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Gender, Urban Dynamics and the Film Industry in Tanzania: The Case of Steven Kanumba

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Abstract

This article examines the work of Kanumba, S. (1982), one of the popular contemporary video film actors, directors and producers in Tanzania. The article uses social learning and feminist theories as a lens to interrogate the semiotics of representation in Kanumba's films and their effect on the target audience in Tanzania's society. Through documentary review and observations, it was found out that regardless of the country's inclination to persuade people, especially the youth, to be involved in agrarian programmes, less has been espoused on the role of youth popular media such as films in promoting urban migration. Kanumba's portrayal of the supposedly stunning urban setting reveals how more youth are attracted to urban centres for a better life and the stereotypical perception of women as indecisive and weak sex objects.

1. Introduction

Generally, the ever increasing rural-to-urban migration can be associated directly or indirectly with the transformation of the film industry in Tanzania. Many young people from rural Tanzania drift to urban areas for better lives. Steven Kanumba, now seen in the

Tanzania's nascent film industry as an iconic Tanzanian filmmaker, exemplifies the dynamics of this rural-to-urban drift in person and in his film acting and making. Born on January 8, 1984 in Shinyanga region (d. April 7, 2012), he joined Kaole Arts Group for the first time in 2002 and acted in most of the TV series produced. The TV drama series in which he participated include *Gharika/Deluge*, *Dira/Compass*, *Jahazi/Dhow* and *Baragumu/Bugle*.

In 2006, he embarked on the production of 'commercial' films with a producer, Mtitu Game, the founder of the Mtitu Game First Quality Company. With Mtitu Game, Kanumba produced *Dar 2 Lagos*, *Johari, Magic House, Ripple of Tears, Point of No Return, Oprah, White Maria, Village Pastor,* and *Dangerous Desire.* In 2010, he launched his own film company, Kanumba the Great Films. Before his death, Kanumba had produced fourteen films aside his countless appearances in other people's films, infomercials and TV drama series. As such, Kanumba became one of the most popular film artists in the twenty-first century in Tanzania and also became a household name. Kanumba played multiple roles in the filmmaking process: he initiates a story, writes the script, acts as main actor, directs and produces it. Such multitasking is evident in *Uncle JJ* (2010), *Young Billionear* (2010) and *This is It* (2010). Although Kanumba's films are based on urban or peri-urban settings and stories are in Kiswahili, they bear English titles. A few such as *Devil Kingdom, Moses* and *Love & Power* contain some English dialogues as well. *Kijiji cha Tambua Haki/Village of Justice* (2011), commissioned by the Policy Forum organisation, has a rural setting.

Kanumba's significance in the commercial film industry goes beyond the borders of Tanzania, as he was the first artist to work with famous actors from Nigeria such as Mercy Johnson. He also

worked with Ama K. Abebrese from Ghana. He inspired many youths to join the nascent film industry initially as actors and later they became filmmakers. From 2006 to 2011 various festivals, competitions, and media named him as the best actor of the year in Tanzania. In 2011, he was named the Oxfam GROW Ambassador in Tanzania, a position he held till his premature death. His burial ceremony attracted more than 30,000 people from within and outside of Tanzania, making it the second largest burial ceremony after that of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere (1922-1999), the first president of the United Republic of Tanzania.

Using four selected films, this article examines the semiotics of representation in Kanumba's films and their effect on the target audience. According to Albert Bandura's social learning theory, there is a relationship between communication and behavioural change. Indeed, human behaviour tends to be influenced by modelling that takes place when people identify with someone they like and admire. People, therefore, strive to imitate the model person (Bandura, 1997). Such imitation of characters can be in drama, which is one of the popular media for such representation.

Whereas Bandura (1997), focuses on how the mass media influence the viewer, Horton and Wohl focus on how the audience relates to the influence of the mass media, television production in particular. Their argument is on how the audience tends to develop a one-sided relationship with what they see on television. This admiration tends to make the actor/presenter respond as if he/she is in real life with the audience. This relationship is what Horton and Wohl (1956), refer to as para-social interaction. Once people have identified characters as living individuals, it changes or cements the gender stereotypes. The Feminist Film theory (FFT) uncovers the position of women in films and how speech relates to power, that is, how a female figure is presented and questions whether it

relates to the historical stereotype. The Transformative Feminist Theory (TFT) further unveils the root causes for women and minorities' humiliation and subjugation. "Transformative feminists link struggles of ownership and control of bodies with those for ownership and control of land, […], or of labour", as Kitunga and Mbilinyi point out.

