

Moral Panic: Hidden Stories of *Kangamoko* Dancers in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

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Abstract

Kangamoko dancers are accused of ruining the moral values of the society on account of dancing styles which stimulate sexual feelings. This paper seeks to understand the dynamics that push Kangamoko dancers to engage in such a dance. Besides the moral judgment, the paper seeks to understand the social and economic factors that motivate dancers to engage in a dance condemned for distorting the image and identity of Tanzania. The paper uses life history as principal method of collecting data, coupling it with observation and interviews. The concept of moral panic is employed as an analytical framework to put into perspective the stories narrated by the dancers. The paper argues that dancers' motivation to perform the dance accused of devastating moral values is born out of socio-economic dilemmas that are deeply rooted in the class structure. These dilemmas include: unemployment, poverty, inadequate education, limited skills and lack of individual recognition.

Ikisiri

Wachezaji wa Kangamoko wamekuwa wakilaumiwa na jamii ya Watanzania kwa kufanya maonyesho ya ngoma ambazo zinaashiria vitendo vya ngono. Pamoja na lawama hizo, hakuna tafiti zozote zilizofanyika ili kubaini sababu. Dhima kuu ya makala hii ni kubainisha sababu za wachezaji wa Kangamoko kufanya maonyesho ya namna hiyo. Zaidi ya kuchunguza suala la maadili, makala inachunguza sababu za kiuchumi na kijamii zinazowafanya wachezaji hao kuendelea kufanya maonyesho ya ngoma ambazo zinalaumiwa na jamii kwamba zinaharibu picha na utambulisho wa Mtanzania. Ili kufanikisha malengo hayo, mbinu ya hadithi zinazogusa historia za wachezaji imetumika kama mbinu kuu katika kukusanya data. Vilevile, mbinu ya mahojiano na ushuhudiaji zimetumika kama mbinu saidizi katika kupata data ya utafiti huu. Nadharia iliyotumika kuchakata data ni ile ya Msongo wa Mawazo wa Kimaadili. Matokeo ya utafiti yamebaini kuwa sababu za kiuchumi na kijamii ambazo chanzo chake ni matabaka, kwa kiasi kikubwa, ndizo zinazofanya wachezaji wa Kangamoko kufanya maonyesho ya ngoma ambayo yanaashiria vitendo vya ngono. Sababu hizi ni kama vile:

Ukosefu wa ajira, umaskini, ukosefu wa elimu na ujuzi, na jamii kutotambua nafasi na umuhimu wa vijana.

1.0 Introduction

Kangamoko dancers for so long have been accused of going against moral standards of Tanzania's society. Their live as well as online video performances are condemned by some Tanzanians for spoiling culture, identity and the image of Tanzania worldwide. Due to their provocative dancing styles, Kangamoko dancers have been labelled as stupid, prostitutes, unethical, vulgar, and unproductive members of the society. They are looked down on as indolent and pitiless, idlers who are not interested in acquiring decent jobs, other than engaging in a terrible business of earning a living by dancing naked.¹ Despite the fact that Kangamoko dancers are condemned by many based on their performances, little is known in regards to why they continue to perform the dance condemned for distorting the image of the country. This research aims at establishing the motivation for Kangamoko dancers to engage in a dance condemned for distorting the moral values. Data for this research was collected in Dar es Salaam through life history method, as well as, observation and interview method. The study was an attempt to respond to three key questions: Why do Kangamoko dancers perform the dance? What is the perception of the public towards Kangamoko dancers? What can moral entrepreneurs do to transform the situation? Before answering the aforementioned questions, it is crucial to first of all offer an account of the term Kangamoko.

2.0 The Kangamoko Defined

The term Kangamoko was coined by combining two words, *kanga* and *moko*. *Kanga* is a Kiswahili term which means a piece of fabric employed by women to wrap around their waist and as a shawl to cover the upper part of their body². *Moko* was framed from Kiswahili word *moja* which means 'one' in English. The term *moko* was modified to hide the direct use of the term *moja* for fear that if the word *moja* (one) is used in tandem with *kanga*, the expression would possibly give an impression of the outfit used by dancers in the course of the performance which, would probably lead to the censorship of the dance. In this dance, toddlers and teens below 18 years old are forbidden as audience. It is, therefore, referred to as an adult dance meant for adult audiences. In this respect, to qualify for Kangamoko audience, one must have reached 18 years of age and above³. The same is true of

¹ For anonymity reasons, the photos of dancers dancing naked are not displayed in this paper.

