Aesthetics of Femininity, Competitive Dance, and the Gendered Politics of Mobility in Northern Mozambique

By

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All mistakes in this dissertation are mine. Additionally, sections of Chapters One and Five have been published elsewhere (See Hebden 2020).

Abstract

This dissertation examines why, in the context of Mozambique's failing capitalist economy, growing numbers of women are joining competitive dance associations that perform *tufo,* a 'traditional' song-and-dance genre. Derived from Sufi devotional rituals, *tufo* became a secular, female-only dance around independence in 1975, and was later politicized during socialist modernization. Since the end of Mozambique's 16-year-long civil war in 1992, *tufo* associations have expanded into new regions and rural areas where it has become a popular leisure activity for women, who are largely excluded from market participation. Drawing on archival research, interviews, and twenty months of ethnographic fieldwork in Pebane, a remote, coastal district in north-central Mozambique, I trace the aesthetic, political, and social importance of *tufo* in rural women's lives through the empirical and theoretical frame of mobility. During fieldwork I performed and traveled with a women's *tufo* group to investigate how different forms of mobility—from gesture to travel, and social and economic advancements—intersect through performance. Dancers, I argue, use their roles as 'culture bearers' to create aesthetic forms of capital outside of formal market economies, challenging popular understandings of social, spatial and economic mobility as men's domain. In five chapters, I explore women's mobility through politics, affect, social hierarchies, aesthetics, infrastructure, and stasis, concluding that women's mobilities take different forms than men's, but are no less transformative, challenging gender hierarchies that constrain women's mobilities off-stage, by performing 'traditional' norms of femininity through on-stage movements.

Introduction

Introduction

In 2012, Mozambique's then Minister of Culture, Armondo Artur, announced plans to nominate three dances to be included on UNESCO's list of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity: *mapiko*, the Makonde masquerades in the country's far north, *xigubo*, a men's warrior dance practiced in the southern interior, and *tufo*, a song-and-dance genre with Arab origins performed by Makhuwa[1] women in the northern coastal provinces.[2] The following year, in Maputo, Mozambique's capital, I sat in the office of the country's UNESCO representative, Paula da Cunha,[3] who explained that *tufo* was proposed for nomination because it was at risk of losing its traditional characteristics and currently, there were no civil or social organizations in place to protect it. The traditional iteration that she was referring to is 'classical' *tufo* (Arnfred 2004), where the Sufi devotional rituals from which *tufo* derived are most evident, and the negotiation of mobility and stasis are embodied in the aesthetics themselves: 10-20 women, in matching uniforms and jewelry, dance seated (*okilati omwiney*) in lines,[4] rooted to the earth, while their heads (*murrio*) and torsos (*eyuni*) recline and move in unison from right to left, forwards and backwards. Their right arms are extended and sweep in long, graceful motions across the body (*ovirariha mohno*), while their right

[1] There is no standardized spelling for languages in Mozambique; Makhuwa, for instance, is also spelled Macua and Makua. Likewise, Moniga, which denotes both the people living along the Moniga river and the Makhuwa dialect they speak, is also spelled Mwinika.
[2] In order to submit the proposal to UNESCO, the Ministry of Culture needed to complete a cultural inventory of *tufo*, answering basic questions about its origins, and contemporary practice – the who, what, when, where, how and whys. With extant resources, however, Sérgio Manuel was the lone researcher at ARPAC, the Institute of Socio-Cultural Research and Archive of Cultural Heritage, assigned to assess the situation and compile the necessary materials. By 2016, he had been reassigned to a different project and the proposal seems to have been abandoned, while the nomination for *mapiko* and *xigubo* continued, with *mapiko* being put forward for UNESCO cultural heritage status in February 2020.
[3] This name is a pseudonym.
[4] Today, groups usually dance in a block formation, which, depending on the size of the group (15-20 dancers on average), consists of four or five dancers across, and three or four lines deep. I have seen groups dance in only two parallel lines, which is an older formation related to Sufi devotional singing. The group *Tufo de Mafalala* in Maputo plays with the conventional block formation and will stagger the lines so that all dancers are visible to the audience.

shoulders move up and down (*owiniha maturri*) to mark the beat, in conversation with the interlocking rhythmic accompaniment of four frame drums (Figure 0.1).[5] As they move, the dancers sing (*wiipa*) in chorus—often a call and response (*wakuley*) led by a principal singer—captivating listeners with Arab-influenced[6] melodies that gradually rise and fall melismatically before settling on a sustained pitch at the end of each phrase. Avant garde standing choreography and political hymns had also been folded into the genre and included in group repertoire in the decades following independence, reflecting a wider circulation of Mozambique's diverse cultural practices through government nation-building initiatives. However, according to da Cunha, some *tufo* groups had recently started to integrate *salsa* and *samba* steps into their choreography, and she had even heard one group perform a song by Brazilian singer-songwriter Roberto Carlos. Young people like this modern *tufo*, she added, and if it continues like this, the genre risks disappearing.

