

SEX, WITCHCRAFT AND POLITICS IN TANZANIAN KISWAHILI VIDEO-FILMS

Vicensia Shule

University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Abstract

For nearly two decades of its existence, the Kiswahili video-film industry's has grown in leaps and bounds, while major challenges have remained unaltered. Lack of professional training on a big majority of the practitioners, poor reinforcement of existing policies, laws and regulations as well as lack of support from the middle and upper classes of the citizenry have continued to haunt the industry. All these drawbacks notwithstanding, films are being produced at a high speed and reasonable volume. The films tell stories of the problems and joys of the contemporary Tanzanian society, and revolve around themes such as gender relations, love and/or sex, witchcraft and politics. Using selected films from prominent filmmakers, this article analyses the nature of Kiswahili filmmaking in Tanzania and the ways in which some pressure points in the Tanzanian society are being presented. The article also illuminates on the interconnectedness of love and/or, witchcraft and politics. Despite the claims that most filmmakers are unprofessional they have played a vital role in upholding and developing the film industry in difficult circumstances and raised many challenging issues which need further research and documentation.

Introduction

Studying about love and/or sex, witchcraft, and politics has always been common in sociology, anthropology, political science, law and related fields in Tanzania but uncommon in the filmmaking industry. Films and filmmakers have always remained a 'source' of information for such studies. This article therefore reflects on the practice and representation in production and products respectively. It combines both the processes of filmmaking and the outputs to provide a broader analysis and context. Films of some 'popular' actor/director-producers such as Jacob Steven, Steven Kanumba, Vincent Kigosi and other filmmakers will be used as an avenue for illustrating the interconnectedness of three major themes, love and/or sex, witchcraft and politics in Kiswahili video films.

The video film industry in Tanzania has grown to a large scale, from one film in 1995 to over 500 new titles a year in two decades. This drastic growth makes Tanzania the second largest film industry in Africa after Nigeria (Otiso, 2013). Kiswahili language has a significant contribution to such achievement. For the first time Tanzanians could afford to purchase entertainment films in VHS tapes and VCDs (before the invention of DVDs) which are in the language they understand most. The audience could also relate to the story and characters as most of them are contextually Tanzanian.

Most Kiswahili video films are produced to cater for both local and regional market needs. Themes related to love and/or sex and witchcraft are common, but this not that the same as saying that they are apolitical. I should also point out that the Nigerian Lagos English-based home video film industry, famously known as Nollywood, had a significant contribution to the growth of the Tanzanian video film industry. The contribution can be noted

between 1990s and 2000sduring the transition period from *reel-to-reel* film production to analogue video film to digital. At that time, the Tanzanian film market was flooded with pirated VHS tapes and later VCDs and DVDs from Nollywood. To date one can hardly find a Nigerian film in the Tanzanian market because Kiswahili video films have taken over.

The growth of Kiswahili video films in Tanzania took a different pattern from former Kiswahili films which were categorized under African cinema/film. One of the key distinctions between African cinema/film and video films produced today has been in the area of ideology (Shule, 2014). African films were basically made using reel-to-reel cameras, by professionals with huge budgets and mostly targeting the western audience and festivals. African filmmakers (as they were known) have also identified themselves as people who produce films to show ‘authentic’ Africa in opposition to colonial and post-colonial representation of the continent.

African films were mostly political most of whose themes focusing on anti-imperialism and anti-capitalism. This is the opposite of Kiswahili video films and other video films across the continent. Most video films are commercial and entertainment based. They put less emphasis on education and other socio-political propaganda. As time passes by such distinctions between African films and video films are blurred because most African film producers have to produce films which have commercial viability so as to recover production costs since most donors from France and Britain are pulling out from funding African film projects. Video films are now considered as part and parcel of African filmmaking. With “marketization” and commoditisation policies in place, markets are left free to consumers to set the rules and regulate themselves.