² *Kanga* is also used by men on occasional basis.

³ The definition however seems relevant in Kangamoko live shows alone but not in online shows. As a matter of fact, no mechanism has been put in place to prevent audiences below 18 from watching obscene shows including Kangamoko dance.

the Kangamoko dancer. To be weighed up as a dancer, one must have turned 18 years before she declares her enthusiasm as a dancer.

From the dancers' point of view, Kangamoko is conceptualized as a dance which came around 2000 for the sole purpose of stimulating men's sexual desires. The argument was that because of economic tensions men are exposed to in their day-to-day lives, they find themselves in a situation where they have to direct more attention to economic matters and less on sexual engagements. Kangamoko dance was invented to bring back men's sexual desires by designing body movements that stimulate sexual feelings. This is especially the case of married men. After watching the dance, they are expected to go home and satisfy their sexual needs with their wives. Doing this, according to dancers, would protect marriage from falling apart as a result of economic pressures. Cultural-based conversations with people from Tanga indicated that Kangamoko is an initiation dance which was modified for public consumption. It is a rite-of-passage dance initially performed by the Digo ethnic group from Tanga for the purpose of introducing the novice into an adults' world. It was categorized as a women-only affair. Men were strictly prohibited (Graebner, 2016: 88). At present, the dance is considered by Kangamoko dancers as a dance which can be viewed by anyone despite gender. Further, they deem the dance optimistically as a space for economic empowerment and a place where the marginalized can gain attention from the society which would not have been gained otherwise (Cooper, 2004).

Considering that the dance is performed in coastal areas of Tanzania, Kangamoko is presumed as a coastal dance for its performance happens more in coastal areas than it does in the mainland. This is true because the dance began in Tanga and is currently spreading in the slum areas of Dar es Salaam city, like Mbagala, Manzese and Magomeni.⁴ In Tanga, the dance began under initial appellation of Baikoko. In fact, Baikoko differs in some ways with Kangamoko in terms of costumes and musical instruments. While Baikoko combines modern and traditional musical instruments such as msondo drums, the shakers and gourds (Graebner, 2013: 88), Kangamoko dance uses Singeli and Taarab as its music accompaniment. The public address system is often used to amplify the volume of the music. With regards to costumes, Kangamoko dancers use tops and one piece of kanga (*kanga moja*) as a costume whereas Baikoko, during inception dancers used body-tights and *dela*.⁵ As time slips by, costumes of the dance are used indistinguishably depending on the nature of occasion and a plea from clients.

⁴ Interview, January 2017.

⁵ *Dela* is an outfit made up of kanga-like materials. It is a colourful and long dress preferred by the majority of women because it is simple and decent. Because of its simplicity, *dela* has turned out to be a multipurpose outfit applied by Tanzanian women from diverse classes in a series of occasions ranging from funeral, birthday and kitchen parties to wedding ceremonies.

Both preserve the right to use the *kanga moja* or *dela* based on the opinions of the clients.

Despite the fact that Kangamoko is considered a form of initiation dance, a good number of Tanzanians are sceptical about the dance on the grounds of putting at stake the identity and the moral values of the Tanzania society. The dance, being regarded as such, to the lesser or higher degree, affected my venture to carry out this research. Bendix (1997) argues that writing about a hybrid culture which goes against the moral values of the country is the same as appreciating the role that it plays in spoiling cultures. In the section underneath, I strive to underscore the cross-cutting issues that appeared to challenge my endeavour to carry out this research.