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[5] The emphasis on the right side of the body in *tufo*—the right arm is extended, the right index slightly raised, the right shoulder guides the up and down movement in tandem with the drum, and the choreographed, coordinated movement of dancers in the final section of the dance goes from right to left—is an example of the bilateral bodily axis prevalent in Muslim societies. The right side, Charles Hirschkind points out, "is associated with moral probity in accord with classical Islamic body schema" and extends to a wide range of activities that include mundane daily activities (2006: 87).

[6] I use Arab rather than Islamic, here, because even though composers and dancers historicize *tufo* melodies as coming from Quranic recitation, the secularization of the practice means that Imams and conservative Muslims in Pebane insist that *tufo* was introduced by Muslim Arabs, but is in no way Islamic.

Figure 0.1 - Chimpimpi de Tibone performing at Morremone beach in Pebane on World Tourism Day, September 27, 2017. Photo by author.

The static version of *tufo* as heritage that cultural policy makers planned to preserve, and later, commodify as heritage tourism, deviated from the 'aliveness' of *tufo* as it is practiced in Northern Mozambique, where it has grown in popularity among women since the transition to capitalism and multi-party democracy in the early 1990s. Among the vast network of competitive dance associations that perform *tufo*, genre aesthetics—songs, choreography, rhythms, and uniform styles—circulate translocally and are in a constant state of transformation, recalling Terence Ranger's description of 'traditional' dance societies as "mechanisms of innovation" that reflect the fast-paced "movement of fashion" (1975: 20). *Tufo,* however, does not just reflect changing movements, but is itself a vector of social change, though in ways that have remained less visible, and more audible and affective. The genre's sonic dimensions are felt and experienced through the body, "(in)form[ing]

ways of acting and being" (Desai-Stephens and Reisnour 2020: 103) that can, in turn, transform social relations. This study examines how the movements of sounds, bodies and feelings within *tufo* performances mediate broader social and material mobilities for groups historically marginalized from political life and the formal labor economy, such as women and the elderly. It traces the co-mingling of these mobilities across form and scale within dance association activities to show how participants create alternative forms of capital through song and dance, pleasure and aesthetic play, to enable changes in social status and position, and community well-being.

Three years after my conversation with da Cunha, I was learning about *tufo* in a very different setting: the club house of the *tufo* group Estrela Vermelha (Red Star) in Pebane, a small coastal town in Zambézia province some 1,800 km north of Maputo. It was only my third week learning with the group and I was struggling to master the fast-paced footwork of a standing dance we were rehearsing. As I concentrated on mastering the footwork, I inadvertently stopped moving my arms and singing, eliciting rebuke from those dancing behind me who were quick to remind me that music and dance are sutured in *tufo*—the singing and drumming guide the choreography and they must be performed together as they are always in relation.[7] Several dancers offered advice on how to correct my form and slowly walked me through each step as the others watched, responding to each failed attempt with a chorus of *narri* (no). Frustrated with my slow progress, one of the group's best dancers, Ana, finally shouted, "Elena, this step is just like *salsa*!", assuming my familiarity with the globally popular dance. Da Cunha's comment from several years prior immediately came to mind. In the context of this rehearsal space, however, *salsa* did not feel at odds with classical *tufo*, nor was it a

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[7] In this dissertation I follow Anaar Desai-Stephens and Nicole Reisnour's (2020) definition of 'music' as "encompassing practices, experiences and sounds, where the latter includes the spectrum from silence to 'noise' to speech to tuneful sonic output"' (101). Music, in this understanding, is not just sonic phenomena, but emerges from within social processes and relationships. In the case of *tufo,* which is deemed a dance genre in Mozambique, body movements are inseparable from sound. Dancing requires the rhythmic accompaniment of at least one drum, and body movements—which can range from subtle sways of the torso to complex footwork—is a part of the song, but not separate from it. Therefore, music and dance are not discrete categories in this context, and although I follow local parlance in referring to *tufo* as a dance and the performers and dancers, music and dance are both essential to the practice of *tufo.*

corrupting influence; the choreography was still set to a *tufo* rhythm and the song's lyrics were in Makhuwa and discussed local themes. Furthermore, this was one of many dance styles the group practiced and performed on stage—some were seated, exemplifying the genre's traditional form, while others incorporated extant influences taken from popular culture. The external elements that were noted to be threats by officials and policy makers were embraced by dancers and audience members as examples of a group's talent, capturing "what is going on here and now." In this way, *tufo* was reminiscent of a jukebox in that it absorbed and disseminated a wide range of locally meaningful music and dance practices,[8] historical narratives, and political and moral ideologies—all through the well-established conventions of genre. While successful *tufo* groups are highly innovative and both create and absorb new trends in song, dance and dress, dancers did not resist the 'traditional' label and often embraced it because certain mobilities, like women's long-distance travel for events, are considered permissible under the regulated banner of tradition. However, within Mozambique's fractured socio-political landscape, the limits to this permissibility became evident in national discourse: when innovation was adopted by traditional women—for instance, when *tufo* dancers included *salsa* and other cosmopolitan music and dance forms into their repertoire—their singing, moving bodies became a threat, putting national cultural heritage at risk.

