



TITLE:

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CITATION:

TSURUTA, Tadasu. POPULAR MUSIC, SPORTS, AND POLITICS: A DEVELOPMENT OF
URBAN CULTURAL MOVEMENTS IN DAR ES SALAAM, 1930s-1960s. African Study
Monographs 2003, 24(3): 195-222

ISSUE DATE:

2003-07

URL:

<https://doi.org/10.14989/68221>

RIGHT:

POPULAR MUSIC, SPORTS, AND POLITICS: A DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN CULTURAL MOVEMENTS IN DAR ES SALAAM, 1930s-1960s

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ABSTRACT In colonial Tanganyika, popular music and football were the most important genres of popular culture in urban areas then as now. From the 1930s, these modern forms of recreation grew out of a precedent tradition of the competitive dance societies among the Swahili on the coast. In the capital Dar es Salaam, various musical and sporting organizations developed in the urban community made up mainly of coastal Africans, besides including the migrants from upcountry and the people of Arab descent. These organizations were interrelated and had overlapping memberships, and their heyday also coincided with the awakening for national politics. The African Association, the first modern political organization established by Africans, was founded in Dar es Salaam in the late 1920s, and later became the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). During the campaign for independence, there was a close collaboration among the bands, football clubs, and TANU.

Key Words: Colonial Tanganyika; Dar es Salaam; Popular music; Football; Urban politics.

INTRODUCTION

In Tanzania, as in other African countries, two genres of popular culture represent important social fields for urban dwellers: music and sports. Football and popular music have flourished throughout Tanzania over the generations, often with an intertwined relationship. Because of their wide popularity, these recreational activities have also been closely tied with politics. The histories of popular music, sports, and politics in urban Tanzania have been so closely bound that they are inseparable in its social and cultural experiences.

The origins of these urban popular cultures can be found, especially in the colonial capital of Dar es Salaam. Kariakoo, the oldest settlement of native Africans and one of today's busiest commercial centers in Dar es Salaam, was a particularly important place as the historical center of urban Tanganyikans' cultural and political life from the 1930s to early 1960s. The study of the development of popular music and football in Kariakoo area has various implications, as it reveals not only a tight interplay between cultures and politics in colonial Dar es Salaam, but also the roots of nationwide cultural and political movements in the post-independence era.

The first scholar to give much attention to recreational activities and their close relationships with politics in urban East Africa was Ranger (1975). His study was limited primarily to a certain form of dance society called *beni ngoma*, which prospered mainly before the 1940s. Historians like Iliffe (1979),

Anthony (1983), and Geiger (1997), along with two scholars with a special interest in popular music, Martin (1980) and Graebner (1988, 1992), noted the development process of popular culture, and sometimes its connections with politics, in urban Tanganyika. Sharing common interests with my study, Fair's work (1994) demonstrated a close connection between pastimes and politics in colonial Zanzibar. A detailed survey in Dar es Salaam, however, still remains to be conducted.

I have focused on the cultural and political movements which occurred in and around Kariakoo up to the 1960s to describe some unique aspects in the social history of Africans in Dar es Salaam. Working from a sociological point of view, this paper chronicles group formation of recreational and political clubs, examining how a wide variety of people formed common social arenas through the medium of music, sports, and politics.

Except where otherwise cited, this paper is based on data collected by the author during the course of fieldwork, which was conducted from December 1995 to March 1997, August to October 1998, July to October 1999, July to August 2000, and June to July 2002. Since there is little documentary evidence for the development of musical and sports clubs in this period, the main sources of information are my personal interviews with those who actually engaged in those social activities. Relying on oral material, this paper might not escape incorrectness resulting from errors and vagueness in the narratives and memories of the informants.⁽¹⁾

AFRICAN COMMUNITIES IN DAR ES SALAAM IN ITS EARLY PERIOD

The settlement on the present site of Dar es Salaam dates back to the 1860s when Sayyid Majid, the Sultan of Busaidi Sultanate in Zanzibar, founded a town to strengthen his influence along mainland coastal areas (Fig. 1). In 1891, the Germans made Dar es Salaam the capital of their colonial government (German East Africa), because of its sheltered deep-water harbor (Sutton, 1970: 1-7). In 1913 Dar es Salaam had a population of only 22,500. Under subsequent British rule, its population grew rapidly, especially after the end of World War II, reaching 69,227 in 1948, and 128,742 by 1957 (Sutton, 1970: 19). Dar es Salaam, with its modern port, had by then become established as the major administrative, political, and economic center of Tanganyika, mainland Tanzania.

From the outset, there were three distinguished races in Dar es Salaam: Europeans, Asians (Indians and Arabs), and Africans. The European quarter (*uzunguni*) was built around the inner bay, while the Asian commercial area (*uhindini*) was located slightly to the west, and African settlements (*uswahilini*) fringed the European and Asian quarters. The British completed the former German scheme to divide the town into three racial "building zones," in which the African zone was located at Kariakoo, west of the commercial center (Fig. 2). Built in the 1920s, Kariakoo became the core of the African society along with the neighboring Kisutu area, an older settlement. In the 1930s, another

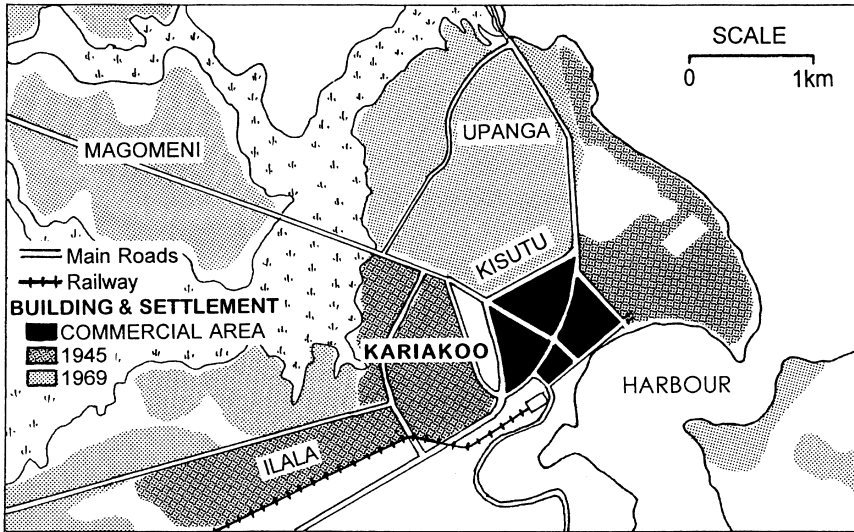


Fig. 2. Growth of Dar es Salaam City Center.

Source: Sutton (1970: 8).

Note: Kisutu was one of the first African settlements older than Kariakoo, but was cleared in the late 1950s to construct modern concrete buildings (Leslie, 1963: 158).

this category. The third were the long-distance migrants from various areas in the territory, who were largely unskilled laborers, typically the Nyamwezi, and also some Yao and Ngoni. The fourth category were the small groups of educated Christians, such as the Chagga and Nyakyusa (see Fig. 1). In the mid-1950s, as many as 100 different ethnic groups (including 33 from outside of the territory) resided in Dar es Salaam (Leslie, 1963: 32, 273-274).

Hino (1971: 142-143) estimated that, in 1957, 85% of the African population of Dar es Salaam were considered as people embracing the Swahili culture to a greater or lesser extent, including the coastal ethnic groups such as the Zaramo and Rufiji, together with the inland ethnic groups influenced by the Swahili culture such as the Manyema, Nyamwezi, and Yao. He also noted that, unlike other old coastal towns like Lamu, where the long-settled inhabitants retained exclusive identity as "genuine Swahili", in the modern port city of Dar es Salaam, the people with the Swahili way of life were regarded as "Swahili" irrespective of ethnic or racial origin, while, at the same time, they preserved their respective ethnic identity (Hino, 1980: 110-111).

In particular, the Zaramo and Ndengereko formed the majority in the African population in Dar es Salaam. According to the Population Census of 1957, the Zaramo accounted for 36.4% (33,960) and the Ndengereko (with Rufiji) for 10.6% (9,866) of the total African population (93,363) of the city. Thus, nearly half of the Africans in the capital of that time were either Zaramo, Ndengereko, or Rufiji. While some of the earliest migrant groups including the Manyema owned houses and formed the middle stratum of the African population, the majority of local Zaramo, Shomvi, and others from surrounding coastal areas

owned little property and remained uneducated and unskilled workers, including many fishermen and fish vendors (Leslie, 1963: 123, 168, 178; Iliffe, 1979: 387-388).

From the 1910s, ethnic or regionally based mutual aid societies were formed, mainly for funerals for fellow countrymen. "The New Wanyamwezi Association," founded in 1936, was an ethnically-based welfare society. Some original inhabitants of Dar es Salaam also joined the Wazaramo Union founded by the Zaramo people in 1938 (Iliffe, 1979: 389-390; Tsuruta, 2003). By the mid-1950s, however, such "ethnic" associations seem to have dwindled, mainly due to the town's rapid growth (Iliffe, 1979: 390-391). Leslie (1963: 37-39, 54, 59) observed that the influence of ethnic elders and associations generally waned due to the growth of urban population, mixed residence of ethnic groups, change among the generations, and the overall diversity of urban life.

Before turning to the examination of musical and sporting clubs in Dar es Salaam, I call attention to the dance (*ngoma*)⁽⁵⁾ societies called *beni ngoma*, which might be considered as the precursor of subsequent nationwide cultural and political movements in Tanganyika.