The films selected for this study are *Young Billionear* (2010), *Devil Kingdom* (2011), *Ndoa Yangu/My Marriage* (2012) and *Love & Power* (2013). The choice of these films was based on works in which Kanumba played more than four major roles. The choice was also based on different years in which the films were released. Moreover, the films have an urban setting, the interest of this article. The focus of this analysis is more on the stories than on the critique on the production and aesthetic presentation of the films. This article, therefore, analyses the way Kanumba uses his films to portray the 'beauty' of urban Tanzania, particularly Dar es Salaam as a better place to dwell in than the rural setting. The focus of the analysis is on women, cars and houses used in the stories. The study used mainly documentary review and observations.

2. Synopses of the selected films

Young Billionaire tells a story of a young billionaire Chacha's (Kanumba) disappointment with his previous marital relationships. As a result, Chacha, the main actor, is looking for a better woman to marry. He meets Happy (Aunt Ezekiel), a well known 'beautiful' young prostitute. Gasper (Patcho Mwamba), Chacha's business partner who knows Happy's behaviour, advises him not to marry her. Chacha refuses to heed his friend's and his parents' advice. He arranges for an extravagant wedding. On the wedding day, Happy disappears 'mysteriously' after going to a

salon. Chacha looks for her and tries to call in vain. Gasper, the supposed 'best man', is not found and his phone is 'not reachable'. Chacha decides to go to Gasper's place. Chacha finds Happy sleeping with Gasper on a couch in the living room. Shocked and angry, Chacha cancels the wedding and breaks his relationship with her. A few days later, Happy's mother (Grace Mapunda) who knows most of her daughter's sexual partners persuades Chacha to forgive and marry Happy, but Chacha refuses.

In *Devil Kingdom*, Ambrose Kapalala (Kanumba) wants to be rich so that he can maintain his relationship and marry his girlfriend, Tracy (Kajala Masanja). Tracy advises him to steal so that he can get rich, as she cannot date a poor man. Ambrose steals, becomes wealthy but later gets fired from his job, and all his property is confiscated. Ambrose tries to establish his prosperity church to get money but it does not pick up as intended. He joins the devil worshippers to get more power and wealth on the advice of his friend Tony (Patcho Mwamba). Again he gains wealth and becomes a successful businessperson. After a year of prosperity, calamities began. His mother and his sister fall seriously ill; they are admitted to hospital. It is reported that Ambrose has failed to fulfil the devil's demands to sacrifice one of his relatives. According to the devil worshipers' cult leader, Jerome a.k.a. Master Prince (Ramsey Nouah), he is not supposed to visit them in hospital, for if he does he will die. Ambrose asks for forgiveness but Jerome refuses. Ambrose consults a different pastor to cure his mother and sister and succeeds.

In *Ndoa Yangu*, Michael (Kanumba) is married to Anita (Jackline Wolper). At some point, Anita suffers a miscarriage. After the incident, she loses interest in having sex and decides not to have sex with her husband. After some time, Michael decides to

have a relationship with another woman. One day at the dining table, he accidentally takes out female underwear instead of a handkerchief from his trousers' pocket. Anita gets angry and decides to abstain 'officially' from sex. When asked by her parents and others, Anita does not reveal the problem with her husband and pretends 'all was well'. Michael starts to masturbate and after sometime he gets infections. The doctor advises him to stop masturbation. Michael consults his friend Richard (Patcho Mwamba). He advises the couple to see a counsellor. At the counsellor's office, Michael reveals that he decided to masturbate to rescue his marriage instead of having extramarital affairs. The couple forgives each other and gets back to a happy marriage.

In Love & Power, Solomon (Kanumba) is from a poor family. He loves Christine (Irene Paul) and wants to marry her. Christine is undecided on whether to marry Solomon or David (Patcho Mwamba), a rich businessperson. Christine falls sick and needs a kidney transplant. David abandons her and Solomon decides to give her one of his kidneys. She recovers and thanks Solomon for the support and decides to accept him as her lover. David learns that Christine is well and wants her back. He gives Christine's aunt (who was taking care of her when she was sick) a lot of money to change the tide in his favour. Later Christine's aunt tells her that it was David who organised for her kidney transplant and is the one who paid the medical bills. Christine abandons Solomon and ends up with David.