The UNESCO nominations were part of a broader government push for national unity amidst a politically fraught moment. Growing frustrations over socio-economic inequality in Mozambique were rendered visible in 2010 when violent protests over rising fuel and bread prices brought Maputo to a standstill.[9] Protesters blocked city streets with burning tires, targeting the

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[8] In Pebane, as I will describe in greater detail in Chapter 3, groups would incorporate popular songs by Makhuwa singers, like Dama Ija, or Swahili dance band music that is beloved at the local night clubs for elders. An innovative, talented group will continue to set favorite songs from popular culture to *tufo* rhythm and singing style, and these will be incorporated into an expansive repertoire that provides a snapshot of important themes and sounds within community life over the years, from Qu'ranic liturgy adopted from *mawlid,* socialist political anthems, songs from initiation rites that offer advice, and dance move from *parampara* and *nsope*—women's dances that are popular in the north.

[9] Bread prices had risen up to 30%, in part, because of a rapid rise in wheat prices worldwide, and because Mozambique's national currency, the metical, had been significantly devalued against South Africa's rand. As a BBC

unfettered movements of the political elite who sped down the city's main arteries in flashy SUVs, swerving around the fruit venders tugging their carts by hand. The inequitable politics of (im)mobility were at the center of these tensions: while the global media, international lending institutions, and the government celebrated Mozambique as a nation propelling forward and upward, the political elite were the primary beneficiaries, directing the flow of capital and other resources through Frelimo's[10] internal structures (Sidaway and Power 1995; Pitcher 2002; Sumich 2010; Paasche and Sidaway 2010). For the majority of Mozambicans, however, standards of living had changed little, and Mozambique maintained its spot as one of the world's poorest countries, ranking 175 out of 179 countries in the 2010 UNDP Human Development Report.[11] The government's approach to preserving *tufo*, moreover, shed light on these broader disparities between the urban political elite and the lower classes: the risks to the genre—as an object that could be commodified for the purposes of a burgeoning heritage tourism industry—outweighed the daily risks faced by its practitioners, the majority of whom were poor women living in underdeveloped regions in the North.

article on the protests noted, Mozambique's per capita GDP at the time was only $802, while South Africa's GDP was $9,757. See "Deadly Riots" 1 Sept. 2010: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-11150063.

[10] The Mozambique Liberation Front (*Frente de Libertação de Moçambique*) led the armed struggle against the Portuguese and has been the political party in power since independence in 1975. From its creation in 1963, it was a 'People's Party' with strong socialist ties, and officially declared itself to be a Marxist-Leninist party in 1977, headed by Mozambique's first President Samora Machel. While socialist iconography is still found around the country, and its ideology referenced through common phrases like "the struggle continues" (*a luta continua*), the party has long-since abandoned its Marxist politics.

[11] A decade later, its rank has only slightly improved to 181 out of 189.

Figure 0.2 – Map of Mozambique, 2016. (United Nations. *Map No. 3706*.)
< https://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/map/profile/mozambiq.pdf> (Accessed June 9 2019)

By 2013, a return to civil war[12] with the main opposition party, Renamo,[13] revealed a country fractured well beyond the confines of urban Maputo. President Armando Guebeza[14] used his 2013 state of the union address to reassure Mozambicans that combating poverty was a government prerogative, while also reminding the fractured populace that national unity through *moçambicanidade* (Mozambicanness), the collective history of struggle that has been a cornerstone of national identity since the late 1960s,[15] was imperative to the country's future success. Guebuza proclaimed,

> National Unity is the cement of Mozambicanness. It is the mortar that holds together that strong and everlasting building that we have been constructing since 1962. It was the guarantor of all our past achievements and victories, and therefore, by continuing to consolidate [Mozambicanness], we reinforce the certainty that our fight against poverty, today and tomorrow, will be crowned with success ("Reafirma O Chefe Do Estado" 2013).[16]

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[12] Using tactics similar to those of the 2010 protesters, Renamo targeted the country's main transportation artery—the EN1, the highway that runs the length of the country—and disrupted the flow of goods from the resource rich north, to the south. These tactics were also used during the civil war, where the destruction of trade routes and rural infrastructure not only stopped economic circulation, but also prevented peasant farmers from working in their fields, thus ceasing production (Harrison 1998).