Contextualizing Filmmaking

Currently there are two dominant processes of filmmaking – the amateur and semi-profession. In amateur production, most crewmembers and actors use experience acquired through observation with no formal training. In semi-professional production, there is a mix of both actors and crewmembers who are amateurs and professionals. Most professional producers opt to work as semi-professionals rather than professionals. There are many reasons for this option. First, it is not easy to get all actors who are professional to work in one film project. That is, most professional actors and crewmembers are not involved in filmmaking due to socio-economic reasons. Underpayment, disorganized nature of the industry, and job reallocation are the major ones. Second, some amateur actors have enormous experience and popularity. This is important for some producers to secure better deals with distributors. For a film to have a wider market, popular actors are preferred by distributors.

Third, the audience for over two decades has continued to buy and watch these video films most of which contain non-complex themes and ‘local’ scenic presentations. It should be noted that ‘*watotowambwa*’ (literary poor of the poorest) in Tanzania are the main customers of the Kiswahili films. These are people who live on less than two dollars a day and have to choose between buying food or a film (approx. US\$ 3) or paying a small amount of money to see it in a parlour (approx. US\$ 0.3).

The middle-class elites of Tanzania do not buy Kiswahili video films (Shule, 2015). They regard them as being of a low quality compared to the Hollywood films from US which are in English and mostly done by professional film makers. Such attitude has a notable effect on the growth of the video film industry in Tanzania. That is why even some of professional

filmmakers opted out of commercial Kiswahili video film production, and invested more of their resources in producing donor-funded films, particularly the edutainment ones.

Most professionals feel uncomfortable working in an industry in which there are ‘no rules of the game’. ‘Film making in Tanzania is not a profession. Everyone does everything. How can you build an industry like that?’ commented Khalifa (pseudo name) a filmmaker during a stakeholders’ meeting in Dar es Salaam on 18th December 2013. Lack of professionalism in the video film industry in Tanzania is historical. The situation was fuelled by drastic shift from socialism (in which the state controls most of the means of production) to neoliberalism (in which the market determines the nature and outcomes of the production). In a neoliberal market anyone can produce anything, at anytime and put it in the market so long those who control the market make profit out of it. The choice is left to the consumer to consume or not. According to Elias Songoyi (1990, p. 145):

Under bourgeois democracy the individual is said to be free and [s]he is entitled to freedom of expression. However, under capitalism, freedom and equality are the rights of the propertied classes. The wage labourer, including the intellectual labourer, such as the artist, is never free except in the sense of being free to be exploited by whoever owns the means of production. This explains why the living condition of the artists – singers, writers, musicians, dancers and actors – is in no way better than that of other labourers in the capitalist and neo-colonialist societies. Most of the artists live and die miserably. The owners of the means of production – publishing houses, music and film companies – exploit them until they die.

This suggests that artists in the market oriented economy have to struggle for them to survive, and also rely on the owner of the means of production to accept or produce his/her products. For Kiswahili video film industry, the situation is the same distributors benefiting more and artists less.

The process of filmmaking varies between a week and three months. But the average time is one month. Using less time in the production helps filmmakers to minimize production costs and be able to make profit since they operate on a small budget. A film can be sold to a distributor (all rights inclusive) for US\$ 3,000 to US\$ 10,000 with exception of few who can sell for over US\$ 15,000. Such films include between 15 and 40 crewmembers and actors, and some have even more.

Theme Selection and Presentation

There are no rules for the selection of themes. Distributors and distribution systems can incidentally speak for themselves. Most distributors prefer seeing certain 'faces' to be able to accept a film for distribution. The argument has always been that the audience prefer to watch certain actors whether they are professional or not, so long as they are popular (Shule, 2015, pp. 11-12). For many years various distributors have dominated the market. Between mid-2000s and 2010s some distributors included Mtitu Game 1st Quality, MAMU, KAPICO and Wananchi Wote. From late 2000s there are Five Effects, Steps Entertainment, Pilipili Entertainment and 'newcomer' Proin Production. Steps Entertainment has been the major distributor who has also managed to promote the Kiswahili film market to eastern and southern Africa regions. The challenge for filmmakers has remained choosing and/or balancing distributors' demands and individual creativity.