All films are shot in Dar es Salaam city, a place with about 1,500 square kilometres and a population of more than 4.5 million inhabitants. Every film has an establishing shot (bird's eye view) of Dar es Salaam's bustling marketplace, Kariakoo. These shots with a few others repeatedly show storey buildings in the films as

transitions from one scene to another but also as a 'reminder' to the audience that 'this is Dar es Salaam'. Emphasis on the place, Dar es Salaam, is significant in understanding the film's painting of the expansive city as a glamorous place that offers a better place.

3. Film and Urban Quest

Many African countries are experiencing democracy and political advancement largely under a neo-liberalism that in many of these nations have resulted into multi-party democracy and liberalised economies. But inherent structural inequalities that initially developed under colonialism have been consolidated under the Neo-liberal economy, primarily as a result of failed government's socio-economic policies, as well as the influence of free markets and global capitalism. The impact of the colonial period set the stage for many current problems of the new nation states.

The introduction of cash and the availability of new commodities and lifestyles, and the migration of people to and from the city in search of opportunities as a result of unemployment and other forms of economic hardships in villages reflect some of the problems. Generally, there is shifting social categories and challenges within a cultural logic which operates over time. Settling in urban centres and lavish lifestyles provide the background for local qualms and debates of proper behaviour of young men and women, which Kanumba's films attempt to capture in the film representations.

Most psychologists believe that watching certain behaviour consecutively such as violence in drama (whether on television or in film) can aggravate aggressive behaviours among children

.Bandura further argues that, people who are exposed to violence, even if it is for intervention purposes, tend to opt for violent behaviours. This analysis shows that, if certain image is constantly portrayed, it tends to influence behaviour and later it models the actions of the observer to suit the needs of the motivator.

Films though presenting fictional characters narrate what is happening in a certain community. It is such experiences that differentiate films from other forms of arts. In this regard, Daniel Yacavone contends that:

> Unlike paintings, films as aesthetic objects have an actual temporal dimension and an event character. This allows films to be, and to provide, immersive and affective experiences beyond the symbolic and perceptual (as narrowly defined) to an extent which paintings and sculptures, for instance, generally do not (no matter how perceptually and imaginatively engrossed one may become in or with them).

A film screened for only a few hours can tell a story of the century as opposed to sculptures and paintings whose stories are static and fixed unless retold by the narrator. Therefore, when we see films, it is not a matter of their being in real time to influence perceptions or behaviours, but more significantly the information they give constitute what Yacavone (2008, p. 96) calls 'film world time', which is crucial in bringing the message home.

Historically, colonial regimes in many parts of Africa regulated and controlled the rural-to-urban migration. Colonialists used various mechanisms including laws, regulations and propaganda to discourage people from moving to urban areas . To make sure people see urban life as miserable and opt to stay in the

rural areas, the colonial governments used propaganda films which packaged as educational productions. These films, were starred by Africans, were made purposely to teach Africans 'good manners' and were screened in various parts of the country using mobile cinema vans. In Tanzania, according to Otiso , films such as *Gumu* (to mean city life is hard) were produced and disseminated by the Colonial Film Unit (CFU) in the then Tanganyika. Otiso (2013, p. 91) explains:

> When CFU closed in 1955, it was succeeded in the late 1950s by the South Africa's African Film Production (AFP) which largely made 16 mm Swahili feature films using local actors on themes similar to those of CFU. Thus, films like *Chalo Amerudi* (Chalo has Returned), *Muhogo Mchungu* (Bitter Cassava), and *MeliInakwenda* (The Ship is Sailing Away), all of which starred Rashid Mfaume Kawawa, sought to discourage young Africans from moving to the country's colonial cities because of their many hardships (*Muhogo Mchungu*), their ability to corrupt young people and cost their families (*Chalo Amrudi*), and their ability to cost young girls marriage opportunities (*MeliInakwenda*). Naturally, none of these movies blamed African rural-urban migration on the economic dislocation of the colonial economy.