3.0 My Impetus to Study Kangamoko Dancers: the Paradoxical Moments

While conducting this study, I came across several challenges, one of which was my curiosity to research on a dance which is labelled immoral. There are several issues that placed the dance into a dilemma, costume being one of them. Kangamoko dancers wear a single piece of kanga. At the time the dance reaches the climax, some dancers in the nightclubs tend to take off their kanga and begin to dance naked. The costume may be taken away by dancers themselves by their own wish or through instructions from the music directing dancers to undertake a lot of actions, including taking off their outfits. Dancers sometimes take off their outfits because audiences who demand so. This is especially the case when marijuana smokers and drunkards form a large portion of their audiences. Because of their hypnotic state which is, in many cases, influenced by drugs tend to insist dancers to take off their outfits as a means to enhance their satisfaction with the performance. Provided that Kangamoko dancers strive to satisfy their audiences, they acknowledge that sometimes they take off their outfits for a sole purpose of pleasing them. The act of dancing naked in public was the reason why I somehow hesitated to carry out this research.

Not only were my mind and intent troubled by the nakedness of the dancers, but also their dancing style and the overall activities taking place in the course of performance. Dancers sway their hips provocatively in a fashion that represents them as sexual objects. Worse still, as the dance unfolds on the stage, members from the audience have a habit of climbing the stage and pouring dancers with whatever fluid they have at hand, whether water or intoxicating substances. Low cost liquor such as banana wine, *chibuku* and water are often poured on the dancers' heads, in their mouths or on their private parts. Subsequently, the liquid poured on them makes dancers' bodies wet and their private parts seen plainly because of the light kanga.

Notwithstanding the above, the connection between dancers and audiences was another matter which places the dance into a dilemma. Personal observation showed that Kangamoko audiences are mainly males aged between 18 and 60 years old. At the time the dance reaches its peak, audiences had a liberty to do any action: touching, kissing and in extreme cases performing sexual intercourse with dancers on the stage without being accused of harassing dancers sexually. Such a horrific connection has rendered the dance to be envisaged as a nasty performance deserving to be banned for it goes against the moral standards of Tanzania society. The dance is regarded immoral mostly by the moral entrepreneurs such as the government, religious leaders, parents and the guardians who more often strive to inculcate good manner to the younger generation.

Besides sexually suggestive contact between dancers and audience, getting connected to respondents was another quandary I came across as I endeavoured to carry out this research. To get connected to respondents was not an easy task because Kangamoko is considered a detrimental dance. Dancers oftentimes found themselves in circumstance of being chased by the police. Because of this, Kangamoko dancers suspect everybody, a situation which somehow affected the execution of the study. My initial plan was to engage five dancers as respondents. At first, all five demonstrated interest to take part in this research. Nevertheless, when interviews were underway, I was astonished to see two dancers withdrawing their participation. From the two who withdrew, one did it without notice and the other one, before withdrawing her participation, first she threatened me saying, *kama kuna mtu amekutuma kaseme sikumkuta na ukiendelea kunifuata nitakufahamisha mimi ni nani* which literally means “if someone has sent you to spy on me, tell him/her that you have not seen me. If you continue following me, I will show you who I am.” Resistance from respondents rendered interviews to be conducted with three dancers instead of five. To this end, my sample for this study may perhaps not be representative enough. Yet, it is my hope that the study is pertinent as it provides an image of the matter being studied. Herrera (2008) argues that even one sample can be enough provided that it offers valuable information relevant for the study. Another paradoxical moment I came across as I was conducting the study was on the review of the literature. Kangamoko is a novel dance which has not been sufficiently researched. My challenges here were twofold: scholarly works on the subject were hardly found and mediating the dance which has never been researched into the world of academia was not clear-cut.

Another challenging moment was on the ‘truth quality’ of the data (Rahamah et al, 2008). Dancers’ stories were unreliable in a sense that it was hard to test the veracity of the issues they communicated. This was apparent during interviews. I noticed that there were some contradictions in their narrations. I presume this happened because of dread they had of revealing information which

would probably put them into trouble. For example, one of the dancers said that to be kissed by someone from the audiences was possible if a dancer entertains it. However, during performances dancers were provocatively kissed and touched by the audience without arbitration. Laws et al (2003) argue that observation is the best method when the researcher wants to verify whether what respondents say is what is happening.