Love is seen as a dominant theme in most films. For example most of Kanumba's (1984-2012) film stories revolve around a man loving a woman, wanting to marry another man takes her or a woman not being faithful and so on. The same love stories are replicated in films by Vincent Kigosi (Ray), Jacob Steven (JB) and other popular actor-director/producers (Shule, 2014). Such films lack twists and turn plots. A critical analysis of the presentation shows that what is presented is more of sex than love. Most of the 'love' relationships end in bed. Love between and among sisters, parents, children or friends are less common. Using love scenes to present sex has always been considered as the 'best approach' to appeal to 'the eyes' of the audience.

One of the examples that can be used for explaining the concept of love versus sex is through one of the Steven Kanumba's last films *NdoaYangu/ My Marriage* (2012). In that film a night scene is seen in which Michael (Kanumba) standing in front of a toilet wearing shorts, bare chest with his hands in his front as if rubbing his penis. Then he is heard screaming. The next shot is his wife (Irene Uwoya) peeping through the door, then goes back to bed smiling. Michael takes a toilet paper, wipes his penis, and then the toilet seat and then flushes the toilet. In the scene neither Kanumba's face nor his private parts are seen. Most respondents, especially men, felt offended by the masturbation scene, arguing that, "*ametudhalilishasana*" (he has denigrated us so much), claims one of the film director (male 45). "It is better that this guy is no longer because he started to lose focus. His creativity was gone. How can you show a man masturbating in public and a woman [his wife] peeping? He behaved like a gay." comments Kilomo(a pseudo name), one of the video film wholesale distributor in Kariakoo market in Dar es Salaam. These views represent the way

Tanzanians conceptualize the issue of sex, sexuality and nudity in the film.

In most stories which contain ‘love scenes’ in the bedroom, characters are often seen dressed with makeup (as if going out to attend an event). After a few kisses, hugs and touches, the light goes off. Though they show some intimacy, it is not supposed be ‘erotic’. Kissing in films is allowed, but French kiss is also regarded by the National Film Censorship Board (NFCB) regulations as obscene. Less of nudity can be detected in Kiswahili films. This is a result of two major factors, first is the Film and Stage Plays Act (1976) and its subsequent amendments of 2011. The National Film Censorship Board (NFCB), or Film Board as popularly known, censors some of the films before they are allowed to be distributed. If the film fails to comply with regulations, either it gets a ban or the filmmaker is asked to re-edit it. It should be noted that when *NdoaYangu* was first distributed, it not submitted for censorship as required.

Second, some filmmakers self-censor their works to avoid confrontation with the traditionalists, religious fundamentalists and the state. A remarkable case is that of actor-director/producer Vincent Kigosi ‘Ray’. In 2009 Ray produced a film titled *Divorce*. After a few weeks of its release, some religious leaders from a mosque in the Magomeni area in Dar es Salaam expressed their concern about the abuse of Islam in the film. They demanded an apology or they would perform the ‘*al-badr*’ ritual for him to suffer misfortune. In response, Ray apologised. In 2013, Ray again was at loggerheads with the Catholic Church over the release of his film *Sister Marry*. Over 85% of the recording was done at St. Maximilan Kolbe church in Mwenge, Dar es Salaam. The Catholic Church argued that the film was an insult to the church hence it should not be released until all parts containing church scenes are

deleted. The conditions were so tough and impossible to implement, as such the film has not been released to date.

Presentation of homosexuality in Tanzanian films is illegal¹. The Films and Stage Plays Act of 1976 and its regulations (2011), explicitly bans any film which features homosexuality. Films can only be allowed if they condemn homosexuality. “The presentation of homosexuality in African film is used to mark a similar moral decline” as Tcheuyap(2005, p. 151) states. To illustrate its power, the NFCB banned a film *Shoga* (Gay) after its premiere in 2011. The conditions given by the ‘state’ were to edit all homosexual related scenes including change of the film cover and title to *Shoga Yangu* (literary my friend). The director-producer complied after almost a year of re-editing.