Although the colonialists used films, permits, high rental fees and other means to restrict over-population of the urban space, the newly-independent Tanzania thought of having people living together in a certain locale, as an important agenda. The birth of *ujamaa* villages was one of these initiatives. Such urban management system was meant to make the population be equally distributed so as to balance the economy (production versus

consumption) and regulate social services provision. The villagelisation policy in Tanzania was also a mechanism for making sure that people produced for their own consumption in the rural area and the surplus for export. For many decades, agriculture was the 'backbone' of the country's economy. Against this backdrop, the escalation of youth urban migration was detrimental to *ujamaawakweli* (true socialism) as Brennan clearly points out.

Visual arts, theatre and films were used to advocate for the national policy *ujamaanakujitegemea* (socialism and self-reliance). Good examples are films such as *Fimboya Mnyonge*/Poor Person's Salvation (1976) and its sequel *Yomba Yomba*(1985). Like colonial films, these movies portray the essence of living together and consequences of urban migration. Films, choir songs, dances and various music pieces were composed by nationalist groups and bands created to cater for the same agenda. The *muzikiwadansi* (dance music) such as the one composed by the music legend Muhiddin Maalim Gurumo (b.1939 – April 13, 2014) such as *Kassim* and *Kassim Amefilisika* (Kassim is bankrupt). These songs narrate a story of Kassim who tragically fails to manage his finances in the city .

Most of the Kiswahili films produced in Tanzania attract young people to move to urban centres for a better life. Urban life is marked by power and success, good life of the affluent, money, and women. In contrast, rural life is filled with hardships—unemployment, harsh farming life, lack of health and social services, electricity—resulting into hopelessness, helplessness, and haplessness. The drub rural life is caused by lack of social services such as electricity, infrastructure, communication, education and proper medical care. Such dire rural conditions make it nearly to impossible to convince the youths not to migrate to urban centres:

> Rapid urbanisation seems an irreversible trend. In Tanzania, people migrate from rural areas to Dar es Salaam for different reasons, including declining incomes and deteriorating conditions which pushed them out of the countryside. People move to the city to satisfy their need for protection, food, health, communication and job opportunities. Psychological factors as the need for esteem, respect, the exercise of power and education could also explain the search for a new way of life .

Irrespective of the massive campaign pushing for the involvement of the youth in agriculture, with no tangible social service reforms to make these areas attractive to live in, the urban quest amongst the youth tends to accelerate as this space creates imaginable opportunities in the minds of the youth. This rural-to-urban drift dream might not be a good sign for the pro-poor agriculture projects; after all, it raises the level of poverty at the household level in addition to pushing the urban unemployment rates up.

Films set in an urban space tend to create this allure or illusion of the incomparable urban life. In Kanumba's films, we see multiple representations of the urban life in Tanzania, particularly Dar es Salaam, and the business hub. In most of these works, Kanumba and his fellow actors dress in costumes of the upper class city people, live in/possess posh homes with 'beauty queens' at their sides in addition to driving luxurious cars. The representations portray women, the cars and houses as the epitome of success. The luxurious life so depicted in general appears to represent the affluence of city people as though within this vast city no widespread abject poverty exists. Such lofty life in films does not only attract rural youth but makes them dream and desire

that life style as theirs. Under these circumstances, migration to the urban space becomes magnified.

In the opening shot of *Devil Kingdom*, we see people covered in black robes entering a storey building at night. Then, we are briefly taken to see Ambrose's poor life as a kid in the village. We now see a bungalow, Tracy's house, well-furnished. Tracy quarrels with Ambrose for a while thus:

> Ambrose: I don't have money at the moment.
>
> Tracy: Is this my business? You are my man…I need a man to stand with me. A man must be able to take care of me not only in the times of trouble but [also] in everything…I told you before you can't afford me
>
> Ambrose: But baby, I told you…
>
> Tracy: Don't touch me you idiot!

Tracy leaves him to meet her new boyfriend, Jerome (Ramsey Nouah). We see a crane shot at the parking lot from the house. Jerome stands in front of a luxurious car black Hummer 3. They kiss and leave as Ambrose watches in anguish. Later in the film, we see Ambrose's friends with flashy cars, Isaac (Novatus Mayeja) with a Range Rover and Tony (Patcho Mwamba) with a red Hummer 3.

