fame, it is not the entire picture. If fame is interpreted as appreciation or recognition resulting from work well done, then it was regarded as acceptable.

> [T]he work you do displays your fame, meaning that you will be more famous because of the work you do. (Int. 3)
> *[K]azi unayofanya inakutangaza umaarufu wako. Kwamba utajulikana zaidi kwa sababu kazi unayofanya.*

[69] This was one of the statements of survey question number 15. I decided to bring them up again in the interviews due to the low response rate in the survey.

> I have been a *mwalimu* since I was young, and I have become a bit older now. And I have become famous because I started conducting a choir when I was young. (Int. 4)
> *Nilikuwa mwalimu tangu utoto wangu na sasa miaka yangu imesogea kidogo. Na nimeshakuwa maarufu kwa sababu nilianza kuimbisha kwaya tangu nikiwa mdogo.*

A *mwalimu* and his/her choir form a unity in which both influence each other. A good choir brings fame to its *mwalimu*, as this interviewee stated:

> [W]hen they do well I, as a *mwalimu*, I am seen. (Int. 9)
> *[W]anapofanya vizuri, mimi kama mwalimu ninaonekana.*

The idea of being seen or displayed has two directions: from a choir to its *mwalimu* and vice versa. In the following passage, the interviewee discusses one particular choir and its *mwalimu* from this point of view:

> Just as an example that the choir X proclaims him/her [its *mwalimu*]. [...] If I travel far, to the districts that are far, [this particular] choir is known. (S)he [*mwalimu*] is known for that choir. [...] When the choir comes to a certain place, when the choir is displayed, that *mwalimu* is displayed. (Int. 3)
> *Kwa mfano tu kwaya X imemtangaza [mwalimu wake]. [...] Nikisafiri kwenda mbali, majimbo ya mbali, kwaya [ile] inafahamika. [Yule mwalimu] amefahamika kwa sababu ya kwaya [ile]. [...] Kwaya [ile] inapofika sehemu, kwaya inapoonekana, ni [yule mwalimu] anaonekana.*

Thus, fame is not something that is reserved for individual *walimu* only. Another interviewee pointed out that

> Even singers are famous, too. They can be famous. [...] *Mwalimu* is in front and choir members are here [behind], so the one that is seen the most is the *mwalimu*. (Int. 1)
> *Hata waimbaji ni maarufu pia. Wanaweza kuwa maarufu. [...] Mwalimu wa kwaya yuko mbele na wanakwaya wako hapa kwa hivyo atakayeonekana zaidi ni mwalimu.*

I wonder whether in the interviews the opinions and responses regarding fame and success would have been different if I, the interviewee, had had a different background and could not have been identified as a representative of the church in any way.

Some interviewees were quite analytical on what *mwalimu* should be like and brought up clear opinions on the topic, while others may not have thought about

it much. There were interviewees who clearly marked the difference between "we who know" and "the others, who do not know." This kind of thinking is to some extent linked to the level of one's musical abilities and training: the more training one has, the more analytical one becomes concerning the skills that *walimu* should have. However, the role of *mwalimu* is flexible and relational in the sense that despite the level of one's musical skills, there are always those who know more and those who know less. The understanding of oneself as *mwalimu* depends on the context, and the answers to the question "Who am I?" differ according to the situation. I see some connections between the tasks and roles of these *walimu* and *manju*, the artists in the local traditional cultures in Tanzania. Composing, singing, and leading of singing are important components of their activities, and creativity appears as a central feature for both. However, this should be examined more before making any further claims on the matter.

Although each *mwalimu* is an individual with one's own special features, there are, based on my research materials, certain characteristics that can be used for describing what a typical *mwalimu* of this research context is like. First of all, most *walimu* are volunteers who make their living from something other than music-related activities. Further, they have more musical competence than most of the ordinary choir members. This competence can take many forms. It can be understood as knowledge acquired through musical training, but also, for instance, as skills in composition. Yet another common feature for these *walimu* is that they have participated in choral activities since they were young, often already in Sunday school.

4.2 Aspects of Musical Training

Musical training was a theme that sparked a lot of discussion during the interviews. Everyone, whether formally trained or not, wanted to share opinions about it. Formal training in music is not easily available to *walimu wa kwaya* (nor to other musicians, for that matter), especially in rural areas, and it is rather expensive. Only a few of my research participants received formal training, which in practice means studies at certificate, diploma or bachelor's levels.[70] This

[70] Twenty-five survey respondents stated having studied music (survey question number 17). This includes both formal and informal training.

included four of my interviewees: one had completed a bachelor's degree, and the remaining three had a diploma or certificate in music.

Some *walimu* are self-taught, and some have studied with a private teacher or with a more experienced colleague. Music workshops and seminars are organized by the church (that is, the parish, district or diocese), and they are more easily accessible to a bigger number of *walimu*.[71] A one-day to one-week seminar may include topics such as hymns, liturgy, choral conducting, music theory, instrument playing, or instruction related to the use of sound systems.

Musical education in Tanzania is developing, and there are several institutions offering programs in music at different levels, including certificate, diploma, bachelor's degree, and master's degree. Tumaini University Makumira in Arusha, Mwika Bible College in Moshi (Northern Diocese of the ELCT) and Ruhija Evangelical Academy Bible School in Bukoba (North Western Diocese of the ELCT) are run by the Evangelical Lutheran Church or its dioceses. The University of Dar es Salaam and TaSUBa[72] in Bagamoyo are governmental institutions. Dhow Countries Music Academy is the only music school in the Zanzibar island.[73]

Certificate and diploma levels are one- or two-year programs giving basic knowledge about music. Depending on the institution, they can include, for instance, courses in music theory, choral conducting, African and/or Western instrument playing, performance, and traditional African music and dance.[74] The church-owned institutions usually include at least some church-music-related topics in their study programs. The structure of the curriculum in music programs, especially in relation to the balance between local and Western music, is a challenging issue. For instance, with regard to music teaching at the college level in Tanzania, Kaghondi (2019, 298) contends that "the current music curriculum is influenced by the Western music values that contribute to students disconnect from their music-culture identity." My experience as a teacher in this context is

[71] Forty-one respondents of the one hundred who answered this question stated having participated in music workshops or seminars (Survey question number 18).

[72] *Taasisi ya Sanaa na Utamaduni Bagamoyo* = Institution of Arts and Culture in Bagamoyo.

[73] These are examples of institutions that offer musical training in Tanzania; the list is by no means complete.

[74] For example, in Mwika, students learn music theory, music analysis and harmony, traditional African music, composition, choral conducting, choir singing, music history, music education, and different instruments such as piano, brass, guitar, voice, recorder and drums (Masuki, June 6, 2017).

that a student can be a musical expert of a particular ethnic culture but a beginner in reading staff-notation. If the emphasis of the instruction is on the Western musical traditions and practices, the student's self-understanding as an expert is constantly contradicted by the image of a beginner, which leads to frustration.

Most *walimu* who have received training in music, be it formal or informal, have taken the first steps in their educational path either by themselves or with help from more experienced musicians, as the following interviewees explained:

> I didn't have teachers who could have taught me. I tried to study by myself and bring questions to those who knew a little. (Int. 1)
> *[S]ikupata walimu wa kunifundisha. Nilijaribu kujifunza peke yangu na kuleta maswali kwa wale ambao wanajua kidogo.*

> [One *mwalimu wa kwaya*] taught me solfa when I was very young. [...] I have done [studied] music by myself. I haven't attended any school or university to study music. (Int. 2)
> *[Mwalimu wa kwaya] alinifundisha mimi solfa wakati nikiwa mdogo sana. [...] Mimi muziki nimefanya bidii binafsi, sijakwenda kwenye shule yoyote kusoma muziki wala sijakwenda kwenye chuo chochote.*

> I wanted to find teachers who could teach me music, especially theory. At that time music teachers were very few, so I think it was difficult to study because there weren't other students. [...] I started to know theory and continued, but I hadn't gone to school. (Int. 3)
> *Nikaamua kutafuta walimu wa kunifundisha muziki hasa theory. Kipindi hicho walimu wa muziki walikuwa wachache. Kwa hivyo nafikiri ilikuwa ni taabu kujifunza kwa sababu wanafunzi wengine hawapo. [...] Nilianza sasa kufahamu theory na kuendelea, lakini sijaenda shule.*

Since music lessons are rare in Tanzanian schools and access to musical training is challenging in comparison to many Western countries, for instance, where music is a part of the school curriculum, collaboration with and learning from other musicians are important features of musical training.

According to my interviewees, musical training brings along change: change in knowing, change in understanding, and change in the ability to perform the tasks needed in the work with choirs. All of the interviewees, regardless of their educational background, agreed that training in music is important; studies benefit the individual in question but also choirs, and, more widely, the community. This does not apply only to those who have formal training, but also to *walimu* who have studied for several years, either by themselves or with help from fellow

musicians. Education may have an influence, for instance, on attitudes toward traditional music or collaboration with colleagues, as one interviewee pointed out:

> Earlier I didn't like traditional songs, but after finishing music studies... I had studied traditional music and different styles and I started to like traditional songs. [...] It [musical education] has changed me a lot. [...] It changed my attitude toward collaboration with my fellow *walimu*. [...] It has helped me a lot. [...] because I am able to sing some songs without being taught. I read myself. (Int. 3)
> *Zamani nilikuwa sipendi nyimbo za asili, lakini baadaye nilipomaliza elimu ya muziki… Nikajifunza traditional music na staili mbalimbali, nikaamua kupenda nyimbo za ki-asili. [...] [Elimu ya muziki] imenibadilisha sana. [...] Ikanibadilisha katika hali ya kushirikiana na walimu wenzangu. [...] Mimi imenisaidia sana. [...] Kwa sababu nimeweza kuimba nyimbo mbalimbali bila kufundishwa. Nasoma mwenyewe.*

The previous interviewee referred to sight-reading skills as one practical benefit of studies. Another participant came up with quite a long list of advantages resulting from musical training:

> It [education] helps with many things. In copyright law issues and all those things, and in getting songs – how to get songs without breaking the law. [...] But also, to know the width of music in general, different styles. It's not just our traditional music here, but other traditions, too. [...] And [music] technology and to write music and many things. (Int. 1)
> *Inasaidia mambo mengi. Swala ya sheria za hati miliki na mambo hayo yote. Na kupata nyimbo. Jinsi ya kupata nyimbo bila kuvunja sheria. [...] Lakini pamoja na kufahamu pia upana wa muziki kwa ujumla, wa aina mbalimbali. Siyo muziki wa utamaduni tu wa ki-kwetu, lakini pia tamaduni zingine. [...] Na technology [ya muziki]. Na kuandika muziki na vitu vingi.*

One interviewee brought up music's status as a field of study, as any other discipline, and pointed out that if one wants to be engaged in making music, it should be studied like all the other professions:

> Training in music is very important. [...] Music is a discipline like medicine, like any other field. To do music without knowing music is... It's a big challenge. [...] If you want to do music, it is good to study music. (Int. 2)
> *Elimu ya muziki ni ya muhimu sana. [...] Muziki ni fani kama ilivyo udaktari, kama ilivyo kitu kingine chochote. Kufanya muziki bila kujua muziki ni... it's a big challenge. [...] Kama unataka kufanya muziki, ni vema kusoma muziki.*

The following *mwalimu* saw that there might be a change coming and stated regarding music studies that

> If the youth does this [study music], maybe it will change things. Things will be different. (Int. 1)
> *Vijana wakifanya hivi [kusoma muziki], labda itabadilisha mambo. Yatakuwa tofauti.*

The comment was related to this interviewee's observation in his parish concerning the youth's rising interest in music studies: some people had studied, and others wanted to follow their example.

Many interviewees pointed out that learning does not only mean attending courses at an institution or participating in music workshops and seminars – learning can happen almost anywhere. Collaboration with other *walimu*, participating in choir competitions, watching choirs and choral conductors on TV and Internet, or listening to radio, among others, are all means of learning that were mentioned by the interviewees.

Keeping eyes and ears open all the time is the way many *walimu* described keeping themselves active in getting new ideas. One interviewee said that

> Without collaborating with other singers or other choirs or other *walimu*, you will inevitably lose many things, but when you collaborate with other people, they will teach you things that you don't have. (Int. 4)
> *Bila kushirikiana na waimbaji wengine ama na kwaya zingine ama na walimu wengine ni lazima utakosa vitu vingi sana. Lakini ukishirikiana na watu wengine watakujengea uwezo ambao wewe huna.*

Several interviewees expressed their concern about the lack of musical education and its influence on the quality of church music within the ELCT (emphasis added):

> Because if you go to church now, even the hymns that are sung in the service are not sung well. For what reason? Because people have been left free. **They have just been left to use their talents**. (Int. 9)
> *Kwa sababu hata ukiingia kanisani sasa hivi, hata nyimbo za ibadani zinapoimbwa haziimbwi vizuri. Kwa sababu gani? Kwa sababu watu huru wameachiwa.* ***Wameachiwa tu kuwa na kutumia vipawa vyao tu****.*

> [A] big problem is that people do this work... they do this work of music as just a talent they have, but if it happens that they [choirs] could get people to help them or *walimu* who are trained, things can be different. **Now they do things that they are able to do.** (Int. 1)

> *[S]hida kubwa sana ni kwamba watu wanafanya kazi... wanafanya kazi hii ya muziki kama talent tu wanayo kidogo. Lakini ikifika mahali halafu wakapata watu wa kuwasaidia au walimu ambao wako trained, mambo yanaweza kuwa tofauti.* ***Kwa sasa wanafanya vitu ambavyo wanaweza kufanya.***
>
> Surprising things in the church, but **because they have not been taught how church music should be.** They haven't got anything, got education. [...] If they had education they would do well. (Int. 10)
> *Vitu vya ajabu kanisani. Lakini* ***kwa sababu hawakufundishwa muziki wa kanisa unavyopaswa.*** *Hawakupata kitu chochote, kupata elimu. [...] Wangepata elimu wangefanya vizuri.*

The challenge, according to these interviewees, is not the *walimu* themselves but the fact that they have not had the possibility to get training or education in music: "they have not been taught." Whose responsibility is it, then, to take care of or to enable musicians' training in the church? Church in general, or maybe the district or the parish in question, or the musicians' themselves? My interviewees' opinions on this vary (emphasis added):

> The **church**, too, it didn't send enough *walimu* [to study]. I'm saying that it made a mistake earlier. [...] That if they [church] had guided them [musicians], we wouldn't have problems. (Int. 9)
> *Au* ***kanisa*** *pia halijapeleka walimu wa kutosha. Niseme kwamba lilifanya makosa kidogo tangu zamani. [...] Kwamba wangekuwa wamewaelekeza [wanamuziki] tusingekuwa na shida kidogo.*
>
> If at some point, maybe in the parish, **parish** could train professionals of music. (Int. 5)
> *Ikafika wakati labda ndani ya usharika,* ***usharika*** *ukasomesha wataalamu mbalimbali wa muziki.*
>
> I would propose that **diocese** or **district** or **parish** or **sub-parish** should have some kind of system or structure to teach music to *walimu*. (Int. 6)
> *[N]ingetoa pendekezo kwamba* ***dayosisi*** *au* ***jimbo*** *au* ***usharika*** *au* ***mtaa*** *wawe na system fulani au mfumo fulani wa kufundisha walimu wa kwaya muziki.*
>
> And the **walimu**, too, should find a way to study. (Int. 10)
> *Na pia* ***walimu*** *watafute namna ya kusoma.*

I think that, at least partly, since the training of church musicians is not a very widespread practice in the ELCT, the interviewees did not have clear thoughts about how it should or could be organized.

When discussing training in music and some other issues as well, many interviewees used expressions like "If I... then..." or "When we... then...," which sounds as if people are waiting for someone like a savior to come and organize things for them, to make things better, as seen in the following passages:

> I'm looking for a professional [musician] to make it possible for me to study music. [...] If I find someone to help me. [...] If we get a professional to our choir. [...] If we can get at least someone to support us, to sponsor us. (Int. 7)
> *Sasa natafuta nikipata mtaalamu [wa muziki] wa kuniwezesha, nikaweza kujifunza muziki. [...] Nikipata mtu wa kuniwezesha. [...] Tungepata mtaalamu pale kwenye kwaya. [...] Tungepata hata mtu wa kutu-support, kutufadhili.*

> I would like to improve my skills. Who could push me forward? [...] If we had a sponsor [for the choir]... (Int. 8)
> *Napenda kuinua kipaji changu. Nani wa kunisukuma? [...] Ingekuwa tuna mdhamini [kwa kwaya]...*

These attitudes, this kind of conditional discourse, which can be described as "the air of hopeful expectation" resemble psychoanalyst Wilfred Bion's theories about groups and their functioning (Bion 2004 [1961], 151).[75] He describes three different basic assumptions, which all include certain ways of behavior, thoughts and feelings, and which can be seen as attempts to escape reality (Stokes 1994, 20). The expectancy of salvation from outside the group that is visible in some interviews reminds me of the basic assumption called pairing, which "is based on the collective and unconscious belief that whatever the actual problems and needs of the group, a future event will solve them." However, these basic assumptions do not necessarily have to be seen merely as "defensive or regressive manifestations of group life," they can also be used in a constructive way (ibid., 21, 25). If the hope related to the future helps the choirs and the *walimu* in reaching their goals, if it leads to action, it could be seen as a positive mindset.[76] Also, if

[75] Bion identifies two concepts related to the functioning of groups, namely *work-group mentality* and *basic assumption mentality*. In the former, "members are intent on carrying out a specifiable task and want to assess their effectiveness in doing it," while in the latter "the group's behavior is directed at attempting to meet unconscious needs of its members by reducing anxiety and internal conflicts" (Stokes 1994, 20).

[76] From a historical point of view, these models of thinking could be interpreted as allusions to a colonial mentality, which entails feelings of inferiority and lack of confidence in one's own abilities (Okon 2014, 205).

the challenges are recognized, it could be easier to continue to aim at attainable goals.

Among the participants of this study, the *walimu* who either have formal training in music or who have received somewhat similar education by other means had an analytical view on many issues and their own role in relation to them. They identified many challenges and problems but were also willing to find solutions for them. Both of these – self-reflectiveness and self-reactiveness – are important properties of human agency (Bandura 2006, 165). Those who were waiting for things to change and for someone to come and to provide what *mwalimu* or the choir needed were more often *walimu* without training. As for *walimu*, training in music is connected to the reinforcement of agency in their work with choirs in the church.

Several interviewees had in mind an image of themselves regarding training in music – they knew who they were or what they would like to be in terms of musical skills. Here again the distinction between "those who know" and "those who do not know" became visible. Labeling oneself as belonging to one of these groups is a part of one's self-understanding and identity as *mwalimu*.

"Knowing" came up often in the interviews and was connected to knowledge about traditional music as well. *Walimu* may not have received official training in music, but they have learnt their own tradition through the community's customary ways. One participant pointed out that

> There are many *walimu* [in our choir], but all our *walimu*... None of them has studied music, but all know our traditional music. (Int. 4)
> *Walimu wako wengi [kwenye kwaya], lakini walimu wote wa kikundi chetu... Hakuna hata mmoja aliyesomea muziki. Lakini wote wanafahamu muziki wa utamaduni wetu.*

Change was an important theme related to knowing, either as something that had already taken place or as something that was wished for. One interviewee explained that

> [I was] a *mwalimu* who didn't know about notes. [...] I didn't even know the note values or how the notes are organized. (Int. 9)
> *[Nilikuwa] mwalimu wa kwaya asiyejua habari ya noten na nini. [...] Sijajua namna ya kuweza kufahamu hata thamani ya noti na jinsi mpangilio noti, jinsi ulivyo.*

In this passage, the person described the situation before receiving training in music since which things have been different. Another *mwalimu* was waiting for a change to occur since the current situation was not felt to be satisfying:

> There is no one there [in the parish] who has studied music. [...] I should be a *mwalimu* with education. You know, right now I am a *mwalimu* without education (Int. 8)
> *[Usharika] Hauna hata mwalimu hata huyu [mmoja] aliyesoma muziki. [...] Mimi niwe mwalimu ambaye ni mwenye elimu. Unajua sasa hivi ni mwalimu ambaye sina elimu.*

The hope for a change is not restricted only to oneself – interviewees saw it as concerning the community of *walimu* more broadly as well. One interviewee described the desire to share knowledge and give others the possibility to know what (s)he knows already:

> As a *mwalimu*, I would like to teach others so that they could know what I know. I mean, to teach music to those *walimu* who don't know. They are *walimu*, but they don't know about music. [...] If you are told [to play] C on keyboard, you don't know where C is. Or staff [notation]. You don't know anything. (Int. 3)
> *Kama mwalimu ningependa kuwafundisha wengine wafahamu ninachokijua mimi. Namaanisha kufundisha muziki kwa walimu ambao hawajui. Ni walimu tu, lakini hawajui mambo ya ki-muziki. [...] Ukiambiwa hata C kwenye kinanda, hujui C ni wapi. Ama staff. Hujui kitu chochote.*

This particular interviewee was quite analytical and also explained how the expectations concerning training and knowledge in music vary. The topics that one would like to teach may collide with those that others would like to learn.

> [Y]ou may find that they invite you to teach keyboard playing, but they tell you to "just teach how to record." [...] So afterwards with the keyboard, you program, you teach four measures. [...] Four measures keep repeated. [...] to play live and all that they don't like. So a big challenge that I face with them is that they don't want to learn an entire song. (Int. 3)
> *[U]nakuta wanakuita ukawafundishe kinanda, lakini wanakuambia "fundisha tu namna ya kurekodi." [...] Kwa hivyo baadaye kwenye kinanda, yaani unaprogram, unafundisha bar nne. [...] Bar nne unarudiarudia. [...] ile kucheza live sijui na nini hawapendi. Kwa hivyo ni changamoto mbaya ambayo ninakutana nao kwamba hawapendi kujifunza wimbo mzima.*

This *mwalimu* draws a clear line between him/herself and others: "they" are not interested in or do not want to learn what (s)he sees as being important. The interviewee refers to the use of the keyboard for pre-setting certain musical

elements that would then be available in the performance at the touch of a button. There is frustration related to the experience that those other people – "they" – would like things to be easy, "they" would like to avoid challenge.

In my interviews, *walimu* with musical training regarded themselves as somehow "enlightened." They had received something valuable, and according to them, the others should get it as well. Based on their personal experiences, these *walimu* also had a realistic view on what studying means in practice and recognized the fact that it takes time to see results of that work. Those who had not studied music were all interested in doing so if at some point it became available or possible for them. Their ideas related to studying and achieving results were sometimes a bit unrealistic, however. This is similar to the observation made by Seth Sululu (March 12, 2016), musician and pastor in the ELCT, that people are sometimes expecting fast results and do not realize the amount of work that is needed in music studies. The lack of education, however, did not stop the interviewees from acting as *walimu*; it does not cause feelings of inferiority that would hinder them from fully engaging themselves in their work.

4.3 *Walimu wa Kwaya* as Composers

The participants of this research saw composing songs for choirs as a natural part of their work. If a choir has several *walimu*, it may also have several composers. In some choirs, there are choir members who compose as well (see Appendix 4, Repertoire list B). Some survey respondents pointed out that the ability to compose was one of the reasons to become or to be chosen as *mwalimu*.[77] This issue was discussed in several interviews as well. More than half of the survey respondents mentioned their own compositions in the repertoire list, and 71 considered composing songs for the choir one of their main tasks as a *mwalimu*.[78] Eight respondents listed their own compositions exclusively.

[77] This was mentioned by nine survey participants.

[78] The respondents were asked to list 20 songs that they had performed with their choirs during the two previous years (survey question number 14). It is not possible to know the exact number of the participants who included their own songs in the repertoire list due to the possibility to respond anonymously.

As can be seen from the interview passages that are in Swahili, my interviewees used several words that all refer to composing. Sanga (2006b, 253–254) explains about Swahili vocabulary that is used for this purpose as follows:

> 'Kutunga' (to compose) and 'kutengeneza' (to make, to construct or to create) are used to designate the process of creating a new musical work. Another term that is commonly used is 'kuweka' (to put something). The term is often used when a person contributes either the lyrics or the tune of a song. 'Kubuni' (to invent or design, usually imaginatively) is used particularly in relation to improvisation. In addition, 'utunzi', 'utenzi' and 'tungo' are normally used to designate a musical work, a composition.

In the following passage, one *mwalimu* describes the beginning of his/her career as a composer:

> I went to see how (s)he [another *mwalimu*] composed songs. I asked how (s)he composes. (S)he told me that "you just look for any melody you think is suitable, you compose. Some of us, we even listen to birds, to how they sing. We compose a song." [...] Wherever I was I continued learning. I started to try, I just wrote texts, then I looked for a melody, I sang until I was able to compose songs. [...] I continued to compose small songs based on the church year. (Int. 8)
> *Nikawa naenda kumwangalia anavyotunga wimbo. Nikamwambia wimbo anatungaje. Akasema: "Unatafuta tu sauti yoyote unaona inayofaa, unatunga. Sisi wengine tunasikiliza hata ndege wanavyoimba, wanavyolia. Tunatunga wimbo." [...] Nikiwa wapi naendelea kujifunza. Nikaanza kujaribu, naandika maneno tu halafu natafuta sauti, naimba. Mpaka nilitokeaga nikawa na uwezo wa kutunga nyimbo. [...] Nikaendelea, naendelea kutunga nyimbo ndogo ndogo za kutokana na majira ya mwaka.*

In this case, as in many other cases as well, one of the first things to do was to find an experienced *mwalimu*, a mentor, and to get ideas or instructions from him/her. This resonates with Detterbeck's (2002, 298) remark concerning South Africa: "[F]ollowing an old tradition, the community encourages anyone who feels the inclination to express himself in music and may come to accept him as a composer." He further states that many of the composers in his research context "grow out of a choral community and gain there experience informally by taking part in choral singing from their early youth" (ibid.). A choir seems to be a fruitful environment for exploring and fostering one's musical abilities.