DEVELOPMENT OF *BENI NGOMA* DANCE SOCIETIES IN URBAN TANGANYIKA

In East Africa, *beni ngoma*⁽⁶⁾ seems to have been the first distinct popular cultural movement influenced by Europe. This dance performance was invented during the 1890s in the old Swahili towns along the Kenyan coast, Mombasa and Lamu, imitating military drills and the accompanying brass bands of the British Navy. Young Swahili Muslims in these towns adopted it as a means of expressing local moiety rivalry, competing with rival groups in *ngoma* (song and dance) performances. *Beni ngoma* basically grew out of the pre-existing traditions of competitive dance societies in urban Swahili communities, as its name (the combination of the English word "band" and Swahili *ngoma*) indicates.

Beni ngoma soon reached Tanga and spread to the coastal areas in Tanganyika by the mid-1910s. In Tanganyikan towns, *beni* societies invariably divided into two rival groups: high-status Marini and low-status Arinoti societies. During World War I *beni* became the fashionable dance, and by 1919, Marini and Arinoti were active in every urban and administrative center in the territory. *Beni* became not only a collective urban dance style but also a means of expression of competition between two levels or groups of young people ("posh" versus "vulgar" or "local people" versus "outsiders") who had moved away from their "ethnic" divisions. The song texts were always in Kiswahili and mostly topical, including mockery of the rival group and praise for one's own. Leading members, notably young civil servants, police officers, and war veterans, would busy themselves in building formal organizations with hierarchical ranks of European military titles, common funds, and branches. A remarkable territory-wide communication was eventually achieved, and the *beni*

societies also revealed strong mutual aid characteristics within each urban center. There also seems to have been sub-sections for junior or female members.

Immediately after the commencement of British rule, however, the African elite (civil servants, police, and ex-soldiers) with leading roles in *beni* withdrew. This was partly because *beni* societies, which in some places retained German loyalty, were regarded as subversive by the colonial administration. In addition, other welfare societies such as the African civil servant's trade union, and the African Association, a semi-political body for the African elite, were developed. More varied alternatives for modern leisure also became available such as Western ballroom dancing and football.

Despite the withdrawal of the elite, *beni* survived well into the 1940s in Dar es Salaam, where the tradition was continued by a new influx of migrants in need of social help. Dar es Salaam oral memory has it that, there were rival *beni* groups in Kariakoo in the 1930s-40s, called the Malofa (or Lofa, meaning "loafer" or "derelict") Band and Mexico (?), respectively. Both being multi-ethnic in make-up, the Malofa is said to be mostly 'boatmen' (stevedores), while the Mexico included many educated people such as clerks. They competed in lavish display at picnic feasts (*mandari*) in the nearby countryside, as well as in their street performances, in which they paraded with the heads of livestock they claimed to have slaughtered for the feast.⁽⁷⁾ In Dar es Salaam, however, *beni* was *passé* by the 1950s.

POST-BENI CULTURAL MOVEMENTS IN DAR ES SALAAM

I. The Development of Urban *Ngoma* Activities

Besides the *beni*, other kinds of *ngoma* flourished in Dar es Salaam in the 1940s and 1950s. Ethnically affiliated *ngoma* were organized by the Nyamwezi, Ngoni, and Sudanese (Leslie, 1963: 44-45, 48, 58). Such ethnic dance activities seemed to dwindle by the mid-1950s (Iliffe, 1979: 391), and the overall trend for dance performance appears to have been multi-ethnic. The Zaramo often organized *ngoma* performances such as *mtondoo* and *tokomile*, in which the Ndengereko also joined. These urban *ngoma* were found at festive occasions, and also played as weekend diversions in Kariakoo. *Tokomile* is one of the most remembered *ngoma*, as it involved a fierce competition between the groups called Mbango and Mizia.⁽⁸⁾

Among various inter-ethnic *ngoma*, *lelemama* deserves special mention as an *ngoma* performed exclusively by women. *Lelemama*, organized by married (or divorced/widowed) Muslim townswomen, once flourished in coastal urban areas such as Zanzibar and Mombasa before the 1950s. In Dar es Salaam, as in Mombasa (Strobel, 1979: 157-181) and Zanzibar (Fair, 1994: 268-277), rival groups often competed with songs and costumes for occasions such as weddings, puberty rites, and weekend entertainment. In Dar es Salaam oral tradition, Safinat Najaa competed with the Submarine, and the British Empire

with the Rahatil Layl. The former rivalry represented the elder generation, and the latter the younger generation.⁽⁹⁾ There were other groups, and these female *ngoma* groups had an urban character, in that they were multi-ethnic and Kiswahili was commonly used for their song texts and communications (Geiger, 1997: 48-51, 63, 67). It is not known whether *lelemama* groups in Dar es Salaam closely associated with male *beni* groups, as was the case in Mombasa (Strobel, 1979), but they had male counterparts in Swahili elder societies called *baraza*, or *taarab* musical clubs,⁽¹⁰⁾ which is described in the next passages.

II. Modern Forms of Recreation which Developed after the *Beni Ngoma* Movement

Beni ngoma, once found all over the territory, went out of fashion during the 1930s. Its place was taken by other kinds of modern pastimes such as organized team sports, in particular football, and popular music. By the 1940s, Dar es Salaam had become the center for modern musical activities in urban Tanganyika, both for *taarab*, an Arab-derived popular musical style, and *rumba*, dance music which accompanied Western ballroom dancing (*dansi*).

Taarab was exclusive and primarily limited membership to the coastal Swahili people, due to its explicitly coastal and Arabic origin. In Zanzibar, a court orchestra which played Egyptian *takht* music existed in the Sultan's palace from the 1870s. Modeled on this Arab court music, the first 'independent' *taarab* group, "Akhwani Safaa," was founded in 1905 by the Arabs in Zanzibar (Topp, 1993: 114-115; Fair, 1994: 159-166). In Dar es Salaam on the opposite shore, there were similar musical clubs which consisted of Arabs and Swahili from the 1920s (Graebner, 1988: 189), or possibly even earlier. By the 1950s, with distinct Arabic (and sometimes Indian) characters in its instruments, melodies, and song texts, *taarab* was accepted as a major wedding entertainment and a means of expression by coastal Africans and Arabs, including female audiences.

Dansi apparently originated around Mombasa and entered Tanganyika through Tanga, and reached Dar es Salaam via the Tanga Young Comrades Club⁽¹¹⁾ in the early 1930s. It then spread through branches of the New Generation Club of Dar es Salaam in several towns later, retaining a hierarchical organization similar to *beni* (Iliffe, 1979: 392). At the start, *dansi* was mainly embraced by members of the urban African elite, and was also associated with elite semi-political clubs (Anthony, 1983: 155-156; Iliffe, 1979: 410, 413). The names of dance clubs in Dar es Salaam in the 1930s-40s suggest that these clubs might have been based on existing social affiliations, such as ethnic group, race, religion, and occupation.⁽¹²⁾ For weekend dance parties, the host club invited fellow dance lovers in the town, with cards, where the guest couples were designated the kind of Western clothing they should wear. They rented halls and hired dance bands, i.e. African "jazz bands," whose main repertoire was Latin-influenced guitar-based dance music, *rumba*, usually sung in Kiswahili.⁽¹³⁾ Jazz bands soon came to play at community halls charging the public an entrance fee.⁽¹⁴⁾

Organized team sport in the form of football was primarily a men's affair, and

has been by far the most popular in East Africa since the colonial period and to the present day. In Tanganyika, football was first introduced by English missionaries around the 1880s, and was popularized in the 1920s by young men from a mission school in Zanzibar (Iliffe, 1979: 393). From the mid-1920s, territory-wide football matches among primary schools were held, even before Africans began to play an active part in regional leagues in Dar es Salaam and Tanga.⁽¹⁵⁾

DEVELOPMENT OF MUSICAL GROUPS IN DAR ES SALAAM

I. Development of *Taarab* Clubs

Very little information is available on the earliest *taarab* groups and musicians in Dar es Salaam, and the informants' statements were not always consistent. But I have come to conclude that, both of the oldest *taarab* groups, the Egyptian Musical Club and Alwatan Musical Club, derived from the same intermingling community of Arab migrants and local African Muslims, especially recently-urbanized Zaramo and Shomvi.

The musicians well remembered as the founders of *taarab* music in Dar es Salaam were Abdulbar Diwani and Salum Saidi Nahna. The former was an educated Arab (probably part Shomvi) who led a small *taarab* group in the 1920s (Graebner, 1988: 189). The latter, a Hadhrami Arab merchant, came from Zanzibar where he was among the founders of the first *taarab* group, Akhwani Safaa, and formed a small orchestra in Dar es Salaam in the 1910s.⁽¹⁶⁾ Some informants said that the two Arabs belonged to the same musical group, which might have been called Shubanil Arab ("Young Arabs").⁽¹⁷⁾

The Egyptian Musical Club is said to have been founded in the mid or late 1930s by Abdulbar Diwani and his disciple, a Shomvi bandleader Bom Ambaron, who formerly played in Shubanil Arab.⁽¹⁸⁾ In another version, it started around 1930 with two sons of Salum Saidi Nahna (Subeti Salum and Saidi Salum), together with an Arab musician from Egypt as its musical instructor.⁽¹⁹⁾ In either case, the Egyptian had begun its activities by the late 1930s. Originally based in Kisutu, it later moved to New Street, Kariakoo. The Alwatan Musical Club, the Egyptian's longtime rival, is said to have been founded either around 1933 by Subeti and Saidi Salum who defected from the Egyptian,⁽²⁰⁾ or that it grew out of Shubanil Arab which Subeti and Saidi belonged to.⁽²¹⁾ The Alwatan had a clubhouse in Kongo Street, Kariakoo, from its inception.