In all the films analysed, Kanumba either drives or admires luxury cars. Even if young women are judged for possessing luxurious goods given to them by lovers; they are also secretly admired since such materiality represents prestigious symbols of a modern lifestyle.

The settings of where Kanumba lives or mingle with friends are secluded, wealthy neighbourhood. These houses belong to the wealthy people of Dar es Salaam. Kanumba uses huge, luxurious houses to portray the beauty of Dar es Salaam. The size of the houses represents the difference between the urban and rural spaces, gigantic and posh versus small and rustic. Kanumba deconstructs both the colonial attitude and modern religious perception by showing how unmarried men and women can stay together, enjoy life and later make decisions to marry or not.

Outside the film, one can identify some names of top politicians and business people supporting his film productions. In the end credits for *Devil Kingdom,* for example, the actor expresses appreciation for the support from Ridhiwani Kikwete, a Member of Parliament of Chalinze Constituency and the eldest son of the fourth President of Tanzania Jakaya Kikwete, Gadner and Lady Jaydee (Jaydee is one of the famous musicians in Tanzania and Gadner is her ex-husband, one of the famous radio presenters) among many others. This suggests that there exists a connection between Kanumba and the well-to-do or even 'ruling classes'. Even though these houses and locations seem perfect to suit Kanumba's ambitions, his location manager, Rahim Khatib, in an interview which was dubbed 'behind the scene' featured at the end of the film, *Love & Power,* had some reservations. He explains how difficult it was to record especially during weekends when the house owners' children were at home playing. Sometimes, there was a lot of noise which prevented them from getting quality sound.

Even though most of Kanumba's film themes revolve around love, they were not apolitical. For example, in the *Devil Kingdom*, when Ambrose (Kanumba) fails to fulfil the

commitment he has with Jerome, the Master Prince (Ramsey Nouah), he goes back to the devil worshippers' church to ask for forgiveness. And when he threatens Master Prince that, if his mother and sister die he will report the issue to the 'higher level', Master Prince treats such threats as empty. He laughs off and asks him to turn his head to see who the other worshippers are.

When Ambrose turns his head, he comes face-to-face with his former pastor. He can also recognise some Members of Parliament, key government officials and other wealthy business people including his friends, Tony (Patcho Mwamba) and Isaac (Novatus Mayeja). From the film, the message is that, 'even the state knows about devil worshippers, and some of its officials are members'. In fact, it was during the making of *Devil Kingdom* when the topic on Freemason, a secret society, peaked. Many people, whether grounded or not, were accused of being members, Kanumba being one of them. Even his premature and tragic death was rumoured to be associated with his involvement in freemasonry. Tanzanians' conceptualisation of Freemason is not different from what Kanumba portrays in *Devil Kingdom*, illegal money and human (particularly relatives) sacrifices.

Even though it is difficult to state how many youth moved to Dar es Salaam because of Kanumba's films, one can witness his popularity among low class people on the outskirts or fringes of Dar es Salaam, in other regions (provinces) of Tanzania and in countries he visited such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Kinshasa) and Rwanda (Kigali), where the majority live in rural areas. These include housemaids, guards, petty traders as well as less educated and jobless people in the lower echelons or margins of mainstream society.

Years have passed since his demise but still the name resounds high and the gap is visible:

> […] the industry is not doing well even with huge investments that it is attracting lately. Unlike in the past, when Kanumba acted as the defining image of the industry none of the compatriots has risen to take up that role after his demise and as a result the industry is wobbly. […]. With Kanumba gone the industry is struggling to find a peer leader to steer them out the current storm, one that is threatening in many spheres.

This comment reflects both the contribution and the gap left by Kanumba in the Kiswahili video film in Tanzania and across the continent.

4. Women, Money and Life of Luxury

Transformative Feminist Theory (TFT) and many feminist theories challenge male supremacy consolidated by patriarchy and the exploitation and oppression of women. TFT goes beyond to identify patriarchy, which is embodied in capitalism, imperialism and neo-liberalism as a barrier to a just and fair society (Kitunga & Mbilinyi, 2009, p. 433). The issue of land grabbing, which in many cases results into urban migration and unemployment, is one of them. Contextually, there is a relationship between film production and the rural-to-urban drift analysis. Some of the following questions are significant when analysing Kanumba's films and their relationship to youth urban migration, women stereotyping and 'rural phobia'. What do our films tell us about attributes and identification of women and men? What do seeing and hearing stereotypical representation of men as powerful and women as

weak in the films signify in a society bent on addressing gender imbalances? Why do most films represent the rural space as a 'dead' place to be dreaded when compared to the allure of the urban space, when many(foreign) investors are rushing to invest there?