Another interviewee pointed out as well how receiving positive feedback from other *walimu* was important at the beginning. This person also saw the ability to compose as a gift or a talent and explained that

> When I was at school, I was surprised to find myself composing verses. [...] I wasn't aware that I have this talent, but I was surprised that when I composed it went well and *walimu* agreed. [...] I realized that I wanted to compose songs, and I composed good songs that were accepted. [...] I want to communicate a message through songs, so I have found myself composing, and a message is conveyed. [...] And I thank God that this gift of composing is still in me. (Int. 5)
> *Nikiwa shuleni nilikuwa maana nashangaa najikuta tu nimetunga mashairi. [...] Sijaijua kwamba nikiri kuwa ni kipaji, lakini nashangaa kwamba nikitunga mbona inakwenda vizuri na walimu wanakubali. [...] Nikajikuta napata hamu ya kutunga wimbo na natunga wimbo unakuwa mzuri unakubalika. [...] Natamani ujumbe huu niutoe kwa njia ya nyimbo. Basi, najikuta nimekaa na nimetunga na ujumbe ule unatoka. [...] Na namshukuru Mungu kwamba karama ile bado ya kutunga ipo kwangu.*

Composing can even be an integral part of the weekly routines of *walimu*. One interviewee described his/her schedule as follows:

> When I see that there is a need for songs or for a song, I compose that song on Monday or Tuesday. If I teach it on Thursday and Saturday, we can sing it on Sunday. [...] I can just be walking, the lyrics come, and I compose a song. [...] I use the phone a lot since we don't have a keyboard. So, for example, I can even be in the field when I get a melody, I sing it, record it, and it is there. When I come back home, I take the notebook, I start writing. So I have already composed a song. (Int. 8)
> *Nikiona kuna hitaji la nyimbo au wimbo, Jumatatu na Jumanne natunga huu wimbo. Alhamisi na Jumamosi nikifundisha, Jumapili tuna uwezo wa kuimba. [...] Naweza kuwa natembea hivi, maneno tu yakaja nikatunga wimbo. [...] Na simu sana sana ndiyo natumia kutunga nyimbo kwa sisi ambaye hatuna kibodi. Kwa hiyo, kwa mfano imenikuta hata niko shambani nikapata sauti, naimba, nairekodi, inakaa pale. Kwa hiyo nikifika nyumbani, nachukua daftari, naanza kuandika. Kwa hiyo tayari ninakuwa nimeshatunga wimbo.*

For this person, the creative process is not tied to a certain context or time – it can occur in various places and on many occasions. Another interviewee described what would happen when a *mwalimu* of his/her choir was asked to write a song:

> There is a *mwalimu* that composes. [...] (S)he, for example, if (s)he came here right now, and you told him/her to compose a song with five verses, (s)he would ask: "Could you give me a paper and a pen?" Just give him/her a chair so that (s)he could sit over there. [...] (S)he would take his/her Bible and a pen and sit there. After one hour, (s)he would have a song with five verses, and (s)he would have notated it. (Int. 7)

> *Yupo mwalimu anayetunga. [...] Yeye, kwa mfano, akija hapa sasa hivi, unamwambia "naomba wimbo wa mafungu matano," anaomba "nipe karatasi na kalamu." Mpe kiti akae pale. [...] Anachukua Biblia yake na kalamu, anakaa pale. Baada ya one hour, anakuwa na wimbo wa mafungu matano. Ameandika nota zake pale.*

This interviewee describes composing as a routine, as something that can be done whenever needed. The following passage describes how for one *mwalimu*, the whole process is a religious experience, including various phases from composing and teaching a song to the listeners' reactions to that song:

> I may wake up... I find... or I'm walking on a street... The Holy Spirit tells that here is a choir song. Now these days because I have a phone with which I can record, I record. When I come back home, I can write it down well. But there are words that the Holy Spirit asks me to remove. Now if you don't pray, you can't see, but you see that the song that you teach in the Holy Spirit... I mean, how people receive it... They receive it in a very amazing way. (Int. 10)
> *Naweza nikaamka... nikakuta... au njia napita... Roho Mtakatifu anaambia kuna wimbo wa kwaya. Sasa siku hizi kwa sababu nina simu inayorekodi, ninarekodi. Nikifika nyumbani naweza kuandika vizuri. Lakini kuna maneno mengine Roho Mtakatifu ananaambia yatoe. Sasa kama huombi, huwezi kuona, lakini, na pia unaona kabisa kwamba ule wimbo ukifundisha katika Roho Mtakatifu... yaani jinsi watu wanavyopokea... Wanapokea kwa namna ya ajabu sana.*

Each composer-conductor has his or her own style and way of composing, although they may have features in common. Some *walimu* may prefer the "hymn-style" including several verses, possibly with a refrain, while for others the influences or ideas for compositions are drawn, for instance, from the musical traditions of Tanzania's ethnic groups. Sometimes the initial impulse for creating something new can come from another choir and its songs. The following interviewee described how Handel's *Hallelujah Chorus* acted as inspiration for a new composition:

> It was a choir with big people [trained/experienced in music], we were in Arusha, they sang Hallelujah Chorus, and that song made me so happy, but here that song is not known. [...] The song really stuck in my mind. I came back and composed my own song of hallelujah. (Int. 4)
> *Ilikuwa kwaya, kuna wakubwa sana, tutakaa Arusha, waliimba wimbo wa Haleluya kuu. Na ule wimbo unilifurahisha sana. Lakini huku kwetu ule wimbo haujulikani. [...] Wimbo uliingia akili yangu sana. Nikaja nikatunga na mimi wimbo wangu wa haleluya.*

Sometimes everyday occurrences can be transformed into songs. Taking ideas from people's everyday environment and experiences may also bring the songs closer to the listeners and make the songs more meaningful to them. One *mwalimu* pointed this out by saying that

> I visited a woman. [...] First of all, she didn't have a house. [...] When I saw those conditions, I left and composed a song. In that song, I didn't talk directly about her but about life in general. [...] I said that what if one day you fall down and have a life like that, of that person. [...] What would you think, in your life? [...] People liked that song a lot. (Int. 9)
> *Nikamtembelea mama mmoja. [...] Kwanza hana nyumba. [...] Nilipoona tu ile hali, mimi nikatoka moja kwa moja nikaenda kutunga wimbo. Hasa ule wimbo sijamlenga yeye moja kwa moja lakini nikalenga katika maisha ya kawaida. [...] Nikasema unaonaje kwamba siku mmoja kwa mfano wewe ukashushwa chini ukawa maisha ya yule mtu wa chini pale. [...] Hivi ungefikiriaje katika maisha yako? [...] Watu waliupenda sana huu wimbo.*

Also, incidents or events in the surrounding society are taken as topics in church choir songs. For instance, this interviewee talked about a composition that dealt with national elections in Tanzania:

> For example, last year we had elections. We had a song [...] for elections.
> (Interviewer: Did you compose that song dealing with elections?) Yes. (Int. 10)
> *Kwa mfano, mwaka jana tulikuwa na tukio la uchaguzi. Tulikuwa tuna wimbo [...] kwa ajili ya uchaguzi.*
> *(Anayehoji: Ulitunga mwenyewe ule wimbo wa uchaguzi?) Yes.*

Composing a song is a process that includes various phases. One *mwalimu* explained how composition starts with a need for a song for a certain occasion, a wedding in this case, and consists of writing the text, creating a melody, and arranging it for a choir:

> So I want to teach a wedding song, I create the text that deals with marriage and look for a suitable melody that goes with the text. Then the arrangement for choir and [it's] ready for teaching. (Int. 3)
> *Kwa hiyo nataka kufundisha wimbo wa ndoa. Natengeneza maneno yanayoendana na ndoa kwa ujumla na pamoja na kutafuta melody inayofaa na inayoendana na maneno. Baadaye arrangement na kupanga sauti na tayari kufundisha kwenye kwaya.*

The composition process depends on the musical style in question.[79] If instruments are included, reflection on their use is needed as well. In the following excerpt, the interviewee explains how they – the *walimu* of that choir – plan the structure and the accompaniment of a song with a keyboard:

> We compose songs often. [...] So when the songs are ready, we compose the beat [on keyboard]. [...] Where should we add the bass, where the chorus? Where are we going to have a solo...? [...] We do it together. (Int. 6)
> *Mara nyingi tunatunga nyimbo. [...] Kwa hiyo tukishatunga nyimbo pale, tunatengenezea biti. [...] Wapi tutaingia bass, wapi tutakuwa na chorus? Wapi tutakuwa na solo...? [...] Tunatengeneza pamoja.*

As can be seen from above, composition is not necessarily an individual process; collaborative composition takes place as well (see Sanga 2006a, 111–112). Another *mwalimu* explained that

> Even in composing, it's not necessarily just me. [...] Maybe (s)he [another *mwalimu*] composes a melody but can't set the text, I can help. (Int. 3)
> *Hata kwenye utunzi, siyo lazima mimi tu. [...] Labda akatunga sauti, akashindwa kupangilia maneno, naweza kusaidia.*

Composing can be seen as an activity between two equally competent songwriters as well as a possibility for teaching and learning. All components can be done together as a group or the different tasks can be shared between *walimu*.

The majority of the songs composed by *walimu* are transmitted orally, which has been the traditional way of preserving music in the African context. Agawu (2016, 190) estimates that as much as 95 percent of African music is not written down; it is "tied to individual and collective memories" and transmitted orally/aurally. In the context of this research, people's access to existing choral music materials varies, and the level of skill in music theory naturally influences one's ability to make use of available notated material, which may also help explain the prevalence of *walimu*'s own compositions.

By composing songs for their choirs, *walimu* are engaged in creating a certain musical image for their choirs. This is significant, especially if one's compositions regularly employ a particular musical style, and/or if the songs composed by the

[79] Sanga (2006b) describes composition in gospel music context in his article *Composition Process in Popular Church Music in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.*

choir's own *mwalimu* or *walimu* are the only or the main source for that choir's repertoire. Since composing is such an everyday task, a routine, for many *walimu* and arises from a practical and regular need for new songs, it is a low threshold practice. There are those whose music becomes more famous and those whose music remains in the use of their own choirs, but in any case, the vast majority of *walimu* compose music. According to several interviewees, the need for songs was usually related to the Sunday service, and the topics for songs arise from the theme of the Sunday in question. One *mwalimu*[80] explained that on some occasions, the *walimu* of their parish are asked to compose songs based on a chosen biblical text, but otherwise it seems that *walimu* themselves are the ones that decide what to compose and to which text.

Nine of my ten interviewees said that they compose songs for their choirs, some more frequently than others. The one interviewee who did not compose declared him/herself to be a *mwimbishaji*, a leader of songs, and said that in their choir "there is a *mwalimu* who composes."[81] This small sample suggests that composing forms an important part of what it means to be a *mwalimu wa kwaya* in this context.

4.4 Being a Musician in the Church Context

My interviewees were eager to discuss collaboration between individual musicians or choirs and other actors in the church context. Primarily, this means collaboration with pastors and evangelists with whom musicians interact regularly in regard to different church-related events. Individual pastors and evangelists are the main co-workers of *walimu* on these occasions, but in the interviews, they were also seen as some sort of representatives of the entire institution. This is in line with Rev. Dr. Georg Mark Fihavango's (2007, 254) statement concerning the ELCT that "the pastor in our context is seen as the representative of the church in the public sphere of life."

During the interviews, I observed that the participants' experience with those situations was that they were free to talk, and that they wanted to use that possibility. It was as if our encounters formed a space separate from everyday life and its hierarchical structures, which may hinder people from fully expressing

[80] Interview 8.
[81] Interview 7.

their opinions. Clearly, at least at the time of my fieldwork, the topic of this chapter – collaboration in parishes – was something that many of the participants had thought about a lot and maybe discussed with their colleagues as well, but it had not gained space – or not enough space – in public discourse in the church. It is noteworthy that despite their visible role and their ability to reach people within and outside the church, music, musicians, or choirs as such are not mentioned in the ELCT's Strategic Plan for the years 2015–2025. Taking into account the organizational structure of the church and the role given to music in some other documents, they could, however, be situated under the larger body of mission and evangelism.

My interviewees considered it important to have good cooperation between the people organizing an event since it helps the choirs to carry out their tasks well. Interviewees pointed out that in some parishes the cooperation works well already:

> We get the songs from the [hymnal] *Mwimbieni* for the service [in advance]. First the choir, we learn them, so that we can sing powerfully. (Int. 8)
> *Nyimbo zile za ibada kwenye kitabu cha Mwimbieni tunapewa. Kwa hiyo kwanza kwaya tunajifunza tukiweza kuimba kwa nguvu.*

> And in some places where I have been, they [pastors] like a lot to collaborate with singers. (Int. 9)
> *Na hata sehemu mbalimbali ambazo nilizopitia pia [wachungaji] wanapenda sana ushirikiano na waimbaji.*

As the first excerpt indicates, choirs have a great possibility to influence congregational singing in the church services. Good experiences with cooperation encourage even more cooperation, as seen in this passage:

> It would be easy if the pastor says: "We should meet for the preparations" or "let's choose the hymns," but if the musician goes to the pastor and says: "Concerning the Sunday service..." [The answer would be:] "How does the service concern you?" [...] I, as a musician, have participated in planning of a church service with a pastor of that parish. [...] We met before the wedding service, we planned that here we are going to do this and here we'll do that, and later things went very well. [...] Everyone knows [what to do] and is ready. (Int. 1)
> *Ingekuwa ni rahisi kama mchungaji anasema: "Sasa, tunaweza kukutana kwenye maandalio" au "hapa tukapanga nyimbo za ibada." Lakini mwanamuziki akienda kwa mchungaji, anamwambia "sasa, kuhusu ibada ya Jumapili..." [Jibu lingekuwa:] "Ibada inakuhusu nini?" [...] Mimi kama*

> *mwanamuziki nimeshirikiana na mchungaji wa usharika kuandaa ibada. [...] Tulikutana na mchungaji kabla ya harusi na tukapanga hapa tufanye hivi, hapa tufanye hivi. Na baadaye mambo yakaenda vizuri sana. [...] Kila mtu anajua sasa na yuko tayari.*

The main challenge, according to several *walimu*, is related to Sunday service, which is considered to be one of the most important activities of the church. Many interview passages point out a clear division into two groups: there are us – the musicians – and them, which includes pastors and evangelists. This may not, however, be the most fruitful starting point for working together.

Challenges related to the joint planning of church services and other church-related events is not unique to the Tanzanian context. It seems to be common in many kinds of environments, including those in which both musicians and pastors are employed by the church. With regard to the situation in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland, sociologist Melisa Stevanovic (2013, 11–12) states that "while the public work tasks of pastors and cantors are defined in the Church Order, it is especially the rights concerning the preparation of church events, which are relatively indistinct."

Walimu would prefer collaboration between musicians and pastors/evangelists in planning the services, which did not seem to be a very common practice. It would help the musicians in preparing and performing the music – the music together with other parts of the service would form a more meaningful whole, as the following interviewee points out:

> There is no collaboration because there isn't a good system between the leaders of the church and the musicians. First, to see that the music is a part of the service. They know this, but practically... Even in planning the hymns. For example, when they choose the hymns for the service, they should inform the musicians that on Sunday we'll have these hymns. They could practice so that the service would go with the music, and everything could go well. (Int. 10)
> *Ushirikiano hakuna kwa sababu hakuna mfumo mzuri kati ya wale viongozi wa kanisa na wanamuziki. Kwanza kuona kwamba muziki ni sehemu ya ibada. Wanafahamu hiyo, lakini katika matendo... Hata katika kupanga nyimbo. Kwa mfano ingekuwa labda pale wanapopanga nyimbo za ibada. Wanatakiwa wanamuziki wajulishwe kwamba Jumapili tutakuwa tuna nyimbo hizi. Wazifanyie mazoezi ili ibada iendane na muziki. Na kila kitu kiende vizuri.*

This interviewee's comment is related to what organizational analyst Vega Zagier Roberts (1994, 38) suggests about certain prerequisites that are needed for completing tasks properly at work:

> To be personally effective in our work roles, we need to be clear about the task we have to do; to be able to mobilize sufficient resources, internal and external, to achieve it; and to have some understanding of how our own task relates both to the task of the system in which we are working and to the task of the institution as a whole.

I think that although most of the *walimu* that I am discussing here do not have an official status as employees of the church, the themes raised in the previous citation are applicable to their situation as well. For instance, clarity of tasks can be related to the communication concerning the selection of hymns or the place of choir songs in a given church service. The work of *walimu* forms an important part of a worship service; in many other contexts, similar tasks are done by employed personnel. To a certain extent, the aforementioned preconditions can be achieved by the *walimu* themselves, but participation from the institution's side is needed as well.

The lack of recognition becomes visible especially in the interviews of the *walimu* with musical training who feel that their skills are not used as they could be. In their opinion, one may have a good knowledge about many things, but it is not valued:

> Us, music teachers, we don't do things that are related to music in the church. (Int. 3)
> *Walimu wa muziki hatufanyi yale ambayo ni ya ki-muziki katika makanisa.*

> [H]ere in Tanzania – I don't know if it's Tanzania or should I take just the diocese – I mean, musicians have not been given importance, and they don't get recognition. (Int. 10)
> *[H]apa kwetu sasa Tanzania. Sijui ni Tanzania au nichukulie kama dayosisi. Yaani wanamuziki hawajapewa umuhimu wala hawatambuliki.*

These trained *walimu*, as these two above, have their identity as professional musicians, but it often does not get enough support from the people in their everyday working environments. This is possibly the situation for musicians in the society more broadly as well, not just in the church context. I remember how while teaching music at a university in Tanzania some of my students said that "our parents don't understand why we study music." These kinds of conflicts are what Woodward (2002, xi) calls identity crises; they arise "when an identity

position is challenged or becomes insecure." The individual's self-understanding confronts the outsider's perspective.

Although the *walimu* that I interviewed showed commitment to their duties, some of them also expressed quite strong feelings of frustration, related to both a lack of appreciation and under-employment. With under-employment in this context, I refer to situations where trained *walimu* for different reasons are not able or even not allowed to fully use their skills, usually in relation to the Sunday services – they feel they could do more if it were possible. This together with no opportunity for paid work within the church can lead to more and more frustrated musicians who are educated but who are not allowed to use their full professional potential and/or are working as volunteers, although not necessarily voluntarily.[82] One interviewee explained that

> we study music, but we go back to our sub-parishes and parishes. We are there with our great potential, but it is not made use of. [...] Sometimes you see that the person leading the service can't sing. (S)he starts songs in keys that don't work for the congregation. We are there with our skills, but we are not used. [...] And if they sing in an unsuitable key, I sing with them like that. [...] I am a musician. I want that in the church in which I attend the service singing is done well. (Int. 3)
> *Tunasoma muziki, lakini tunarudi kwenye mitaa yetu na sharika zetu. Tunabaki na uwezo wetu mkubwa lakini hautumiki. [...] Maana wakati mwingine anayeongoza ibada unakuta hata hana uwezo wa kuimba. Anaanzisha nyimbo kwa key ambazo baadaye kwa washarika inakuwa ni haifai. Tupo na uwezo lakini hatutumiki. [...] Na kama wanaimba kwa key mbaya mimi naimba hivyo hivyo. [...] Mimi ni mwanamuziki. Nahitaji kwenye kanisani ninayosali uimbaji ufanyike vizuri.*

These experiences resonate strongly with psychoanalyst Isabel Menzies Lyth's (1990, 457, 455) notion that when "good work was taken for granted and little praise given," it led to a lack of satisfaction derived from work. This may prevent the individual from fully engaging in the work. Also, under-employment, which Menzies Lyth describes as "failing to use one's capacities fully in the service of other people" may bring along challenges.

[82] I am trying not to compare the Tanzanian context too much with the Finnish context from which I come. In the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland, every parish has a post (or several posts) for church musician(s).

The organizational structure of the ELCT is hierarchical, and the higher one is in the system the more power there is. Fihavango (2007, 239) points this out as follows:

> The evangelist in his/her *mtaa*[83] depends on the parish pastor for the approval of his/her decisions, in the same way the parish pastor on the district pastor and the district on the diocese and the diocese on the head office of the ELCT.

This structure does not include *walimu wa kwaya* in parishes since they are not employed by the church/parish. If, however, *walimu* were added to it, they would be placed at the lowest level under the command of the evangelist or the pastor, depending on the parish. This affects some areas of their work, since in some issues *walimu* are dependent on decisions made by the pastor or the evangelist of their parish. The possibility to ascend in the hierarchy can provide individuals more freedom and more power in relation to work, as stated by this interviewee:

> When they [pastors] found out that I study to become a pastor, they started to listen to me more. We musicians work with pastors, but when I was just a musician, it was more difficult than now. I am not a pastor yet, but it is easy now. [...] and it will be even easier, I know. (Int. 1)
> *Kwanza [wachungaji] wakijua tu kwamba mimi nasoma uchungaji wananisikiliza sana. Wachungaji tunafanya nao kazi kama wanamuziki. Lakini nilipokuwa mwanamuziki tu ilikuwa ngumu kuliko sasa hivi wala sijawa mchungaji, lakini sasa ni rahisi. [...] Lakini itakuwa rahisi zaidi, najua.*

This and the earlier statements concerning the challenges of collaboration in parishes reflect in practice what Fihavango (2007, 239) has observed in the ELCT context: "The problem is the notion that the higher the office the more privileges for the leader and the more the leader is considered to be right." Although *walimu* may see things that could be done differently or challenges that in their view should be addressed, their voice may not be heard.

Power, which appeared as an important concept regarding the working environment of *walimu*, has been defined by psychoanalyst Anton Obholzer (1994, 39, 42) as "the right to make an ultimate decision," and in organizations it means "the right to make decisions which are binding on others." Power refers to one's "ability to act upon others or upon organizational structure." It can come from outside the person, for instance, from what a person controls or from the

[83] Sub-parish or congregational unit in Swahili.

social and political connections one has. Internally, power is connected, for example, to a person's knowledge and experience, and to one's own idea about his or her role in the system (ibid.). According to some interviewees, leaders of the church services are often the ones who make music-related decisions that are "binding on others," on *walimu wa kwaya* in this case.

For the *walimu* of this research, and for the trained ones especially, the biggest hope appears to be about having more possibilities – or power – to influence musical practices in the parishes. Interviewees encouraged pastors and evangelists to actively involve *walimu* in the planning of worship services. Some *walimu* observed that the appreciation can be earned by showing one's own commitment and skills in preparing and developing choirs and music in the church more generally:

> If the choir is good, pastors want to collaborate. (Int. 1)
> *Kwaya ikiwa nzuri basi wachungaji wanapenda kushirikiana.*

> If we prepare our choirs well, and they see that we are good *walimu*, collaboration continues to be good. In our parish we collaborate. (Int. 9)
> *Tukiandaa kwaya yetu vizuri, na wakaona kweli tumesimama vizuri kama walimu, ushirikiano utaendelea kuwa mkubwa sana. Kwenye usharika wetu tunashirikiana.*

> I am given a possibility if there is a song that is not sung well... You may be given a possibility to show how the song should be sung. [...] So this is the advantage of a good *mwalimu*. (Int. 8)
> *Napewa hata nafasi kama kuna wimbo ambao umeona umeimbika siyo vizuri... Unaweza ukapewa nafasi ukawaelekeza jinsi ule wimbo unavyoimbwa. [...] Kwa hiyo ndiyo faida ya mwalimu mzuri.*

Although the desire to show one's ability or skills in music – which interviewees discussed above – may have a positive impact on musical results, it may also be understood as a question related to power. Power, as Stevanovic (2013, 15) sums up, "is about getting people, groups, and organizations to act according to one's will." If a *mwalimu* "is given" a possibility to do something, or if collaboration exists only under certain conditions, such as "if the choir is good, pastors want to collaborate," it means that one person decides what is possible and on what terms, and ultimately holds the power. The question "who chooses hymns for Sunday services?" may appear simple, but it can also be interpreted in a different way: Who holds the power to decide what kind of hymns are sung on Sunday? *Walimu* are the ones who – with their choirs – realize much of the music in the church services. There remain, however, certain musical components such as the hymns

over which *walimu* often cannot have influence, although many would like to. Obholzer (1994, 43) states that "a sense of responsibility without having adequate authority and power to achieve outcomes often leads to work-related stress and eventually burn-out." This can be heard in the frustrated comments of some interviewees who see themselves as more active agents than their environment would allow them to be. These *walimu* would like "to influence intentionally one's functioning" and the circumstances in which they operate (see Bandura 2006, 164).

Among my interviewees, usually the trained *walimu* expected more collaboration than their untrained colleagues. One reason could be that *walimu* with musical training have more confidence in their own skills and want to make good use of their knowledge, but it challenges the status quo and may also seem like a threat to the authority of the leader of the service. Change may lead to results that cannot be fully predicted beforehand, but in this case, this step is likely to be worth taking. Several interviewees asserted that cooperation, which includes, for instance, planning the work together, helps people to know what is going to happen and what one is expected to do – it helps everyone to focus on the same goal. Aiming in the same direction, or "collective intentionality," is the basis for effective group performance (Bandura 2006, 164).

If the church at some point is going to be responsible for the formal training of its musicians at any level, the issue of employment will be an even bigger question than it is at the moment. On the other hand, if, because it is regarded as a "calling," the work will get done in any case, then why even consider paying for it? The clearest statement in my interview materials regarding the work of *mwalimu* as a calling was given by the following interviewee:

> [T]here is no payment for God's work, but we do it with our hearts. (Int. 8)
> *[K]azi ya Mungu haina malipo lakini tunafanya kwa moyo.*

This person pointed out first that *walimu* have a lot of work, but it does not matter, however, since it is work that is done for God. Elsewhere in the interview (s)he stated that

> I think my music is a talent given by God. (Int. 8)
> *Naamini muziki wangu ni kipaji tu bali nilichopewa na Mungu.*

These two comments together could be understood to mean that since one has received the talent or the gift of being able to make music, the work in turn is done

without any compensation as voluntary work. This is related to humility, which in several interviews was seen as an important feature regarding the musicians' work in the church. One interviewee expressed it as follows:

> But first of all, I should be humble in this work of music. [...] Inside me, I shouldn't take God's place. (Int. 9)
> *Lakini jambo la kwanza kabisa, niwe mnyenyekevu kabisa katika kazi hii ya muziki. [...] Mimi kwa ndani yangu nisichukue nafasi ya Mungu.*

This comment was given as part of the response to the question of whether this person would like to become famous as a *mwalimu*. I see it as part of the wider discussion concerning musicians' role in the church. Burr (1995, 52) states that "discourses can operate to obscure the power relations operating in society." In this case, the discourse of musicianship as a calling maintains the idea of humble musicians following their inner vocation, while the professional side and the time spent studying and practicing music becomes obscured or even forgotten, especially when it comes to trained musicians. I do not want to undermine the value of a calling or vocation but simply to point out that it can also be misused in order to serve institutional or other goals. Based on the interviewees' accounts, it is not possible to state to what extent the question about musicians' role in the church is about appreciation, church finances, tradition, or something else. I understand that this issue is a complex one, and most probably it contains all the aforementioned aspects. Another question is then to what extent the interviewees' comments on issues such as humility reflect their real opinions on the topic, or whether the intent has been to portray oneself in a certain way during the interviews.