The last but not least defying moment I encountered when conducting this research was on the research environment. Carrying out the research about Kangamoko dancers, I had to go to the nightclubs in the middle of the night for a single reason of observing dancers. Kangamoko dance performances would commence around 11.00 PM. For the sake of this, I had to visit the bar late at night despite the potential risks attached to nightclubs culture. Notwithstanding the above, doing research at night with Kangamoko dancers was an outstanding experience as it made me conscious of the subaltern and how they used the dark hours as a substitute to their denied actual space.

4.0 Methods of Data Collection

This study was carried out in Dar es Salaam, in one of the bars in Mbagala. I chose Mbagala because it is where the Kangamoko dances were performed.⁶ Data for this research was collected by using observation, interviews and life history method. Life history is a method of collecting data employed in different fields of study including social sciences (Delamont, 1992). When using this method, informants are required to narrate a string of stories then the researcher requests respondents to answer some questions about them. Life history was chosen because it tends to give the researcher an entry point towards understanding the social and economic structures that shape the individual's life (Ojermark, 2007). Rahamah et al (2008) argue that, life history provides voice to the voiceless, whose voice is hardly heard because nobody is interested in their stories (see also Kaplan, 1982). Using life history gives them a chance to get somebody to listen to their stories in detail (Ortiz, 1985). Life history was useful in this study for it offered dancers a chance of being listened. On my side as a researcher, the method was appropriate as it assisted me to grasp a series of information including, but not limited to, dancers' life styles, the marital status, education, the cultural background and career histories, all of which were exceptional in the understanding of the reasons that forced them to seek to earn a living by dancing Kangamoko. Orjermark (2007) adds that, life history is excellent in a situation where information is scarce and the conceptualisation is limited. Indeed, the method was special in this study as it

⁶ The name of bar is not mentioned in this study as the owners requested that the name of their bar should not be revealed.

helped the researcher in conceptualizing the term and in situating the dance into the large canvas of Tanzania's history.

To complement information provided through life history, I espoused the life history with observation method. Observation was employed to study both live and online Kangamoko dance performances. Apart from life history and observation, the interview method was employed to collect data for this research. Interview method was used by my third year students of the 2016/2017 academic year from the Department of Creative Arts of the University of Dar es Salaam. These students were the first to interact with Kangamoko dancers which, of course paved the way for this research to be carried out⁷. Data collected by them was part of their class assignment for the course Theatre for Children and Youth coded CA 229⁸ which I was assigned to teach. Data collected by students was used in the analysis and is treated in this research as pilot findings. To unpack the information provided by dancers, the paper employed the concept of moral panic as a window into which to seek to understand dancers' practices.

5.0 Theorizing the Concept of Moral Panic

Moral panic is a state of public anxiety or alarm in response to a problem regarded as a threat to the moral standards of society (Oxford Dictionary, 2017). Cohen (2002) as a pioneer of the moral panic theory, refers to the term as a condition or an episode, a person or group of persons that emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests. He underscores the signs of moral panic in the society such as drug abuse, homosexuality, massacres, bullying and child abduction. He argues that although immoral behaviour is present in societies, editors, bishops, politicians, media and other right-thinking people present it in a stereotypical and exaggerated way in a manner that creates anxiety to the society. Cohen uses youth culture to exemplify the point⁹. In his study, *Mods and Rockers* of 1960s, he alleges that youth culture does not at all pose a threat. Nevertheless, media and moral entrepreneurs treat youth culture as deviant, wrong and violent. Such a judgement, however, is done without a serious investigation. As a result, it creates moral panic in the society. It is within this context that Critcher (2008)

⁷ I am thankful to the students for well equipped findings they collected through interviews. I am again, thankful to my husband Laurent Mgongolwa for his readiness to accompany me to the nightclubs at night in the course of collecting data for this research. I am also grateful to Dr. Gilbert Shang and Ms. Elizabeth Mahenge for their inputs.