According to Daniel Yacavone (2008, p. 103), "all films [are] symbolic and aesthetic objects that create and present worlds. Some are more complete and coherent, interesting and affecting, both on their own terms and by external standards, than others". This statement tells us that there is always a message presented in every film. If stories revolve around stereotypical representation of women or the dominance of the upper class, the reality is that inequalities abound or did exist to a certain extent. In all of Kanumba's films, gendered positions are acted out, reflecting the shifting or contested post-colonial gender relations. There are certain sites and spaces where gender roles are pushed in new directions. Gender relations are linked to national policies, to ideas about modernity, to kinship structures, changing productive relationships, to religious doctrines and to concepts which influence a person's ability to make changes, a person's agency .

Incidentally, Kanumba uses glamorous women as his supporting actors. Aunt Ezekiel (Happy) in *Young billionaire*, Kajala Masanja (Tracy) in *Devil Kingdom*, Jackline Wolper (Anita) in *Ndoa Yangu/My Marriage* and Irene Paul (Christine) in *Love & Power*. All these women are 'movie divas' in Tanzania's nascent movie scene and even in neighbouring countries, eastern and southern parts of Africa, where Kiswahili films are distributed. The stereotypical roles portray women as passive, deceptive, gold-diggers and prostitutes. Men, on the other hand, are portrayed as powerful, providers and decision-makers. This representation

panders to the long-established gender stereotyping, which, whether viewers like it or not, reflect the reality on the ground. Even though we see Kanumba's desire for money and wealth to maintain his 'manhood', he portrays it as if men just need money to please women's desires for good life. Although portraying women as prostitutes, Kanumba or Patcho Mwamba's multiple sexual partners behaviour is portrayed as a proper man's sexual behaviour—he is 'a real man' likely to win over many admirers among his viewers. In a rustic life, devoid of material conveniences that money can buy, this type of elevated living is not possible. What is not lost is how the female gender is downgraded to create the pomp of a male chauvinistic society that thrives on a macho image.

Mercy Ntangaare explains how some African societies view women. Such view is also reflected in the works of arts, such as Kanumba's films:

> [African] 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.

In the film, Happy has multiple sex partners and her mother is portrayed as supporting her flirtations, which contravene societal norms, and such 'irrational' multiple partners for the female gender is dubbed prostitution (note that the male actor's promiscuous behaviour is seen as positive, for example, a stud, and that of a female doing the same, as negative, for example, a slut, which has

also been enshrined in gendered language).Happy's mother is also portrayed as a prostitute as she is not married but lives with a man. After all, a woman of her age is supposed to have a 'socially' defined marital status of being married, widow or divorced and nothing in between. Tracy is a gold-digger, ready to abandon a poor man for a rich one (with no love thrown into the equation).

For men whose socially constructed roles have conditioned them to see themselves as providers, failure to do so makes them feel not man or manly enough. In other words, being jilted under such a state is akin to their failing as men, as providers for women.

Anita is portrayed as indecisive. She is not sure of what to do with her body—to have sex with the husband or not. The choice to abstain is portrayed as a crime as it is expected for a married woman to cohabit or consummate the love with the husband whenever he wants to have sex, sometimes even when she is not ready. This often explains why in a typical Africa setting, there is no vocabulary for marital rape. Christine is seen as the dreadful as she has chosen money to govern her affection. To her, money is everything; it also defines love. In reality, these stereotypes are not peculiar to poor or low class women. As Ntangaare points out that, it is not only 'low class' women who are abused and demeaned but also career and educated women:

> Powerful women are also a common target. This extends to women with higher-education qualifications, those in politics, progressive businesswomen, nurses, secretaries and other women in formal employment. The prevalent thesis seems to be that economic independence and too much freedom and education for women corrupts their soul and makes them rebellious in the domestic sphere. It is the professional women who are castigated most strongly for

> domestic rebellion while nurses and secretaries are seen as especially rude and mean; the former because their profession is so exhausting and the latter because they are protecting bosses whom it is commonly believe they sleep with.