Apart from sex, the other common theme is witchcraft. Historically, African societies /communities took various measures to deal with witchcraft related issues even before the coming of colonialism. Most of the African theatre forms such as storytelling, narrate some stories which explicitly show the consequences of being a witch. As such children grow up understanding that being a witch is not acceptable. Therefore the issue of witchcraft in the arts is historical (See Gunderson, 2000).

There are various views about what defines witchcraft in Tanzania. Joachim Mwami (Barnett, 2012) argues that witchcraft is used for “explaining anything inexplicable”. Norman Miller (2012, p. 176) sees it as “an alternative system of justice”. To me witchcraft is the ‘fear of unknown’. In Tanzania, most of the time anything which is unknown or complex to comprehend its origin

¹Campaign against key population (LGBTI) in Tanzania is common. For example, in April 2014, Tanzania banned a youth NGO called Tanzania SisikwaSisi Foundation (TSSF) alleged for promoting homosexuality.

and existence, is considered to be a witchcraft. According to CNN 60% of the Tanzanians believe, talk or think of witchcraft (Barnett, 2012). To illuminate on the scenario Simeon Mesaki (2009, p.132), one of the witchcraft experts in Tanzania has this to say:

From urban to rural, the elite to peasants, the rich to the poor, witchcraft remains an idiom through which life is experienced and acted upon, as manifested in everyday conversation, gossip or a way of speaking and [a] means of handling day-to-day ambiguities or means of allocating responsibility, branding scapegoats for misfortunes, eliminating rivals and competitors etc. It also explains, rationalizes and makes plausible accusations out of envy, jealousy, greed, hatred, rivalry, vengeance or misunderstanding or misinformation, strained relations, political and economic frustrations etc. The belief in magic and witchcraft in Africa is characterised by an increasing ambivalence of causes, intentions and effects.

People can decide to call someone a witch because s/he has just done something 'unusual' at an 'unusual' place. For example Anne Leseth (2010, p. 70) describes a scene at the national stadium in Dar es Salaam during a football match which was associated with witchcraft.

When the guests were seated, a female dancer dressed in black, started to perform together with a snake at the stage in front of the [playing] field. 'She is *mchawi* (a witch), said Tunu. People were shouting and clapping, and at the same time football players were entering the pitch starting

to warm up. An old man was running around on the [playing] field. 'That's *mchawi* too' people commented. I have witnessed similar scenarios several times, and the comments from the audience have been similar. So if witchcraft is incorporated in Tanzanian films, it is not merely for entertainment only, rather, it is also a reflection of people's views on day-to-day basis.

At the beginning of Kiswahili video film boom, witchcraft themes in films were considered as an imitation of the Nollywood. In the early 2000s, films carrying witchcraft themes were called *filamuzakutisha*/horror films (Boehme, 2013). Looking at statistics and history, witchcraft in Tanzanian films is not copied from Nigeria, rather they are Tanzanian. Plays and novels written in the 1970s had witchcraft scenes such as *Ayubu* (1892), *Mashetani* (1973), *LinaUbani* (1984), *Rosa Mistika* (1971), even films like *ArusiyaMarimu*(1984) and *Maangamizi* (2001) do contain scenes of witchcraft. The killing of albinos and elderly women for charm testifies the magnitude of the issue. Historically even during colonial rule, witchcraft was seen as a sign of 'being uncivilized'. Laws and regulations were enacted to crack down witches. For example, there were the following ordinances regarding witchcraft: Witchcraft Ordinance of 1735, Tanganyika Ordinance 39 of 1922, Witchcraft Ordinance (Cap 8-Supp.66-70) of 1965 and the current one The Witchcraft Act of 2002 (Mesaki, 2009).