[13] The Mozambican National Resistance (*Resistência Nacional Moçambicana*) is a militant organization and political party. Renamo formed in 1976 as an insurgent group directly opposed to Frelimo's Marxist policies. Renamo was backed by Zimbabwe's Ian Smith, and later funded by South Africa's apartheid regime and the Reagan administration and embarked on a destabilization campaign that would continue for the next sixteen years.

[14] Armando Guebuza began his presidency in 2005 with promises of economic reform. His corporate development strategy has been accompanied by a political push to consolidate a national identity through consumerism. The 2007 launch of "Orgulho Moçambicano. Made in Mozambique", a registered mark to be displayed by select companies, products, or events to promote the production, consumption and export promotion of Mozambican products and services, best exemplifies his vision of corporate nationalism. This mark is registered in Mozambique as property of the Mozambican state (wipo.int), and approved members are entitled to a plethora of benefits that include involvement in promotion campaigns, priority for training and quality management programs financed by the State, and additional public and private benefits and affluence conferred from the mark.

[15] The origin of *moçambicanidade* has long been a topic of debate in Mozambican historiography (See Filipe 2012). Severino Ngoenha contends that *moçambicanidade* originated in 1962 when Frelimo was founded as a "project against ethnic, regional, cultural, linguistic, racial and rivalries" that aimed to "unify all political micro-communities and integrate them into one single political dynamic" (Ngoenha 1998: 20, 23 in Filipe 2012: 24). Yet, Samuel Ngale adds, Mozambican nationalism did exist prior to the 1960s, and it initially emerged as an aesthetic manifestation in in Jose Craveirinha's poetry (2011:10,100). The founding of Frelimo is generally considered the "high point of *moçambicanidade*", but the development of *moçambicanidade* is largely understood as a process of identity formation rather than a fixed identity deriving from a single event (Filipe 2012: 25-26; Serra 1998; Macamo 1998; Ngoenha 1998, 1999).

[16] "A Unidade Nacional é o cimento da Moçambicanidade. É a argamassa que mantém coeso o edifício forte e perene que temos estado a construir desde 1962. Ela foi o garante de todas as nossas conquistas e vitórias de ontem e, por isso, continuando a consolidá-la, reforçamos a certeza de que a nossa luta contra a pobreza, hoje e amanhã, será coroada de êxitos." This translation, and all others from Portuguese into English are my own.

Large domestic corporations owned by former Frelimo ministers adopted similar rhetoric, consolidating a corporate development strategy that tied national unity to consumerism by plastering advertising slogans like MCEL's[17] "There's a smile that connects us; There's a force that unites us"[18] around Maputo, and beyond.[19]

In 2013 and 2014, during pre-dissertation research in Maputo, it was apparent that music was a primary vehicle through which this updated version of Mozambicanness was being defined, asserted, and semiotically linked to depictions of national progress and well-being. For instance, an image of Neyma Alfredo, Mozambique's 'queen of *marrabenta*'[20] was plastered on BCI billboards alongside the slogan "Marrabenta is from here, my card is too," to instill a similar sense of national pride in banking domestically (Figure 0.3). This ad campaign coincided with the release of her music video "Como Anima A Marrabenta"[21] that reinvigorated Mozambicanness with sounds and embodied practices that referenced several national traditions (Video 0.1). The chorus, "Djin ki dji ki dji" was a vocal imitation of the tin-can guitars that first played the *marrabenta* rhythm during the colonial era, while the sequence of dancers that appear on screen perform *marrabenta* and *makwaela* among other dances. Midway through, the song adopts an electronic house rhythm that sonically references the 'modernization' of Mozambique through contemporary electro-dance genres like

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[17] MCEL is Mozambique's first mobile operator, of which 74% is owned by the LLC, Telecomunicações de Moçambique (TDM).

[18] "*Há um sorriso que nos liga; Há uma força que nos une*"

[19] These depictions of solidarity and growth were not just limited to the national audience. A 2013 series of online articles on the BBC website, entitled Mozambique Direct, declared that Mozambique is on the rise: "...with one of the world's largest new coal finds and a growing tourist industry, the capital city of Maputo is booming." ("Working Lives: Maputo" 2013).

[20] Marrabenta emerged in Mafalala neighborhood in Maputo as a hybrid urban dance rhythm that merged pre-existing popular rhythms like *majica* and *zukuta*, with Western popular music, introduced through the active patterns of labor migration that led to increased musical exchange between Mozambique and South Africa (Laranjeira 2014). Today, it is one of the most popular genres in Maputo and celebrated as national heritage.

[21] NeymaMusic, "Neyma-Como Anima A Marrabenta," YouTube Video, 3:31, August 4, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Toax6Vtnpjk

pandza.[22] But the song returns to the tin-can guitar rhythm at the end, reminding the listener that Mozambique's cultural 'traditions' undergird all forms of contemporary innovation.

Figure 0.3 - BCI storefront with image of Mozambican popular singer, Neyma. Photo by author.