Kanumba does not choose women characters from 'contemporary portfolio' of career women. There is enough evidence that today in Tanzania as well as in Africa in general there are a lot of educated women, high political figures, and successful business people. In Kanumba's films, all women selected for roles are jobless and depend on men for survival. This choice of women's projection generally panders to the existing stereotypes and appears to ignore the developments in the wider society confounding the gender-constructed roles. The 'decent' job Kanumba appears give to women is prostitution associated with Tracy (Aunt Ezekiel) in *Young Billionear*. This projection feeds into the long established stereotype of a woman that spans ages.

On the whole, the Kanumba films show that women have unknowingly continued to be ambassadors of patriarchy. For example, it is common to hear a woman repetitively urging a man to behave like a man: "You are a man," stresses Tracy (Kajala Masanja) when persuading Ambrose (Kanumba) to steal. "A beautiful woman like me needs money. If you can't sustain me I have to leave". When Ambrose tells her that in case he is caught he will be sent to court, Tracy retorts: "Only stupid men are jailed. You must know what to tell the magistrate. You are a man!" Here we see a woman aggressively reinforce the macho image, masculine power of aggressiveness and violence. In real life, Kajala Masanja was involved in money laundering case in 2011 together with her husband Faraji Augustino. She was released in

2013 after paying a fine of about fifteen million shillings (about US$8,000), which was paid by her friend, Wema Sepetu, one of the famous actors and a former Miss Tanzania (2006) beauty pageant winner. Her husband failed to settle the two hundred and thirteen million shillings (about US$130,000) demanded by the court and was, thus, sentenced to twelve years imprisonment.

Sexual relations entail an exchange of gifts for sex. Generally, a woman having a sexual liaison with men for economic gain is not new in African settings. Such money or gift driven sexual trysts are, in fact, seen as a necessary evil. Women have long used their sexual and reproductive capacities to create desirable economic and kin relationships; the sexual economy becomes appealing "as ways of attaining respected personhood by enabling the accumulation and flow of resources". The problem with such representations in film is that some of the audience members consider them to be real . In her study on the portrayal of women in Nigerian films, Chinyere Stella Okunna shows how respondents found the image presented in the films as unrealistically "very negative and capable of negatively influencing the perception of women among the large audience of video films in the country".

In the film *Love & Power,* we only see in two scenes cash transactions from David to Christine and later to her aunt and one scene where Ambrose spreads out notes on the table for Tracy to pick in *Devil Kingdom.* Following the discussions and evaluation of the cost of props and costumes used, one can sense the amount of money used. For example, we hear Gasper (Patcho Mwamba) in *Young Billionaire* ordering a private jet for four people from TP Mazembe in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). We also hear David asking Christine to choose where to go for a

honeymoon between Dubai and Paris. "I'll be very happy because I haven't been out of the city", responds Christine. This juxtaposition is what Ukadike refers to as "ostentatious allure". The projection of glamorous women, flashy cars and lavish houses in the city of Dares Salaam implies being moneyed or belonging to the class of the Mr. Moneybags. According to Falola and Adebayo , there are "three functions of money: (1) a means of payment or medium of exchange; (2) a unit of account; and (3) a store of value". The author further points out that, "a shortcut to money is through stealing" (Falola& Adebayo, 2000, p. 195).

In the *Devil Kingdom*, Chachais persuaded by her girlfriend, Tracy, to steal. She is portrayed as a Biblical Jezebel who tempts him to commit. Tracy is painted as the 'devil kingdom' that puts Chacha on a journey to illegal money. After losing his job and becoming jobless, Chacha creates an alternative means of stealing by establishing a so-called prosperity church. This projection is not far from the reality on the ground as churches in Tanzania particularly Dares Salaam do exist which offer the poor an opportunity to choose prosperity. "There is more evidence of the relationship between theft and unemployment. A good number of the reasons given by the thieves for their action was the need for survival, that is, stealing was 'an alternative economy" (Falola & Adebayo, 2000, p. 197). Elsewhere, S. Ademola Ajayi shows clearly how SAPs declined standards of lives amongst Nigerians. Since life was tough, people opted for prosperity churches for 'miracles' as a coping mechanism:

> These new generation of churches display a dynamic and flexible attitude within the deteriorating economic setting and socio-cultural milieu in which they operate. They discourage passive acceptance of poverty disasters, and

> other misfortunes, and encourage social responsibility. By painting a picture of complete earthly bliss where all mundane problems are solved, they provide success to poor and the deprived (Ajayi, 2003, p. 265).