⁸ Before review of the programme in 2016, the course was coded FP 245.

⁹ Youth culture according to Garratt (2005: 145) is defined as a space which allows young people to establish their identities in a society where they find it difficult to establish because of marginalization. Kangamoko dance is treated as such for it allows young women to gain access to space which they could not gain otherwise due to their levels of education and their overall economic state.

urges that, societal response about moral deviants must be understood within a broader conceptual framework. It must map out not only the politics of moral panics but also the economic factors that limit or promote the scope for moral panic development.

Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994) extended the theory by adding five features of moral panic. These are concern, hostility, consensus, disproportion and volatility, all of which are fundamental in this research. To begin with concern, according to Goode and Ben-Yehuda meant that there must be awareness that the behaviour of a group is likely to have a negative impact on society. Hostility as the second feature means that there must be resentment towards the deviants whom they call 'folk devils.' The third feature is consensus which stipulates that there must be consensus about the fact that the group poses moral panic. The consensus may not be nationwide but there must be widespread acceptance that the group poses a threat to society. The fourth feature is disproportionality which means that the action taken is disproportional to the actual threat posed by the accused group.

The concept of moral panic was employed to explore the anxiety that the Tanzania public has towards Kangamoko dancers. Moreover, the concept was employed in seeking to understand how Kangamoko dancers are treated by the moral guardians such as the government, and whether measures taken by these moral guardians took into account the broader social and economic framework that shape Kangamoko dancers' actions.

6.0 Stories of Kangamoko Dancers

Before I narrate Kangamoko dancers' stories, I would like to emphasise that, the names employed in the stories beneath are neither original names nor nicknames of the respondents. For anonymity reasons, respondents requested that their names should not be revealed in this study. The names employed in dancers' narratives were thus generated by the researcher. Three dancers coined by the researcher were Winnie, Rehema and Sanyika.

6.1 Winnie

Winnie was a young woman aged 30. She was single and a mother of a three-years-old daughter. At the time she was interviewed for this research, she had been acting as a Kangamoko dancer for three years. Her career as a dancer began in her childhood at school. There, she was dancing traditional dances at different school events such as graduations, farewell parties and in inter-school competitions. Winnie claimed that her highest education level was Form Four. She was unable to go to the next education level because her Form Four results were not good enough. She lamented that her school environment affected her performance in the national examinations. Although Winnie did not mention, directly, the issues that

hampered her academic progress, narrating her story I became conscious of the fact that the school she had studied from did not have sufficient books and good teachers to help her perform better. As a result, she decided to forget about schooling and find an alternative way to earn a living. She, therefore, opted to be a dancer as it was the only practical skill that she had acquired at school. At first, Winnie joined one of the traditional dance groups and commenced her new life as a dancer. Winnie claimed that she had danced traditional dances for one year but returns were very low. Consequently, she decided to study the market to find out the type of dances clients liked most. After some months of research, she noticed that dancing Kangamoko was more lucrative than traditional dances. She finally got convinced as her financial situation improved.

Further discussion with her however revealed that she had a plan of quitting her career in the near future. She intended to quit her career because of the temptations she was facing, particularly male audiences who used their affluence to tempt her. Often she found herself in a situation that she had to agree to go with clients because of the attractive financial package they were promising. Worse still, such promises came when her wallet was altogether empty. Faced with such challenges, Winnie proclaimed that she was thinking about quitting the career she had been involved in since 2015, to begin her own business. Her new idea, however, was in vain because of her low income. She revealed that she was receiving 15,000 TZS approximately 7 USD per day. Her wish was to save 5,000 TZS (2 USD) per day but it was impossible because of her responsibilities as a mother of a three-years-old child. Nevertheless, Winnie remained hopeful that one day she might accumulate the capital she needed for starting up her new business. In her narration, it became palpable that she had a dream of getting married to a supportive husband and establish her own family.