A more striking sonic example was "Força," a popular MCEL commercial featuring DJ Ardiles, one of the founders of *pandza*, that played on continuous repeat on the giant plasma screen in Maputo's *baixa* (downtown) (Video 0.2). In the video, the camera pans across an enthusiastic crowd of youths, their faces painted the colors of Mozambique's flag—yellow, red, green, and white. The crowd raises their hands in unison to the rhythm, a fusion of *marrabenta* and hip-hop; some wave small Mozambican flags while others flaunt their cell phones decorated in further nationalistic regalia. DJ Ardiles clenches the mic in his fist while spouting off lyrics that indexically link *pandza*, *marrabenta*, the *capulana*, and the *machamba*[23] to what it means to be Mozambican.

É só para lembrar que nosso orgulho nosso filho/ It's only to remember that our pride, our son
Que nossa maior riqueza na vida nosso filho/ That our biggest riches in life, our son

[22] A popular urban dance genre that merges a fast-paced version of *marrabenta's zukuta* rhythm with elements of hip hop.
[23] Large garden plots, usually tended by women, that are central to rural economies and subsistence farming.

É só para lembrar que temos Moçambique nosso filho/ It's only to remember that we have Mozambique, our son
A machamba onde trabalhamos nosso filho/ The garden where we work, our son

O pandza nosso filho/ Pandza, our son
Marrabenta nosso filho/ Marrabenta, our son
A capulana nosso filho / The capulana, our son
A nossa bandeira nosso filho/ Our flag, our son

Força! Força! /Strength! Strength!
Na nossa moçambicanidade/ In our Mozambicanness
Força! Força! / Strength! Strength!
No nosso orgulho pela terra (2x) / In our pride for the land

The video exudes a vision of the collective effervescence that the state and corporate sector (one and the same) were trying to evoke through the repeated use of *moçambicanidade*. Furthermore, this corporate branding of Mozambicanness through popular music paralleled the government's labeling of *tufo, mapiko* and *xigubo* as cultural heritage that would attract foreign tourists, converting sonic practices into resources for national unification that could also stimulate the domestic economy.

Guebuza's successor, President Felipe Nyusi, who inherited the civil war with Renamo and an economic crisis following the $2bn secret debt discovery in 2016,[24] further consolidated this strategy by turning to cultural practices (music, art, dance, literature) as a natural resource for economic development after foreign lenders ceased aid. According to the Nyusi government, Mozambicans should no longer "understand culture as an element of emotional satisfaction alone….Our goal is to make the whole creative sector, in addition to being a component of national unity, the fusion of a people, the consolidation of Mozambicanness….also be an economic asset so that artists have money in their pocket to improve their lives and those of their dependents, and thus

[24] The $2bn in government-backed debt had been acquired without parliamentary approval in 2013 and 2014 by three companies owned by the state's intelligence service (SISE). At the time, Mozambique's current President, Filipe Nyusi, was the defense minister while Armando Guebuza was president. These loans provided generous kickbacks for high-powered government ministers and other members of the political elite at the public's expense. The discovery of this debt in 2016, just after President Nyusi assumed the presidency, highlighted the corruption plaguing the political elite. Mozambique defaulted on its loans, and international lenders, like the IMF, suspended financing. After two years of forensic audit of the debt, $500 million were still reported missing.

to conceive of culture and art as work."[25] Yet, for those living at the margins of state power, and who have been largely excluded from the market economy, corporate nationalism, and national development projects, the commodification of the arts by the nation-state promises few financial returns. While music indexes a national identity, and sounds and lyrics are a mode of social discourse that can be utilized for state or individual financial gain, the cultivation of 'emotional satisfaction' through artistic practices—or more specifically, the circulation of joy through music and dance—remain an important social-emotional lifeline that can be as crucial to survival as money. Among the dancers with whom I worked in Pebane, *tufo* was not performed for financial gain but instead valued for its inherent vitality that listeners attribute to the style, structure and rhythm of the music and the culturally meaningful narratives it conveys. Public feelings are further enhanced by the affective labor of dancers on stage as they use aesthetic technologies of the body to create a celebratory sonic atmosphere that will lift the collective spirit, providing communities grappling with post-war trauma and persistent forms of precarity a momentary reprieve, a chance to forget through feeling, while also moving people to act.

These introductory anecdotes weave together the various forms and scales of mobility that are at stake in contemporary Mozambique, and those that I address in this dissertation: the transformation of the body through sound, women's body movements and their morally laden meanings, inequitable access to socio-economic advancement and geo-spatial mobility, and the affective mobilization of people and ideas through music and dance. The importance of these various forms of movement are an 'ethnographic fact' that was made clear from the onset of this project, as rurally located women framed their participation in competitive dance associations in terms of the forms of mobility they accessed, which includes the felt vibrations of sound, being

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[25] Paulo da Conceição and Leonel Matusse, "MINISTRO SILVA DUNDURO AVALIA OS 4 ANOS DE MANDATO NO SECTOR: País Tem De Apostar Na Indústria Cultural," *Jornal Notícias*, January 28, 2019, https://www.jornalnoticias.co.mz/index.php/1-plano/86198-ministro-silva-dunduro-avalia-os-4-anos-de-mandato-no-sector-pais-tem-de-apostar-na-industria-cultural.