Whatever the case, the founders of both bands and their predecessors seem to have originally belonged to the same circle of devotees of music. It is also generally agreed among informants that the Alwatan ("homeland" in Arabic) had relatively many Arab (mainly Hadhrami) members, mostly with mixed Arab-African ancestry, although it also had members of African ethnic groups, especially the Zaramo. Meanwhile, some Arab members in the Egyptian gradually moved to the Alwatan, and the Egyptian came to be comprised mainly of

indigenous Africans such as the Zaramo and Shomvi.⁽²²⁾

Taarab clubs played mainly at wedding ceremonies in town. Since there were no other major *taarab* groups in Dar es Salaam, both the Egyptian and Alwatan were frequently invited to weddings, and also played at other festive occasions in the halls. Both groups, small ensembles in their earliest days, matured into large orchestras by the 1950s. In addition to the Arabic instruments *oud* lute and *nai* flute, Western violins, mandolins, and double basses were used by these modern *taarab* orchestras.⁽²³⁾ Both clubs recorded their songs with Gallotone, an agent from South Africa, in 1950 and the following years (Graebner, 1988: 189-190).

Both clubs included non-musician members outnumbering the musicians. The non-musician members paid club dues. Along with guarantees from the weddings, the money was used to purchase instruments and rent the clubhouse. The band would play free (or half) of charge for the wedding parties of members of each club. Both clubs had members of various professions and social status, ranging from educated government clerks and teachers, to fishermen and drivers.⁽²⁴⁾ Most musicians kept day jobs, gathered and practiced in the evenings, and played regularly in front of the clubhouse on weekends (Graebner, 1988: 190). For them, musical performance was not a means of livelihood but basically a hobby.

The Alwatan and the Egyptian associated with the Zanzibar clubs, the Akhwani Safaa and the Nadi Mashuum,⁽²⁵⁾ respectively. Their interrelations included visiting each other on such occasions as sports festivals held between Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar. It must be noted that both groups were also affiliated with women's musical groups in Dar es Salaam. The transformation of women's *lelemama* clubs into *taarab* groups occurred in Dar es Salaam, as Topp (1993: 118) and Fair (1994: 290) noted as was the case in Zanzibar. They were closely associated with the two prominent male *taarab* groups, the Egyptian and Alwatan. The rival *lelemama* groups, the Rahatil Layl and the British Empire, might have produced the female *taarab* groups, the Saniyatil Hubb and the Good Luck, respectively.⁽²⁶⁾ The former affiliated with the Egyptian, and the latter, including members of Arab and Comorian origin,⁽²⁷⁾ with the Alwatan. When they performed at festive occasions, their respective male counterparts played instruments to accompany them. The rivalry between the Saniyatil Hubb and the Good Luck was fierce, both trying to outdo the other in their songs and costumes. These groups also competed in the annual picnic held in the suburbs, especially in the scale of the feasts, e.g. slaughters of livestock.⁽²⁸⁾ It is also worth noting that the members of the Good Luck used to arrange a self-help financing system called *upatu*, while the Saniyatil is said to have grown out of a female *upatu* group.⁽²⁹⁾

II. Proliferation of Jazz Clubs

In the 1930s-40s, Dar es Salaam had at least two native African dance bands, the African Association Jazz Band (often referred to as the African Jazz Band)

and the Dar es Salaam Jazz Band, both of which were frequently hired by dance clubs in town.⁽³⁰⁾ It was not until the end of World War II, however, that a number of guitar-based dance bands sprang up all over the town, coinciding with the return of war veterans who brought back the latest Western popular music and dance (Martin, 1980: 52). During the 1950s, aside from the long-standing Dar es Salaam Jazz Band, a number of popular "jazz clubs" emerged in Kariakoo and the adjacent Ilala wards.⁽³¹⁾ The Lucky Star Jazz Band from the neighboring town of Bagamoyo also became popular in Dar es Salaam during the 1950s.

The origin of the Dar es Salaam Jazz Band dates back to the African Association Jazz Band, which existed in the early 1930s in Kariakoo. In the mid-1930s, some musicians withdrew from the band and established the Dar es Salaam Jazz Band.⁽³²⁾ The founding members of the Dar es Salaam Jazz were of various ethnic groups and occupations, and they claimed it the band for the citizens of Dar es Salaam.⁽³³⁾ By the 1950s, it came to resemble a communal social club with many non-musicians of both sexes, a feature that most of the jazz clubs then had in common (Tsuruta, 2000: 13-17). The club was apparently managed by Athumani Muba, one of the founders and a violinist, whose house in Kariakoo was used as the clubhouse. In the 1960s, the band also had a junior section (Dar es Salaam Jazz "B").⁽³⁴⁾

The Ulanga Jazz Band was formed in the mid-1950s by the Pogoro from the Ulanga District, many of whom lived in Kariakoo.⁽³⁵⁾ Meanwhile, the Skokian Jazz Band was formed in Ilala by a group of friends from various ethnic, religious, and educational backgrounds, some of them from the same workplace.⁽³⁶⁾ At about the same time, the Rufiji Jazz Band was founded in Kariakoo by four Ndengereko hailing from the Rufiji District, who worked for customs at the Dar es Salaam port. At the start, the instruments were bought with contributions from founders and other early members mostly from the same district, but people from other districts also joined later.⁽³⁷⁾

The Western Jazz Band was started in 1959 by several Nyamwezi men, including Idi Nhende, an educated clerk, who left the Rufiji Jazz Band together with others of the same ethnic group.⁽³⁸⁾ The founders or "shareholders (directors)" named the band after the Western Province where their homelands were located. It also had a managing committee of elected staff, even as the directors continued to wield considerable influence over decision-making. Despite its exclusive name and origin, the club had an open membership policy, and soon came to have many members from ethnic groups other than Nyamwezi. As its official name ("the Western Jazz Band and Dancing Club") indicates, the majority of the members were non-musicians who attended the dances on weekends. If a member had a ceremony such as a funeral or wedding in his family, he would be assisted from the club account, from which members and musicians would sometimes also borrow. The club also launched a "B" section called the Ngoma Jazz.

The Kilwa Jazz Band was also formed around 1958 by a group of musicians from Kilwa, including Ahmed Kipande and others who defected from the

Tanganyika Jazz Band. The musicians and their friends of Kilwa origin started the band, then people from other places soon joined in large numbers.⁽³⁹⁾ In 1966, the band comprised 26 musicians (15 in the main section "A" and 11 in the junior section "B") and more than fifty members, including some high-ranking politicians.⁽⁴⁰⁾ The non-musician members paid a monthly subscription, and received free admission to concerts. In the mid-1960s, the club moved to a building called Madobi in the northwestern part of Kariakoo (Jangwani area), where they kept their instruments, and ran a dance hall and bar on weekends.⁽⁴¹⁾

The three major bands, the Dar es Salaam Jazz Band, the Western Jazz Band, and the Kilwa Jazz Band maintained their status as top bands in Dar es Salaam until the late 1960s. Since venues for music and dance were very limited at that time, the bands tended to have regular live gigs in the same place every weekend. There was no need to advertise, because the fans knew which hall their favorite band would be playing in. It is also worth noting that rivalries arose between the bands, which sometimes escalated to street fights among the avid fans.⁽⁴²⁾ They would also mock each other in their songs. In the following song, the Western Jazz Band scoffed at the Kilwa Jazz Band, whose supporters were very proud of their big clubhouse.⁽⁴³⁾

<i>Mali ya mwenziyo siyo mali yako</i>	It is someone else's property, not yours
<i>Siyo ya kuringia mimi kanikabidhi</i>	You have no reason to boast, (the owner)
	left with me a message for you
<i>Peleka kodi kwa mwenye nyumba</i>	Pay rent to the owner of the house
<i>Vibaya atakufukuza!</i>	Otherwise he will evict you!

On the other hand, close friendships developed with the jazz clubs of other towns. *Taarab* clubs developed close connections with clubs in Zanzibar, whereas the jazz clubs affiliated with bands in mainland towns. The Lucky Star Jazz Band of the neighboring Bagamoyo town, a rival of the Dar es Salaam Jazz Band, associated with the Western Jazz Band, while the Dar es Salaam Jazz Band was affiliated with the Cuban Marimba of Morogoro, as well as the Zanzibar Jazz Band.⁽⁴⁴⁾ The Cuban Marimba established the "Cuban Branch" in Dar es Salaam, which became popular in the 1960s. The Western Jazz Band also had its partner bands in Tabora, Tanga, and Kilosa, with which the former band would have friendly relations such as exchanges of visits and musicians.⁽⁴⁵⁾

Among the various musical groups in colonial Dar es Salaam, racial and ethnic composition varied considerably from club to club, but most employed the same organizational form called *chama*, a Kiswahili term that denotes any kind of voluntary organizations including political bodies. Each *chama*, or club, was run by contributions from its members (*wanachama*), which consisted mainly of non-musicians including some elected officers. These clubs often combined the functions of recreation and of welfare, and also formed networks of friendship well beyond the city, besides fostering rivalry with other groups. Such social characters were reminiscent of those of the precedent *beni* dance societies. These social features were also found in another major pastime,

football.