The unity of *walimu* and even stronger collaboration among them could perhaps bring more visibility and a bigger voice to musicians as a group. Recognition of musicians in the ELCT Strategic Plan would give them a more official status within the organization. I also see that as a great opportunity for the church: according to the Strategic Plan 2015–2025 (2014, 7), one of the priority areas in the ELCT is "strengthening mission and evangelism work" in order to sustain "Christian/church identity," to which music and choirs could make a significant contribution. On the other hand, if work related to music is thought to be included in this work but is not mentioned, it would be important to find out the reasons behind that decision.

In the following interview excerpt, the more experienced *walimu* – myself included – were asked to act as mediators between musicians and church leaders:[84]

> You should help us to talk with our superiors, the leaders of the church, like pastors, bishops, so that they could believe in music in our dioceses. (Int. 3)
> *Mkatusaidia kusema na wakubwa wetu, viongozi wa kanisa kama wachungaji, maaskofu, ili waweze kuamini muziki katika dayosisi zetu.*

This is one of those passages that clearly point out the hierarchy in the church: "pastors and bishops" are higher in the system, and it seems that an ordinary *mwalimu* has little chance of influencing the situation of musicians in general.[85]

Among the interviewees, there are those who quite strongly identify themselves as workers of the church, while others did not take a stand on this. This is partly due to their different roles in the church: a couple of *walimu* that I interviewed were also employed by the church, while the majority made their living elsewhere. The identity of *mwalimu* is a musical identity. However, it includes other components as well, such as a religious aspect. Individuals emphasize these components differently; during the interviews, for some participants the musical aspect was dominant, while others gave more weight to the religious element. Training in music appears to influence musicians' understanding of their role in the church context by strengthening their desire to be involved in the processes that impact their work, that is, by strengthening their own agency. This is especially true in relation to the preparation of Sunday service. However, one's own identity as a music professional may clash with the identity offered by the institution – the knowledge and skills gained through musical training are not always acknowledged by other people. Several interviewees recognized the need to change the prevailing situation.

[84] This was one of the moments during the interviews where I was quite openly considered to be part of the group of *walimu wakubwa*, more experienced or somehow higher in ranking and thus closer to the leaders of the church than the so-called ordinary *walimu*.

[85] For an analysis of leadership and leadership development in the ELCT, see Fihavango 2007, 225–318.

4.5 Expanding the View: Musical Collaboration

Musical collaboration seems to be an important part of choirs' lives, in one form or another: choirs meet with other choirs, and *walimu* meet with each other or are invited to teach their colleagues' choirs. Earlier, people may have been hesitant or doubtful about collaboration between choirs, and opinions still vary, but in general, collaboration is quite common and is seen as a significant part of the life of choirs and *walimu*, as confirmed by this interviewee:

> It's a great benefit because you know, if you are by yourself, you work by yourself, it's like you put yourself in a box. [...] So even your talent will die, and your music will die, that is, everything will die, but if you collaborate with other *walimu* and other singers you will see that we continue to be alive all the time. (Int. 9)
> *Ni faida kubwa sana kwa sababu unajua ukiwa mwenyewe, unafanya kazi mwenyewe, ni kama vile umejifungiwa kwenye boksi. [...] Kwa hiyo hata kile kipaji chako kitakufa, muziki wako utakufa. Yaani kila kitu kitakufa. Lakini unaposhirikiana na walimu wengine na waimbaji pia wengine unakuta kwamba tunazidi kuwa hai siku zote.*

In my research materials, collaboration between individual *walimu* appeared in two forms: as collegial collaboration and as a master-apprentice relation or mentoring. Collegial collaboration means acting as equals. "Everyone has something to give" or "others have something you do not have" are phrases that were used during the interviews by several participants.[86] Sharing of choral repertoire and ideas for compositions were seen as part of that "something" that an individual can give to others, and challenges related to choirs can be discussed together with other *walimu*. Colleagues are invited to teach new songs if, for instance, they can offer something that choirs do not usually sing or *walimu* themselves are not able to teach, as these interviewees pointed out:

> It [my choir] has been taught by many *walimu*. All the time I invite different *walimu*, they come to teach. [...] because every *mwalimu* has something that his/her fellow *mwalimu* doesn't have. (Int. 2)
> *[Kwaya yangu] Imefundishwa na walimu wengi sana. Kila mara naita walimu tu aina mbalimbali, wanakuja kufundisha. [...] Kwa sababu kila mwalimu ana kitu ambacho mwenzake hana.*

[86] Interviews 2, 4, and 10.

> I use those [traditional songs] in my choir. I may not be able to compose, but if I find a *mwalimu* who has a song, (s)he can come to teach us. (Int. 3)
> *Nazitumia [nyimbo za kitamaduni] kwenye kwaya. Naweza nikashindwa kutengeneza, lakini nikipata mwalimu mwenye wimbo anaweza kuja kutufundisha.*

The participants saw collaboration also as a possibility for learning, which practically means, for instance, improving skills in music reading and choir conducting. Inside a choir, collaboration between *walimu* includes planning choral activities together and sharing the responsibility for teaching. One *mwalimu* explained that

> I may gather those *walimu* who are in the choir, we sit together to think what songs we would like to sing on the coming Sunday. (Int. 3)
> *Naweza nikachukua wale walimu waliopo kwenye kwaya, tunakaa pamoja kwamba je, tunapenda kuimba nyimbo zipi Jumapili ijayo?*

Collegial collaboration is not restricted only to Lutheran *walimu* but is expanded over denominational boundaries. The interviewees mentioned the Anglicans, Roman Catholics and Moravians as examples of this kind of cooperation. For instance, the following interviewees talked about this kind of collaboration by saying that

> I went to teach in a seminar, seminar of music in the Moravian church. (Int. 2)
> *Nilishawahi kwenda kufundisha semina, semina ya muziki kwa dhehebu la Moravian.*

> We have a song from a *mwalimu* of X [a certain parish]. Anglican. (Int. 7)
> *Tuna wimbo kutoka mwalimu wa X. Anglican.*

In the previous passage, when the interviewee says that his/her choir has sung a song composed by a certain *mwalimu*, it most probably means that this *mwalimu* has visited their choir and taught the song.

It is interesting that my interviewees described musical collaboration almost entirely as harmonious teamwork; competition between *walimu* was brought up only in relation to choir competitions, where their musical skills were compared to those of other *walimu*. However, given that comparison between individuals is such an everyday act, I suspect that it takes place outside the choir competition context as well.

There were certain Swahili words that the interviewees used regularly when referring to experienced and/or educated *walimu*, and sometimes to good choirs as well. Those were words that are all related to knowledge or expertise: good *walimu* are experts (*mtaalamu/wataalamu*) of music, they have education or knowledge (*taaluma*) and do their job in a professional way (*ki-taalamu*). What it means to be an expert or professional is of course a question that can be answered in many ways, but it suggests that one's level of musical skill is above the average in this context. Experts or professionals are *walimu wakubwa*[87], people who have studied music and/or have long experience in working with choirs, and they are the ones to go to when, for example, there is a need for more challenging choir repertoire or material for studying music theory. This can be seen as a master-apprentice relation or as a form of mentoring. This relation can sometimes also be found inside the choirs that have several *walimu* – experienced *walimu* help their less experienced colleagues, as can be noticed from the following excerpts:

> If someone has prepared a song, it's not necessarily me who is teaching. Sometimes I am like an ordinary choir member, and (s)he teaches. If (s)he asks help, we just help each other. (Int. 3)
> *Kama mtu ameandaa wimbo wake, siyo lazima mimi kufundisha. Wakati mwingine nakaa kama mwimbaji wa kawaida, halafu anafundisha. Akiomba msaada, tunasaidiana tu.*

> I'm there, they [the other *walimu* of the choir] give me my turn as a professional and ask my opinions. (Int. 9)
> *[N]inakuwepo tu pale [walimu wengine wa kwaya] wananipa nafasi yangu kama mtaalamu. Na kuomba maoni kutoka kwangu.*

Based on the interviews, it can be said that choirs enjoy meeting other choirs, be it a visit to a neighboring parish, a parish on the other side of the country, abroad, or anything in between. These gatherings are seen as possibilities to meet others and to learn. Choirs may not have common songs to sing together, but seeing and hearing other choirs performing is a way to expand their knowledge, for example, of repertoire. Reasons for meeting are various – here are examples given by two *walimu*:

> [W]hen you meet, everyone learns. (Int. 10)
> *[M]napokutana, kila mtu anajifunza.*

> Often we are invited because of teaching. [...] they learn by watching us singing, but also afterwards during discussions. (Int. 1)

[87] *Wakubwa (pl.)* = big, great, esteemed, more experienced in Swahili.

> *Mara nyingi sana wanatualika kwa sababu ya mafundisho. [...] wanajifunza kwa kuona tunapoimba, lakini pia baadaye wakati wa mazungumzo.*

In addition to musical purposes such as learning, which was mentioned in the previous excerpts, meeting with other choirs may also have other goals. In the following passage, one *mwalimu* explains why their choir regularly visits a nearby parish of another denomination:

> We go there often in order to support and encourage them so that... They don't have enough parish members yet. [...] We go there to strengthen them. (Int. 5)
> *Tunakwenda sana kwanza kwa ajili ya kuwajenga na kuwatia moyo ili... Bado ni hawana washarika wa kutosha. [...] Sisi tunakwenda ili kuwaimarisha.*

Here, their shared Christian identity is emphasized over denominational ones. This kind of collaboration appears to be an ordinary part of the everyday life of many choirs and their *walimu*. This "everyday ecumenism" that some interviewees pointed out resonates with what Zeiler (2018, 57–59, 60) writes about ecumenism as being an important aspect of Lutheranism in Tanzania, although rapidly growing new – mainly Pentecostal and charismatic – churches can also be seen as challenging the Lutheran identity. According to my interviewees, collaboration with choirs and *walimu* of different denominations is seen not as a threat but an opportunity.

Music is strongly engaged in the formation of the identities of *walimu*. *Walimu wa kwaya* are teachers, leaders of music, composers, singers, instrumentalists, performing musicians, and/or specialists of certain musical styles. These are part of what Macdonald et al. (2002, 12) call identities in music, musical roles that are important to an individual's self-understanding, offering answers to the question "who am I?" In many cases, the broader term "church musician" could probably be a more descriptive translation of *mwalimu wa kwaya* than just "a choir conductor" or "a choir director." Church musician is a term which may include many kinds of church-music-related tasks, not only choral conducting.

The work of *walimu* consists of a variety of tasks that are connected to both individual and social identities. A *mwalimu* is an individual musician with certain individual talents and abilities that differentiate him/her from others. At the same time, (s)he is also part of several groups, such as choir(s) or the wider community of *walimu*. In addition, *walimu* are, in a way, to be considered workers of the

church, but due to their role as volunteers, however, they are parishioners just like ordinary parish members.

Satisfaction derived both from musical activities and from belonging to a variety of groups gives enthusiasm to continue and the desire to develop oneself as a *mwalimu*. However, the scarcity of musical training or employment of musicians, for instance, counteracts these positive aspects. The challenge is then to find a balance between the different sides.

Through music the sense of belonging to a certain religious group – be it Christians, Lutherans, a local parish, or one's own choir – is strengthened. The group with which an individual *mwalimu* identifies changes or is accentuated depending on the context or the situation. When collaborating in music with colleagues beyond one's own denomination, the sense of belonging to the wider group of Christians is stressed. There are songs that are common to various churches, but a choir can also perform its own songs at another denomination's event. On that case, the focus may not be on the music but on the experience of coming together despite being of different backgrounds. On the other hand, participation in a Sunday service in one's home parish and following familiar practices such as singing familiar liturgical melodies stresses the local and Lutheran identity. In these cases, the question is about "music in identities" (Macdonald et al. 2002, 14), using music as a means to construct non-musical identities, such as religious or denominational ones.

5 Defining "Us" Through Songs

In this chapter, I concentrate on choral repertoires and their connections to identities. Choral repertoires in this study consist of music that represents various musical genres and traditions, such as the compositions of *walimu*, hymns, Tanzanian gospel music, music from local ethnic cultures, and Western classical church music compositions. The selection of choral repertoires and performances of choral music are involved in the church choirs' process of defining who they are, who they are not, and/or who they would like to be. It is a means of formation, transformation, and preservation of identities – individual and group, musical and non-musical, religious/Christian/denominational, ethnic and so on. Old and new materials, local and global influences as well as our songs and other people's songs are employed and modified if needed to fit the needs of a particular context.

Decision-making concerning choral repertoires influences the image that a choir has and gives of itself. The religious framework is important: choir songs are religious songs that are used for preaching, educating, comforting, and for touching emotionally. The ELCT and its dioceses as organizations emphasize the role of singing as a tool for spreading the Christian message, which also influences the choirs' self-understanding.

My interviewees categorized choral repertoires in a way that differed from genre-based thinking. This categorization is a means of exploring how music is used in the process of creating various points for identification; it is related to sameness and difference between groups and sometimes between individuals as well.

5.1 This Is What We Sing: Choral Repertoires

Choral repertoires of the choirs discussed in this research consist of songs with multiple roots and origins. The musical heritage of the church's mission era is intertwined with several other musical components, such as different Tanzanian and other African musical traditions, global influences, and local composers' creativity. Sometimes this leads to the emergence of styles that cannot easily be described according to existing genre-based definitions.

Roughly divided, choral music includes gospel music, classical (or "Western") style church music, and music that is based on local ethnic traditions. Gospel music, *muziki wa Injili*, refers to music that draws influences from many sources, including various secular popular music styles, and is accompanied by electric instruments such as guitars and keyboards. Church music that I here call classical (or Western/European) contains, for instance, works by composers such as G. F. Handel. It also includes music that is composed in the form of hymns – songs that have relatively short melodies with several verses and possibly a refrain, and often with Western harmonies. Traditional-style church choir songs can be based on existing melodies or composed following a certain local musical tradition. Figure 9 indicates the responses to the survey question "What kind of songs do you sing?"[88]

A good deal of church choir music in this context is of Tanzanian origin, although the musical styles vary. Other African traditions are present as well. According to my research participants, the compositions of *walimu* form a significant part of the repertoires. The majority of the songs that were mentioned in the survey's repertoire list were locally composed, and based on the song titles that I was able to categorize, there were some popular topics.[89] Predictably, the seasonal church year was an often-cited topic, including themes such as Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and the Last Judgement. In large part, these go hand in hand with the time of the year during which I delivered the survey; the time from August to April encompasses all the aforementioned parts of the church year except Pentecost.

Songs of praise and thanksgiving and songs under the theme "life in the world," as I have called it, were likewise common. This previously mentioned group of songs contained song titles such as "This world," "In the world," "This world makes me tired," "The world is difficult/complicated," "This world's problems/ challenges," and "We pass through this world." This is somewhat similar to what theologians Peter Wood and Emma Wild-Wood (2004, 167–170) call a theme of "humanity" in their study of hymns and songs sung in the Anglican church in

[88] Some answers were rather creatively given. For certain questions, some respondents chose both "often" and "sometimes." In that case, the responses are marked in the figure only as "often." Other participants gave their explanations – usually without mentioning frequency – for the option "other" and yet others marked or highlighted their responses in various ways on the survey form. Those have been conflated under the term "often" as well. (Survey question number 10.)

[89] The respondents were asked to list 20 songs that they had performed with their choirs during the two previous years (survey question number 14).

North-East Congo (DRC). It is not surprising that these kinds of themes are common since choirs need songs for church services weekly, and these topics can fit many different occasions.

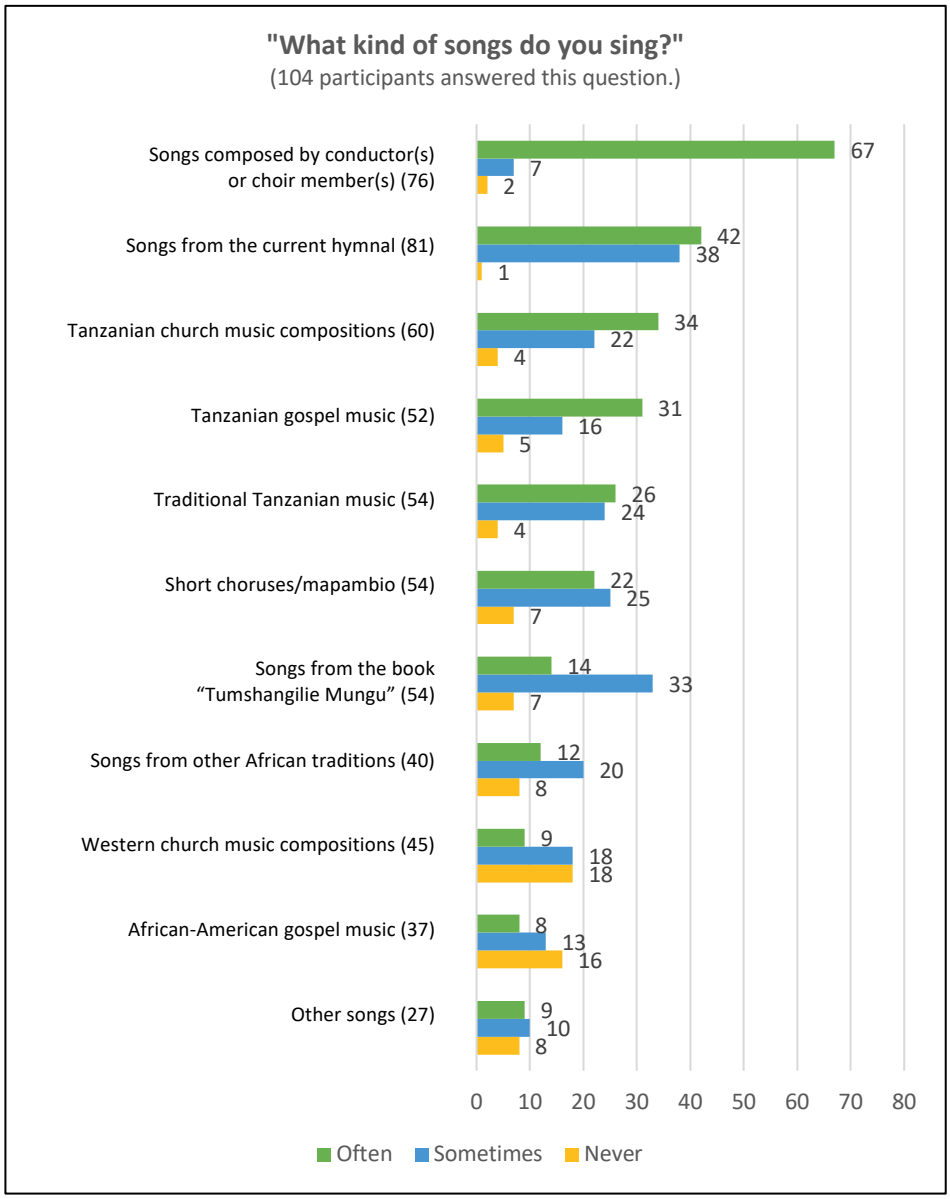


Figure 9. Sources of choral repertoires. (Survey question number 10.)

In addition to *walimu*'s compositions, another major group of songs that are performed by choirs are hymns from the ELCT hymnal. Eighty survey

respondents said that they sing hymns with their choirs often or sometimes, and about 30 hymns were listed in the questionnaires. This is in line with what Wood and Wild-Wood (2004, 157) state about the importance of hymns and hymnals in the African context:

> NZM [*Nyimbo za Mungu*, the hymnal in the Anglican church in Congo (DRC), explanation added] and equivalent collections elsewhere in Africa, continue to be used and are meaningful to the people who sing them. They reflect in part the theology of the church and also the historic link with the ancestors in the faith and the communion across geographical barriers with those who sing these songs in other lands.

Following this idea, the ELCT hymnal links the current congregations to those that existed earlier and to Lutherans elsewhere. It can also be seen as reflecting the church's Lutheran theology. Hymns are present in almost all the gatherings of the ELCT, and in addition to bringing their Bibles, people come to these events with their hymn books. Hymn singing plays an important role in the church's everyday life, and it can be seen as a way to perform and maintain Lutheran faith and traditions, both at the individual and organizational levels.[90]

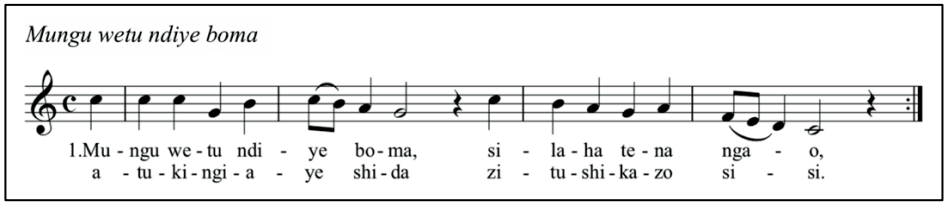
During its earlier stages, much of the music of the ELCT came from elsewhere. The use of local languages was one means to localize music, to make imported music more meaningful to people. This was used especially during early missionary times when many imported hymns were translated, for instance, into Swahili, and local hymns did not yet exist. A vast majority of the hymns in the current ELCT hymnal is still of Western origin. However, although many hymns are originally from elsewhere and are musically very different from the local traditions, the book itself is local, meaning that it is not a direct translation of another hymnal.

One example of the imported hymns is *Mungu wetu ndiye boma* (A mighty fortress is our God), number 302 in the hymnal *Tumwabudu Mungu Wetu* (2012). This hymn (Example 5) is commonly sung by congregations, and it was one of the thirty or so hymns that were mentioned in the repertoire lists by survey respondents. This melody is sung by Lutherans around the world, and in the ELCT hymnal the text is in Swahili. It is one of the hymnal's many hymns translated from the original German and a visible relic of the church's missionary past. At the same time, I understand it as a sign of belonging to a wider group, to the

[90] For a discussion on Lutheran identity in Tanzanian context from a more theological point of view, see Zeiler (2018, 57–61).

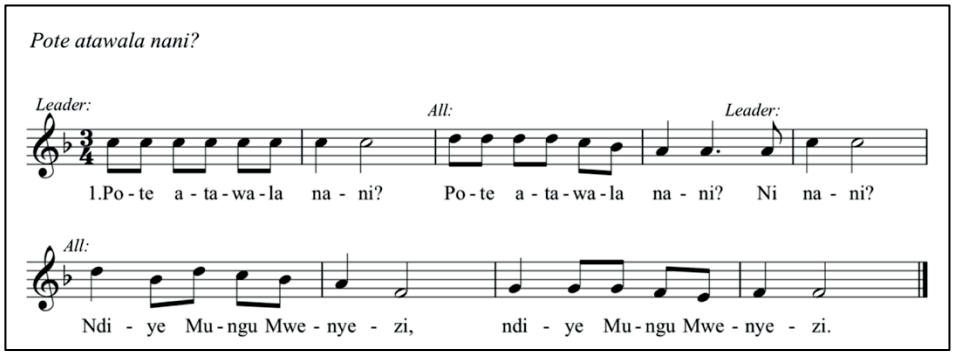
"imagined community" of Lutherans.[91] These kinds of songs – shared repertoire – that are sung in many different locations by various groups of people can function as a unifying factor between these communities (Ingalls et al. 2016 [2013], 1). Although the contexts are different, certain songs are common.

Example 5. The beginning of hymn number 302, *Mungu wetu ndiye boma*.



One of the local melodies that was also part of the hymns brought up by the survey participants is called *Pote atawala nani?* (Who governs everywhere?). It is a Nyika[92] tune that was published earlier in the collection *Tumshangilie Mungu.* This song is quite different from the previous hymn. One example of the local features is the organization of the song in the call-and-response form that is common to many African song melodies (Example 6). The division between the leader and the rest of the group is noted in the current hymnal and in *Tumshangilie Mungu* but omitted from *Mwimbieni Bwana na sauti zake*, the book containing four-part arrangements of the hymns.

Example 6. The first verse of the hymn number 266, *Pote atawala nani?*[93]



[91] See Ingalls (2011, 263) for "evangelical imagined community."

[92] The Nyika are one of the ethnic groups in Tanzania.

[93] Translation of the text: "Who governs everywhere? Who governs everywhere? Who is it? He is the Almighty God. He is the Almighty God." (My translation.)