According to Edward Miguel (2005, pp. 1157-58), women in rural areas become the target of killing due to many factors, gender inequality being one of them. Furthermore, most village leaders are elderly men; hence have political power and protection. The process of women 'being married' and relocate to a new place puts them at risk because when they get old they do not have relatives around to support them as compared to men.

Other reason for vulnerability of being taunted as a witch is the physique. “Greater average physical strength” of men may also reduce their vulnerability to attack says Miguel (2005, p. 1158). This can be seen in a film like *Chungu* (Pot) by Kimela Billa. When Mama Maki was accused of being a witch, she lost support even from his son Sheki. She decides ‘to break the pot’ to ‘clear the curse’. After her death, some community members point to Sheki as the hearer of the witchcraft. They crack his house to attack him but because he is ‘physically strong’; he picks his machete and confronts them. He even defeats Mzee Shemtoi – the councillor who is one of the most feared people in the village.

Other studies have shown that there is a direct connection between killings of elderly women and primitive accumulation (TGNP, 2013). That is, most of the women who are killed are widows who own properties such as land. Hence killing is done in some cases by children or relatives so as to acquire the properties. Fewer men are victims of witchcraft killings in Tanzania. Sometimes men use witchcraft accusations to shun down women. For example in the *Love & Power* film, when Christine asks her lover David to donate a kidney for her, he says after talking to *wazee* (elders) who advised him not to donate. He claims that in his clan if one donates an organ she/he dies. In *Chungu*, Mzee Shemtoi crafted a lie, purporting that Mama Maki is a witch because he saw her as a threat to his political powers, and perhaps she might take his position in the following election.

Women are more portrayed as *wachawi* (witches) and men as *waganga* (witch doctors). This can be noted in films like *Chungu* when Mama Maki is seen as a witch and Nyamayamazi as a witch doctor. This is also noted in a film *Uncle JJ* where Patcho Mwambaasamganga from Congo. This suggests that the gender relations between men and women when it comes to ‘good and

evil'. Mercy Ntangaare (2002, pp. 60-61) explains how some African societies view women, a view which is also reflected in the works of arts.

Women are commonly seen as 'bad'. They are expected to be malicious and envious, ruthlessly exterminating rivals and enemies, often through the use of poison or witchcraft. Women operating outside the societally endorsed roles of daughter or wife are particularly susceptible to such stereotypes; soft targets such as stepmothers, lonely old women, widows, divorcees and spinsters are most often picked on.

Witchcraft and processes of witch haunting are accompanied with massive violence. Violence has a direct relationship with poverty (TGNP, 2013). Hence witchcraft apart from being a 'state of the mind' is a result of poverty. Miguel argues that, "The view that economic conditions are a driving force behind witch murders is bolstered by the fact that most witches killing in Tanzania takes place in poor rural areas largely dependent on rain-fed agriculture" (Miguel, 2005, p. 1153).

There has been an ongoing controversy between witchcraft and modern religions especially Christianity. As it was during colonialism; modern religions are still used as a sign of civilization. It is common to read news from prosperity churches how they managed to 'catch a witch' who was travelling on a winnowing basket and by the 'power of Jesus' falls on the church grounds in the night. Furthermore, some religion 'fundamentalists' sometimes confuse their followers either knowingly or unknowingly between rituals and witchcraft. This relates to colonial views on African rituals. The competition between

modern religions and some rituals is well seen in films such as *Devils Kingdom*, *Chungu* (Pot), to mention a few.

In the urban areas, big cities like Dar es Salaam, Arusha or Mbeya, there is a transformation from witchcraft to Freemasonry. Freemasonry is another phenomenon currently used to express communities' views which are 'inexplicable'. For example before the phenomenon of Freemason became popular in the early 2000s, someone who became rich within a short time, it was referred as *pesazamajini* (money from demons) but currently it is being associated with Freemasons. For example before his death there were rumours that Steven Kanumba is a Freemason. This was also associated with his film *Devils Kingdom* which shows how people can get quick money through worshipping the devils. These accusations sometimes are used to shun down people from questioning actual sources of 'quick money' which in most cases is illegal business such as grand corruptions, drug trafficking or money laundering.