DEVELOPMENT OF FOOTBALL CLUBS IN DAR ES SALAAM

I. Football in Dar es Salaam in the Early Days

In Dar es Salaam the first football league, the Dar es Salaam Association Football League, started in the 1920s. In the earliest times, the league was dominated by teams established by the British in governmental offices and military forces. Teams that participated in the Dar es Salaam League in 1929 were as follows⁽⁴⁶⁾: 6th Battalion King's African Rifles (KAR), Gymkhana Club, Tanganyika Territorial Police, Tanganyika Railways, Government School (Dar es Salaam), and Government Services. While Gymkhana Club was a sport club only for Europeans, KAR, police, railway, and school teams seem to have included both Africans and non-Africans.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Along with the first and second division matches of the league, some tournament matches were held, such as the Higginson Cup, Pall Mall Cup, Sunlight Cup, and Janmohamed Cup in the 1940s.⁽⁴⁸⁾

In the 1930s, street teams such as the Arab Sports (Kariakoo) and the New Strong Team (Kisutu), made up mainly of Arabs and Africans respectively, participated in the league. The Sudanese community had its own team, and joined the first division by 1941. The players of the Sudanese Team also included non-Sudanese. At that time, there were other teams such as Khalsas, an exclusively Sikh team, and the Ilala Staff, a team with Ilala residents. Many other existing African groups, ranging from elite social clubs to a group of fish vendors, were also eager to have their own football clubs.⁽⁴⁹⁾

As World War II broke out, many European footballers seemed to have ceased to take part in the league, and the Gymkhana Club, along with teams from the Police, KAR, and Railway, eventually withdrew.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Instead, from the 1940s, street teams of Africans such as the Young Africans Football Club (Yanga) and the Sunderland⁽⁵¹⁾ emerged, together with the Goan's Club manned by Goans, and the Agha Khan Club by Ismaili Khojas. The Sudanese Team, a rival team of the Yanga, broke up in the mid-1940s. Some players were drawn to the Yanga, while the others were absorbed into the Sunderland.⁽⁵²⁾ Thus from this period onwards, the Yanga and the Sunderland gradually became the most prominent African football clubs in Dar es Salaam, and they soon entered into a long, fierce rivalry.

II. Development of Football Clubs in Kariakoo

The Yanga was founded in about 1938 by the members of its predecessor, the New Youngs, which was led by some young Zaramo, uniting with players from other teams. Soon after establishment, the Yanga began to take part in the first division of the league and other tournament matches, and won four major

cups in 1942. In the early days, the Yanga drew its members and supporters primarily from the Zaramo and Ndengereko living in the Jangwani area, north-west Kariakoo. Many were uneducated and unskilled workers including fish vendors.⁽⁵³⁾ In particular, the team was close to the Zaramo community.

The social status of the earliest members of the Sunderland was readily distinguishable from that of the Yanga. The Sunderland was originally a sports club manned by old schoolmates of the Government School in Kariakoo. Nyagatwa brothers from Rufiji in this "Old Boys" club were instrumental in establishing a new team, merging with a street team in Kariakoo.⁽⁵⁴⁾ The Sunderland joined the first division of the league soon after Yanga, and swept at least four important cups in 1946. The players and the supporters included many educated people from a higher social stratum, especially clerks working in the government offices. In particular, there were many Arab members compared to the Yanga, and the club obtained support from a number of wealthy Arab traders.⁽⁵⁵⁾

Thus, the Yanga and the Sunderland became highly competitive. They were not only rivals in games, but their memberships also reflected some actual social divisions in the town. The Yanga's supporters probably thought that their team was of "local people (*wenyeji*)" in contrast to Sunderland, the team of "outsiders (*wageni*, lit. 'guests')". On the other hand, the Sunderland fans scoffed at the Yanga's supporters as uneducated people who made their living by selling fish.⁽⁵⁶⁾ This rivalry between "poor and uneducated local people" and "wealthy and educated immigrants" resembled the rivalry between *beni ngoma* societies, Arinoti and Marini.⁽⁵⁷⁾ It must be noted, however, that neither team had strictly limited membership and was basically open to all sorts of people.

The rivalry among football teams had spread to Tanganyikan coastal areas by the late 1950s, and each local community had teams named the Yanga and the Sunderland as in Dar es Salaam (Lienhardt, 1968: 16-17). Even in inland towns like Morogoro, associates of both the Yanga and the Sunderland were in the same rivalry.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Other small teams that mushroomed in Kariakoo and the surrounding areas such as Kisutu and Ilala, would sometimes associate themselves with either the Yanga or the Sunderland. For example, the Young Bombay in Kisutu and the Young Kingstone in Kariakoo acted as branches of the Yanga, while others became affiliated with the Sunderland.⁽⁵⁹⁾ The Yanga and the Sunderland in Dar es Salaam also had junior teams: the African Boys and the Morning Star, respectively. In these networks between clubs both within and outside the city, as well as the dualistic rivalries in each urban community, football clubs had in common important social features characterizing *beni ngoma*, even more explicitly than was the case with the musical groups.

Thus, football clubs thrived in the 1950s and 1960s. In 1955, according to Iliffe (1979: 393), the Dar es Salaam league had 38 registered clubs whose membership mirrored the town's social structure. While many held ethnic club names, there were also works or departmental teams such as of the police or the dockworker. In the 1950s, one of the ethnically affiliated clubs was the Ngonnyama Team, formed and dominated by ethnic groups primarily from the

Songea District.⁽⁶⁰⁾ In the 1960s, the Cosmopolitan Sports Club emerged as the third team. The club was established in 1956 by educated Arabs hailing from Zanzibar and Mombasa, many of whom worked as clerks at the port. However, it was not exclusively Arab, but open to any race from its inception. In time, Africans soon outnumbered the Arabs. The Cosmopolitan trailed the Yanga and the Sunderland, but won the Dar es Salaam League in 1964.⁽⁶¹⁾

Like musical groups of this period, football clubs at that time took the form of *chama*, with its by-law and an administrative committee with a president (later chairman) and other elected officers such as a vice-president, a secretary, and a treasurer. The clubs were run by contributions from the members, which consisted largely of non-players. For the players, as well as for the non-player members, football was not a profession but an amateur recreation. Originating on the basis of relationships such as ethnic group, race, workplace, school, and neighborhood, they never had closed memberships exclusive to specific social lines such as ethnic group or social status.

III. Interplay between Football Clubs and Musical Groups

There have been close interactions between music and football over the decades. Ranger (1975: 99) suggested that, from the outset, each dance association (*beni* society) had its own football team. Likewise, football clubs in Dar es Salaam were affiliated with *taarab* musical clubs and jazz bands. Some football clubs had their own musical sections. For example, the Sunderland once had an ephemeral jazz band called the Sunderland Jazz Band, some of whose musicians also played in the team.⁽⁶²⁾ In the late 1950s, there was a club called the Young Bombay formed by young neighbors (mostly coastal Africans like Zaramo) in Kisutu, which had both a football and musical section.⁽⁶³⁾

Each major football club in Dar es Salaam was likely to have its associated football clubs, *taarab* clubs, and jazz bands in the town and in Zanzibar alike. The friendship between musical and sporting clubs heightened at the annual sport festival, which took place alternately in Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar. The festival, known locally as "sports," began in the 1920s (Fair, 1994: 357). It was held on "Bank Holiday" in August in the colonial period, and was transferred to the Easter holiday (*pasaka*) in April after independence.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Many sports lovers in the area took part in various kinds of games such as football, cricket, and hockey, and there must have been *taarab* or other musical entertainment at night.

Prominent football clubs such as the Yanga and the Sunderland were affiliated with certain football teams in Zanzibar, and with certain *taarab* clubs in Dar es Salaam as well. The Dar es Salaam-Zanzibar games were an important occasion to refresh their ties of friendship. The Sunderland was affiliated with the Kikwajuni Sports Club in Zanzibar, which hosted the visiting groups when the Sunderland came to play. The Alwatan Musical Club, the Sunderland's friend, accompanied them and would stay at the clubhouse of Akhwan Safaa, the partner *taarab* club of the Alwatan. They would watch the games

in the daytime, be invited at night to the party hosted by the Kikwajuni or the Akhwan Safaa. *Taarab* music was played at the party, in which the Sunderland members also joined.⁽⁶⁵⁾ A similar relationship was found between the Yanga and its counterpart in Zanzibar, the African Sports Club, together with the Egyptian Musical Club and its friend, the Nadi Mashuum.⁽⁶⁶⁾ These affiliations between football clubs and *taarab* clubs in earlier years might have been based upon the fact that both the Egyptian and the Yanga drew largely from the Zaramo community, while the Alwatan and the Sunderland were associated with the Arabs. An interlocking membership was also found in the Egyptian and the Yanga, and in the Alwatan and the Sunderland, likewise.