The following interviewees pointed out that when they use hymns as choir songs, the songs may be arranged and performed in a way that is different from their usage as congregational songs:

> We arrange them. [...] We do something that has a different taste, different from what they are used to. (Int. 5)
> *Tunatengeneza zile zile. [...] Tunafanya kitu ambacho kinakuwa na ladha nyingine. Tofauti na vile walivyozoea.*

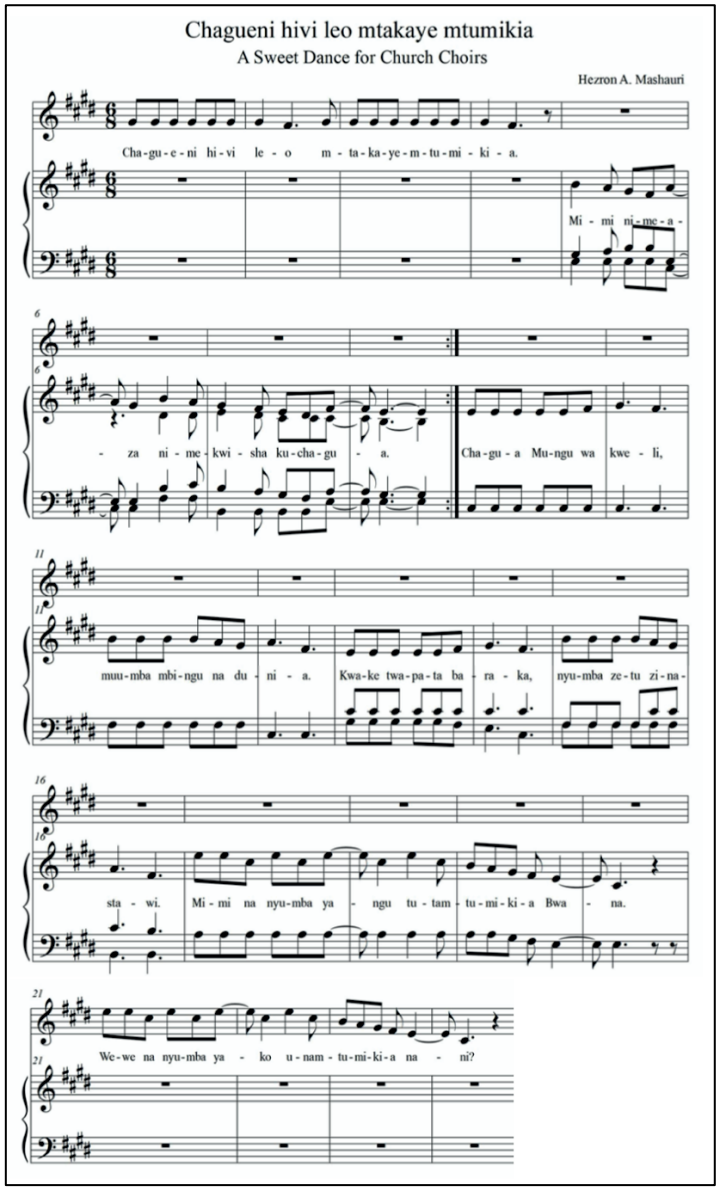
> Even [songs from] our hymnals we can arrange a little so that they will be different. (Int. 1)
> *Hata kwenye vitabu vya nyimbo zetu za ibada tunaweza tukafanya arrangement kidogo ikawa tofauti.*

In practice, in my experience, these different styles of hymn performance can mean, for instance, alternation between voices, changes in tempo or use of different instruments as accompaniment.

Many of the church choirs in my study have music from different Tanzanian ethnicities in their repertoire, the Maasai being the most commonly represented group in this research due to their strong presence in the area. In addition to Maasai music, the interviewees mentioned music of other Tanzanian ethnic groups as well, such as the Chagga, the Gogo, the Zaramo, the Makonde, the Hehe, the Pare, the Sambaa, the Mbugwe, and the Nyaturu. The use of this music is not necessarily related to the ethnicities represented within a choir. This could be understood as what Mkallyah (2015, 157) calls Tanzanianization. He uses the term to describe the "localisation of ethnic sounds in the new context whereby the new context (locale) accepts these cultural formations." This means that the special features of a certain ethnic group's musical traditions "become part of a multi-ethnic and national identity within the set-up of the church, which is traditionally non-ethnic based" (ibid.). In a way, the musical components that originate from these various ethnic cultures become common property and are thus involved in the construction of a common Tanzanian national identity.

One example of *walimu*'s compositions is the song *Chagueni hivi leo mtakaye mtumikia* (Choose today whom you will serve), composed by Hezron Mashauri (Example 7). It is a newly composed song with flavors from local musical traditions. However, Mashauri points out that this song is not based on any particular ethnic tradition but combines various influences from Tanzania. (Mashauri, June 30, 2020).

Example 7. The beginning of the song *Chagueni hivi leo*. (Notated following the original, with the permission from Hezron Mashauri.)[94]



[94] A rough translation of the text: "Choose today whom you will serve. I have already chosen. Choose the true God, the Creator of heaven and earth. In Him we receive blessing, our homes will flourish. Me and my household, we serve the Lord. You and your household, whom do you serve?" (My translation.)

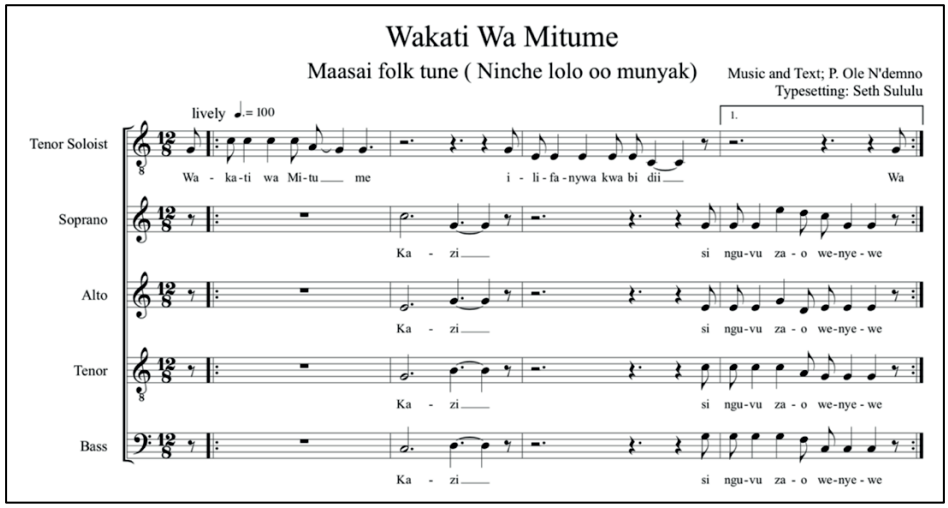
The original notation of this song included a subtitle – "A sweet dance for church choirs" – and instructions saying that "In a dancing style," which gives an idea about the performance. This song contains alternation between soloist(s) and a choir, and as accompanying instruments the composer has mentioned shakers and a djembe drum.

This song can be seen as an example of Tanzanianization, suggested by Mkallyah. Local ethnic influences have been combined together, and as a result, there is a song that sounds local but does not originate from a particular tradition – it is more Tanzanian than ethnic. This kind of combination of ethnic elements can also be labeled as a hybrid form of music that is "neither the One [...] nor the Other but something else besides" (Bhabha 1994, 41). Hybrid forms (of music, for example) result from intermingling of distinct elements, and the outcome is something totally new, although it contains features of both/all the original elements. The text of this song represents what I see as a common type of lyrics for church choir songs in this context. It is first of all in Swahili. In addition, by asking the listener to decide whom to serve, its message is very straightforward.

When choirs perform music that could be labeled as "traditional," either the original melodies are used but whose texts are replaced by Christian ones, or new melodies are composed including elements from local ethnic (music) cultures. Using pre-existing local melodies in creating new church music is by no means a new phenomenon in the history of church music. For instance, Blacking (1973, 75) states that during and after the Reformation, "Lutheran chorales were deliberately derived from 'folk songs' and Bach organized much of his music round them."

One example of a song that is rooted in a local tradition is *Wakati wa mitume* (At the time of the apostles), which was mentioned by two *walimu* in their repertoire lists in the questionnaire (Example 8). It is based on a Maasai folk tune while the text bears a Christian message. However, although the music is related to Maasai culture, the text of this song is in Swahili.

Example 8. The beginning of the song *Wakati wa mitume*.[95] (Used with permission from Peniel Ole Ndemno.)



The power of tradition is recognized: interviewees stated that music from one's own ethnic tradition communicates the message of songs more effectively. Music can function as a link between local traditions and the Christian message and strengthen the sense of belonging to a particular group of people; songs can simultaneously form connections both to a certain ethnicity and to the community of Christians, as described by this *mwalimu*:

> And to sing a traditional song, for example, for the Maasai. [...] If they sing a traditional song when killing a lion, then someone changes the words, and it is about fighting with Satan. It will... it is very powerful to them. [...] The message will be very strong in the church. (Int. 1)
> *Na kuimba wimbo wa utamaduni kwenye kwa mfano wa Masai. [...] Wakiimba wimbo wa utamaduni kwa sababu ya kuua simba. Halafu mtu anabadilisha yale maneno yanakuwa utamaduni wa kumpinga Shetani. Inakuwa ni... ina nguvu sana kwao. [...] Ujumbe utakuwa mzito sana kwenye kanisa.*

A traditional melody from a certain ethnic group together with Christian lyrics may be a very powerful combination for someone who is originally from that particular context, as one *mwalimu* explained:

[95] Translation of the text: "At the time of the Apostles work was done diligently. It was not their own strength." The text refers to the strength for working that is received from God. (My translation.)

> In the work of evangelism, those traditional songs really touch the people of that area. (Int. 9)
> *Zile nyimbo za asili, kwa upande wa uinjilisti, zinawagusa sana wale watu wa husika eneo husika.*

These comments are in line with Mkallyah's (2016, 301) remark that "indigenous Tanzanian music traditions arouse deep and demonstrable emotions among church members" during church services. The following interviewees pointed out that traditional music, often combined with dance, draws people's attention:

> When we sing those [traditional] songs among those particular people, it creates interest to listen to the message. (Int. 5)
> *Tunapoimba zile nyimbo katikati wenyeji wao inaleta mvuto, kwanza wao kusikiliza ujumbe ule uliotoa.*

> A choir that sings traditional music in Tanzania, when it starts singing... even a person who was far away will come closer to watch how they dance. [...] So it really draws attention. (Int. 8)
> *Kwaya ya utamaduni hata kwa Tanzania inapokuwa inaingia kuimba... hata mtu kama alikuwa mbali atasogea kuangalia jinsi wanavyocheza. [...] Kwa hiyo inavutia sana.*

Certain music may evoke associations that are unreachable for people who are not familiar with that specific culture. John Sloboda (2005, 355), researcher in music psychology, suggests that

> within a given musical culture, and among individuals who have had comparable prior musical experience, there may be some automatic and subconscious mental processes which are indeed determined primarily by the nature of the particular piece of music being heard.

This can partly explain why traditional music "touches" people but also why some people may still not be eager to use it in the church context; the connotations evoked by traditional music may be felt contrary to its new environment, that is, to the church.

However, in addition to strengthening the sense of belonging to a certain group, the use of local traditional melodies also has a practical aspect. Since much of the learning happens by ear, it is easier to learn a familiar melody with new words than an entirely foreign song.

In addition to the choirs' actual environment, the ethnic background of *walimu* or choir members who compose songs is likely to influence the choral repertoires to some extent, as the interviewee in the following passage points out:

> For example, in choir X the *mwalimu* is from Pare. Some songs that (s)he brings employ Pare-melodies. Here [in our choir] we have a Chagga. Sometimes (s)he composes songs that are more in the Chagga-style. [...] And other songs we have put in the Maasai-style. (Int. 5)
> *Kwa mfano kwaya ya X, mwalimu wa kwaya ni Mpare. Kuna nyimbo zingine analeta kwa melody ya ki-Pare. Huku kwetu kuna Mchagga. Wakati anatunga nyimbo kuelekea ki-Chagga zaidi. [...] Na ambazo zingine tumeziweka katika hali ya ki-Masai.*

Using music from a specific ethnic group does not necessarily mean that the song text is in that ethnic language, as the following interviewee explains:

> The words are in Swahili, but the melodies are from [various] ethnic groups. (Int. 10)
> *Maneno yanakuwa ya Kiswahili lakini melody kutoka makabila.*

Sometimes the text is written both in Swahili and in the language of the ethnic group in question. One explanation for this is that everyone, meaning people with different ethnic backgrounds, should be able to understand the message. The language choice reflects the role of Swahili as the official language in the country: the local languages and ethnicities are varied, but the majority of people understand Swahili. I see here also a strong connection to the ideal of the unity of the people, which was one of the goals during the socialist period in Tanzania. The use of Swahili highlights the "Tanzanianness," the bonding with or the unity within the larger group of Tanzanians, while the use of the languages of a variety of ethnicities accentuates the more local aspect.

In some churches, there may also be church services held in English, which means that choirs need to have at least some songs employing English. In bigger towns such as Arusha, there is also quite a large number of foreigners, either visiting or living there; the English services can be seen as a way to invite them to church as well.

In this research context, Western classical church music compositions play a rather modest role in the choral repertoires as a whole, and there is often a connection between their use and *walimu*'s educational level: the more musical education *mwalimu* has, the more likely these songs will be represented in his/her choir's repertoire. The most popular Western classical composer seems to be G.

F. Handel. Several interviewees found Handel's music to be attractive because of its harmonies and organization of voices. Compositions such as *And the glory* and the *Hallelujah Chorus* from *Messiah* are some of the most common of his works in this context, often translated into Swahili.[96] Some of Handel's compositions were considered suitable for people who do not have much experience of Western classical music, as this interviewee points out:

> I like Handel because of the taste of his songs. It [Handel's music] is easy to teach people who don't know much about music and are not experienced in music. [...] To teach songs of Bach, at least people need to be exposed to Western music a bit more than with songs such as those of Handel. (Int. 2)
> *Nimependa Handel kwa sababu ya taste ya nyimbo zake. Ni rahisi kufundisha watu ambao hawajui muziki sana. Wala hawajafanya muziki. [...] Kufundisha nyimbo za Bach, at least watu wanatakiwa wawe exposed kwenye Western music zaidi kidogo kuliko nyimbo kama za Handel.*

Five interviewees mentioned having sung Handel's music with their choirs, although they did not necessarily list any of those works in the questionnaire. Western-originated hymns are widely sung by the choirs. In choir competitions, the use of Western classical music is one way to demonstrate both conducting and singing skills especially in the category of *a cappella* choirs. Some interviewees saw Western classical music as a means to learn certain musical skills, as the following passage shows:

> It is true – as I've said from the beginning – that some of our singers like European music. Not all of them, but a large percentage, and especially Handel's songs. [...] If we can sing songs like those and sing [those] frequently, it would really strengthen our ears. [...] It would strengthen us because it is a new style that has arrived here. [...] And it also teaches us different kinds of harmonies, like minor. When you encounter European songs, minor chords are common, so it will strengthen us in understanding them. (Int. 3)
> *Ni kweli ni kama nilivyosema kutoka mwanzo kwamba baadhi ya waimbaji wetu wanapenda muziki ya Ulaya. Kwa kweli siyo wote, lakini asilimia kubwa wanapenda hasa nyimbo za Handel. [...] Kama tutaweza kuimba nyimbo kama hizo na kuimba mara kwa mara kwa kweli itatuimarisha masikio yetu. [...] Itatuimarisha kwa sababu ni staili mpya ambao imekuja*

[96] Tanzania is no exception in terms of Handel's popularity. As Hezron Mashauri (March 5, 2016) pointed out in his interview, "*Hallelujah Chorus* is all over the world. Everywhere." [*Haleluya kuu ni dunia nzima. Kila mahali*.] For instance, Detterbeck (2002, 361) states that "By the middle of the twentieth century, the popularity of oratorios and especially Handel's Messiah, had spread throughout South Africa."

> *kwetu. [...] Na pia itatufundisha aina mbalimbali za harmony, kama minor. Ili kidogo wakati unakuta nyimbo za Ulaya minor chords zimekuwa nyingi kwa hivyo itatuimarisha kutambua.*

Although not totally unknown in this context, minor keys were mentioned as an example of something that is not very common in local traditions.[97] Music employing minor keys or minor harmonies that was discussed in the interviews was often labeled as "European" or something that was not originally from these choirs' context. In the first of the following excerpts, the interviewee explains their choir's reaction to music containing minor harmonies. The second passage presents the view of one *mwalimu* – a drastically generalized one – about minor harmonies in Africa in general:

> Especially when you come to minor scales, it puzzles them [the choir] a lot, because it is not their tradition. (Int. 2)
> *Hasa unapokuja kwenye minor scales inawasumbua [wanakwaya] sana, kwa sababu siyo utamaduni wao.*

> For us Africans they [minor harmonies] are difficult. (Int. 3)
> *Kwetu kwa Wa-Afrika [minor] ni ngumu.*

The coexistence of Tanzanian and Western musical traditions in the choral repertoires does not seem to evoke opposition; those kinds of attitudes are not visible in my research materials at least. I see this as an example of Barz's (2003, 16) remark about the history of Lutheran choirs in Tanzania as an ongoing negotiation between various cultures and repertoires. However, I do not exclude the possibility that my role as a representative of the Western (European) traditions may have influenced the responses.

Although in my research materials the role of Western church music was not considered problematic, the issue is complex. For instance, Dueck (2016 [2013], 84) states that "as a global music, Western church music is tied to Euro-colonialism and to missions – that is, to unequal power relationships and sometimes to the displacement of local musical traditions." This applies to the Tanzanian context as well.

International or cross-cultural aspects are becoming more and more apparent in Tanzanian Lutheran church choir music. One reason for this is the prevalence and

[97] Although it was not specified in any of the interviews, my understanding is that with the term "minor," the participants referred mainly to the harmonic minor since based on my experiences of working with these choirs, the main challenge is often the leading tone.

accessibility of different media. Kidula (2008a, 54) asserts that "the radio has been the biggest and most effective tool for spreading African musical styles and introducing the musics of other nations – African or not – to the continent." This is true especially regarding popular music and gospel music. For instance, American pop music has a strong impact in Tanzania, but influences come from other African countries as well. The new technologies somehow bring the rest of the world closer or make it more available, which means that different styles or cultures are more accessible to many and also easier to share with others.

Along with the radio, TV is a common medium for getting ideas from other choirs and musical ensembles, and influences of different musical styles. This issue was discussed by some interviewees:

> It is necessary to listen to music from television. It sends me [to another place] and I get things that I wouldn't get without listening. (Int. 4)
> *[N]i lazima nisikilize muziki kwenye television. Itanipelekea na mimi nipate mambo ambayo nisingesikiliza nisingepata.*

> Television is the best [medium]. You can see the one that is singing, you see what (s)he is doing, and you hear him/her at the same time. (Int. 6)
> *Nzuri zaidi ni television. Kwa sababu unamwona anayeimba, unamwona anachokifanya na unamsikia kwa wakati ule.*

Some TV channels regularly broadcast Christian music, and choirs of different denominations are well presented among the performers. Although TV is not seen as a source for new repertoire, it can be for some *walimu* a source of influence on issues such as dancing or body movements, costumes or stage performance.

Gospel music, *muziki wa Injili*, plays a significant role in the popular music scene in Tanzania. Gospel music is said to be "the fastest growing musical expression in many parts of Africa today" (Parsitau 2012, 489). With regard to gospel music in the African context, ethnomusicologist Eric Charry (2018, 1244) contends that "gospel music with its world of solo singing stars, positive uplifting messages, and music that draws on local popular styles is probably Anglophone Africa's fastest growing genre." This is the situation in Tanzania as well. In addition to church service contexts, gospel music is performed in concerts and evangelistic events that bring together many people, which in part influences the increase of its popularity (Perullo 2011, 365). Sanga (2006b, 247, 250), although using here the term "popular church music," defines it as music that is "characterized by incorporating improvisation, by the use of electric guitars, keyboards and drum machines, and by the body movements which accompany its performance," and

it is "commonly performed in various global music styles such as rumba, reggae, twist, R&B, soukous and rap as well as taarab and various styles inspired by the traditional musics of Tanzania."[98] Gospel music can be seen as a means of expression that reflects contemporary musical influences and currents.[99]

The choral repertoires in the Tanzanian context are usually transmitted and preserved aurally/orally; memorizing songs is an everyday routine for choir members (and such a challenge for an outsider such as myself when joining a choir). Although especially in urban areas there are *walimu* and even choir members who read music, most of the learning happens by listening and repeating. With regard to Africa more generally, Kidula (2008b, 106) states that the oral tradition "is so highly developed that it is possible to train a choir to sing by ear all kinds of complicated music if the instructors have a good understanding of the style." In my research context this means, for instance, learning by ear Handel's *Worthy is the Lamb that was slain* from *Messiah*.[100]

Choral repertoires clearly contain a wide variety of musical styles from many parts of the world. One *mwalimu* summarized the relationship of different cultures and their musical practices in a way that could even represent many interviewees' opinions more generally:

> You know, each place – as it is – has its good things. [...] There are things there [in another place] that we don't have here, and there are things that don't exist there, but we have them here. (Int. 10)
> *Unajua, kila mahali kwa jinsi palivyo pana uzuri wake. [...] Kuna vitu ambavyo vipo kule, ambavyo huku havipo. Na pia kuna vitu kule havipo, huku zipo.*

This does not eliminate different preferences concerning different styles or genres, but it allows space for music from a variety of traditions and cultures. Curiosity toward new or foreign musical styles was a common feature for many interviewees, especially for those with musical training.

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[98] Jenitha Kameli (2012, 111) employs the term *Disko la Yesu* when discussing this kind of music. She defines *disko la Yesu* as music that is produced with electric instruments and draws on various contemporary popular music genres.

[99] For examples of this kind of music, see, Imani Choir (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d-23srfADMw), Kanaani Choir (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ChQ-mbLmdQ0), and Mhubiri Choir (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JfpZwNPrVFU) from Arusha.

[100] For a performance of this song in Swahili (*Astahili Mwanakondoo*) by the choir *Habari njema* from Arusha City parish of the ELCT, see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6XeoziYhRwg.

> I really like to learn other styles that our tradition does not have. (Int. 3)
> *[K]weli napenda kujifunza mitindo mingine ambayo asili yetu hatuna.*
>
> If a totally new style appears, I like it indeed. (Int. 1)
> *Kama ikitokea aina mpya kabisa, napenda kabisa.*
>
> And if I had the ability, I would get to know a variety of traditions around the world (Int. 9).
> *Na ningekuwa na uwezo mimi ningefahamu hata asili mbalimbali za dunia.*
>
> [I]f I could, I would travel the whole world. I would learn all the music. (Int. 10)
> *[N]ingeweza, ningetembea dunia nzima. Nijifunze muziki yote.*

Here, getting to know musical styles that one has not been familiar with before was seen as a way of expanding one's view and learning. The interviewees' picture of themselves is not static. Rather, these *walimu* see themselves as capable of change and willing to absorb new influences which in turn has an impact on their musical choices and choral repertoires.

5.2 Choral Repertoires: Decision-making and Musical Choices

In the process of choosing choral repertoires, there are certain points that are related to decision-making. This includes decisions concerning selection of individual songs and wider musical directions or guidelines of a choir. This is an important aspect in this study, since through the selected repertoire these decisions influence the image that a choir presents to others and to themselves. The people behind the decisions, whether from inside or outside a choir, are involved in forming choral identities.

The decisions that concern choosing choral repertoire are usually made inside a choir and most often by *walimu*. A vast majority, 82 survey respondents, mentioned *mwalimu* or *walimu* as the main person(s) responsible for the decisions related to repertoire (Figure 10). This is further accentuated by the prevalence of *walimu*'s own compositions in choral repertoires. The survey indicated that choir members occasionally have the possibility to influence the selection of songs, but pastors, evangelists or regular parishioners, for instance, are included in this process very rarely. This gives a general picture of the situation, but there is naturally variation between choirs.

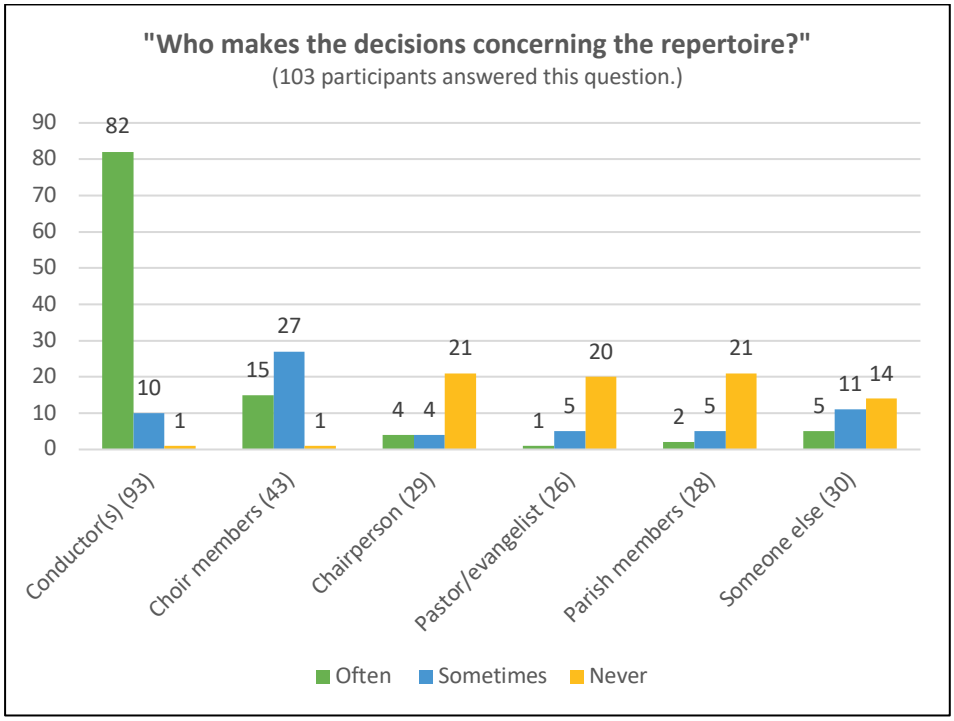

Figure 10. Decision-making concerning choirs' repertoire. (Survey question number 9.)[101]

Other decision-makers that were mentioned by the respondents themselves, in addition to those listed in the Figure 10, were "professionals of music," "the musical director of the diocese," and "the choir's musical committee." The musical director of the diocese has an impact on the choirs' repertoires, for instance, in the form of set songs, the obligatory songs of the church's choir competitions.

Some choirs have musical committees that take care of the selection of songs. They meet, for instance, once a month and choose the songs for Sunday services for several weeks at a time. One *mwalimu* explained how this is organized in their choir:

> We, the musical committee, we come together and choose songs for the entire month. We look at the calendar. [...] If an event occurs in the

[101] The respondents were asked to choose "often," "sometimes," or "never" for each of the alternatives. Many participants did not follow this request, however. It seems that most respondents had chosen the options that apply to their choirs and left other parts unfinished which has led to a relatively small number of responses in the categories other than *(m)walimu*, "conductor(s)."

> middle [of that time period], we add songs that are different from those we chose originally. (Int. 5)
> *Kamati ya muziki tunakaa na kuchagua nyimbo za mwezi mzima. Tunaangalia kalenda. [...] Labda itokee tukio lolote litakalotokea hapo katikati, ndiyo tuingize wimbo ambao ni tofauti na ya zile ambazo tulichagua.*

Here, the songs are chosen from the choir's already existing repertoire following the church year. At least in the choirs of the interviewees that stated having a musical committee, *walimu* are part of that group.