6.2 Rehema

Rehema was a young woman aged 25. At the time she was interviewed for this study she claimed to have two children, one in standard six and the other one in kindergarten. Her children belonged to different fathers. Her mother died when she was 9 years old. After the death of her mother, her father married another woman who took over the role of upbringing her. Rehema's highest level of education was Standard Seven. She presumed that if her mother had been alive, she would have gone further in her education. Rehema remembered, way back, when her mother encouraged her to work hard at school. After her mother's demise, neither her father nor her stepmother demonstrated passion in her education. Although she did not drop out of school, lack of motivation from parents made her morale in education decline. The ramification of this was observable on her Standard Seven national examination results. She failed altogether in such a way she did not

qualify to proceed to the next level. Her hope for further education having faded out, she decided to find a job so as to live an independent life. She tried hard to search for jobs without success as employers turned down her applications on the grounds of insufficient skills and low level of education. Searching for jobs for a long period without success led Rehema into such a career as a Kangamoko dancer. She claimed that it was five years since she began to dance Kangamoko, but she was not progressing financially.

Despite the fact that Rehema claimed to be earning very little, she said she was renting a self-contained house whereby she paid 300,000/= TZS (equal to 136 USD) per month. She also claimed that although her dream for further education was dashed by the death of her mother, she was trying hard to fulfil that dream through her children. During our interviews, she confirmed that one of her children was attending an English-medium school where she was paying 40,000/= TZS (18 USD) per month. Rehema affirmed that she was glad for she was affordably paying her child's school fees, as well as, meeting other expenses which some other women would not. Rehema revealed that she was managing not because she had much money but because she wanted her children to excel in education. Although Rehema claimed that she was experiencing a lot of challenges in her life, she was happy that her children could go to school, have something to eat, and wear clothes like any other children in her street. Accordingly, she was contented with her career because through which she could meet her day-to-day life expenses.

Like Winnie, Rehema declared she had a plan of quitting her career and finding another income generating activity in the near future. The reason for this decision seemed to be connected with the dilemmas she was facing in her career. Such dilemmas include being chased by the police and the government's determination to stop them from working as Kangamoko dancers. Rehema wondered how somebody can dare to tell one to stop doing what she was doing without providing her with an alternative. She lamented that she had kids and relatives who depended on her. Therefore, she would not stop unless she was given another option or capital to start a business.

6.3 Sanyika

Sanyika was the final respondent to be interviewed for this research. Despite the fact that she was reluctant to mention her age, she looked like someone in her late 20s. Her highest education level was Standard Seven. She was unable to proceed with her education owing to the financial challenges of her family. Sanyika was a mother of three, each child with a different father, none of whom provided for the kids. At the time she was interviewed, all her children were in the countryside, being cared for by her parents. Sanyika had a wish of bringing up her own children

but it was unfeasible owing to her career. She asserted that it was an indecent career, too ridiculous to be adopted by her children, something that informed her decision to stay away from them.

Further scrutiny regarding her situation and intent to stay away from her children revealed that before working as a Kangamoko dancer, Sanyika was a sex worker in a nearby street. She quitted her career as a sex worker because of predicaments associated with that industry. She proclaimed that while working as a sex worker, she was labelled a prostitute. She stopped sex business because she hated being called a prostitute. Yet, she was labelled as such though she had left sex work. Audiences still referred to her as a prostitute.

Sanyika added that she stopped sex work because of the terror of HIV/AIDS. She feared to die of HIV and leave her little ones alone. She stated, however, that although she left sex work for fear of acquiring HIV/AIDS, audiences, particularly drunkards, still put her in a very similar dilemma. This is due to the audiences' tradition of mounting the stage during performance, and performing terrible actions to the dancers, including having sex with them. As a dancer, she sometimes found it difficult to stop them for fear of spoiling the show. She finally urged clients with such pervasive tendencies to stop doing that and find other ways of fulfilment. Sanyika insisted that audiences must appreciate that Kangamoko is a form of employment and learn that when dancers are on the stage they are simply performing and that they are not looking for sexual partners.