The Yanga and the Sunderland in the 1940s also affiliated with the jazz clubs in Dar es Salaam, the African Jazz Band and its spin-off, the Dar es Salaam Jazz Band, respectively.⁽⁶⁷⁾ The affiliations between football clubs and jazz bands in the 1960s were probably based on the association of neighborhood. The Sunderland continued to be the ally of the nearby Dar es Salaam Jazz Band, while the Yanga made friends with the neighboring Western Jazz Band. The concerts of each band were filled with fans of their respective counterparts when important games were won. Or, the team would hold parties to celebrate victory, in which their associated jazz band or *taarab* club performed. When the Sunderland faced financial problems, the Dar es Salaam Jazz Band would organize fund raising concerts.⁽⁶⁸⁾ The Dar es Salaam Jazz also joined the "sports" with its counterpart, the Zanzibar Jazz Band, whose members sometimes slept at the Sunderland clubhouse, when they visited Dar es Salaam. When the Yanga invited its affiliated team (African Sports Club) from Zanzibar, some guests stayed at the clubhouse of Western Jazz Band, which also entertained the guests with concerts.⁽⁶⁹⁾

Bands composed songs to praise their favorite teams, such as "F.C. Young Africa" of the Western Jazz Band.⁽⁷⁰⁾ The following song, entitled "*Yamewafika wenzetu*," made by the Dar es Salaam Jazz Band, ridiculed Yanga fans when Sunderland defeated Yanga.⁽⁷¹⁾

<i>Yamewafika wenzetu</i>	It finally reached them (The Yanga fans).
<i>Kila wakitaka kujitahidi</i>	Every time they made efforts (to win),
<i>Mambo yamewa shangaza</i>	it was surprising, however,
<i>Wamebaki wanalia</i>	that they kept on crying.
<i>Wanasema tutakonda</i>	They say "We are going to lose weight,
<i>Mambo hayo yamezidi</i>	the situation is getting worse,
<i>Tutafanya jambo gani oo</i>	what should we do?"

DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN DAR ES SALAAM

The origin of African's modern political activities lies in the Tanganyika Territory African Civil Service Association (TTACSA), a trade union with welfare functions established by African civil servants in Tanga as early as 1922. The

Union had a branch in Dar es Salaam, but it lapsed during 1928, and most of its known members transferred to the African Association (AA, *Chama cha Umoja wa Watu wa Africa* in Swahili), founded in 1929 after the preceding European Association and Indian Association in Dar es Salaam. AA's aim, one of the founders stated in 1930, was "to safeguard the interests of Africans, not only in this Territory but in the whole of Africa" (Iliffe, 1968: 2-3; Iliffe, 1979: 406-407).

AA recruited some 300 members by 1931 and began to build a clubhouse in New Street, Kariakoo. Unlike the inclusive musical and sporting clubs, members of AA in its early days appear to have been primarily educated or well-off Africans who could afford to pay the rather expensive annual dues. Ten AA branches were established during the 1930s, and by 1948, it claimed 39 branches and 1,780 members throughout the country (Iliffe, 1979: 408-409, 412-413, 426).

The AA leadership in the earliest days included the English-speaking staff of the government such as Cecil Matola, educated in a Christian mission, together with civil servants from the German times including Zibe Kidasi,⁽⁷²⁾ who had deeper roots in the urban society. Added to this, the three leading groups of Africans in Dar es Salaam in the 1920s — former mercenaries (Kleist Sykes), the Manyema (Mzee Sudi), and the Zaramo (Ramadhani Ali) — were all represented among the AA's first leaders. Although TTACSA provided much of its core members, AA was not simply a civil servants' trade union but "a deliberate attempt to unite civil servants with the leaders of other social groups" (Iliffe, 1979: 407-408).

It might be argued that AA was, in a sense, a development out of the *beni* associations, as Ranger (1975: 95) suggested. Among the founding members of AA were men who had earlier leading roles in the *beni* associations such as the Arinoti and Marini. Such members included Zibe Kidasi (former Brigadier-General of Arinoti), Ramadhani Ali (former King of Marini), and Kleist Sykes, each of whom also represented three key elements (clerks, traders, and ex-mercenaries) of the Dar es Salaam African elite (Ranger, 1975: 94-95). Iliffe (1979: 409) also pointed out that AA's officers — Auditor, Chief Advisor, and Personal Assistant to the President — resembled the Kings and Nursing Sisters of the *beni* societies. Existing territory-wide networks of *beni* and *dansi* societies may also have been responsible for the rapid expansion of the AA branches. In the 1930s, some AA branches were founded on the basis of initial contacts between dance societies (Iliffe, 1979: 414). In fact, it was sometimes hard to distinguish between a branch of AA and an elite dance club in the 1930s-40s (Ranger, 1975: 96; Iliffe, 1973: 249; Iliffe, 1979: 413).

It was not until the mid-1950s that TAA,⁽⁷³⁾ quasi-political until then, became overtly politicized, revitalized by its branches in local towns. From the late 1940s to early 1950s, the anti-colonial nationalistic movement gradually spread in Tanganyika, partly because it was revealed that the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations was inclined towards de-colonization. Under these circumstances, high school teacher Julius K. Nyerere, who would become the first

president of independent Tanganyika, became the president of TAA. Nyerere and his colleagues recognized that TAA should be reorganized and transformed into a nationalistic and centralized political organization, then fight for independence. Thus, TAA was transformed into the nationalist party TANU in 1954, and put a nationwide campaign for independence in motion, involving other existing special-interest groups such as urban trade unions and rural cooperatives (Iliffe, 1979: 418-434, 507-513, 523-543).

Meanwhile, the colonial government took various measures to confront this growing African political movement. Besides promoting the United Tanganyika Party (UTP), led by whites and advocating a multi-racial policy, the authorities also tried to stifle TANU and its leader Nyerere. From 1953 to 1955, several legal restrictions were enforced to prevent civil servants from joining TAA (TANU) and to clamp down anti-governmental activities (Coulson, 1982: 114-115; Iliffe, 1979: 510, 514-515, 553). Added to this, in early 1957, the government banned Nyerere from public speech. The ban was soon lifted, however, because a UN mission was due to arrive for inspection (Iliffe, 1979: 554). The election of the Legislative Council, held twice from 1958, resulted in a landslide for TANU, and, thanks to political changes in the UK itself, Tanganyika finally achieved its complete independence in 1961.

The rapid change of political climate was also brought about by the wide support for TANU among Africans in Dar es Salaam. The first major political rally was held in March 1955 when Nyerere returned from a visit to the UN Trusteeship Council. The 2,000 TANU party membership in Dar es Salaam at that time, not only rose to over 5,000 just four months later, but 25,000 out of 40,000-45,000 membership cards issued in the territory by September 1955 were for Dar es Salaam with a population of 110,000. Dar es Salaam also experienced little political conflict compared to provinces where parochial antagonism and UTP hindered TANU's expansion. By 1957, almost all the Africans rallied to TANU, to the extent that Dar es Salaam was called "almost 100 per cent a TANU town" (Iliffe, 1979: 517-518, 529; Leslie, 1963: 268-271).

A MARRIAGE BETWEEN PASTIMES AND POLITICS

I. Political Involvement of Recreational Clubs around Independence

The ties between recreational associations and political organizations, which had existed since their very early days, particularly deepened from the period of struggle for independence in the mid-1950s, and well into the post independence era. During this period, musical and sporting clubs cooperated closely with TANU mainly in two ways: (1) mobilization of people in political campaigns, expansion of membership, and fund raising; (2) as a cover for clandestine political meetings during times of government repression.

Ally Sykes was typical of people engaged in all three genres of popular music, sports, and urban politics. The son of a former AA leader Kleist Sykes,

Ally was not only a political activist, being one of the 17 founders of TANU, but also a footballer in the Sunderland and a musician in his own band, the Merry Blackbirds.⁽⁷⁴⁾ According to Graebner (1992: 228), Ally stated that the band played as a cover for political meetings of TANU, as well as to raise funds for the party's travel expenses, and pamphlet printing.

The Merry Blackbirds was just one of such jazz bands in Dar es Salaam, which were mobilized by TANU for political campaigns. Around the time of independence, jazz bands sometimes appeared at the TANU's political rallies to attract audience, while the proceeds from jazz band concerts in downtown halls would be contributed to help finance the party.⁽⁷⁵⁾ The party officials even seem to have encouraged the establishment of bands by providing instruments, as seen in the Cuban Branch which was first given musical instruments from Oscar Kambona, the first full-time secretary of TANU.⁽⁷⁶⁾

Jazz bands would sometimes express their criticism of the colonial government by their songs. The following song made by the Skokian Jazz Band was to attack colonialism overtly, and the band was widely applauded by audiences, whenever it was played.⁽⁷⁷⁾

<i>Enyi wakoloni</i>	You colonialists
<i>Mmetunyanyasa kwa muda mrefu</i>	You have been teasing us for a long time
<i>Toka mababu zetu mpaka hivi sasa</i>	Since the time of our grandfathers up to now.