One wonders whether the government is making enough efforts to combat the situation in Tanzania. Mesaki (2009, p. 137) explains:

The Government of Tanzania recognizes the seriousness of the witchcraft problem, considering it to be a stumbling block in national development. In its current national poverty eradication strategy, the government argues that the incidence of witchcraft is closely associated with poverty and therefore poverty reduction will reduce the incidence of witchcraft.

Looking at the way witchcraft and love and/or sex themes are presented, it is evident that they are both dimensions of underlying politics. Peter Geschiere (1997, p. 16) analyses witchcraft from a

political point of view, arguing that, “Witchcraft is certainly related to accumulation of power, but can also serve to undermine it. Witchcraft is both a resource for the powerful and also a weapon for the weak against new inequalities”. In the *Mdundiko* film for example, we see people in Kimbiji as poor. They appreciate Mzee Njimba’s way of creating new dancing styles. As he introduces *hondomola*, a dance style which allows people to dance with ‘multiple partners’, most members of the village were happy because the dance gives them a leeway to promiscuity. They enjoy unsafe sex, later on some acquire HIV. Instead of going to hospital to get medication, they accuse Mzee Kondo of being a wizard. They then plot to kill him and end up putting his house ablaze.

There is a direct connection between sex, witchcraft and politics. Additionally, the existence of witchcraft is political and even its representation in the film attests to such assertion. Jane Bryce affirms that claim using an example of ‘a penis theft’ or disappearing of men’s sexual organs as reflected in some films.

Such stories feed into Western scepticism about African occult practices and reinforce stereotype of primitivism, credulity and backwardness. Recent insights from cultural anthropology [...] offer another way of reading narratives of penis loss and their relationship to witchcraft, suggesting that, far from re-establishing the primitive, they are living symptoms of modernity itself, and not only in Africa (Bryce, 2011, p. 11).

Kanumba’s *Devil Kingdom* film links witchcraft to politics. In the last scenes of the film, devil worshipers are seen under their leader Jerome a.k.a Master Prince covered in black robes. When Ambrose tries to accuse Jerome of ill-health of his mother and sister:

Jerome: You failed to give the sacrifice
Kanumba: I'll report you to higher levels!²

Jerome: (laughs arrogantly) Turn your head
Ambrose, what do you see?

As he turns his head, Ambrose could identify top politicians, business people and government officials as part of the congregation. In this scene the spectators are told about the existence of and interconnectedness between witchcraft and state organs. It is in the same film where Ambrose negotiates to establish an albino centre to show that they are protecting them, but “we will use them for our sacrifices” concludes Ambrose. Even though this statement sounds simplistic, it can open a discussion on the security of albinos in countries like Tanzania.

Even though most of the Kiswahili video films are regarded as a political (Mwakalinga, 2010, p. 118); the analysis shows some are political. What is noted in such films is that politics is subsumed beneath love and/or sex and witchcraft scenes. There are many reasons for adopting this approach. Some producers do not want to touch those in power lest their businesses be put in jeopardy. “*Ukiwachorawatakung’ang’ania. Bora uwapambepambekidogo*” (This would semantically be translated as If you expose them [politicians], they will fix you) laments Peter (a pseudo name), one of the Kiswahili video film producers. Two, the targeted audience is not interested in politics. Poor people need entertainment to soothe their psychological and emotional hardships, and not politics. “*Watuwanapendafilamuzamapenzizaidi*” (People are more

²Kanumba used the phrase ‘higher level’ to mean top authority.

interested in love films). This statement has been made recursively by well established distributors in Kariakoo, Dar es Salaam. Three, creating 'political statements' in films and making sure that they do not sound like political propaganda requires skills and well developed scripts which most video filmmakers lack.