Some interviewees confirmed that ordinary choir members can also influence the selection of the music that their choir sings or the way it is sung. Sometimes these questions are discussed in the choir rehearsals, as the following interviewee pointed out:

> And the songs, often *walimu* choose them, but sometimes they are chosen in the choir, in the choir rehearsal. [...] For Sunday, they [the entire choir] look at the calendar and try to find suitable songs. [...] There are things that we [*walimu wa kwaya*] may share with choir members, but they also have ideas and freedom to say that if we do like this it will be good. (Int. 1)
> *Na nyimbo, wanapanga walimu mara nyingi, lakini mara nyingine wanachagua kwenye kwaya, kwenye mazoezi ya kwaya. [...] Kwa ajili ya Jumapili wanaangalia kalenda na wanajaribu kutafuta nyimbo ambazo zinaweza kufaa. [...] Kuna mambo ambayo [walimu wa kwaya] tunaweza kuwashirikishana wanakwaya. Lakini pia wao wanakuwa na maoni na uhuru kutoa kwamba sasa hapo tukifanya hivi itakuwa nzuri.*

The opportunity to express one's opinion, to participate in decision-making, and, thus, to have an impact on a choir's activities, can strengthen an individual choir member's commitment to the group and to the common goals. Tajfel (1981, 256) contends that

> it can be assumed that an individual will tend to remain a member of a group and seek membership of new groups if these groups have some contribution to make to the positive aspects of his social identity; i.e. to those aspects of it from which he derives some satisfaction.

The desire to sing is one of the main reasons for joining a choir, and the possibility to influence what one is singing can surely be a source of satisfaction.

I received many kinds of responses to the interview question "What kind of songs/music do you like?": all kinds of songs, worship songs, songs without

accompaniment, traditional music, classical music, and so on. The tendency was toward the diversity in music, and the interviewees did not indicate that there was a certain kind of music they did not like at all. The responses were usually about preferences, appreciating certain music more than other styles. For instance, the following *mwalimu* quite clearly stated enjoying local music more than Western:

> I can say that music that is sung here at home... I like it and it gives me a better flavor than Western music. (Int. 6)
> *Mimi naweza nikasema kwamba muziki ambao tunauimba sisi wa nyumbani... mimi naupenda na unanipa ladha nzuri kuliko muziki wa ki-Magharibi.*

Based on what this person said elsewhere in the interview about their choir's music, which was composed by *walimu* and which seems to be influenced by some Congolese popular music styles, the expression "at home" could be interpreted as a reference to African (popular) music more generally, not just to Tanzanian music. Another interviewee answered my question concerning musical preferences in the following way:

> I like many songs because if one... If you like music, you like many tastes. But I like traditional songs a lot [as well]. (Int. 2)
> *Napenda nyimbo nyingi kwa sababu kama mtu... Ukipenda muziki unapenda tastes nyingi. Lakini napenda sana nyimbo za asili.*

Later, regarding Western music, the same person stated that

> I like classical music more. I don't like... This pop [music] I don't like. I like classical because I believe in the calmness of music. [...] Of course, it is okay, other people like [pop music], and I don't see it as a problem. (Int. 2)
> *Mimi napenda classical zaidi. Sipendi... Hii pop sipendi. Napenda classical kwa sababu naamini kwenye utulivu wa muziki. [...] Of course, ni sawa, watu wengine wanapenda na sioni kama ni shida.*

Although this *mwalimu* pointed out traditional songs as something (s)he likes a lot, they were barely present in his/her choir's repertoire list. This was confirmed by the interviewee's statement that "we have Western songs more." Therefore, the musical preferences of this *mwalimu* do not appear as a determining factor in the song selection. However, based on my research materials, it is not possible to draw any precise conclusions about the impact of the musical preferences of *walimu* on their decisions concerning choral repertoires.

Congregational life is organized around the church year, and this is why the church year and suitability for the church service context in general form the main guidelines in choosing songs for choirs (Figure 11).

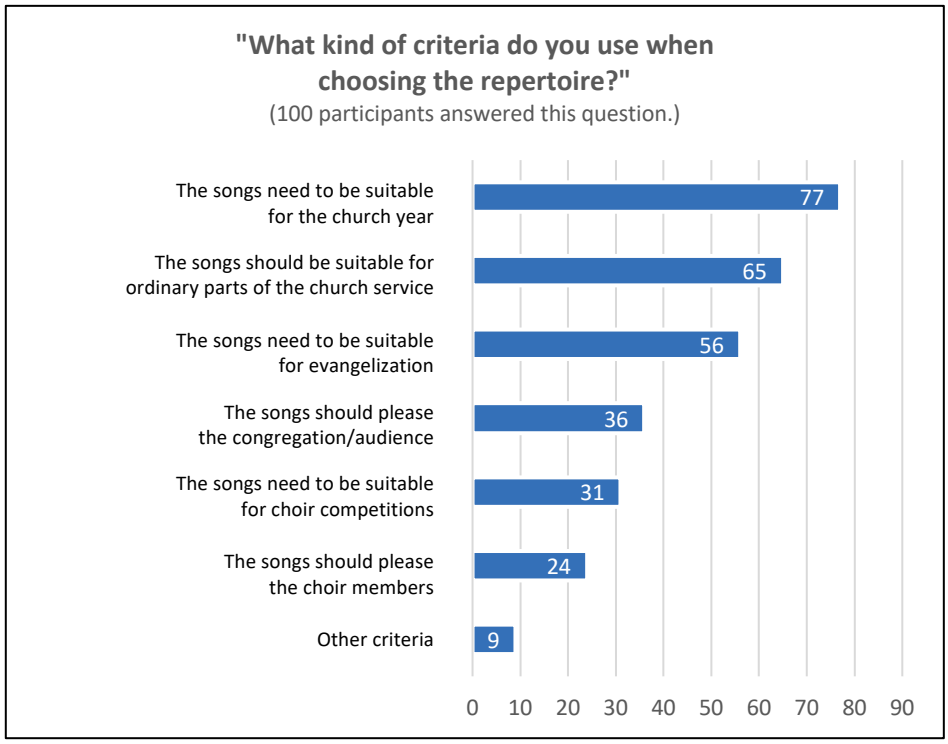

Figure 11. Repertoire selection criteria. (Survey question number 13.)

The ELCT calendar was mentioned in all of the interviews as a guide for each Sunday's theme. One *mwalimu* explained that

> The choir is given the calendar so that we know the readings of each Sunday. (Int. 8)
> *Kwaya imepewa kalenda kwamba tutajua Jumapili ni somo gani.*

This calendar is a small booklet, a lectionary, containing information such as all the biblical readings for weekly church services and some texts from the Bible for each day of the year. It is published yearly by the ELCT.

In addition to the repertoire selection criteria mentioned in Figure 11, several *walimu*, including both survey and interview participants, strongly underlined the importance of the Christian message and the importance of both Christian and

moral education through the choirs' songs; they see the choirs as "message bearers" (see Bartolome 2018, 270).[102] However, the suitability for the church year or other occasions is mainly connected to the song texts and does not reveal much about the musical content of a song. Thus, as an example, a song that is considered suitable for a church service on Christmas can be composed in various musical styles as long as the text is related to Christmas.

Several interviewees pointed out the importance of including a variety of musical styles in their choir's repertoire in order to reach and communicate with as many people as possible, as the following *walimu* stated:

> Yes, try [different musical styles]. For what reason? So that people won't get tired. (Int. 7)
> *Ee, jaribu. Kwa sababu gani? Ili watu wasichoke.*

> We try to have different flavors, in order to suit everyone. (Int. 10)
> *Tunajaribu kuweka vionjo tofauti kwa ajili ya kuwafaa watu wote.*

Nevertheless, reality may look quite different since the concept of variety can be understood in many ways. For some *walimu*, variety means combining different styles within one musical genre, as is the case with the first of the following passages (Int. 6), in which the interviewee discusses popular music styles only. For others, as for *mwalimu* of the second passage (Int. 5), it signifies including songs from different genres in a choir's repertoire.

> We don't have any special style [that dominates]. [...] we mix different styles of music. We may employ the rhythm of country, the country style or we play soukous or rumba – the flavors depend on the song we have composed. (Int. 6)
> *Hatuna staili maalum kabisa. [...] tunachanganyachanganya ladha tofauti za muziki. Tunaweza tukatengeneza rhythm na ni country, kama staili ya country. Au tukapiga soukous au rumba, kulingana na wimbo ambao umetunga utakuwa na ladha gani.*

> [W]e have these two choirs [in the parish]. [...] Sometimes we all have songs with electric instruments and those songs that don't use instruments at all. There are also songs from everyone's own ethnic group, songs that are influenced by a certain ethnic group. (Int. 5)
> *[T]una kwaya hizi mbili [kwenye usharika]. [...] Wote tuna wakati kuna nyimbo zinazotumia muziki vyombo moto na tuna ambazo, nyimbo ambazo*

[102] This is again a point where I have been pondering my own role as the interviewer, whether or how much my background as a representative of a church-related institution has influenced the responses.

> *hazitumii vyombo kabisa. Na kuna ambazo za kutokana na makabila ya kila mmoja. Na nyimbo ambazo zinaelekea kabila fulani.*

Diversity is an ideal that does not always correspond to reality. For instance, the survey materials indicated that even some of the interviewees who verbally emphasized the importance of the variety of choral repertoires did not necessarily show that in the repertoire lists they provided as part of the questionnaire. This is at least partly due to the individual definitions of "variety" and to the distinctions in the availability of different kinds of music together with one's ability to use them. On the other hand, since there are often several choirs functioning within one parish, the overall picture of choral music at the parish level can be rather wide and diverse.

The repertoire list given by the *mwalimu* above (Int. 5) includes seventeen songs accompanied by electric instruments and three *a cappella* songs (Appendix 4, Repertoire list A). A large majority of the songs are labeled as *walimu*'s compositions.[103] Thus, the repertoire does not necessarily show great diversity; it is more something to aim for. However, the choirs' repertoires are large, and when listing the songs for the survey, the respondents may have written down the songs that first came into their minds without thinking of whether the list reflected the repertoire as a whole or not.

In the survey's repertoire lists, there was not much repetition of songs. Some individual songs were mentioned twice or three times, but none of them came up much more frequently.[104] Each choir's repertoire forms a unique entity, although it may consist of only one musical genre. Barz (2006, 27) points out that a certain musical repertoire can been seen as a "musical badge" of a particular group of people. A church choir may be known, for instance, as a performer of Tanzanian gospel music or music of a certain ethnic group. The message of the songs may, at least to some extent, be bound to the church year and the themes of Sunday services, but there is more freedom with the musical styles that are used in communicating that message.

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[103] Although this respondent had marked the songs in the list as "*walimu*'s compositions" (*walimu* being a plural form), there was always only one person named as the composer of each song, which suggests that the songs are results of individual work, not of collaborative composition.

[104] Although only 48 survey respondents of the total of 105 listed 20 songs as I asked, 88 gave at least some information concerning their choirs' repertoire. In some cases, only the song titles were mentioned.

A musical genre can be an effective means of creating and preserving group identity – there is "us," the insiders of a particular genre, and "them," the outsiders (see Dueck 2017, 127). A certain kind of music often brings together like-minded individuals, people who like similar kinds of music. I suggest, however, that the diversity of repertoire or the ability to perform many kinds of music can be regarded as another musical badge. This is something that became visible in the following interview, in which *mwalimu* explains how his choir is known for singing many kinds of music:

> Us, for example, we've received lots of invitations from different parishes due to the different styles and languages we can sing. (Int. 1)
> *Kama sisi tumepata mialiko mingi sana kutoka sharika mbalimbali pamoja na staili mbalimbali ambazo tunaweza kuimba na kuimba lugha mbalimbali.*

The diversity of this choir's repertoire can be seen in the list given by this interviewee (Appendix 4, Repertoire list B) – the list consists of songs in several languages, representing various traditions from different geographical locations. To sing music that differs from what other choirs sing can be an intentional goal and decision, and I count it – together with other music-related decisions and choices – as part of the "musical identity elements" as suggested by Bower and Swart (2016, 7). It is something that I would even call the identity of musical diversity: in addition to a specific genre being used as a means for marking difference, the diversity of repertoire can be used in a similar way to differentiate oneself (a choir) from others.

5.3 Us Lutherans, Us Christians: Church Music, The Church's Music, and Music in the Church

Many *walimu* of this research, both among the survey and interview participants, expressed quite clear opinions about what they think church music is or should be, what kind of music is considered suitable for church use, and what kind of music should not be performed in church-related events. These are questions that are related both to the participants' religious and musical identities. These views can be seen as some kind of ideals – whether they are implemented in everyday life is not possible to evaluate here. Being *walimu wa kwaya* themselves, the interviewees mainly discussed choral music. The perspectives concerning the functions of music in the church could be summarized in the following way:

Songs in a church context should be related to the Bible, to the texts or to the theme of the particular Sunday or of the occasion in question. The message is important: singing is preaching, and songs are tools of Christian and moral education.[105] Songs act as mediators or translators between the Biblical text and the audience, transforming the message into a more understandable form. Church choir songs should touch people's lives. The songs should comfort people, both those who sing and those who listen. The songs should guide and teach people. They should bring change to individual lives and to the church in general. Although music in the church may sometimes be viewed only as entertainment, that is not how it should be, at least not exclusively.

The respondents' views concerning the importance of the message were in line with musicologist Femi Adedeji's (2012, 411) statement that African songs are text-bound. Although this is a quite general remark, my interviewees seem to follow Adedeji's observation that the question "what is a song saying?" is considered more important than its musical aspects.

Several participants pointed out that since people are different and tastes are many, different musical styles are needed in the church; a wide variety of styles and genres is accepted if they are carried out well. According to some interviewees, good melody underlines the message, while good harmony and a good arrangement bring a feeling of organization to the music.[106]

However, not everything is accepted, at least not by all participants; by some interviewees, "music of the world" was seen as a threat to church music. One *mwalimu* stated that

> Church music has already been affected. [...] It has been affected by the music of the world. (Int. 9)
> *Muziki wa kanisa umeshaingiliwa. [...] Kwamba umeingiliwa na muziki wa duniani.*

This category of "music of the world" was mentioned by some other interviewees as well and it was usually connected to certain popular music styles. The person

[105] Compare with theologian Gertrud Tönsing's (2013, 2) statement concerning the use of songs during the Reformation: "Songs were used not only to praise but also to preach and teach." It is important to note that the notion of preaching in my research comes directly from the interview materials, and I am not taking a stance on the theological contents of the songs. That would be a topic for other research. For a comparison of singing and preaching elsewhere, see Price (2015).
[106] "Good" is, of course, a subjective definition, and the meanings given to it differ.

in the previous interview mentioned the lack of musical education as one reason for the current situation: since many *walimu* do not have any training or education in music, they cannot be expected to know what is suitable or not.[107] Although Tanzanian gospel music draws much of its influence from popular music styles, at some interview moments they were regarded as two totally separate things that are not comparable in any way. This could be connected to the previously mentioned statement by Adedeji concerning the importance of song texts. Popular songs contain lyrics that are "of the world," while gospel music texts are "of the church"; the text defines the entire song. This was the case in the following interview:

> [W]e don't have [pop music in the church]. Mm, and we don't need it. Mm. As I told you already, when you are in church you must have discipline! Mm? That is, you know you are in a holy place. You raise them [the people] in the church to sing pop? Mm? [...] No... If you have discipline, you know that singing is preaching. You don't differ from the pastor, so you should concentrate on [the fact] that you are in church! (Int. 7)
> *[H]atuna. Mm, wala hatuhitaji. Mm. Kama nilivyokwisha kukuambia, ukiwa kanisani lazima uwe na nidhamu! Mm? Yaani, jua uko mahali pa takatifu. Utawalee kanisani kuimba pop? Mm? [...] Hapana... Wewe kuwa na nidhamu unajua kuimba ni kuhubiri. Huna tofauti na mchungaji. Kwa hivyo uwe concentrated kwamba uko kanisani!*

This interviewee may have been confused by my use of the word "pop music"; the reaction would possibly have been different if I had used only the term "gospel music." This person probably thought about the text or message of the songs and about bringing the message of the pop music songs to the church. Later in our discussion, I asked this interviewee's opinion about different kinds of music, gospel music among others, and about trying styles that one's choir is not familiar with. The final conclusion was that

> Like this it is okay, that you shouldn't stay in one place. [...] If people are used to [singing] this one style only... Ah, it is tiring. [...] Vary [musical] styles, vary [between] the styles of the church. (Int. 7)
> *Kwa njia hiyo sawa. Kwamba msikae mahali pa moja. [...] Wakiwa watu wakishazoea staili hiyo hiyo... Ah, yaani inachosha. [...] Yaani badilisha staili. Kubadilisha staili za ki-kanisa.*

[107] This is similar to Simon Frith's (2004, 27) notion of "untutored" musicians: "[T]hey can't do certain things because they haven't been taught how."

In this excerpt, the term "style" refers to different musical genres and "styles of the church" to different kinds of church music.

The use of popular music styles in the church has also raised questions about the use of sound systems and other equipment. For some people, this does not cause any problems, while others are worried about the lack of training and would like to see the new technologies in the service of the music, not as something disturbing it. One interviewee stated that

> Even if the sound is loud, the arrangement should be good. (Int. 3)
> *Hata kama ni kuimba kwa sauti kubwa kubwa, lakini na arrangement iwepo mzuri.*

For the *walimu* concerned about this, the challenge is usually not the music itself but the way the instruments and other equipment are used. This is an issue that divides people to different groups – there are us (or I) and them, as described here:

> Other things need to be adjusted a bit, especially [the use of] electric instruments. It's not that I don't like [the music], but I don't like... technicalities, the way how we don't... they don't know yet the importance of [musical] instruments being used as accompaniment. [...] It is loud. That I don't like, but the songs are not bad. (Int. 1)
> *Vitu vingine vinahitaji kuwa adjusted kidogo. Sana sana vyombo vya umeme. Si kwamba nachukia [muziki], lakini nachukia... technicality. Jinsi ambavyo bado hatu... hawajajua umuhimu wa vyombo kuwa kama accompaniment. [...] Ni sauti kubwa. Ile ninachukia. Lakini nyimbo siyo mbaya.*

The official instructions concerning church choirs and their music in this diocese do not take a stand on the use of different musical styles, but they require that choral singing in the church should be live singing, without using CDs or other recordings (Katiba 2017, 51). Whether this is the reality or not, is not possible for me to state. Some participants specifically pointed out in the interviews that they preferred live performances instead of any kinds of pre-recorded components. One *mwalimu* stated that

> I believe in playing instruments more than programming computers. (Int. 2)
> *Mimi naamini kwenye kupiga vyombo zaidi kuliko ku-program computers.*

However, the use of keyboards is common for choirs, with various possibilities for creating and recording musical components and accompaniments, and other

recordings are used sometimes as well. According to one interviewee, the use of recordings as accompaniment is related to the lack of instruments:

> The problem we have here is that we don't have instruments, and that's why we record music. (Int. 10)
> *Shida inayotupata sisi ni kwa sababu hatuna vyombo ndiyo maana tunarekodi muziki.*

At least partly, I see this as being a part of a broader picture, the influences that come from popular music practices.

Over the years, one church-music-related question in the ELCT and in many other churches as well has been the suitability of local traditional music to church and to church services. As commonly acknowledged, the early missionaries rejected the use of local traditional musical styles and instruments in the churches. Later, the situation started to change, and music from various ethnic traditions started to take root in church services. One advocate of traditional music in Tanzanian church context was Stephen Mbunga (1927–1982), a Tanzanian Roman Catholic priest, composer, and choir director who played an important role in the early attempts of localizing church music in Tanzania (Sanga 2013a, 125). Mbunga is known, for instance, for his composition *Misa Baba Yetu* (1959), which draws influences from local Tanzanian music cultures (ibid., 127).

Although the *walimu* that I interviewed seemed to be in favor of using traditional music in church, there are other opinions as well. According to the following *mwalimu*, there are still people who consider local music traditions not suitable for a church context:

> Not many choirs want to use traditional songs in the choir. [...] Because... I don't know, it is maybe a way of thinking that culture goes together with paganism. You understand? That it is traditional, it is pagan. It's something of the world, of other gods, not God. [...] Many people still think like this, but when they hear traditional songs sung by choirs, they enjoy. [...] I think this [the use of traditional music] will spread little by little. (Int. 1)
> *Si kwaya nyingi wanapenda kutumia nyimbo za utamaduni kwenye kwaya. [...] Kwa sababu... Sijui, ni kufikiri labda utamaduni unapatana na upagani. Unaelewa? Kwamba ni utamaduni, ni upagani. Ni mambo ya dunia, ya mungu mwingine, siyo Mungu. [...] Kwa hiyo wengi bado wanafikiri hivyo. Lakini wakisikia nyimbo zikiimbwa za utamaduni kwenye kwaya wanafurahi. [...] nafikiri itaenea tu kidogo kidogo.*

Traditional music's connotations of life without or before Christianity could be understood as a threat to the Christian identity. However, in their interviews, the participants were in favor of the use of traditional music since it attracts people to listen to the message. Mkallyah (2016, 306) sees the increased use of traditional music in churches as a sign of liberation:

> The use of traditional music, local musical instruments, traditional techniques of playing instruments and dancing make churchgoers feel liberated in their own land and, hence, they participate fully in church worship.

Some interviewees discussed the encounter between ethnic and Christian cultures. It is an issue that still carries repercussions and influences from the past, as this *mwalimu* states:

> I am a Maasai, but I am not able to compose Maasai songs because in my environment, we didn't sing traditional songs. (Int. 3)
> *Mimi ni Mmasai lakini siwezi kutunga nyimbo za ki-Masai. Maana kwangu, mazingira [yangu], hatukuwa tunaimba nyimbo za ki-asili.*

Earlier in the interview, this person had stated having participated in Sunday school, which means that the childhood context had been Christian, but obviously traditional music was not part of it. The break with at least some parts of the local tradition led to the experience of not being able to create music following one's own ethnic tradition. This could be seen as an experience of otherness in relation to one's own musical culture.

Another *mwalimu* analyzed the suitability of traditional music styles for the church context as follows:

> [T]here are good things in traditions that could be brought into church. There are good things indeed. On the other hand, some other things are bad, not suitable at all. (Int. 9)
> *[K]una mambo mazuri ya kuyatoa asili na kupeleka kwenye kanisa. Yako mambo mazuri kabisa. Ijapokuwa mengine ni mabaya tu, hayafai kwa kweli.*

Our discussion continued in a different direction after this comment, and the interviewee did not further explain the meaning of good and bad. I understand these "good things" and "bad things" of traditions as connected to the original functions of the songs and/or the context in which they have originally been performed.

The feeling or experience of impropriety can be related to a different religious background. I remember having attended a church service where a choir performed a song with influences from the coastal part of Tanzania. Islam has a strong position in the coastal region, which is reflected in the music as well. I considered the choir's performance as a welcome variation to the regular practices, and, based on the congregations' reactions, I thought that so did others as well. Later, I heard that there were people who regarded the music as inappropriate to church since in their minds, it had connections with Islam.

Although maybe not available in printed form and not deeply pondered in official meetings, the ELCT as an institution holds certain ideas of music and its role in the church, and to some extent at least, they influence the thinking of *walimu*. The introductions or forewords to hymnals and other songbooks provide some insight into how music is perceived in and by the church as an institution.

In the introduction to the church's current hymnal, *Tumwabudu Mungu Wetu* (2012), the bishops of the ELCT stress the importance of singing in the worship services, stating that

> singing has played a very important role in the structure of our services. The blessings received in the services are not complete without singing. Our forefathers considered it important to use our gift of singing for praising our God.[108]

Here, singing is considered to be an essential part of the church services. It is something inherited from previous generations, a link between the past and the present. The emphasis on singing can also be seen as a continuation of the Lutheran tradition.[109]

In the introduction to *Tumshangilie Mungu*, a songbook that contains mostly songs rooted in the local African traditions, bishop Stefan Kolowa (1987, 3) asserts that "this kind of music can be learned easily, and it can help in spreading

[108] Original text in Swahili: *Uimbaji umekuwa sehemu muhimu sana katika utaratibu wa ibada zetu. Baraka kutokana na ibada zetu hazijakamilika bila kuwepo uimbaji. Wakale wetu waliona sababu kuu ya kutumia karama yetu ya uimbaji katika kumtukuza Mungu wetu.* (The English translation is mine.)

[109] For instance, theologian Miikka E. Anttila (2013, 84) points out that for Martin Luther music was important. Luther considered music God's gift through which "God demonstrates his loving goodness," and thus, "in return, we can praise God with the gift of music."

the Gospel among non-Christian Africans."[110] In this statement, music can be seen as a means for both creating new identities and maintaining or reflecting existing ones (see Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000, 31–32). The existing identity in this case would be the ethnic/African identity that is preserved through the performance of local/African music. At the same time, music is used in the attempt to create new Christian identities. Both the text by the group of bishops and the one of Kolowa include singing-related citations from the Bible. One of these often-used music-related biblical citations is *imbeni kwa akili*, "sing with understanding," from Psalm 47, which was mentioned by some of my interviewees as well:

> I know that the Bible says that "sing with understanding and with joy." (Int. 4)
> *[N]inajua kwamba Biblia inasema "imbeni kwa akili na kwa furaha."*

Music as a tool for preaching or spreading the Christian message was brought up both in the survey responses and in the interviews. In the organizational structure of the North Central Diocese, all music-related work is placed under the Department of Mission and Evangelism (NCD 2021). This is the place of music at the highest level of the ELCT, I assume, although it is not visible in its organizational chart.[111]

In the interviews, "the diocese" was sometimes seen as a kind of authority over parish music (emphasis added):

> If I had more training [in music], all the sub-parishes would change, and we would be going [=doing] **as the diocese wants**. (Int. 8)
> *Sasa ningekuwa na elimu zaidi, mitaa yote ingebadilika na tungekuwa tunaenda **kama vile dayosisi inavyotaka**.*

This statement gives the impression that there are certain institutional expectations regarding music in the Diocese. In this case, "the diocese" could refer to the director of music working in the North Central Diocese. The expectations related to music in the church were visible in other interviews as well – for instance, in the passage stating that *walimu* cannot know certain things since "they have not been taught how church music should be" (Int. 10, chapter 4.2). This person indicates that there are rules to follow or ideas of "how church music should be."