The same image has been painted in *Devil Kingdom* where even 'top government officials' from the state believe in 'miracle money'. In the *Devil Kingdom,* the leader of the prosperity church is a Nigerian known as Ramsey Nouah (acting as Jerome, the Master Prince). In the eyes of some Tanzanians, Nigeria is more advanced in knowledge and application of 'miracle money' through proclaimed prosperity churches as portrayed in some of the Nollywood films.

Patcho Mwamba appears in all the films produced by Kanumba's the Great Film Company as Gasper in *Young billionaire*, Tony in *Devil Kingdom*, Richard in *Ndoa Yangu/My Marriage* and David in *Love & Power*. The competition between Kanumba and Patcho Mwamba is always over women. For example, in *Young billionaire,* Gasper ends up in bed with Chacha's fiancée, Happy, on the wedding day, regardless of their business partnership. The same happens in *Love & Power* when Christine leaves Solomon (Kanumba) for David. David bluntly tells Solomon, "This is love and power […] nowadays there is no love without this [showing a sign of money]". At the very beginning of the *Devil Kingdom*, Chacha complains that "there is no true love in Africa", implying that African women are generally deceitful. In response, Gasper says, "Women are [an] empty tape or CD you [men] are the one to record what you want". But the end of the story reveals the perception of men over women. There is a difference between feminism (female power) representation and femininity. Most women in Kanumba films fit in the latter:

they pander to the socially constructed roles influenced by patriarchal values.

5. Conclusion

Through the analysis of Kanumba's films, one can see how people do not only identify Kanumba as their role model, but also look/perceive him while in character (such as Chacha) as a true living individual. In that situation the audience likens the character Kanumba plays there with the real Kanumba in real life. The episodes in the films represent events that also powerfully show the social structures of the Tanzanian society and communities. Theories on the relationship between events and structures have been more successful in explaining historical changes, as Marshall Sahlins illustrates. Social structures mirror social institutions and statuses, rights, duties, and norms, and social structure expresses how a society organises its way of life; there are also hierarchies and reversals of hierarchy or roles.

The article and the films discussed show that, as in other African societies, there are both shifts and continuities in historical periods. Communities are changing as a result of new productive relationships, an increasing need for cash in the household and often unpredictable state policies and programmes. People migrate from rural areas to the cities. In the cities, where they struggle to find jobs, people resort to occultism, sexual favours and sex work. The sexual economy has become an appealing way for some young women to get resources that enable adulthood (Cole 2010). Under the post-colonial development theory, dualism was applied to the dichotomy of the traditional and modern. The opposition of tradition and modernity and questions of transformations are manifested everywhere including the films discussed in this article.

Urban lifestyles in the cities are viewed as 'modern' and many aspects of rural life are seen as outmoded (referred to in Ghana as 'colo', that is, living in the colonial past). Poverty and lack of working facilities in the rural areas, which necessitate moving to the cities and risks point to one important consideration: There is the need to improve conditions in the rural areas to encourage many to remain and work in the villages. In this regard, the Kanumba films are simply responding to the wants, desires and realities on the ground. On the whole, there is need for attractive rural development policies and programmes, not the unattractive ones made with hasty stop-gap measures designed only to score political points as Crentsil suggests.

Looking at Kanumba's approach to filmmaking, one can conclude that he was passionate about urban life as many youth in Tanzania are. His films are a resume of the 'needs assessment' of the low class and the dreams of the jobless. Such portrayal of the luxuries of Dares Salaam would have incited youth to love Kanumba and the city life. Moreover, the films represent the audience's interests and choices, on the one hand, and constitute a response of filmmakers to the 'urgent' quest of the community they reside in—the youth urban quest being one of them—on the other hand. Hence, while the government is busy pulling resources in agriculture, 'rags to riches' stories by popular filmmakers are inciting the youth to abandon poor village life, and come to the city to enjoy life.

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