Conclusion

What can be said about these themes and features in Kiswahili video films? The history of filmmaking in Tanzania from pre- to postcolonial epochs has influenced the current practice of filmmaking in Tanzania. The Kiswahili video film industry has developed a great deal in the past two decades which the post-independence African film could not achieve for more than four decades. While on the ground video films are still considered as unprofessional, and of a low quality, their contribution to the national economy is remarkably immense.

Film as a form of art, reflects what is within a society. Themes which are portrayed in most films about love and/or sex, witchcraft and politics represent a contemporary Tanzanian society in terms of citizenry and state behaviours, ambitions and assumptions. As such video films can be argued to be a 'shock absorber' of neoliberalism as opposed to African films which categorically focused on the rejection of imperialism, neo-colonialism and their manifestations.

Works Cited

Barnett, E. (2012, October 08). *Witchcraft in Tanzania: the good, bad and persecution*. Retrieved May 05, 2014, from CNN Inside Africa:

- www.edition.cnn.com/2012/10/05/world/africa/tanzania-witchcraft/
- Boehme, C. (2013). Bloody Bricolages: Traces of Nollywood in Tanzanian Video Films. In M. & Krings (Ed.), *Global Nollywood: The Transnational Dimension of an African Video Film Industry* (pp. 327-346). Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Bryce, J. (2011). The Axious Phallus: The Iconography of Importance in Quartier Mozart and Clando. In M. i. Fiction, & L. Ouzgane (Ed.). New York: James Currey.
- Geschiere, P. (1997). *The Modernity of Witchcraft: Politics and the Occult in Post Colonial Africa*. Charlottesville & London: UP of Virginia.
- Gunderson, F. (2000). Witchcraft, Witcraft and Musical Warfare: The Rise of Bagiiika-Bagaalu Music Competition in Sukumaland, Tanzania. In F. Gunderson, & G. Barz (Eds.), *Mashindano! Competitive Music Performance in East Africa* (pp. 407-419). Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.
- Leseth, A. (2010). Michezo: Dance, Sports and Politics in Tanzania. *Anthropological Notebooks*, 16 (3), 61-75.
- Mesaki, S. (2009). Witchcraft and the Law in Tanzania. *International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology*, 8 (8), 132-138.
- Miguel, E. (2005). Poverty and Witch Killing. *Economic Studies*, 72, 1153-1172.
- Miller, N. N. (2012). *Encounters with witchcraft: Field notes from Africa*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Mwakalinga, M. (2010). *The Political Economy of the Film Industry in Tanzania: From Socialism to an Open Market Economy 1961-2011*. UMI.

- Ntangaare, M. M. (2002). Potraits of women in contemporary Ugandan theatre. (J. Plastow, Ed.) *African Theatre: Women*, 58-65.
- Otiso, K. M. (2013). *Culture and Customs of Tanzania*. California: Greenwood.
- Shule, V. (2015). Dealing with an Invisible Enemy: Pitfalls of Kiswahili Video Film Distribution in Tanzania. *Forthcoming in The African Review*.
- Shule, V. (2015). Kiswahili Video-film Industry in Tanzania: The Middle Class-Elite Paradox. *forthcoming*.
- Shule, V. (2014). Positioning Kiswahili Video Films as a Pedagogical Institution. *Leeds African Studies Bulletin* (75), 65-79.
- Songoyi, E. (1990). *The Artist and the State in Tanzania: A Study of Two Singers; Kalikali and Mwinamila*. MA (Literature) Thesis: University of Dar es Salaam.
- Tcheuyap, A. (2005). African Cinema and Representations of (Homo)Sexuality. In F. Veit-Wild, & D. Naguschewski (Eds.), *Body, Sexuality and Gender: Versions and Subversions in African Literature 1* (pp. 143-154). Amsterdam : Rodopi.
- TGNP. (2013). *Patterns of Gender Based Violence and the Crisis of Land, Labour and Livelihoods in Rural and Urban Tanzania*. Dar es Salaam: TGNP Mtandao.
- United Republic of Tanzania. (1976). *The Films and Stage Plays Act, 1976*. Dar es Salaam: Government Printer.