'moved' by emotion when listening to a song, a dancer's shoulder movements in conversation with the drums', social mobility experienced when a group gains local renown, and geo-spatial movements, like walking or travel. Put differently, this dissertation addresses how the embodied sound and movement practices that constitute *tufo* mediate social, material and political mobility for groups at the margins of state power. The meaningful aesthetics of femininity dancers create, cultivate and perform, moreover, are part of a larger strategy to evade isolation, stasis, fixity as national development schemes pass them over.

Mobility has, indeed, emerged as a key concept-metaphor for theorizing the increasing movement of people, objects, and ideas since the turn of the 21st century. Anthropologists largely approach mobility from three directions: the moving body and dance (Sklar 2001; Ness 2004; Hahn 2007; Neveu Kringelbach 2013; Cox 2015), human migration (See Brettell 2003; De León 2015), and global mobilities (Appadurai 1996; Tsing 2005; Ferguson 2006), yet the ways in which different forms of mobility intersect remains largely undertheorized. Studies of sonic practices, on the other hand, reveal how they can affectively move people across time and space (i.e., Goodman 2010; LaBelle 2012; Gray 2013), while also moving with and uplifting people as they walk (Impey 2018), march (Sakakeeny 2013), or migrate (Schramm 1986; Bohlman 2011; Chávez 2017). This dissertation brings together these wide-ranging approaches to mobilities across form and scale to analyze how women in rural and semi-urban areas of northern Mozambique's coastal provinces employ music and dance to navigate a social, political, and economic environment that is always in flux, while also contributing to such change through their sonic, bodily, and affective movements.

The creative practices of mobility women use within *tufo* are not only shaped by the unequal politics of development in Mozambique but are situated within a politics of gender: as the dance of *athianas oreras* (beautiful women), many of *tufo's* defining characteristics have become powerful referents of Mozambican femininity and tradition. The particulars of sound, rhythm, choreography,

dress, and feeling that women employ during public performances—what I term aesthetic technologies—therefore inform and are informed by the forms of mobility women access through their participation in *tufo*. While these intersectional mobilities can say a lot about the ways in which women both generate and are excluded from certain kinds of movement, public life and its opportunities, I follow Georgine Clarsen's (2013) challenge to adopt a critical approach that historically and discursively contextualizes notions of gender and mobility to understand how they are produced through one another.

I examine this dialectical relationship between mobility and gender within *tufo* through using multiple methods that include archival research, interviews, performance as research, and mobile ethnography. During twenty months of fieldwork, I was an apprentice with the group Estrela Vermelha in Pebane (henceforth EVP); by learning the practice with a group, I traced the sonic, social, corporeal, imaginative, and historical forms of embodied knowledge that constitute *tufo* and the vast network of competitive dance associations in the north that perform the genre. Through rehearsing, performing, and traveling with EVP to attend dance events and festivals, I examined the connections between genre aesthetics and broader socio-spatial mobilities by observing the realization of performances from the rehearsal space to the stage. Furthermore, by focusing on the content and quality of women's bodily movements between two points (Cresswell 2006) I observed how perceptions and moral assessments of femininity change as dancers move through different spaces and sonic atmospheres. Charles Hirschkind's work was instructive here by drawing my attention to the moral physiology of Quranic listening, which "invests the body with affective potentialities, depositing them in the preconscious folds of kinesthetic and synesthetic experience and, in doing so, endows it with the receptive capacities of the sensitive heart, the primary organ of moral and knowledge and action" (2006: 79). The moral physiology of critically listening to *tufo*—which itself derives from Sufi devotional practices—informs the way audience members perceive

tufo dancers and experience feminine beauty during a performance, enfolding listeners in shared musical feelings. Moving with dancers off stage, moreover, revealed how such moral perceptions of feminine beauty change when close listening is not involved, reaffirming that sound, as an ethnographic object, is important for understanding the relationship between movement, space, and social relations (Eisenburg 2015).