7.0 Data Analysis and Discussion

Findings from this study show clearly that young women engage in dancing Kangamoko not because they like the dance but rather due to circumstances they have find themselves in. They arrived at such a decision after searching for decent jobs for a long time without success. Three respondents interviewed for this research regarded Kangamoko as a career in transition. Some had a plan of dancing for one year and some two years, thereafter they would love to switch to something else. Nearly all the girls had a dream of becoming entrepreneurs. Their intent to employ themselves as entrepreneurs, however, was frustrated by the lack of enough capital. Neither would they borrow money from individuals nor would they secure money from credit institutions because their career is not recognized by the state. The observation is consistent with the study conducted by Salkowitz (2010), who observed that credit institutions are often not ready to take risk of providing loan to someone engaged in an unapproved venture.

Further scrutiny reveals that inadequate education and/or lack of appropriate practical skills was the reason many opted for Kangamoko dancing. All interviewees lacked adequate education. Two of the interviewees' highest education level was Standard Seven and one was a Form Four leaver who had

failed miserably. Other reasons mentioned include: poverty, orphan-hood, inadequate role models, patriarchal culture, lack of good and enough teachers, scarce resources, day-to-day involvement in domestic chores, and lack of support from parents (Mbelle and Katabaro, 2003). Although the girls stayed in school for 7 – 11 years, they lacked practical skills to apply to their immediate environment. Needless to say, they ended up working as Kangamoko dancers, for it was the only psychomotor skill they were exposed to during their time in school.

In addition, data from Kangamoko dancers shows that they joined the dance to substitute a career which they thought was jeopardizing lives. For example, Sanyika revealed that before engaging in dancing Kangamoko she was a sex worker. The ambition to transform her career from sex work to dancing Kangamoko was motivated by twofold reasons: the fear of contracting HIV/AIDS, and the humiliation associated to sex work. Conversely, she wondered why clients treated her the same way as when she was a sex worker. The interviewees argued that, like any other form of employment, dancing Kangamoko enables them to put bread on the table. Therefore, it should be counted as a form of employment because it had reduced the unemployment dilemma which they encountered. The data is consistent with studies carried out on youth unemployment in Tanzania (Mjema, 1999; Mwanjali et al, 2005) which shows that the youths account for 60 percent of the unemployed strata in the country.

Some results show that Kangamoko performances are regarded as a threat to the identity and moral ethics of the nation. In the light of this, their performances were censored by government through its institutions such as Tanzania Communications Regulatory Authority (TCRA), Tanzania Arts Council (BASATA) and the Police Force. Whereas TCRA censors their videos online, BASATA and police block their live and online dance shows. To offset the censorship, at the time the study was carried out, Kangamoko were performing in the middle of the night when the majority of the government officials are snoozing.

8.0 Conclusion

This paper was an attempt to shade lights on Kangamoko dancers and why they engaged in a performance that is condemned by many for violating the moral values and the identity of the nation. The study employed life history method and integrated it with interviews and observation methods to understand dynamics of the dance. Findings revealed that Kangamoko dancers engage in this dance not because they like it, but lack of skills, poverty, orphanhood and inadequate role models are among dynamics motivated young women to engage in an indecent career. This paper recommends that the problem of limited skills should be resolved by the government through transformation of education it offers to the primary youth. The education provided to the primary youth at present is, to the

great part, theoretical that equip youth with the tiny or no practical skills whatsoever. Education provided to the youth shall be that which strikes a balance between the theory and practice. To resolve the dilemma relating to poverty, financial institutions in collaboration with the government and civil society can create an enabling environment to achieve the necessary reform. Whereas credit institutions provide loan to the dancers with low interests, the government and civil society can arrange for an organised discourse with Kangamoko to discovering their career preferences. Subsequently, the two can send dancers to the institutions offering training that relates to skills of their interest. As for the orphans whose parents die at their tender age, which in turn render them to miss their right to education, a very clear scheme to support orphans requires being reinvented. A mechanism can be set to identify orphans at ward level and their information to be reported to the Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children for further assistance. In a meantime, many orphans have been left in the hands of grandparents, lots of whom have neither salaries nor income generating activity to support their grandchildren. This happens because there is no organized and efficient scheme in place to help orphans. If they are there, they need to be improved so that to function in accordance with community's expectations.

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