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[110] Original text in Swahili: *[M]uziki wa aina hii unaweza kujifunzwa kwa urahisi na kuwa msaada kwa kazi ya kueneza Injili kwa Waafrika wasio Wakristo.* (The English translation is mine.)
[111] For the Organizational Chart of the ELCT, see http://www.elct.org/images/orgchart.html.

The views held by the institution with which the choirs are affiliated can be labeled as the choirs' "organizational identity elements" (Bower & Swart 2016, 12), which in this case are the elements that contribute to the choirs' understanding of themselves as Lutherans in Tanzania. Since the church is the context for the existence of these choirs, its ideals influence the choirs' thinking and actions, whether consciously or unconsciously.

5.4 Choral Repertoires Revisited

During the different phases of this research, I have frequently tried to figure out how to portray the choir songs – what would be the most suitable way to describe the choral repertoires? Especially the local compositions include influences from different sources, which makes it challenging to classify the composers' styles as belonging to certain musical categories. Another question is whether it is even necessary to be able to label the music in that way. The genre-based song categorization was used in the interviews, but usually I was the one who first introduced those terms in the discourse. The interviewees often used descriptions or definitions that expand the characterization of the songs to quite different directions, beyond the genre-based thinking. *Walimu* talked about the songs, for instance, in terms of what they are like, to whom they belong, or how and in which occasions they are performed. At the same time, with or without words, consciously or unconsciously, the interviewees were defining the opposite, for example, what the songs are not or should not be like.

Based on the interviews, I created a song categorization through which it is possible to explore the choral repertoires from a different perspective. It consists of four pairs: (1) Our songs and Other people's songs, (2) *Nyimbo za kawaida*[112] and Special songs, (3) *Noten* and Not-*noten*[113], and (4) Of the church and Of the world. The two components of a pair do not need to be seen as total and fixed opposites but as two different viewpoints between which there is space as well. These categories, to a varying extent, are connected to the formation of identities, either those of choirs or those of *walimu*.

[112] *Nyimbo* = Songs in Swahili. *Kawaida* = Ordinary, normal, or usual in Swahili.

[113] *Noten* = the music of notes, notated music, or sheet music in Swahili. The Swahili word for note is *noti.* In some cases, in the interviewees' speech the words *noti* and *noten* seemed to be interchangeable.

Our Songs – Other People's Songs

In the interviews, "our songs" often referred to the songs of one's own choir and to the songs that somehow make the choir's repertoire unique in comparison to others. In many cases, they are songs composed by *mwalimu* or *walimu* of that specific choir. In a way, these songs are seen as the choir's property. For instance, in the hymn *Bwana asema nimtume nani* (The Lord says: Who should I send), number 390 of the current ELCT hymnal, there is no information about the composer, but instead there is a mention of the choir from which the song originates.

In the following, there are two examples of how these terms were employed in the interviews (emphasis added):

> A long time ago we sang **other people's songs**, but when we started to compose **our own songs**... we liked a lot to compose **our own songs**. [...] other choirs take **our songs**, they sing... So in our district, almost everywhere they sing **our songs**. Others have even started to record [them], but we say that we won't be destroyed because songs are many. [...] We continue to compose. (Int. 4)
> *Zamani sana tulikuwa tunaimba **nyimbo za watu wengine**. Lakini tulipokuja kupata namna ya kutunga **nyimbo zetu**... tukawa tukapenda sana kutunga **nyimbo zetu**. [...] kwaya zingine nao wanachukua **za kwetu**, wanaimba... Kwa hiyo karibu jimbo letu kwa sasa karibu kila mahali wameimba **nyimbo zetu**. Hata wengine wameanza kurikodi. Lakini sisi tunasema kwa kuwa hatufilisiki kwa sababu nyimbo ni nyingi. [...] Tunaendelea kutunga.*

> Every week we may choose two songs. If we teach two songs and one is learned well, we will sing it on Sunday together with other songs that we've sung earlier. But **ours**. (Int. 6)
> *Kwa kila wiki labda tuchukue nyimbo mbili. Tukifundisha nyimbo mbili, ikashikwa mmoja vizuri tutaimba Jumapili pamoja na nyimbo ambazo ziliimbwa nyuma kidogo. Lakini **za kwetu**.*

Singing these songs contributes to the construction of "us" as a group and to the strengthening of the sense of togetherness. It is a way of stating "this is who we are." "Our songs" can be sung and performed by other choirs as well, yet this does not make them less "ours"; those songs are originally from our choir. In fact, it may even be seen as something that the choir can be proud of since "our songs" are something that other choirs want to sing as well. The fact that the choral repertoires are quite unique does not mean that choirs do not have any songs in common.

While discussing "our songs," another aspect – "other people's songs" – was created simultaneously, meaning songs that are composed by people outside one's own choir and sung by other choirs. These songs are not necessarily better or less good than "our songs," but the relationship with them is different. For example, in the following excerpts (emphasis added), the interviewees discussed other people's songs but did not label them in any other ways than that:

> I don't take songs... I haven't got the idea of taking [using] **other person's songs**. (Int. 8)
> *Sichukui nyimbo... Sijapata ufahamu wa kuchukua **nyimbo za mtu mwingine**.*

> A choir should have lots of songs. [...] A choir should have at least fifty **songs of their own** – **their own** exclusively – and not **other people's songs**. (Int. 10)
> *Kwaya inatakiwa iwe na nyimbo nyingi. [...] Kwaya inatakiwa isikose nyimbo hamsini ambazo ni **za kwao**. **Za kwao** tu. Na si **nyimbo za watu**.*

Since the Swahili word *ufahamu* literally means "understanding" or "comprehension," the passage from interview eight can be interpreted as "having not thought about using other people's songs," but it could just as well refer to not knowing how to take them.

The division between "ours" and "other people's" may sometimes contain ethnic or national features as well. These terms can be used in describing songs from one's own ethnic group in comparison to songs from other ethnicities, or more generally, Tanzanian music versus music from other countries, as the following excerpts show (emphasis added):

> [W]e don't often choose to sing [songs from] **other people's traditions**. (Int. 4)
> *[H]atukushika sana kuimba **utamaduni wa watu wengine**.*

> First, I love to be Tanzanian. I like Tanzanian ethnicities a lot, so I like traditions **here at home**. (Int. 10)
> *Kwanza ninapenda sana kuwa Mtanzania. Ninapenda sana makabila ya ki-Tanzania kwa hiyo ninapenda asili ya **nyumbani kwetu**.*

> I can't leave out the Maasai music because I am a Maasai. Because **our music** is good, it really is good. I have even written one Maasai song. (Int. 2)
> *[S]iwezi kuacha muziki ya Wamasai, kwa sababu mimi ni Mmasai. Kwa sababu **muziki yetu** ni nzuri, kwa kweli ni nzuri. Hata nimeandika wimbo mmoja wa ki-Masai.*

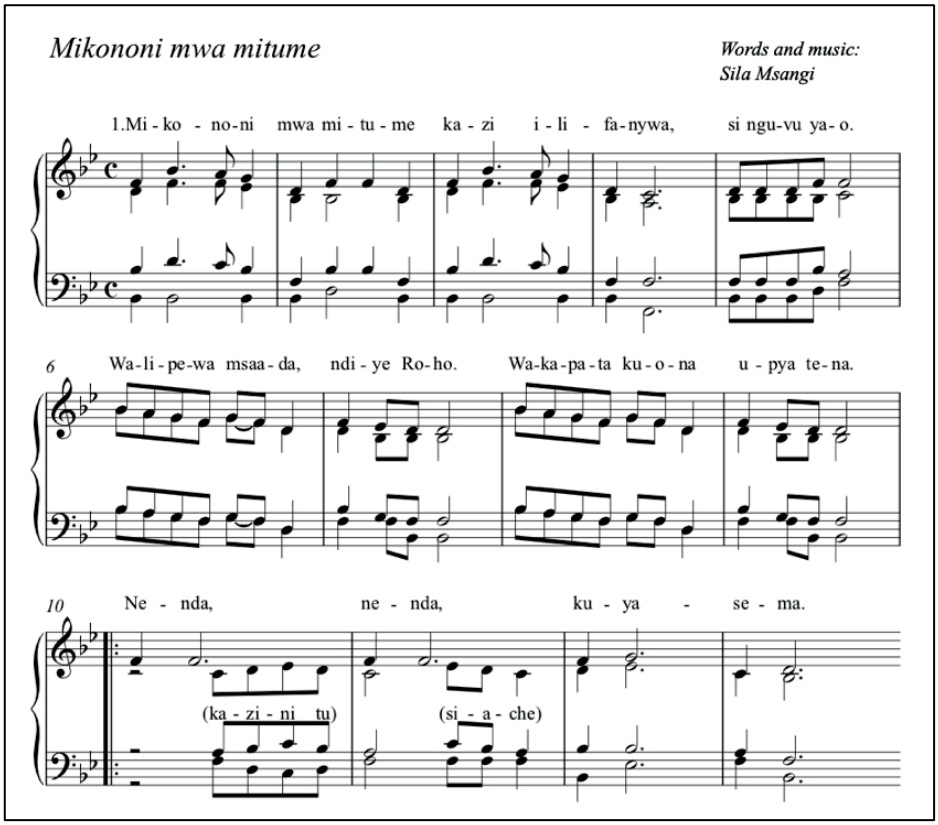
The previous quotation (Int. 2) is a strong statement concerning this person's cultural background and the urge or the need to express it through music, especially through choral music in this case. In this way, music is engaged in the performance of one's ethnic/cultural identity.

It is not an easy task to define what it is that makes something "ours." What does it mean that music is "locally meaningful" (Ingalls et al. 2018, 3), and according to whom is it so? In relation to choral repertoires, this can be discussed from several viewpoints, and yet it remains a complex question. I suggest that a single song can be regarded both as "our song" and as "other people's song" at the same time, or at least something in between those two, not necessarily either/or. For example, a song may originate from elsewhere, from another choir or even abroad, but it is our song in a sense that we are the only ones singing it here, in this environment. Also, a certain song in a particular form can be regarded as "ours" – a song may have been arranged in a way that differs from what others are doing or from its usual performance practice. This line of thought has some resonance with Bohlman's (1999, 20) concept of "my music." He contends that "as an attribute of identity, 'my music' may result from the production or reproduction of music. [...] It may be the case that performances produce personal ownership." Furthermore, I suggest that this process of "becoming ours" may happen through repetition and continuous performances, by getting used to something that at first was seen as someone else's.

I suggest that "our songs" of a choir can be linked to the traditional concept of *ngoma*. In the same way as *ngoma* can identify ethnic groups (Chiwalala 2009, 18), "our songs" can function as a way to recognize a certain choir from other choirs. In traditional Tanzanian contexts, "ngoma functions as an identity for social groups" (ibid.). Similarly, in this church context, "our songs" function as an identity for church choirs.

A song can be "ours" in an ethnic or national sense even if its origins are in another choir. Based on my experiences in Tanzania, the compositions of Silas Msangi, who was a Lutheran pastor, musician, and teacher, could be regarded as "our songs" in the sense of being Tanzanian or more specifically being Tanzanian Lutheran. One example of Msangi's compositions commonly sung by choirs is *Mikononi mwa mitume* (In the hands of the apostles), number 75 in the ELCT hymnal (Example 9).

Example 9. The beginning of hymn number 75, *Mikononi mwa mitume*. Harmonization as in the book *Mwimbieni Bwana na sauti zake*.



Msangi's compositions, including *Mikononi mwa mitume*, were mentioned in the repertoire lists by seven survey respondents. His songs are well represented in the ELCT's song books: 17 in the current ELCT hymnal and 19 in the song collection called *Tumshangilie Mungu* (1987). Due to Msangi's large and frequently sung hymn production, he may be regarded as one of the founders of the Tanzanian Lutheran hymn.[114] However, although many of his songs are included in the hymnal, they are often more suitable for choirs than for congregation to sing due to the alternating parts, which is one common feature of his songs (Mashauri, February 8, 2020). This alternation could be interpreted as an application of the call-and-response form that is common in music of many African cultures. In the song *Mikononi mwa mitume*, this practice is visible starting in the measure ten,

[114] According to Olson (1987, 5), Msangi composed more than 300 hymns. The book *Tumshangilie Mungu* is dedicated to Msangi as a sign of respect and appreciation for his work.

where sopranos sing *nenda* ("go" in Swahili) and others reply with *kazini tu* ("just to work" in Swahili).

Because his songs are of Tanzanian origin and widely known and sung, performances of Msangi's songs can be seen as contributing to the sense of "us" as Lutherans in Tanzania. His compositions represent the first attempts to localize hymns, to make them more approachable than imported hymns and to create something that could be regarded as "ours." They can be seen as one step in the effort of showing that "songs of African traditions can be the bearers of the Gospel and they are suitable for church services" (Mashauri, February 8, 2020).[115] Rev. Sululu (September 25, 2020) describes Msangi's songs as quite easy, short, and sweet, and theologically "rich and very Lutheran." In addition to hymns, Msangi also composed other songs, including a song called "Tanganyika, Tanganyika," which after independence changed into "Tanzania, Tanzania." It is commonly sung in schools, military, and public events (ibid.).

Although Msangi's songs may appear very similar to many European hymn compositions with four-part arrangements, "Western" harmonies, and a form consisting of several verses, they are in fact Tanzanian. For their part, the allusions to call-and-response form contribute to the "Tanzanianness" of the songs. In our choir in Arusha, I remember having sung several songs composed by Msangi, *Mikononi mwa mitume* among others, and often I felt that there was something in the rhythm that I could not reach. Since the rhythms of those songs as such are simple, I came to the conclusion that maybe the accentuation of the songs is somehow different than what I expected.

Much of the music in the colonial and postcolonial contexts has come into existence in the "third space," to borrow a term from Bhabha (1994, 55) – in the space between the colonial and the so-called local culture. This, I suggest, is the case with Msangi's songs as well. They are following a European model, but at the same time they contain something different. I see them as located somewhere in-between.

[115] Original comment in Swahili: *[N]yimbo za tamaduni za kiafrika zaweza kuvalishwa mavazi ya kiinjili na kufaa kutumika katika ibada.* (The English translation is mine.)

Nyimbo za Kawaida (Ordinary Songs) – Special Songs

Nyimbo za kawaida, ordinary songs, are songs that a choir sings regularly, songs that form the basis of a choir's repertoire. They are relatively easy in relation to the choir's repertoire in general, well-known by the choir members, and the message of the songs is suitable for many occasions but especially for regular Sunday services throughout the church year. The music to which "ordinary" refers may differ from one choir to another – it depends on a particular choir's repertoire in general. Since the choirs perform a lot, these songs are needed. They are the ones that are performed, for instance, when a choir is asked to sing more songs than what they had prepared for a certain occasion. The term *nyimbo za kawaida* was used, for example, in the following interview passages (emphasis added):

> For now, we still teach ***nyimbo za kawaida***. [...] We try also to do pieces that are a bit more difficult. (Int. 2)
> *Kwa sasa bado tunafundisha* ***nyimbo za kawaida****. [...] Tunajaribu kufanya pieces pia ambazo ni ngumu kidogo.*

> But for days, these other days you may... there are ***nyimbo za kawaida***. [...] [Interviewer: And what does *kawaida* mean here?]
> You may choose these ***kawaida*** [songs]. For example, like now, it's the time of Lent... so these things about suffering are the songs to sing this time. So when it's the time of resurrection we sing songs of resurrection. (Int. 8)
> *Lakini kwa siku, hizi siku zingine unaweza... kuna na ni* ***nyimbo za kawaida****. [...] [Anayehoji: Na maana yake ya kawaida hapo ni nini?]*
> *Unaweza ukachagua hiyo* ***kawaida****. Kwa mfano kama sasa hivi ni wakati wa majilio... kwa hiyo mambo ya kuteswa ndiyo nyimbo za kuimba wakati huu. Kwa hiyo ukifika wakati wa kufufuka tunaimba nyimbo za kufufuka.*

It was a challenging task for the *mwalimu* of the second excerpt (Int. 8) to explain the meaning of *nyimbo za kawaida*, although (s)he was the one that used it first. I interpreted the expression "these other days" as referring to ordinary Sundays when there is not any special occasions or festivities. Ordinary songs would then be songs that could be sung on any Sunday, unlike those that are connected to certain events. Songs of Lent or songs of resurrection are songs specifically meant for a certain time of the year, which means that they are not ordinary.

If some songs are seen as ordinary, then what are the rest? I have named them "special songs," even though the interviewees did not use that term. The opposite of *kawaida* in Swahili is *maalum*, but since it did not appear in the interviews, I have decided to use the English word "special." However, the term *wimbo*

maalum, a special song, is frequently used in this context, although not in my interviews. It refers, for example, to the set song in choir competitions or to a song that all performing choirs sing together in a concert (Mashauri, May 20, 2020). This, I think, confirms the existence of something that is considered ordinary.

"Special songs" are songs that are more demanding than the ordinary repertoire, and they are often rehearsed for special events or festivities. At least to some extent, "special" refers to a song's technical level as well. In the following quotation, the *mwalimu* discusses chromaticism which, according to him, is very challenging for the local choirs to sing:

> It is still difficult for our choir, so it will be even more difficult for other choirs. (Int. 1)
> *Bado ni ngumu kwenye kwaya yetu, na kwa hiyo itakuwa ni ngumu zaidi kwa kwaya zingine.*

Music including chromaticism is an example of "special" since it is sung only occasionally and only a few choirs are able to do it. The previous interviewee describes his choir as a group that is able to sing music that contains these kinds of difficult features, which I think can be seen as a part of the choir's identity.

"Special" may include a notion of "something that others are not able to sing" or "something to aim at." It is one way of marking difference between one's own choir and other choirs, as the following passage indicates:

> They [the choir] like Handel's songs. They like to sing other composer's songs and they like difficult songs. [...] Really, they have told me, they've asked me to teach songs that are difficult, that others are not able to sing, we need those [songs]. (Int. 3)
> *Wanapenda hasa nyimbo za Handel. Wanapenda kuimba nyimbo za watunzi wengine na wanapenda nyimbo ngumu. [...] Kwa kweli wameniambia kwamba wameniomba tufundishe nyimbo ambazo ni ngumu, wengine wanashindwa kuimba, sisi tunahitaji hizo.*

This choir is aiming at creating a certain kind of image of itself. It would like to be a choir that is known for repertoire that consists of special songs – in this case songs that "others are not able to sing."

More broadly, I suggest that an entire repertoire of a choir could be labeled as "special" if it differs markedly from the average of what the most choirs' repertoires are usually like, and this, for its part, can influence a choir's self-understanding. This aspect of "special" in a repertoire may become visible, for

instance, in the variety of styles or languages. Even though "special" may contain a nuance of something better or of higher ranking, it does not reduce the importance of *nyimbo za kawaida* as the foundation of the repertoire.

A "special song" may become an "ordinary song" in a choir's repertoire. One interviewee pointed this out when describing his choirs' relation to a song that had been very different from all the other songs in that choir's previous repertoire (emphasis added):

> We liked it. We sang it many, many times because [it was] a new thing. We didn't think that we were able [to sing it]. It has become **ordinary** now. (Int. 1)
> *Tuliipenda. Tuliimba mara nyingi sana kwa sababu kitu kipya. Hatukufikiri kama tungeweza. Sasa imekuwa **ya kawaida**.*

After being sung and performed many times, the song became something that everyone knew, a part of the choir's ordinary repertoire, and performing it did not require much effort anymore.

The meaning of ordinary and special is difficult to define precisely. It is not clearly either/or but could be seen as a continuum with ordinary at one end and special at the other. A song finds its place somewhere in between those ends, but the point is not fixed. In my view, a single song may be labeled differently in different contexts even if it is sung by the same choir each time. For a certain choir, a song or a musical style may be *kawaida* since they have sung it many times. Even for their regular audience, for the congregation in their local parish, it may be *kawaida*. But performed in a new context and/or to a new audience, the same song may appear as special from the audience's point of view, although it is still ordinary to the choir that is performing. For instance, a song in a certain ethnic/traditional style may be special to an audience that is accustomed to a more popular style music, or a performance of Western classical church music can be regarded as special in an environment where traditional music dominates. I further suggest that, similarly to what was discussed in relation to "our songs" and "other people's songs," an ordinary song can become special because of the form. For example, a performance of a well-known hymn can appear special if it is performed as a male choir arrangement instead of a more common mixed choir version of it.

Noten – Not-noten

Noten, which could be translated as "the music of notes," "notated music," or "sheet music," was a term frequently used by *walimu* in the interviews, for example, in the following way:

> He plays *noten*, songs from books. (Int. 6)
> *Anapiga noten, nyimbo za vitabu.*

Although it is difficult to give one comprehensive definition of *noten*, it often refers to the Western classical music or Western hymns but sometimes to other notated or printed music as well. On the other hand, even though songs representing traditional music may also have been notated and even printed, they are not usually called *noten*. Kidula (2013, 77) uses the term "book music" when referring to a similar kind of music in the Kenyan Christian context. She explains that

> 'Book' music is a song in missionary hymn style, whether it is a translated hymn/song or a composition by local musicians in structures associated with missionary music. It includes liturgical hymns, gospel hymns and songs, and other styles of European or American origin or form. These pieces are compiled into booklets or hymnals.

Many of the compositions by local *walimu* are not included in the category of *noten*; they are not-*noten*. In several interviewees' speech, *noten* was related to professionalism or expertise, to certain skills of music theory, and to training in music in general (emphasis added):

> [I]f we had a *mwalimu* who knows to teach **these songs of *noten***. Those are songs that our choir manages better than the music of jumping. [...] The thing that I like in **the songs of *noten*** is that **they help to raise [the technical level of] singers' voices**. (Int. 5)
> *[T]ukipata mwalimu anayejua kufundisha **nyimbo hizi za noten**. Ni nyimbo ambazo kwanza kwaya yetu inamudu kuliko muziki wa kurukaruka. [...] Kitu ninachopenda kwenye **nyimbo za noten**, kwanza **zinasaidia kuinua sauti za waimbaji**.*

> [I]f you bring **a song of *noten***, it takes a long time to complete it because it is **a song of expertise**, isn't it? [...] These songs, **songs of *noten*, like *Hallelujah Chorus***. We would like a lot [to sing those] if we get someone to teach us. (Int. 7)
> *[U]kileta **wimbo wa noten** unachukua muda mrefu kukamilika kwa sababu **si ki-taalumu?** [...] Hizo nyimbo, **nyimbo za noten, kama Haleluya kuu**. Tungependa sana tungepata mtu wa kutufundisha.*

This categorization does not contain a good – bad polarity, unless the notion of "music of jumping" as a contrary to *noten* is considered as such.

In the interviews, the exact word *noten* was not necessarily always used when referring to this kind of music. There were alternative expressions as well, as can be seen in the following passages (emphasis added):

> I teach [mainly] two kinds of music. [...] There's music with [electric] instruments. Like *pambio* and others and **this which uses notes**. (Int. 10)
> *[N]afundisha aina mbili za music. [...] Kuna muziki huu wa kupiga na instruments. Kama... yaani kama pambio na vitu vingine. Na **hii kuna kutumia noti**.*

> I like traditional songs a lot. [...] But it's not that I don't like these other songs. I like a lot these songs of... **those that have been written**. (Int. 9)
> *[Nazipenda sana nyimbo za asili. [...] Lakini pia si kwamba hizo zingine ninazichukia. Nazipenda sana pia nyimbo hizi za... **ambazo zimeandikwa**.]*

The preferences in relation to *noten* vary. For some *walimu*, it is an important part of their choir's repertoire and something they want to concentrate on or to aim at. For others, it is not a priority, or they are not familiar with that kind of music. Those *walimu* may ask for colleague's help in teaching if they need to learn a song of *noten,* such as a set song for a choir competition. This strengthens the image of these songs as something in which expertise is needed. Several *walimu* shared the experience expressed in the following interview:

> I like *noten* a lot and I would like to learn it, but the means [for studying] are limited. (Int. 8)
> *[M]imi noten napenda sana na nilitamani niifahamu. Ila tu uwezo unakuwa mdogo.*

The use of music that is considered *noten* is something that draws lines between choirs and between choral repertoires. In the following passage, *mwalimu* talks about *noten* as the songs that other choirs or *walimu* – "they" – are using.

> Especially with those songs that they use... [with] these *noten*, we often use people from town, our friends. Yes, they help us to teach these notated things because we don't understand. We like [it], but we don't understand it. (Int. 4)
> *Hasa kwa zile nyimbo ambazo wanatumia... hizi noten. Tunawatumia sana watu wa mjini. Rafiki zetu. Ndiyo wanatusaidia kufundisha mambo ya noten. Maana sisi hatuelewi. Tunapenda lakini hatuijui.*

The interviewee regards *noten* as a part of some other choirs' being but not of their own. His/her choir sings those songs as well but needs someone from outside the choir to teach them. Apparently, *noten* does not play a significant part in this choir's repertoire and thus in their self-understanding. Although in this interview *noten* is connected to the "people from town," it would probably be a hasty conclusion to claim that *noten* is more associated with urban than rural choirs. However, due to the uneven access to musical training, there may be some correlation between them. Seven interviewees used the word *noten*,[116] and only once was I the one who first introduced it. It is important to notice, however, that in three interviews this word did not appear at all. What those three *walimu* had in common is that all of them had studied music, either formally or informally. At least to some extent the use of the term is connected to one's level of musical education. The trained *walimu* are more often those who are able to use the music that the others call *noten*, and thus, the concept is connected to their identities as trained musicians whether they themselves employ the term or not. The trained *walimu* can be seen as a group to which this label is attached from outside.

Of the Church – Of the World

Religion is a natural part of people's life in Tanzania. It becomes visible in their everyday actions and speech, and it creates a certain rhythm for the week. In some interview situations, phrases like *namshukuru Mungu*, I thank God, were common as a customary part of the interviewees' talk. For those who sing in church choirs, the life related to the church is even more active than it is for regular churchgoers. The choir rehearsals usually start and are closed with a prayer, sometimes combined with a biblical reading and its explanation, the songs are often very evangelistic with a straightforward Christian message, and the choirs participate in the Sunday services weekly. At least to someone coming from a different culture, me for instance, Tanzanian life seems to be filled with religiosity.