Taarab clubs also participated in the political campaigns of TANU. The Egyptian Musical Club, in particular, had such a close relationship with TANU that the party sometimes rented microphones and speakers from the club to use in its political rallies.⁽⁷⁸⁾ The band once accompanied Nyerere's local campaign tour, as an attraction for the assemblies.⁽⁷⁹⁾ After the ban on Nyerere's public speech, the Egyptian tried to provide Nyerere with opportunities for public speech at concerts held in front of the clubhouse, or at other festive occasions where the band played, including those held at the Yanga clubhouse.⁽⁸⁰⁾ The money obtained at the concerts would be contributed to the party and Nyerere, to help with his travel expenses abroad.⁽⁸¹⁾

Taarab shows were also organized at party branches.⁽⁸²⁾ Said (1998: 185-186) unfolded an episode which occurred in a function to celebrate the opening of the TANU Branch in Mvita Street, Kariakoo, in 1957. On that occasion, a star female singer Nuru Sudi, who had defected from the Alwatan to the Egyptian, performed for the first time with her new group. Nuru, who had mixed Arab-African parentage, was formerly a member of a women's *taarab* group called the Coronation (one of the Alwatan's female ally), which was said to be associated with women of Arabic origin. Her defection was taken by the Egyptian supporters as a rebellion which brought her back to the African-oriented Egyptian. This anecdote seems to well illustrate the claim of the Egyptian and the Yanga fans, who tended to assert that their partnership for TANU was based

on their African-orientation, as opposed to the Alwatan (and the Sunderland) which were Arab-oriented.

Yet, former members of the Alwatan Musical Club recounted to me that they were side by side with TANU. A former singer of the Alwatan remembered that he once sang an old love song, changing the text slightly to add hidden political connotations. A few lines from the song are as follows: "We love our darling (Nyerere) and will never part from him. Even if you (colonialists) tell him to go until you are tired, he will not get out."⁽⁸³⁾ The Tanganyika Sports Music Club, another *taarab* club founded in the late 1950s in Kariakoo, also joined forces with TANU by touring rural areas, where the party's membership cards were sold and a portion of the gate money was also given to the party.⁽⁸⁴⁾

Most noteworthy, in terms of mass mobilization, was the case of Bibi Titi Mohamed, who was to become the first female member and then the leader of the female section of TANU. Bibi Titi, a lead singer in a women's *ngoma* group, began to recruit women members for TANU by utilizing existing networks of female *ngoma* groups (Geiger, 1987: 15-17; Geiger, 1997: 58, 72). She and her allies eventually succeeded in enrolling 5,000 women members by October 1955 (Ilfie, 1979: 518). The women in *ngoma* and *taarab* groups raised money through active solicitation of membership fees and gifts, besides enlivening the political rallies of TANU with their songs (Geiger, 1987: 22-24; Geiger, 1997: 86). According to Said (1998: 183, 185), Bibi Hawa binti Maftah, a Manyema lady known as the "Queen" of a *lelemama* group, was the one who introduced *lelemama* songs into TANU meetings to boost party morale.

Sports clubs in Dar es Salaam also collaborated with TANU, especially in terms of fund raising through football matches, just as the musical groups. According to Barongo (1966: 148-149), after the decision was made by TANU in 1958 to establish a university for Africans, a charity football match to support this plan was organized under the sponsorship of *Mwafrika*, virtually the official newspaper of the party. Nyerere was present at the awarding ceremony, and appealed to the people to contribute to the plan. Especially the Yanga and the Sunderland were often mobilized in tournament matches to generate funds, as these teams attracted a substantial number of spectators wherever they went. When the Africans achieved self-government in 1960, the *Madaraka* ("responsible government") Cup was held among famous teams in Dar es Salaam including the Yanga and the Sunderland, and gate collections appear to have been donated to TANU.⁽⁸⁵⁾

In particular, the Yanga and TANU are said to have had such a close relationship that TANU membership cards were sold in the clubhouse of the Yanga on Mafia Street, Kariakoo. In addition, some assert that TANU had secret political meetings in the Yanga clubhouse when the government banned the political activities of Nyerere, and the Egyptian used to perform in front of the club as a cover.⁽⁸⁶⁾ Such a meeting was also held between Nyerere and Karume, the leader of the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) in Zanzibar, who would later become the president of the island.⁽⁸⁷⁾ It is widely believed that senior members of the

Yanga introduced Karume to Nyerere at the clubhouse (Said, 1998: 188). A match held around 1957 in Dar es Salaam between Karume's African Sports Club and the Yanga is well remembered by the Yanga fans, in which donations to the ASP were collected from the audience.⁽⁸⁸⁾ Meanwhile, the Sunderland was considered less politically-oriented probably because it had many Arabs and educated members, including those working in colonial government offices. A former member, however, claimed that the club backed TANU and even expressed its support to the party, for example, by holding a function in front of the clubhouse with the Alwatan's *taarab* music in the presence of Nyerere.⁽⁸⁹⁾

II. Post-colonial Collaboration between Music, Sports, and Politics

The honeymoon between recreational clubs and TANU continued even in the subsequent decade after independence. Jazz clubs in Dar es Salaam continued to be mobilized for fund raising, and also frequently played at state receptions and national celebrations. In 1964, the Rufiji Jazz Band engaged in a one month local tour to raise funds for TANU in support of the liberation struggle in Mozambique.⁽⁹⁰⁾ One other aspect of their contributions was their patriotic songs. The Dar es Salaam Jazz Band's "*TANU Yajenga Nchi* (TANU builds the country)" in the 1960s went: "Tanganyika our country, the heritage of our fathers / Let us build our country, let our children inherit it / TANU builds the country."⁽⁹¹⁾ In 1967, when the Arusha Declaration officially proclaimed socialist policy, some jazz bands composed songs to celebrate the policy issue. One of them was a song recorded by the Western Jazz Band, and entitled "*Jitegemee, TANU Yakata Mirija* (Let us be self-reliant, TANU cuts the straws)" (Mytton, 1976: 282), which denotes that TANU (and its counterpart in Zanzibar, the Afro-Shirazi Party) would cut off any route (straw) of capitalist exploitation.⁽⁹²⁾

Eh TANU sasa itasafisha Eh TANU is now about to clean
Eh Afro sasa itasafisha Eh Afro-Shirazi Party is now about to clean
Na hiyo mirija sasa itakatika And these straws are now about to be cut off.

After the amalgamation of Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 1964, the union government formed a unified national *taarab* orchestra which brought musicians from different bands on both sides of the country. It performed at political functions such as on the Union Day in Dar es Salaam and the Revolution Day in Zanzibar, and even toured as far as Uganda.⁽⁹³⁾ Egyptian Musical Club also composed and recorded the songs praising TANU and its policies, such as "*Unguja na Tanganyika kwa Dhati Zimeungana* (Zanzibar and Tanganyika, they were united sincerely)" and "*TANU Chama cha Fahari* (TANU, the party of our pride)."⁽⁹⁴⁾

Football clubs also continued to be involved in political activities both at local and national levels. The matches carrying nationalist and anti-colonialist messages, in which the Yanga participated at the time, include the Kenya Independence Celebration Cup, Afro-Shirazi Cup, Ukombozi ("liberation") Cup,

and Mapinduzi ("revolution") Cup (Keto, 1973: 17). According to Mwakawago (1967: 219), in a parliamentary election held in Dar es Salaam in 1965, Kitwana Kondo, a Zaramo and former secretary of the Yanga, was supported by members of some jazz clubs as well as those of the Yanga. The latter was rumored as providing an unofficial campaign organization for Kondo. Football games were also used as fund-raisers. For example, in 1967, TANU Gerezani branch had a plan to organize a cup to boost funds for the construction of a UWT (*Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanzania*, the Union of Tanzanian Women) building in the area, in which the Yanga, the Sunderland, and the Cosmopolitan were to participate.⁽⁹⁵⁾

CONCLUSION

This paper chronicles the close and intertwined relationships between musical groups, football teams, and political parties in Dar es Salaam from the 1930s to 1960s.

African societies in Dar es Salaam during the colonial period was basically composed of migrants of diverse class, ethnic, and racial backgrounds. They were, however, connected through the medium of voluntary associations such as musical and sporting clubs. Inter-ethnicity was a basic feature in these social relations, although some clubs reflected identities of certain social groups (race, ethnicity, place of origin, etc.) in their formative years. In some musical genres, male and female groups existed side by side. The heydays of communal musical and sporting activities were intimately linked to a surge of urban political enthusiasm and activism. Club networks were utilized to mobilize people for nationalist campaigns, contributing greatly towards the achievement of nearly universal African support for the TANU party.

Swahili culture was an important catalyst in the development of these inter-ethnic cultural and political movements. Dar es Salaam lacked a well-established Swahili community, but the longer settled residents familiar with the coastal culture formed the core of the society on the basis of Swahili language and culture. Such groups included the urbanized Zaramo, Shomvi, and Ndengereko, who were the majority in the town's African population, along with other long-standing townfolk such as the Manyema, Sudanese, and Arab descendants, who assimilated quickly into the coastal society. Through modern recreational activities, these 'coastal' people formed a nucleus for the local cultural movement on the one hand, and extended the social networks to neighboring areas including Zanzibar. The formation of these loosely-integrated social relations might have also facilitated the incorporation of the new arrivals, including the migrants from the upcountry, to the existing Swahili-oriented community.

Much of the social features that these cultural and political clubs had seem to come from the preceding *beni ngoma* dance societies, deriving from the Swahili tradition. Recreational clubs shared *beni* society characteristics in organization and social function, i.e. inter-town networks, rivalry within each

community, and mutual aid, and so did the political bodies of AA and TANU to some extent. Both recreational clubs and political parties were referred to as *chama*, a Swahili word meaning a society or a club. This indicates that recreational clubs and political parties may be placed in the same social category, and the marriage between the two amid sweeping nationalism was an inevitable consequence.