In addition to studying sound and/as movement in actual performance events, I examine how they contribute to the possibility of the event, drawing from what Steven Friedson calls "ethnography as possibility" (1996:1). In his work on Tumbuka healing, Friedson understands tradition as a reflexive rather than reflective experience, arguing that a musical tradition is never fixed, regardless of the degree of its supposed rigidity. Instead, tradition is the recurrence of the possible that is anticipatory and forward looking. Following Friedson, I argue that a careful consideration of the possibilities expressed through the creative practices of movement that *tufo* dancers employ destabilize false dichotomies between tradition and innovation, mobility and stasis. Adhering to popular notions of Mozambican femininity, tradition and beauty can provide a group with a positive audience response that can secure their future demand at political rallies. Thus, as I argue in Chapter Three, traditional performance makes women *motile* (potentially mobile)—in *tufo,* sonic and choreographic interplay function as a form of capital that can provide women access to critical social networks and spatial movements.

The relationship between *tufo* and mobility that I explore here is not homologous or necessarily functional, but instead is co-produced and mediated through the body as a sonic, aesthetic technology. Women move in multiple ways; by focusing on their participation in *tufo,* this study foregrounds how music, dance and other forms of mobility are co-constituted, and why aesthetically motivated cultural practices offer new insight into the inequitable politics of mobility more broadly.

In the remainder of this introduction, I provide a history of *tufo* within the context of significant moments of social, political and economic development and change in Mozambique. I then establish how I am using mobility as an empirical and theoretical framework. I conclude by describing the methodology, research participants, place and researcher positionality, and a description of the dissertation's five chapters that each explore a different aspect of (im)mobility.

***Tufo*: A brief history**

Tufo is a genre born out of migrations across the Indian Ocean and along East Africa's Swahili coast. Oral histories trace its origins to Saudi Arabia, where it was first practiced by Prophet Muhammed's followers when they welcomed The Prophet to Medina, then Yathrib, by singing praise songs accompanied by frame drums (Lutero and Pereira 1980:19).[26] As Arab traders and religious scholars moved west along well-established maritime routes, they brought new ritual practices to coastal East Africa. *Mawlid*, the celebration of Prophet Muhammed's birthday, was one such practice, introduced to the Swahili aristocratic communities (*waungwana*) by the Alawiyya Sufi Order from Hadramawt (Bang 2003: 148).[27] While many syncretic religious rituals developed between Muslims and non-Muslims, it was not until the mid-nineteenth century that Sufi leaders began to actively recruit Africans as a strategy of Islamic expansion (Gearhart 1998: Ch. 3). In the 1880s the revered Comorian scholar Sheikh Habib Salih introduced a new style of *mawlid* in Lamu, Kenya that merged the praise poetry of the *dhikr* (Sufi devotional chants) with the drumming and dancing of *ngoma* competitions that had long been an important part of social life throughout

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[26] This migration from Yathrib to Mecca, known as the hijra, took place in 622, and marks year one of the Muslim calendar.

[27] For overviews of *mawlid* in East Africa, see Annemarie Schimmel's *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (1975: 216-17) and Jan Knappert's *Traditional Swahili Poetry* (1967: ch. 5). See Loimeir and Seesemann's edited volume, *The Global Worlds of the Swahili* (2006) for discussions of *mawlid* in Mayotte (Lambek), Kenya (Kreese; Seesmann), and Zanzibar (Nuotio).

southern and eastern Africa (Gearhart 1998; Bang 2003: 149-150).[28] Though these innovations were met with strong resistance from the religious establishment, Salih's *mawlid* brought orthodox Islamic traditions into a public space, where they became more accessible to the poor and nonliterate (Loimeier 2009:67). The Africanization of Islam challenged many deeply entrenched class hierarchies and attracted thousands of new followers—many of whom were former slaves—to the dominant Sufi orders (*turuq*),[29] the Qadiriyya and Shadriliyya, by the end of the 19th century (Gearhart 1998: 97).[30] Further innovations, such as the inclusion of instruments and religious texts in Swahili and local languages, meant that sacred practices were also adapted for secular occasions like weddings and birth ceremonies (Fair 2001: 180-181).

While Islam spread to northern Mozambique's interior in the mid-19th century with the increase of slave trade activity to and from the coast,[31] the dominant Sufi Orders expanded much

[28] *Ngoma* (*ikoma*, *nsoma* in Mozambique) is a form of competitive popular culture that was historically a way in which clan disputes, and later neighborhood rivalries, were expressed. *Ngoma* is not a genre, "but a particular kind of environment where drum, song, and dance groups compete before an audience, as entertainment" (Gunderson 2000: 11). There are also ritual *ngoma* that refer to a traditional setting of instruction, healing or religious affirmation where drumming and dancing is also prevalent (See Janzen 1992 and Friedson 1996) though I will not be addressing the healing tradition in this dissertation. In Pebane, there are several healing *ngomas* that involve spirit possession, which include *nsepa*, *seketthe*, *ereewa*, *marohani*, and *luwela* (Philip Henderson, e-mail message to author, June 4, 2017). Throughout eastern Africa there are many different types of genres performed within *ngoma*, though these environments have common features like team competition, music, drumming, dance, theater, and costuming. Since Terence Ranger's *Dance and Society in Eastern Africa, 1890-1970: The Beni Ngoma* (1975), historical, anthropological, and musicological studies of Swahili *ngoma* have proliferated. See, for example, works by Margaret Strobel (1979), Marjorie Franken (1986), Jonathon Glassman (1995), Susan Geiger (1997), Rebecca Gearhart (1998), Laura Fair (2001), Kelly Askew (2002), Mwenda Ntarangwi (2003), and Gunderson and Barz's *Mashindano! Competitive Music Performance in East Africa* (2000), a collection of studies on the musical aspects of competitive dancing in Tanzania and Kenya. Recent work by Paulo Israel (2014: 73-78) shows the influence of Swahili *ngoma* on Mapiko masquerading in northern Mozambique, and Louise Meintjes (2017) provides a perspective on Zulu *ngoma* aesthetics in South Africa.