However, the opposite is present as well, and it was clearly pointed out in the interviews. Several *walimu* made a distinction between what they do or the music their choirs sing and "the other," as is the case with the following interviewees (emphasis added):

[116] Interviews 4–10.

> In music, education for choirs is needed because our choirs use music that is not theirs. [...] We can say **music of the world** or music that is **not church music**. (Int. 10)
> *Muziki unahitajika sana hasa elimu kwa kwaya kwa sababu... ndiyo maana kwaya zetu zimevamia muziki ambao sio wa kwao. [...] Tunaweza kusema **muziki wa dunia**. Au muziki, yaani muziki ambao **si wa kanisa**.*

> **[C]hurch music** has already been affected. [...] Yeah, I can explain in this way that it has been affected by... **music of the world**. (Int. 9)
> ***[M]uziki wa kanisa** umeshaingiliwa. [...] Yeah, ninaweza nikaeleza kwa namna hii. Kwamba umeingiliwa na... **muziki wa duniani**.*

"The other" was described as something "of the world" or worldly, and it could be, for instance, a certain musical style or a way of thinking that could possibly harm the church and its music. The interviewee in the following example clearly marked a line between "church melodies" and the rest, although the further definition for them was not given:

> Each choir [of the parish] has its own style, but they insist that it needs to be church music. [...] We judge melodies, we... for example, if you look at the CD [of this person's choir], if you look at the melodies, they are [melodies] of church indeed. (Int. 7)
> *Kila kwaya inatumia staili yake. Lakini wanasisitiza zaidi mwimbe muziki wa kanisa. [...] Tunajudge melody, tuna... kwa mfano ukiangalia CD za kwaya X, ukiangalia melody yake, ni ya kanisa kabisa.*

This interviewee's earlier comments concerning pop music (in chapter 5.3) could be seen as presenting descriptions of the "other" – pop music was "of the world."

The songs that the research participants mentioned in the survey's repertoire lists were Christian songs, at least given the song titles.[117] Singing those songs in a church choir is a means of expressing one's beliefs and of strengthening one's identity as a Christian. It also offers "a particular way of being within society" in a given context (Wild-Wood 2008, 8). Paying attention to "what we are not" or "what we are not doing" is a way of defining an individual's or a group's boundaries and a part of the process of defining "who we are." In the same way as choosing Christian songs for a choir, the act of leaving out songs that are considered worldly or not church music is an act of defining lines between us and others; the Christian context is a foundation for church choirs' actions.

[117] This includes song titles in Swahili and English. I understand only a few words of Maa.

There are no detailed instructions dealing with church music or choirs in the Sunday service context, but the general regulations concerning the parishes within the North Central Diocese assert that "choirs should show piety and discipline when singing to God wherever they are, with their words, acts, and clothing" (Katiba 2017, 51).[118] This gives choirs a framework and guidelines of what is expected from them by the organization.

Song categories – Concluding remarks

These pairs or song categories are not totally separate from each other but more or less connected to or overlapping with each other, and a certain song (or songs) can be seen as belonging to several categories at the same time depending on the viewpoint. For instance, our choir's songs, "our songs," may be considered as "ordinary songs" by our choir, while other choirs – from our point of view – seem to sing songs that are "special" in some way. Songs of the church are "ours" and the rest belong to "the other" since they are "of the world." Furthermore, from some choirs' perspective, songs of *noten* may be regarded as special, while "not-*noten*" are ordinary, and so on.

All of these categories are, in one way or another, connected to identities. Most apparently, however, this connection can be seen in the first pair; the division between our songs and other people's songs is a clear marker of belonging to a certain group and a statement of "this is who we are." This can be understood in terms of choral identity – this is who we are as a choir – but it contains other features as well, such as religious and ethnic aspects. The last category – of the church and of the world – has a strong connection with the first one. Singing Christian songs in a church choir is, at least in my research context, a visible expression of one's faith and of belonging to a religious community. Whether this community refers to Lutherans or Christians in general depends on the situation in question.

The second category – *nyimbo za kawaida* and special songs – gives songs a certain label. Songs can be ordinary in a sense that they are sung often, they are easy, and/or they are related to ordinary Sunday services. A special song is different in some way. It can be rarely sung, or stylistically contrasting or more difficult than most of the songs. This division can be used as a defining feature of

[118] The original text in Swahili: *Kwaya zioneshe uchaji na nidhamu wakati wa kumwimbia Mungu wawapo mahali popote, kwa maneno, matendo na mavazi yao*. (The English translation is mine.)

a choir, and it can be made both from inside and outside a group. A choir may be seen by others as a group that often performs songs that, for instance, are considered special; it is identified from outside as a certain kind of group. On the other hand, singing *nyimbo za kawaida* can be part of a choir's own self-understanding: we are a group that sings this kind of songs. A similar approach works for the third pair, *noten* and *not-noten*, as well. A choir can be known or identifies itself as a group whose repertoire consists largely of songs of *noten.* In much the same way, an individual *mwalimu* can be seen or can identify him/herself as a person who either prefers or is able to teach this kind of songs. The opposite is possible as well: to be regarded or to regard oneself as a person or a group not performing music of *noten*. Songs from the second and third categories as well, for their part, thus have an impact on the self-understanding of both choirs and individual *mwalimu*.

At least to some extent these categories can be generalized to other contexts as well. For instance, the concepts of our songs and other people's songs suit many kinds of choirs and with many kinds of music since they do not deal with a particular musical genre, a particular choir type, or a particular performance context. It is about people's experience. A church choir in a Finnish parish may identify itself as a group that sings large church music compositions by J. S. Bach, while in the same parish, there may be a choir carrying an image of a choir performing more popular or gospel style music. In both cases, that particular repertoire is involved in creating the sense of "who we are" as a choir. Additionally, I think that in many choirs' repertoires, there are songs that are more or less ordinary – songs that have been and will be sung many times – and songs that are rehearsed for special occasions or that are special in some particular ways. *Noten* and not-*noten* may not be the most prominent way of describing choral music in my Finnish environment, but in contexts similar to the Tanzanian one, this kind of thinking could be quite familiar. The division between the songs "of the church" and the songs "of the world," in turn, is most probably a topic of discussion in various situations. Contexts are different but certain patterns of thought may be shared.

6 Conclusions

Mtu ni watu, a person is people, states a Swahili proverb and describes well the concept of communality that is central to many communities in this research context, as well as to many other communities in Tanzania and in Africa in general.[119] Within this kind of framework, which emphasizes the importance of collectiveness and community, it is not surprising that an activity like choral singing has become such a popular phenomenon. In this research, being a member of a church choir is a combination of self-expression through singing, communality, and performance of one's faith – it is part of one's identities.

Division between us (or I) and others is a common and natural way of viewing the world and oneself as a part of it, and it does not need to be seen as a problematic or absolute binary concept. For the participants of this study, this division is a way of making sense of who one is or is not. The point is not to create conflicts or to identify or label people or things as good, bad, or something else of that kind.

This study confirms findings from earlier research (e.g., Bower and Swart 2016) stating that each choir has its own unique choral identity. Musical components, especially the choral repertoire, are of great importance in the formation of this kind of group identity since musical choices are a means of underlining sameness and difference between choirs. Even if it may sometimes appear as a simple and quite straightforward act, the process of selecting repertoire for a choir includes many aspects. For instance, in the context of this research, there are components such as the historical past of the church and the surrounding society, the background of individual *walimu* and choirs, and environmental factors that influence the church choirs' musical choices and, thus, their identities.

The selection of choral repertoire is a process through which *walimu,* other members of a choir, and in some cases even people from outside the choir influence the image that a choir presents of itself. Choosing to sing certain kinds of music leads to a particular kind of image, while other kinds of decisions would take the choir in different directions. The important point is that repertoire

[119] This can be seen as connected to the African *ubuntu*-philosophy, which is defined as "a concrete manifestation of the interconnectedness of human beings" (Mawere and Mubaya 2016, 99).

selection is a way of saying and confirming: "This is who we are, this is what we do." This can also happen among distinct groups with a similar repertoire.

The repertoire can work in the opposite way for choirs as well, as a dividing line between groups with different musical choices. However, although choirs and *walimu* may be known for making a certain kind of music, it does not increase or decrease the value of other styles. The self-understanding of a choir, in turn, strongly influences the selection process. It can thus be seen as a two-way process or as a circle: from the repertoire selection to shaping identities, and from identities back to the repertoire selection.

The categorization of songs through the interviewees' accounts that I outline in this research is a new way of approaching choral repertoires in this context. It is a way of demonstrating, by moving beyond genre-based definitions, what the participants of this study think of the music they sing with their choirs. Furthermore, it is a means of exploring how music is used in the process of creating various points for identification. It is related to sameness and difference between groups and sometimes between individuals as well. These categories are not directly connected to any specific musical genre but to the choirs' own experiences about whether or not to use certain songs or genres and the meaning this conveys to choirs' self-understanding in comparison to other choral groups. Our songs and other people's songs as well as other categorizations given by the interviewees are not concepts that are in use only in this research context – I suggest that similar constructions and conceptions can be found elsewhere as well.

As for individual identities, my interviewees identified themselves in several ways, and those identifications are mainly musical ones, although other aspects such as religious and/or ethnic components are present as well. The diversity of identities does not cause problems to *walimu* themselves, there is a place for each of these to be active and emphasized. Different situations call for different identities – they are unlike but not unequal. Challenges usually appear in relation to the environment since the self-understanding of a *mwalimu* as a musician may not always fit the church's understanding of what a musician or a *mwalimu* in the church context should be like. My research pointed out that there are more and more *walimu* who either already have or would like to receive training in music and who would also like to serve the church and to be valued as professionals of their field. This puts the church – both the ELCT in general and the North Central Diocese – in a situation where it needs to reconsider the role and training of its musicians. Some of the interviewees expressed quite strong feelings of frustration

with the lack of appreciation and with their current position within the church organization – music plays an important role in the church's activities, and that is why the music-makers should be recognized as well.

Although the *walimu wa kwaya* are volunteers, these questions, at least to some extent, are related to the larger issue of well-being at work. This research revealed that many *walimu* would like to be stronger agents, for instance, in the worship service context than what in many cases is possible for the moment. Training in music enhances one's self-understanding of being a professional and the desire for more opportunities to influence one's work. For some, this may seem a threat to the current system, in which the leader of the worship service has ultimate control over the activities. I see here a call for a dialogue between the various actors, a dialogue in which different strengths could be used for the benefit of the whole. Instead of "us" and "them," there could be "all of us" working together for a common goal.

Formal training in music gives individuals a broader view on the work of *mwalimu* and many practical skills needed in the work. However, in the context in which formal training may not be easily accessible, I consider informal training, such as music workshops and seminars, an influential way to help *walimu* improve their skills. Obtaining basic competence in music reading and writing or instrument playing, for instance, would benefit *walimu*'s work in multiple ways and provide them with the tools to learn by themselves. Music workshops and seminars are only effective if they are held on a regular basis to retain and build on past learning, however, but that requires both financial and human resources. Helping the church organization understand the benefits of musical training and increasing musicians' involvement in the planning of worship services would be steps worth taking. It should be noted, however, that some of these changes may have already taken place since the time my research materials were generated.

Walimu as (voluntary) workers of the church is an aspect that, as far as I am aware, has not been studied in this context before. My hope is that especially the *walimu* themselves could benefit from this study. I hope that this can be a starting point for them to ponder their own work and its importance: Who am I as *mwalimu*? What kind of *mwalimu* would I like to be in the future and how to achieve that goal? However, this is also a reminder to the church not to take its rich choral music for granted, as something that just appears when needed – there are always people behind it.

I see the openness that many *walimu* demonstrated toward musical cooperation as connected to the need for belonging to a larger community. Additionally, it is a way of creating a network that supports the individual both musically and mentally. Many interviewees regarded musical talent and knowledge as something that should not be kept to oneself only. Sharing with others what one has was an integral part of their understanding of what *mwalimu* does. The "musical ecumenism" – the collaboration between the choirs and between the *walimu* of different denominations – is a strength that, I suggest, choirs and their *walimu* should be encouraged to reinforce. Uniting resources gives better possibilities for progress, both musically and in regard to other issues.

In the studied choirs, it is common to have several *walimu*. This is something that I see as beneficial and worth considering in other contexts as well, in environments where church musicians' or church choir conductors' emphasis in leading and teaching groups is often on individual effort. Combining different abilities and knowledge is a valuable resource for choirs and a way of learning for everyone involved but requires flexibility and collaboration skills.

An important feature that concerns both individual *walimu* and choral groups is the concept that I call the "identity of musical variety." By this I mean when *mwalimu* (or a choir) understands oneself as a performer or a representative of various musical styles. This is an extension of the idea that a certain musical style may function as a basis for identity construction. Based on my research materials, I suggest that it is possible as well that this basis is a combination of various kinds of music that hold equal positions in relation to each other. Some *walimu* emphasized the importance of a varied choral repertoire as a reality that became visible, for instance, in their choirs' repertoire lists, while for others it was something to aim at or a desired state of being somewhere in the future (or something they thought that I as a researcher would like to hear?). In several interviews, musical variety was connected to the idea of reaching or pleasing more people than would be possible with a stylistically narrower repertoire. This makes the choirs a valuable tool from which the ELCT and its dioceses could benefit even more than currently, and it should also become visible at the level of official documents.

In addition to musical identities, music is influential in the construction of other kinds of identities as well. In my research, the most prominent of these are the religious/Christian/Lutheran, and ethnic identities. Although the general attitude regarding many topics was usually flexible and relational, the division between

the church and "the world" appeared to be quite inflexible: there is the ingroup and the outgroup. Music was seen as one possible means for attracting people from outside to the ingroup. The dividing line between church and "the world" was a topic that in some interviews evoked the strictest opinions in relation to music. Although identities are flexible and differently emphasized in different situations, it appeared that religious identities have less adaptability. Music is used to construct and to strengthen religious/Christian or denominational identities as long as that music is felt to fit a certain frame.

Although earlier in this context being a Christian may have meant separating people from traditional ways of music making and from other cultural forms, this research points out that the situation looks different now. An ethnic identity and a religious identity can exist together and simultaneously. This can be seen as a kind of a hybrid identity that combines elements from both and appears as something new. Christian music that is based on ethnic traditions is a way of expressing this ethnic-Christian identity. Musically within the North Central Diocese, the Maasai are one example of this. Many of the Maasai choirs perform music that is clearly based on both traditional expression and Christian worldview.

From the music's point of view, in this context, being a Lutheran contains several elements of which the hymns form one part. The hymnal is the component that in many parishes unites the groups that otherwise focus on different kinds of musical repertoires. Singing in different forms is another important element of performing and strengthening Lutheran faith and identity in Tanzania. As this study showed, choirs play a significant role in this, but I also consider it important not to forget the congregation. They should also have a possibility for active participation through singing in worship services. The challenge is to find a suitable combination of choral and congregational singing for each occasion.

Both congregational and choral singing consist of various musical styles which sometimes can be seen as contrasting or even opposing, and which may challenge choirs' and individuals' identities. For example, the increasing distribution and availability of popular music styles have an impact on the church. It can be seen either as threatening the "older" ways of Christian musical expression and music-making or as a possibility to reach and retain people. The challenge that the church is facing is to find the balance between conservation and continuous renewal or the so-called "ongoing reformation." The current postcolonial musical landscape, in which the studied choirs operate, consists of a variety of layers, which co-exist

and intersect (cf. Agawu 2003, 69). Their boundaries are flexible and sometimes even blurred, and it is not always easy – or even necessary – to determine the origin of musical influences. This is the reality in which choral music is now composed and performed, and it is fertile ground for a wide range of creative endeavors. The increasing accessibility and varied uses of the Internet, such as for distributing music through the choirs' own YouTube channels, are continually reshaping the choral context as well as the choirs' visual identities.

The direction of the study has sharpened, and the research questions narrowed during the years that I have spent with this work which, I think, is a natural part of conducting research. Methodologically, this research could have been done in various ways. One possibility would have been to design it as a purely ethnographic work – something that I was not that familiar with when starting my studies – and to include a period of observation in it which would have created an opportunity to compare the actions of *walimu* with what they say they are doing. The analysis of choir songs and the compositions of *walimu* in particular, both in terms of melody and text, would also have given a different perspective to how music functions or is used in the formation of identities.

This study approaches choirs and choral music through the lenses of *walimu wa kwaya*. They are musicians, some of them trained and professional musicians, which influences their thoughts and opinions. *Walimu* are also responsible for music-related decisions in their choirs, either by themselves or together with choirs' leadership. Music forms a significant and meaningful part of their everyday lives, and naturally it became accentuated in the interviews as well. Thus, although music is strongly present in the church's activities, its meaning would most probably look different, if, for instance, pastors, evangelists, or ordinary congregants were asked about it. Even the choir members would probably see things differently, despite being involved in music-making in parishes. I regard this, approaching the question of music and identities from the viewpoint of others than *walimu wa kwaya*, as an interesting start for further research that could deepen the understanding of music's role in this particular context. One question that I intentionally did not discuss in this study – and that the participants did not bring up either – is that of gender and its influence on the work of *walimu*. I consider that as a very wide topic that would be worth a study of its own.

I would also like to explore views of church music held by the ELCT as an institution. How closely do the current perceptions of music's role in the church

follow those of the early missionaries? Are there elements of church music that are seen as fundamental and untouchable, and if so, why? Conversely, are there components that people would want to remove, possibly replacing them with something else? What is the role of the hymnal in the creation of the Tanzanian Lutheran identity and what should/could a Tanzanian Lutheran hymn be like? Finding answers to these kinds of questions would deepen our understanding of the Tanzanian Lutheran (music) tradition over the past 130 years.

Yet another aspect for further research, although somewhat removed from the focus on identities, would be the selection of choral repertoire at different phases of choirs' development. Newly-founded choirs have different goals than more experienced ones, which is reflected in the choral repertoires, and which thus influences choirs' self-understanding and identity formation. My research materials had some indication of this but did not contain enough supporting evidence for the topic to be discussed in this dissertation.

Although my first hope is that the participants of this research, *walimu* themselves, would benefit from my work, I think that many aspects brought up here are worth pondering also for other people involved in choirs, especially in the church context but elsewhere as well. Repertoire-related decisions and choices are never repertoire-related only but are influenced by various components and have further implications for choral groups and to the people involved in those groups.

This journey has been long and instructive in many ways and definitely worth taking. It has been an intentional effort to expand the field of Finnish research on Lutheran church music that has often concentrated, for instance, on the liturgical and hymnological topics. Church choir singing in Tanzania (and in East Africa more generally) is a phenomenon whose extent and importance are rather difficult to explain to someone who has not experienced it, and, on the other hand, is taken for granted by those to whom it forms an everyday practice. My hope is that this study could be a seed for new ideas and for change – a starting point for self-reflection for those coming from inside this tradition, and a possibility to learn for those approaching it from the outside.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: The Questionnaire

Part A: Kwaya / The Choir

1. Kwaya yako ipo katika usharika gani na katika jimbo gani?
To which parish and to which district does your choir belong?

_____
_____

2. Kuna waimbaji wangapi katika kwaya yako?
What is the number of choir members?

- ☐ 10 au chini ya 10 / 10 or less
- ☐ 11 hadi 20 / 11 to 20
- ☐ 21 hadi 30 / 21 to 30
- ☐ 31 hadi 40 / 31 to 40
- ☐ zaidi ya 40 / more than 40

3. Kwa kawaida kwaya inafanya mazoezi mangapi kwa kila juma?
How many rehearsals does the choir usually have each week?

- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2
- ☐ 3
- ☐ 4
- ☐ 5
- ☐ 6

4. Mazoezi ya kwaya yako huchukua muda gani kila mara?
For how long do you usually rehearse each time?

- ☐ saa 1 / 1 hour
- ☐ saa 1 na nusu / 1,5 hours
- ☐ masaa mawili / 2 hours
- ☐ masaa mawili na nusu / 2,5 hours
- ☐ masaa matatu / 3 hours or more

5. Ni mara ngapi kwaya yako hufanya huduma ya kuimba kwenye ibada Jumapili?
How often does your choir usually sing in Sunday services?

- ☐ Kila Jumapili / Every Sunday
- ☐ Mara 3 kwa mwezi / 3 times a month
- ☐ Mara 2 kwa mwezi / Twice a month
- ☐ Mara moja kwa mwezi au mara moja kwa miezi kadhaa / Once a month or less

6. Ukiacha uimbaji kwenye ibada kanisani, ni wapi pengine kwaya yako hufanya maonesho ya uimbaji? (Chagua: Mara kwa mara, mara nyingine au la hasha)
In addition to the Sunday service, where else does your choir perform?
(Choose: Often, sometimes or never)

	Mara kwa mara/Often	Mara nyingine/Sometimes	La hasha/Never
Kwenye harusi / At weddings	☐	☐	☐
Kwenye mazishi / At funerals	☐	☐	☐
Kwenye matamasha ya kikanisa / In church concerts	☐	☐	☐
Kwenye matukio mengine ya kanisa / In other church events	☐	☐	☐
Kwenye matamasha mashuleni / In school concerts	☐	☐	☐
Kwenye matamasha yasiyo ya kikanisa au ya kishule / In concerts (other than church or school)	☐	☐	☐
Kweye mikutano ya injili / Evangelistic gatherings	☐	☐	☐
Kwenye mikutano ya kisiasa / Political gatherings	☐	☐	☐
Matukio mengine / In other events	☐	☐	☐

Wapi? / Where? _____

_____

_____

7. Je, kwaya yako imewahi kushiriki kwenye mashindano ya uimbaji?
Has your choir participated in choir competitions?

- ☐ Ndiyo / Yes
- ☐ Hapana / No

Kama ndiyo, mara ngapi? / If yes, how many times?

- ☐ Mara moja / Once
- ☐ Mara 2 hadi mara 5/ 2 to 5 times
- ☐ Mara 6 hadi mara 10 / 6 to 10 times
- ☐ Zaidi ya mara 10 / More than 10 times

Je, kwaya yako hushiriki katika kundi gani kwenye mashindano?
(Waweza kuchagua zaidi ya jibu moja.)
In which categories? (You can choose more than one.)

- ☐ Akina mama / Women's choirs
- ☐ Bila vyombo / Choirs without instruments
- ☐ Vyombo moto / Choirs with electric instruments
- ☐ Utamaduni wa kimasai / Choirs singing traditional music - Masai
- ☐ Tamaduni nyingine zisizo za kimasai / Choirs singing traditional music - not Masai
- ☐ Makundi mengine / Other category

Yapi? / Which? _____

_____

8. Kwaya yako ina viongozi gani? (Waweza kuchagua zaidi ya jibu moja.)
Which of the following leaders does the choir have? (You can choose more than one.)

- ☐ Mwalimu (mmoja tu) / Conductor (only one)
- ☐ Walimu / Conductors
- ☐ Mwenyekiti / Chair person
- ☐ Katibu / Secretary
- ☐ Mtunza hazina / Treasurer
- ☐ Mwingine / Other

Yupi? / Which? _____

_____

9. Nani anafanya maamuzi kuhusu nyimbo za kujifunza?
(Chagua: Mara kwa mara, mara nyingine au la hasha.)
Who makes the decisions concerning the repertoire?
(Choose: Often, sometimes or never.)

	Mara kwa mara/Often	Mara nyingine/Sometimes	La hasha/Never
Mwalimu au walimu / The conductor(s)	☐	☐	☐
Wanakwaya / Choir members	☐	☐	☐
Mwenyekiti / The chair person	☐	☐	☐
Mchungaji au mwinjilisti / The pastor or the evangelist	☐	☐	☐
Washarika / The parish members	☐	☐	☐
Mtu mwingine / Someone else	☐	☐	☐
Nani? / Who?	☐	☐	☐

_____

_____

Part B: Nyimbo za kwaya / Repertoire

10. Mnaimba nyimbo za aina gani?
(Chagua: Mara kwa mara, mara nyingine au la hasha)
What kind of songs do you sing?
(Choose: Often, sometimes or never.)

	Mara kwa mara/Often	Mara nyingine/Sometimes	La hasha/Never
Nyimbo kutoka kitabu cha nyimbo za ibada / Hymns from "Tumwabudu Mungu Wetu"	☐	☐	☐
Nyimbo kutoka kitabu "Tumshangilie Mungu" / Songs from "Tumshangilie Mungu"	☐	☐	☐
Tunzi za mwalimu ama waimbaji wa kwaya / Songs composed by the conductor or choir members	☐	☐	☐
Tungo za kanisa za ki-Magharibi / Western church music compositions	☐	☐	☐
Kutoka tamaduni za ki-Tanzania / Traditional Tanzanian music	☐	☐	☐
Nyimbo kutoka tamaduni nyingine za ki-Afrika / Songs from other African traditions	☐	☐	☐
Tunzi za muziki wa kanisa wa ki-Tanzania / Tanzanian church music compositions	☐	☐	☐
Mapambio / Short choruses	☐	☐	☐
Muziki wa injili wa Afro Amerika / African-American gospel music	☐	☐	☐
Muziki wa injili wa ki-Tanzania / Tanzanian gospel music	☐	☐	☐
Nyimbo za aina nyingine / Other	☐	☐	☐

Za aina gani? / What kind of songs?

_____

_____

_____

11. Mnatumia mpangilio gani wa kisauti? (Chagua: Mara kwa mara, mara nyingine au la hasha.)
What kind of voicings do you use? (Choose: Often, sometimes or never.)

	Mara kwa mara/Often	Mara nyingine/Sometimes	La hasha/Never
Sauti mmoja / Unison			
Wanawake - wanaume / Women - men			
Sauti ya 1 na 2 / SA			
Sauti ya 1 ya juu, ya chini na ya 2 / SSA			
Sauti ya 1 ,2 na 3 / SAT			
Sauti ya 1, 2 na ya 4 / SAB			
Sauti ya 1, 2, 3 na 4 / SATB			
Sauti ya 3 na 4 / TB			
Sauti ya 3 ya juu, ya chini, sauti ya 4 ya juu na ya chini /TTBB			
Mpangilio mwingine / Other			

Upi? / Which?