Thus, popular music, sports, and urban politics in colonial Dar es Salaam have acted as a vehicle for community formation, along with creating wider social networks beyond the city. These cultural movements probably provided the Dar es Salaam townspeople with more effective communal and political bases in a multi-ethnic urban environment than any other ethnic or religious organizations, through outstanding and memorable social events such as musical concerts, football matches, and political rallies.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS I wish to express my gratitude to all the people mentioned here for their generosity in providing me with a wealth of information on musical and football clubs in Dar es Salaam. My thanks are also due to Mr. Robbin Lloyd for reading early drafts and making a number of helpful comments and suggestions. Field trips in 1998 were conducted with a grant from the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, and in 1999 and 2000 were supported by a grant from the Toyota Foundation, to which I owe special thanks.

NOTES

- (1) This paper is based on another article of mine published in Japanese (Tsuruta, 1998), with considerable revisions according to new findings. While the earlier version was based on materials obtained up to 1997, this revised paper covers a much wider range of data. The new sources of information include interviews held between 1998 and 2002, and reference not available to me in 1997, such as Fair (1994), Anthony (1983), Geiger (1997), Keto (1973), Konde (1975), and Said (1998). Along with modifications on overall structure (i.e. adding two new sections), the new discussion emphasizes the pivotal role of the Swahili-oriented people in these urban cultural movements, a topic which was not clearly stated in the 1998 paper.
- (2) Swahili, in its narrowest definition, denotes native Bantu Africans who intermarried with Arabs and Persians at old towns on the East African coast, speaking Swahili as mother tongue, believing in Islam, and having a sophisticated urbane Swahili "attitude" in everyday life (Hino, 1980: 94). I use the "Swahili" here as a broader entity, including recently urbanized natives who adopted the Swahili way of life, including language, religion, and clothing, along with the recently settled Arabs and their descendants.
- (3) Shomvi is an ethnic category closely related to Zaramo. Originally of Arab and African descent, they intermarried with the Zaramo over some generations to where their rights and customs are now inextricable (Leslie, 1963: 20; Anthony, 1983: 20-35).
- (4) The majority of the members of the ethnic category known as "Rufiji" under colonial rule are considered to fall within the Ndengereko category. For the reason for this, along with their close relation with the neighboring Zaramo, see Tsuruta (2003).
- (5) *Ngoma* is the generic term in East Africa for traditional dance performances

- accompanied by some percussion ensemble and songs. It is usually performed as the accompaniment for all kinds of ceremonies and merrymaking.
- (6) All the information on *beni ngoma* here is based on Ranger (1975), except where noted.
 - (7) Twahil Saidi (an old resident in Kisutu and Kariakoo), 28 June 2002; Masoudi Ali (an old resident of Kariakoo), 4 July 2002. See also Anthony (1983: 153, 274).
 - (8) Interview with Sihiyana Salehe (a Zaramo poet), Dar es Salaam, 5 September 1999 and 18 August 2000, and other oral sources. For a detailed story on *tokomile* and *mtondoo*, see Tsuruta (2003).
 - (9) Hamisi Akida (a distinguished scholar on Swahili language and culture and a former secretary of the Egyptian Musical Club), Dar es Salaam, 21 August 1999.
 - (10) The Safinat and the Submarine were affiliated with different social groups by elders, while the younger groups, the Rahatil Layl and the British Empire, were associated with rival *taarab* clubs, the Egyptian and the Alwatan, respectively. Hamisi Akida, 21 August 1999 and Salum Mboga aka Mdigo (one of the earliest members of the Egyptian), 8 August 2000.
 - (11) The Tanga Young Comrades Club was a social club founded in Dar es Salaam by educated Africans from Tanga for welfare and recreation. Located on New Street, Kariakoo, the club organized *dansi* every month and also ran a football team around 1950. Robert Makange (a former member), Dar es Salaam, 3 February 1997.
 - (12) The clubs mentioned by Anthony (1983: 155-156) include the "Nyakyusa" Dancing Club, the Half-Caste Dancing Club, and the Domestic Servants Dancing Club. He also noted that, when references are made to dance societies in 1930s Dar es Salaam, it is difficult to determine whether they were *beni* or *dansi* clubs. Besides, the UMCA Dance Club Dar es Salaam (1939) seems to have belonged to a Christian mission (Iliffe, 1979: 392), while the Police Headquarters Dancing Club (est. 1945) was probably made up of educated African Christians (both male and female) who shared the same workplace (*Mambo Leo*, December 1945 and July 1949). Despite the Christian domination in the early *dansi*, in the 1940s, a club called the Young Stars included some noticeable Muslim townsmen such as Tewa Saidi Tewa (one of the founders of the TANU) and Makisi Mbwana (an influential member of the Wazaramo Union). Masoudi Ali, Dar es Salaam, 4 July 2002.
 - (13) Masoudi Ali, 4 July 2002.
 - (14) According to Masoudi Ali (interviewed in 4 July 2002), this practice started after a public hall called Arnautoglu Community Center was built near Kariakoo in 1952. For the erection of the center, see *Mambo Leo*, June 1950 and *Tanganyika Standard*, 9 December 1952.
 - (15) Hamisi Akida, Dar es Salaam, 21 August 1999.
 - (16) Abdallah Awadhi (a former musician of the Egyptian and the Alwatan), Dar es Salaam, 17 August 1996 and 3 July 2002.
 - (17) Salum Mboga (Mdigo), Dar es Salaam, 8 August 2000; Hamisi Akida, 21 August 1999. The Shubanil Arab may have developed as the Young Arab Sports Club later, which also ran a football team in the 1940s. Interview with Abdallah Awadhi, Dar es Salaam, 23 February 1997.
 - (18) Graebner (1988: 189); Interview, Salum Mboga, 19 February 1997.
 - (19) Abdallah Awadhi, 17 August 1996. The mother of Subeti and Saidi was coastal African, possibly of Shomvi or Zaramo extraction. Salehe Ghullum, Dar es Salaam, 10 August 2000.
 - (20) Abdallah Awadhi, 17 August 1996.
 - (21) Salum Mboga, 19 February 1997 and 8 August 2000. Graebner (1988: 189) noted that Alwatan Musical Club was formed in 1938, with Subeti Salum as the leader.

- (22) Salum Mboga, 19 February 1997; Abasi Mzee (a veteran musician of the Egyptian), Dar es Salaam, 26 December 1996; Abdallah Awadhi, 23 February 1997 and 3 July 2002; Mohamed Mkwanda (a former musician of the Alwatan), Dar es Salaam, 18 August 2000.
- (23) Salum Mboga, 19 February 1997; Abasi Mzee, 26 December 1996; Mohamed Bajabil (a former musician of the Alwatan), Dar es Salaam, 9 March 1997; Abdallah Awadhi, Dar es Salaam, 3 July 2002; Mohamed Mkwanda, 18 August 2000; Graebner (1988: 190).
- (24) Abasi Mzee, 26 December 1996; Abdallah Awadhi, 23 February 1997 and 3 July 2002; Mohamed Mkwanda, 18 August 2000; Graebner (1988: 190).
- (25) Unlike the Akhwan Safaa, the Nadi Mashuum, the Egyptian's counterpart, was itself not a *taarab* club. Salum Mboga, 8 August 2000.
- (26) Hamisi Akida, 21 August 1999. It is not yet confirmed, however, as some other informants gave me several versions of conflicting accounts.
- (27) Mohamed Bajabil, 9 March 1997. The Alwatan also allied with another female *taarab* group called the Coronation. Mohamed Mkwanda, 18 August 2000.
- (28) Abasi Mzee, Dar es Salaam, 28 June 2002; Daima Abdallah (a former singer with the Saniyatil Hubb and the Egyptian), Dar es Salaam, 29 June 2002.
- (29) Mohamed Mkwanda, 18 August 2000; Daima Abdallah, 29 June 2002.
- (30) Masoud Ali, 4 July 2002.
- (31) There were also several dance bands playing soft instrumental music mainly for high-status audiences in Dar es Salaam at the time. Along with some Goan bands, there was a band made up of educated Africans (both Muslims and Christians), the Skylarks (later renamed the Merry Blackbirds and then the Shelly Merry Makers), which was based in Kariakoo. The band was established and managed by Ally Sykes, who was a son of one of the political leaders in the town, Kleist Sykes. Saburi Hamisi Saburi (a former musician of the Merry Blackbirds), Dar es Salaam, 10 March 1997; Iliffe (1973: 113).
- (32) Muharami Charambo (one of the founders of the Dar es Salaam Jazz Band), Dar es Salaam, 22 September 1996; Hamisi Akida, 21 August 1999.
- (33) Hamisi Ngulu (a former musician of the Dar es Salaam Jazz Band), Dar es Salaam, 26 May 1996 and 24 February 1997. According to him, the early members had various ethnic origins such as the Zaramo, Ngoni, Matumbi, Nyakyusa, Nubi, and Manyema.
- (34) Hamisi Ngulu, Dar es Salaam, 26 May 1996, 24 February 1997, and 6 September 1999; *Nchi Yetu* 50, 1968, p. 29.
- (35) Bayuni Athumani (a founder of the Ulanga Jazz Band), Dar es Salaam, 1 September 1996.
- (36) Juma Mrisho (a former musician of the Skokian Jazz Band and the Kilwa Jazz Band), Dar es Salaam, 4 February 1997.
- (37) Omari Kiegemwe (a former chairman of the Rufiji Jazz Band), Dar es Salaam, 4 August 1996.
- (38) The accounts on the Western Jazz Band in this paragraph are based on interviews held in Dar es Salaam with Idi Nhende (one of the founders of the Western Jazz Band), 31 March and 26 May 1996; Omari Kiegemwe, 4 August 1996; John Simon (a former musician of the band), Dar es Salaam, 19 May 1996 and 7 August 1999; Jumanne Makambi (one of the founders of the band), Dar es Salaam, 12 August 2000.
- (39) Juma Mrisho, 4 February 1997; Aziz Amir Mohamed (a former supporter), Dar es Salaam, 28 June 2002. The earliest members included all the major ethnic groups in the Kilwa District such as the Yao, Mwera, Ngindo, Machinga, and Matumbi.
- (40) *Nchi Yetu* 33, 1966, pp. 9-10. The Kilwa Jazz B would play in place of the main band when it was away on tour. Mhidini Gurumo (a former singer with the Kilwa Jazz), Dar