_____

_____

12. Mnatumia vyombo vya muziki? / Do you use musical instruments?

☐ Ndiyo / Yes
☐ Hapana / No

Kama ndiyo, ni ipi kati ya hizi? (Chagua: Mara kwa mara, mara nyingine au la hasha .)
If yes, which of the following instruments do you use?
(Choose: Often, sometimes or never.)

	Mara kwa mara/Often	Mara nyingine/Sometimes	La hasha/Never
Ngoma / Drums			
Manyanga / Shakers			
Kayamba			
Zeze			
Vyombo vingine vya utamaduni / Other traditional instruments			

Vyombo gani? / Which? _____

_____

_____

	Mara kwa mara/Often	Mara nyingine/Sometimes	La hasha/Never
Ngoma za bendi / Drum set	☐	☐	☐
Kinanda kidogo cha umeme / keyboard	☐	☐	☐
Kinanda cha nyuzi / piano	☐	☐	☐
Tarumbeta / Brass instruments	☐	☐	☐
Gitaa la umeme / Electric guitar	☐	☐	☐
Gitaa lisilo la umeme / Acoustic guitar	☐	☐	☐
Gitaa la besi la umeme / Electric bass	☐	☐	☐
Violine / Zeze la Ulaya	☐	☐	☐
Vyombo vingine / Other	☐	☐	☐

Vyombo gani? / Which? _____

_____

_____

13. Unatumia vigezo gani kuchagua nyimbo za kujifunza? (Waweza kuchagua zaidi ya jibu moja.)
What kind of criteria do you use when choosing the repertoire? (You can choose more than one.)

☐ Nyimbo ziendane na majira ya mwaka wa kanisa / The songs need to be suitable for the church year
☐ Nyimbo ziendane na matukio mbalimbali kwenye ibada / The songs should be suitable for ordinary parts of the church service
☐ Nyimbo ziwe za kiuinjilisti / The songs need to be suitable for evangelization
☐ Nyimbo ziwaburudishe washarika/wasikilisaji / The songs should please the congregation/audience
☐ Nyimbo zifae kwa mashindano ya kwaya / The songs need to be suitable for choir competitions
☐ Nyimbo ziwaburudishe waimbaji / The songs should please the choir members
☐ Vigezo vingine. Vipi? / Other criteria. Which?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

14. Orodhesha nyimbo 20 ambazo mmeimba kwa miaka 2 iliyopita
List 20 songs that your choir has performed during the last 2 years.

Jina la wimbo /Title of the song	Mtunga sauti /Composer	Mpangilio wa sauti /Voicing	Ala gani /Instruments used	Lugha nyingine, ipi?/ Other language, which?	Aina ya wimbo (angalia swali namba 10) / Style of the song (look at the question no 10)
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					

Kingereza/English
Kimasai/Masai
Kiswahili/Swahili

7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.

14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.

15. Kwa mtizamo wako chagua namba kulingana na unavyoona inafaa.
(5 = sana sana, 4 = kiasi fulani, 3 = sijui, 2 = si sana, 1 = la hasha)
Choose a number corresponding to your opinion on each of the statements.
(5 = very much, 4 = somewhat, 3 = do not know, 2 = not much 1 = not at all)

	La hasha / Not at all	Si sana / Not much	Sijui / Do not know	Kiasi fulani / Somewhat	Sana sana / Very much
A) Ninataka waimbaji waufurahie uimbaji wao kwenye kwaya. I want the choir members to enjoy singing in the choir	1	2	3	4	5
B) Ninataka kwaya yangu ifanye vizuri katika mashindano. I want my choir to be succesful in choir competitions.	1	2	3	4	5
C) Ninachagua nyimbo ambazo msingi wake una ukweli katika kukuza kipaji changu kama mwalimu. I choose songs based on the fact that I want to develop as a choir conductor.	1	2	3	4	5
D) Ninataka kupata umaarufu kwa kuwa mwalimu/mwimbishaji wa kwaya. I want to become famous as a choir conductor.	1	2	3	4	5
E) Ninapenda kuchagua aina nyingine ya muziki ambao sijazoea. I like to choose musical styles which I am not familiar with.	1	2	3	4	5

Part C : Mwalimu / The Conductor

16. Unajipatiaje kipato chako?
What is your occupation?

_____

17. Je, umesoma muziki?
Have you studied music?

☐ Ndiyo / Yes
☐ Hapana / No

Kama ndiyo, wapi, lini, na kiwango gani cha taaluma?
If yes, where, when and what kind of studies? (certificat, diploma, degree etc.)

_____
_____
_____

18. Je, umewahi kuhudhuria karakana/semina yoyote ya muziki?
Have you ever attended any music workshops/seminars?

☐ Ndiyo / Yes
☐ Hapana / No

Kama ndiyo, wapi, lini na inahusu nini?
If yes, where, when and what kind of workshop/seminar?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

19. Ni kwa muda gani umekuwa mwalimu wa kwaya hii?
For how long time have you been a conductor of this choir?

☐ Chini ya miaka 2 / Less than 2 years
☐ Miaka 2 hadi 5 / 2 to 5 years
☐ Miaka 6 hadi 10/ 6 to 10 years
☐ Zaidi ya miaka 10 / More than 10 years

20. Je, una utaratibu maalum wa kufundisha kwaya zingine?
Do you regularly teach other choirs as well?

☐ Ndiyo / Yes
☐ Hapana / No

21. Je, unaimba kwenye kwaya nyingine?
Do you sing in another choir?

☐ Ndiyo / Yes
☐ Hapana / No

Kama ndiyo, kwenye kwaya ipi? / If yes, in which choir?

_____
_____

22. Je, ni kwa nini na kwa vipi umekuwa mwalimu wa kwaya?
Ulifundisha kwaya zingine kabla ya kuanza kufundisha kwaya hii?
Why and how did you become a choir conductor?
Did you conduct other choirs before starting with this choir?

_____
_____
_____

23. Majukumu yako kama mwalimu wa kwaya ni nini? (Waweza kuchagua zaidi ya jibu moja.)
What are your tasks as a choir conductor? (You can choose more than one.)

- ☐ Kufundisha nyimbo kwenye kwaya / Teaching songs to the choir
- ☐ Kuchagua nyimbo / Choosing the repertoire
- ☐ Kuchagua nyimbo kwa ajili ya maonesho/matamasha / Choosing songs for performances
- ☐ Kufundisha wanakwaya nadharia ya muziki / Teaching music theory to the choir
- ☐ Kufundisha waimbaji kucheza ala za muziki / Teaching the choir members to play instruments
- ☐ Kufundish mbinu za kiuimbaji kwenye kwaya / Teaching singing techniques to the choir
- ☐ Kushirikiana na mchungaji na mwinjilisti / Communication between the choir and the pastor/evangelist
- ☐ Kushirikiana na kwaya zingine / Collaboration with other choirs
- ☐ Kutunga nyimbo kwa kwaya / Composing songs for the choir
- ☐ Majukumu mengine / Other tasks

Yapi? / Which?

_____
_____
_____
_____

Asante kwa kutumia muda wako!
Thank you for your time!

Je, waweza kupata nafasi kwa mahojiano iwapo nitakuhitaji?
Would you be available for an interview if needed?

- ☐ Ndiyo / Yes
- ☐ Hapana / No

Kama ndiyo andika jina lako, namba yako ya simu na/au anuani yako ya barua pepe.
If yes, give your name, phone number and/or e-mail address.

_____
_____
_____

Appendix 2: The Structure of the Interviews

1. Historia

Naomba uniambie kwanza kuhusu historia yako, maisha yako na pia kuhusu muziki kwenye maisha yako.

1. Background

Tell me about your background/your life history and about your musical background.

2. Masomo/Elimu ya muziki

Je, umesoma muziki kwa njia yoyote? Naomba unieleza kuhusu masomo yako ya muziki.

Unaonaje umuhimu ya elimu inayohusu muziki?

Unaonaje mafundisho ya muziki kwa wanakwaya? Kuna haja? Naomba ueleze.

Je, kwenye kwaya yako kuna mwalimu mmoja tu au mko wengi? Mnapangaje kazi yenu, nani anafanya nini?

2. Studies/Musical education

Have you studied music (at any level)? Tell me about your musical studies.

What do you think about the importance of musical training in general?

How do you see choir members' musical education? Is there a need for that? Please explain.

Are there several conductors in your choir or just one? How do you plan your work? Who is doing what?

3. Nyimbo za kwaya

Unasemaje, nyimbo gani zinafaa kwaya yako (moja)?

Nyimbo gani zinapatikana kwako? / Unachukua nyimbo kutoka wapi? /Nyimbo za kwaya yako zinatoka wapi?

Kuna desturi yoyote kwenye kwaya/usharika zinazohusu nyimbo za kwaya?

Unatumia vigezo gani ukichagua nyimbo kwa kwaya yako?

Unapangaje/unachaguaje nyimbo kwa kwaya? Mapema/wiki kwa wiki?

Naomba uniambie unaonaje muziki za ki-Magharibi.

Naomba uniambie unaonaje muziki za tamaduni za ki-Tanzania.

3. Repertoire

What kind of songs are suitable for your choir?

What kind of repertoire is available for you?

What kind of songs do you like? What kind of repertoire do you know?

Are there any traditions in your choir/parish related to your choir's repertoire?

What kind of criteria do you use when choosing songs for your choir?

How do you plan/choose the songs? Early/one week at a time?

What do you think about/what is your relation to Western music?

What do you think about traditional Tanzanian musics?

4. Sasa nitasoma sentensi. Ziko sita, lakini nitasoma moja moja. Unaonaje mambo haya kwenye maisha yako kama mwalimu wa kwaya? Naomba utoe maoni yako.

Ninataka waimbaji waufurahie uimbaji wao kwenye kwaya.

Ninataka kwaya yangu ifanye vizuri katika mashindano.

Ninachagua nyimbo ambazo msingi wake una ukweli katika kukuza kipaji changu kama mwalimu.

Ninataka kupata umaarufu kwa kuwa mwalimu wa kwaya.

Ninapenda kuchagua aina nyingine ya muziki ambayo sijazoea.

Ninapenda kuchagua nyimbo kwa ajili ya kuwafundisha wanakwaya mambo mapya ya muziki.

4. I will now read six sentences, one at a time. How do you see these things in your life as a choir conductor? Give your opinion.

I want the choir members to enjoy singing in the choir.

I want my choir to be successful in choir competitions.

I choose songs based on the fact that I want to develop as a choir conductor.

I want to become famous as a choir conductor.

I like to choose musical styles which I am not familiar with.

I like to choose songs in order to teach choir members new musical things.

5. Mazingira

Naomba uniambie kuhusu ushirikiano kati ya kwaya yako na kwaya zingine na walimu wengine.

TV – Radio – Internet:

Je, unaangalia au unasikiliza muziki kwenye radio ama TV? Je, unatumia Internet kwa kutafuta/kusikiliza/kuangalia muziki? Je, unatumia kwenye kwaya yako muziki au aidia ambazo umeona kwenye Internet/TV au umesikia kwenye radio?

5. Environment

Tell me about co-operation with/connections to other choirs and choir conductors.

TV – Radio – Internet:

Do you watch or listen to music on TV or radio? Do you use internet to search for/listen to/watch music? Do you borrow songs or ideas from Internet/TV/radio and use them in your choir?

6. Mashindano ya kwaya

Je, umewahi kushiriki na kwaya yako kwenye mashindano ya kwaya/uimbaji?

Unaonaje umuhimu wa mashindano ya kwaya kwa kwaya na kwa walimu wa kwaya? Lengo la mashindano ni nini?

Kama wewe ungeweza kupanga mashindano ya kwaya mwenyewe, peke yako, yangekuwaje?

6. Choir competitions

Have you participated in choir competitions with your choir?

How do you see the importance of competitions to choirs and choir conductors? What is the goal of competitions?

If you could plan the competition by yourself, what would it be like?

7. Mipango – ndoto n.k.

Je, unayo mipango au ndoto yanayohusu kwaya yako, wewe kama mwalimu au mambo mengine ya muziki?

Je, kuna mambo ambayo yakuzuia kufanya hivi?

7. Plans – dreams etc.

Do you have plans or dreams concerning your choir, yourself as a choir conductor or other things related to music?

Is there something hindering you from doing so? /Are there obstacles in your way?

Je, kuna mambo mengine ambayo ungependa kuongeza?

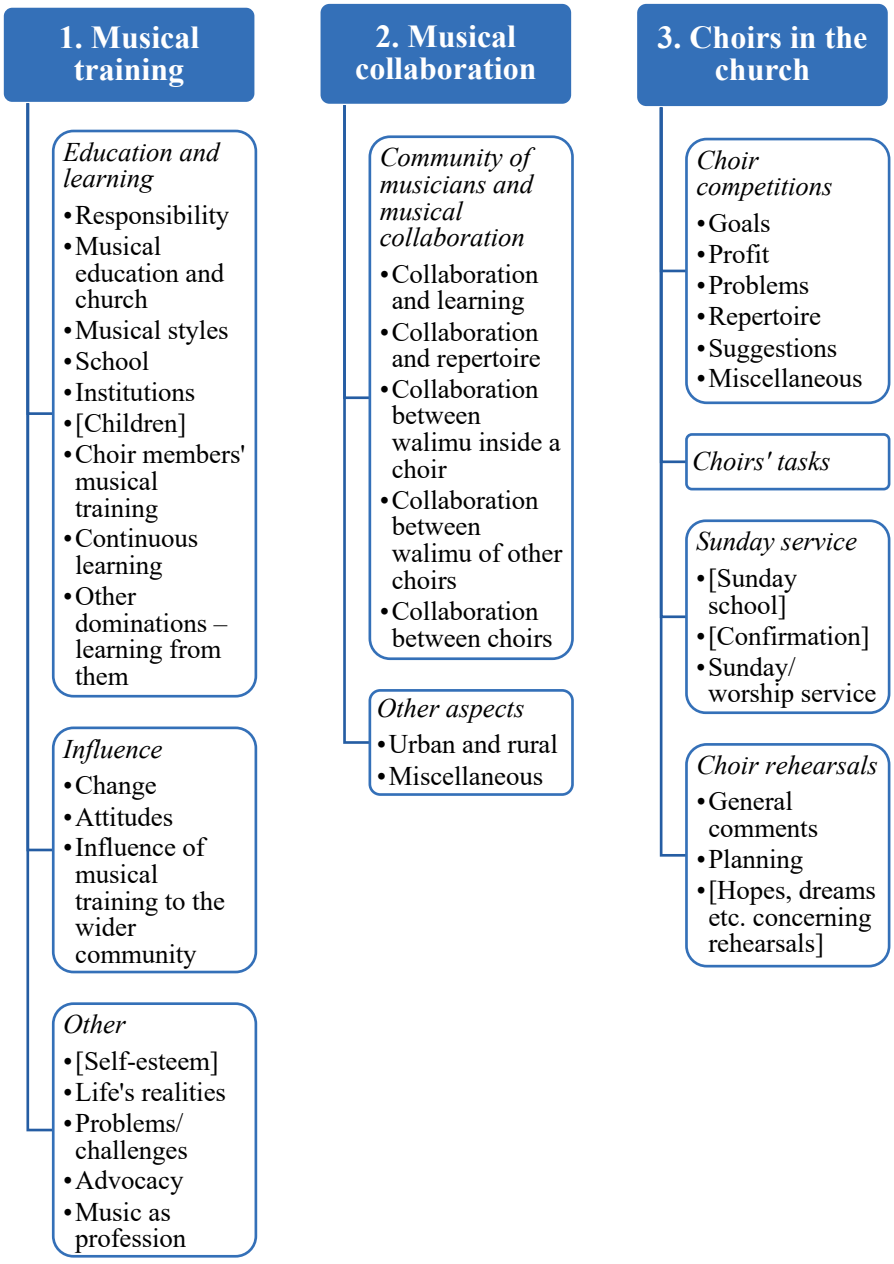
ASANTE SANA!

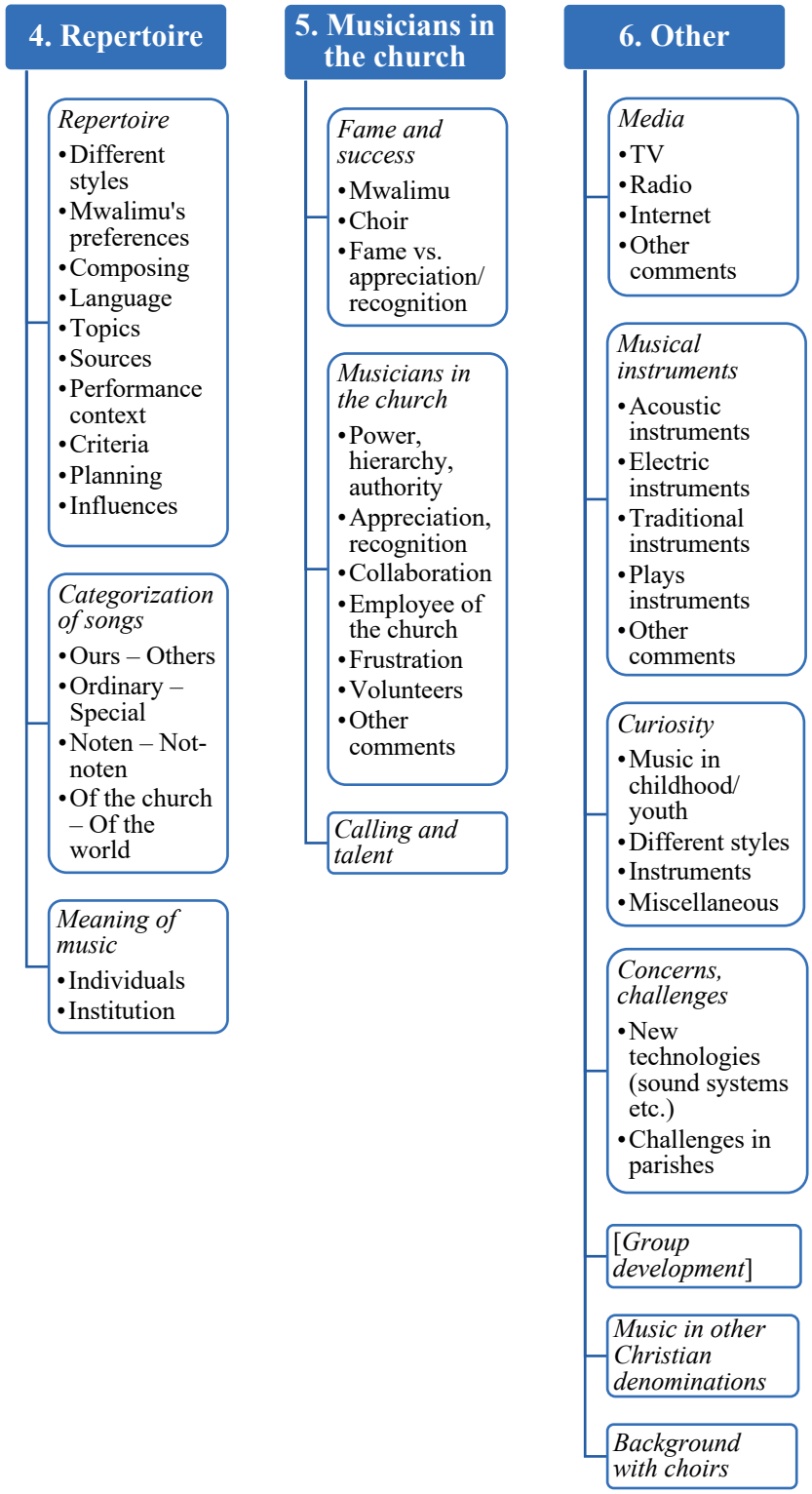
Is there anything else you would like to add?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH!

Appendix 3: Codes and Themes of the Interview Analysis

NB: The topics that were left out altogether are in brackets.




4. Repertoire
Repertoire
• Different styles
• Mwalimu's preferences
• Composing
• Language
• Topics
• Sources
• Performance context
• Criteria
• Planning
• Influences
Categorization of songs
• Ours – Others
• Ordinary – Special
• Noten – Not-noten
• Of the church – Of the world
Meaning of music
• Individuals
• Institution
5. Musicians in the church
Fame and success
• Mwalimu
• Choir
• Fame vs. appreciation/ recognition
Musicians in the church
• Power, hierarchy, authority
• Appreciation, recognition
• Collaboration
• Employee of the church
• Frustration
• Volunteers
• Other comments
Calling and talent
6. Other
Media
• TV
• Radio
• Internet
• Other comments
Musical instruments
• Acoustic instruments
• Electric instruments
• Traditional instruments
• Plays instruments
• Other comments
Curiosity
• Music in childhood/ youth
• Different styles
• Instruments
• Miscellaneous
Concerns, challenges
• New technologies (sound systems etc.)
• Challenges in parishes
[*Group development*]
Music in other Christian denominations
Background with choirs

Appendix 4: Examples of Repertoire Lists

These are summaries of the repertoire lists provided by two interviewees. They include song titles and origins, as well as some information about the arrangements and language(s) of the song texts. The information in the lists was given mainly in Swahili. English translations and bracketed remarks are mine.

Repertoire list A (Interview 5):

1. *Vilio vingi [Many cries]*
Walimu's composition
SATB
Guitar and keyboard
Swahili

2. *Tunakushukuru ee [We thank you]*
Walimu's composition
SATB
Guitar and keyboard
Swahili

3. *Nitamwimidi [I will praise him]*
Walimu's composition
SATB
Guitar and keyboard
Swahili

4. *Kesheni basi [Just stay awake]*
Walimu's composition
SATB
Guitar and keyboard
Swahili

5. *Paulo na Sila [Paul and Silas]*
Walimu's composition
SATB
Guitar and keyboard
Swahili

6. *Mwokozi Yesu [Savior Jesus]*
Walimu's composition
SATB
Guitar and keyboard
Swahili

7. *Dunia yaisha [The world is over]*
[*Walimu*'s composition?]
SATB
Guitar and keyboard
Swahili

8. *Bwana wangu uliteswa [My Lord, you were tortured]*
Walimu's composition
SATB
Keyboard
Swahili

9. *Siku ile ya mwisho [That last day]*
Walimu's composition
SATB
Guitar and keyboard
Swahili

10. *Atakayeiacha [The one who will leave it]*
Walimu's composition
SATB
Guitar and keyboard
Swahili

11. *Biblia neno [Bible, word]*
Walimu's composition
SATB
A cappella
Swahili

12. *Hatari [Danger]*
Walimu's composition
SATB
Keyboard
Swahili

13. *Siku ya Pentekoste [The day of Pentecost]*
Walimu's composition
SATB
Guitar and keyboard
Swahili

14. *Mtu mmoja [One person]*
Walimu's composition
SATB
Guitar and keyboard
Swahili

15. *Kazaliwa Mkombozi [The Redeemer is born]*
Walimu's composition
SATB
Guitar and keyboard
Swahili

16. *Haleluya Mshukuruni [Hallelujah, thank Him]*
Walimu's composition
SATB
Keyboard
Swahili

17. *Mshukuruni [Thank Him]*
Msangi
SATB
A cappella
Swahili

18. *Niite [Call me]*
Msangi
SATB
A cappella
Swahili

19. *Msalabani [On the cross]*
Walimu's composition
SATB
Electric instruments [= guitar and keyboard]
Swahili

20. *Wateule wake [His chosen ones]*
Walimu's composition
SATB
Guitar and keyboard
Swahili

****

Repertoire list B (Interview 1):

1. *Sauti ya mtu aliaye nyikani [A voice of one calling in the wilderness]*
M. Mashauri, choir member's composition
Mainly unison/octaves
A cappella
Swahili and Maa

2. *Haleluya nitamwimbia [Hallelujah, I will sing to Him]*
M. Israel, choir member's composition
SATB
A cappella
Swahili

3. *Tuna haja nawe Yesu [We need you, Jesus]*
M. Mashauri, choir member's composition
SATB
A cappella
Swahili

4. *Nitamshukuru Mungu [I will thank God]*
H. Lwendo
SATB
Drum and *kayamba*
Swahili

5. *I love you, Lord*
Arr. Jack Schroder, Western
T1 T2 B1 B2
Piano
English

6. *Praise His holy name*
Keith Hampton, African American gospel
SATB
Piano, drum and tambourine
English

7. *Hallelujah Chorus*
G. F. Handel, Western
SATB
Piano
Swahili and English

8. *Glory to God*
G. F. Handel, Western
SATB
Piano and trumpet
English

9. *Bwana fufua [The Lord revives]*
H. Mashauri, *mwalimu*'s composition
SATB
A cappella
Swahili

10. *Niongoze Bwana Mungu [Guide me, O Thou great Jehovah]*
[From the ELCT hymnal] Western
T1 T2 B1 B2
Piano
[Swahili]

11. *Thuma mina – South African medley*
Collected by R. Hartwig; South Africa, Botswana, and Mozambique
SATB
Drum and *manyanga*
[Several languages]

12. *Tumsifu Bwana Mungu [Let us praise the Lord, God]*
Adopted by L. Lampinen; Namibia and Finland
SATB
Drum
Swahili and Finnish

13. *Ewotu [Come]*
Arr. Israel David, based on Maasai tradition
SATB
A cappella
Maa

14. *Amri ya upendo [Command of love]*
M. Mashauri [Choir member's composition]
Mainly unison
A cappella
Swahili and Maa

15. *Wakati wa mitume [At the time of the apostles]*
P. Ole Ndemuno, adoption from a Maasai melody
[See example 8 in chapter 5.1]
SATB
A cappella
Swahili

16. *Kyrie/Gloria*
W. A. Mozart [Missa brevis in Bb, Western]
SATB
Piano
Latin

17. *Kiziwi [Deaf]*
G. Moshi, [based on the musical tradition of] Zanzibar
SATB
Drum
Swahili

18. *Hakuna awezaye [No one can]*
[Choir member's composition]
SATB
A cappella
Swahili

19. *Alleluia*
G. Young, Western
SATB
A cappella

20. *Nimerudi mashambani [I'm back in the countryside]*
D. Zalo, Kenya
SATB
Drum and *manyanga*
Swahili

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