- es Salaam, 3 September 1999.
- (41) Juma Mrisho, 25 May 1996 and 31 August 1999; *Nchi Yetu* 33, 1966, p. 11. Some young single musicians lived in the clubhouse. Mhidini Gurumo, 3 September 1999.
 - (42) Idi Nhende, 26 May 1996; Michael Enock (a former musician of the Dar es Salaam Jazz Band), Dar es Salaam, 16 March 1996.
 - (43) Bakari Majengo (a former musician of the Dar es Salaam Jazz Band), Dar es Salaam, 19 May 1996. The song text was transcribed at Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD), which recorded this song in 1967.
 - (44) Hamisi Ngulu, 6 September 1999; Zahoro Nasor (a founder of the Lucky Star Jazz Band), Bagamoyo, 6 January 1996.
 - (45) Jumanne Makambi, 12 August 2000.
 - (46) *Mambo Leo*, December 1929, p. 1188. At one time, the first division of the league was also called the Brown Cup, named after Mr. Brown, then Commissioner of the Police, who probably contributed the cup.
 - (47) Haroub Hassani (one of the founders of the Yanga), Dar es Salaam, 19 March 1997; Anthony (1983: 123, 126).
 - (48) Haroub Hassani, 19 March 1997. Pall Mall Cup and Sunlight Cup were sponsored by a tobacco company and a soap company, respectively. By the mid-1940s, the Sunlight Cup evolved into a nationwide tournament in which representative teams from eight provinces competed. *Mambo Leo*, December 1949, p. 137.
 - (49) Haroub Hassani, 19 March 1997; Anthony (1983: 125-126); Mohamed Bajabil, 9 March 1997; Iliffe (1968: 21; 1979: 267).
 - (50) Haroub Hassani, 19 March 1997; Salehe Ghullum (one of the founders of Sunderland), Dar es Salaam, 23 March 1997; *Kwetu*, No. 7, 1 May 1942.
 - (51) The Sunderland, named after a team in England, changed its name to Simba ("lion" in Swahili) in 1971.
 - (52) Haroub Hassani, 16 and 19 March 1997.
 - (53) Haroub Hassani, 16 and 22 March 1997; Keto (1973: 6-7, 17).
 - (54) Salehe Ghullum, Dar es Salaam, 15 December 1996 and 10 August 2000; Hamisi Akida, 21 August 1999; Masoudi Ali, 30 June 2002. Nyagatwa is an ethnic category closely related to Ndengereko.
 - (55) Salehe Ghullum, 15 December 1996; Masoudi Ali, 30 June 2002.
 - (56) Salehe Lumelezi (a former member of the Sunderland), 2 February 1997.
 - (57) In *beni ngoma*, however, the rivalry between those of low status and high status did not always correspond with a distinction between local people and outsiders (Ranger, 1975: 53-55, 64-65).
 - (58) In Morogoro in the 1960s there was a team called the Home Boys, which was dominated by local people including the Luguru, while the other team, Wanderers, included educated ethnic groups from outside. The former affiliated with the Yanga, while the latter was associated with the Sunderland. Juma Kilaza (a former player of the Wanderers), Morogoro, 8 December 1996.
 - (59) Ali Pazi (a former player of the Young Bombay and the Young Kingstone), Dar es Salaam, 17 October 1999.
 - (60) Peter Mandawa (a former member who later coached the Yanga in the 1960s-70s), Dar es Salaam, 24 November 1996. According to him, in Dar es Salaam, these ethnic groups (Ngoni, Nyasa, and Matengo) also organized dances such as female *chioda* and male *mganda*, probably a remnant of *beni*. See also Leslie (1963: 55) and Ranger (1975: 162).
 - (61) Abdoulrahman Ali Talib (one of the founders of the Cosmopolitan Sports Club), Dar es Salaam, 7 February 1997; Konde (1975: 16-17)

- (62) Salehe Ghullum, 10 November 1996.
- (63) Ali Pazi (a former member), Dar es Salaam, 17 October 1999. After the breakup of the football team, the musical section was officially launched as the Bombay Musical Club in the early 1960s, whose forte was Indian music. Idi Bakari Pazi (a former musician), Dar es Salaam, 27 January 1997.
- (64) Hamisi Akida, 21 August 1999, and other oral sources.
- (65) Salehe Ghullum, 10 August 2000; Mohamed Bajabil, 9 March 1997; Mohamed Mkwanda, 18 August 2000.
- (66) Salum Mboga, 8 August 2000; Abasi Mzee, 26 December 1996; Keto (1973: 37). For the African Sports Club, see note 87.
- (67) Masoud Ali, 4 July 2002. According to him, after the breakup of the African Jazz, the Yanga made friends with the Tanganyika Jazz Band, the predecessor of the Kilwa Jazz.
- (68) Hamisi Ngulu, 6 September 1999.
- (69) Bakari Majengo, 19 May 1996; Jumanne Makambi, 12 August 2000.
- (70) According to recording list of national radio station RTD, the song was recorded in 1971.
- (71) Bakari Majengo, 19 May 1996. The song text was transcribed at RTD, which recorded this song in 1967.
- (72) Zibe Kidasi was from Tanga and once chaired the Tanga Young Comrades Club (see note 11). He was also famous for his brass band which was hired for weddings and other festive occasions. Hamisi Akida, 21 August 1999.
- (73) The AA renamed itself the "Tanganyika African Association (TAA)" after the Dar es Salaam headquarters broke off direct relations with Zanzibar AA in 1948 (Iliffe, 1979: 433).
- (74) As to the Merry Blackbirds, see note 31.
- (75) Bayuni Athumani, 1 September 1996; Omari Kiegemwe, 4 August 1996; Jumanne Makambi, 12 August 2000; Hamisi Ngulu, 24 February 1997 and 6 September 1999, and other oral sources.
- (76) Selemani Mwaipungu (a founder of the Cuban Branch), Dar es Salaam, 22 February 1997.
- (77) The song draws upon an interview with Mhidini Gurumo (a former singer), Dar es Salaam, 15 February 1997. The Skokian Jazz Band was then led by Abdul Sykes, elder brother of Ally Sykes, and cooperated with TANU's political campaign both for attracting audiences and fund raising. Mhidini Gurumo, 3 September 1999.
- (78) Salehe Mbegu (a former musician), Dar es Salaam, 16 February 1997.
- (79) Salum Mboga, 8 August 2000.
- (80) Hamisi Akida (the then secretary of Egyptian), 21 August 1999. Said (1998: 184-185) also pointed out that, at the time, TANU organized *taarab* concerts and would invite Nyerere as a guest of honor, who was to open the occasion, and then given the opportunity to speak a few words to the audience.
- (81) Daima Abdallah, 29 June 2002. See also Geiger (1997: 86).
- (82) Mohamed Mkwanda, 18 August 2000; Salum Mboga, 8 August 2000.
- (83) "*Twampenda mpenzi wetu katu hatumachi mtasema mtachoka hatoki.*" Abdallah Awadhi, 23 December 1996 and 3 July 2002.
- (84) Bia Mohamed (a founder of the Tanganyika Sports Music Club), Dar es Salaam, 8 March 1997.
- (85) Masoudi Ali, 4 July 2002; Konde (1975: 17).
- (86) Ali Keto (a former secretary of Yanga), Dar es Salaam, 8 August 2000, and other oral sources.
- (87) Ali Keto, 8 August 2000. Karume had a close relationship with the Yanga from its early

- days, because his "African Sports Club" was the Yanga's counterpart in Zanzibar. The Afro-Shirazi Party was partly an outgrowth from Zanzibar AA, which was founded in 1934 by the supporters of the African Sports Club, itself organized by Karume, allegedly as a cover for political discussion (Ilfie, 1968: 14; Fair, 1994: 344-346).
- (88) Ali Keto, 8 August 2000; Hamisi Suleiman (a former player), Dar es Salaam, 17 October 1998 and 3 July 2002.
- (89) Salehe Ghullum, 10 November 1996 and 10 August 2000.
- (90) Omari Kiegemwe, 4 August 1996.
- (91) "*Tanganyika nchi yetu/Urithi wa baba zetu/Tuijenge nchi yetu/Warithi watoto wetu/TANU Yajenga nchi.*" Transcribed at RTD.
- (92) The following song text was transcribed at RTD, which recorded the song in April 1967.
- (93) Abasi Mzee, 23 December 1996; Salehe Mbegu, 16 February 1997; Salum Mboga, 8 August 2000.
- (94) *Nchi Yetu* 91, 1971, p. 17.
- (95) *Nationalist*, 23 November 1967.

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- Accepted March 17, 2003

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