[29] The Arabic terms *turuq* (pl.)/*tariqa* (si.) refer to the organizations or brotherhoods devoted to Sufism, the mystical aspects of Islam.

[30] While other Lamu *ulama* (Muslim scholars) prohibited African *ngoma* competitions, Habib Salih supported and attended these Thursday night events and established a mosque among the community of coconut farmers (*wagema*) that lived outside of town. This Islamic education afforded former slaves opportunities for social and economic mobility: *waungwana* rewarded their weekly recitations with gifts and their religious training allowed them to become members of Lamu society (Gearhart 1998: 96-99).

[31] The detailed history of Islam's expansion in northern Mozambique is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but for those interested, here is a short summary with special attention given to the role of sound in the conversion process. In the mid-19th century, the Portuguese were confined to a few coastal garrisons, and the Shirazi Swahili sheikhs who controlled the slave trade from Angoche—and were also members of the Rifa'iyya, one of the oldest Sufi brotherhoods in East Africa that is known throughout the Islamic world for the ecstatic rituals performed by its members (Trimingham 1964; Nimtz Jr 1980; Bonate 2007)—used Islam as a way to secure and expand their political power in the hinterland. The Swahili actively converted Makhuwa chiefs to Islam and married their daughters and sisters to create

later in Mozambique than they did in Kenya and Tanzania because of the political turmoil between the Portuguese, and the 'first-comers'—the Shirazi Swahili Clans and Makhuwa chiefs.[32] After the Berlin Conference of 1884-85, Portugal feared that other European powers, like Great Britain, would make claims on their territories. They initiated a military campaign of 'effective occupation' and implemented forced labor (*chibalo*), direct taxation and arbitrary punishment laws in 1899, 1904, and 1907.[33] The chiefly clans along the coast resisted Portugal's incursions for nearly twenty years until Angoche was finally conquered in 1913 (Mello Machado 1970: 427). Even though the Qadiriyya and the Shadhuliyya Yashrutiyya established themselves in Ilha de Moçambique and Angoche in 1896 and 1904/1905, they remained elite institutions until they began to expand in the

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new networks of kin that bolstered their political authority (Hafkin 1973: 46). For Makhuwa chiefs, Islam became a strategy for avoiding enslavement by claiming *Maca* (Muslim) identity; this was a social category that was originally reserved for the coastal Shirazi Swahili clans (Bonate 2010: 582). Bonate (2007: 26) argues that the discursive traditions of the Shirazi Swahili clans and the matrilineal Makhuwa chiefship converged as a result of Islamic expansion. The result was a Muslim chiefly network based on Islamic cultural identity and matrilineal kinship that would persist through the colonial era. As happened in Kenya and Tanzania, ritual practices like the *dhikr* and *mawlid* that were accompanied by dancing, drumming, and Swahili religious texts, were central to the conversion process and gave rise to new hybrid forms of music-making. Nearly half a century later in northern Mozambique, ethnomusicologist Gerhard Kubik (1964) observed Arab influences in the one-string fiddle, singing styles and songs, and the use of tambourines, which were distinct from other forms of folk music. In particular, he noted that many women sang with the characteristic nasal timbre, intonation, and melodic ornamentation that are desirable qualities in Arabic music.

[32] Northern Mozambique was shaped by the confluence of three great migrations: that of the Muslim traders and religious leaders from across the Indian Ocean, the movement of the Swahili down the coast to establish polities, and the migrations and mobilities of the Makhuwa, the Bantu people that predominate in northern Mozambique. The first Bantu-speaking migrants reached the eastern Mozambique coast between 800 and 1000 AD, they divided into Makhuwa and Lomwe, with the Makhuwa inhabiting the Indian Ocean coastal areas between the Rovuma, Lugenda and Zambezi rivers (Hafkin 1973: 2). Arab traders had been visiting Africa's east coast since the first millennium and established the Arabo-Shirazi ruling dynasties in the second millennium, founding Kilwa in 1200 AD (Freeman-Grenville 1962). According to oral histories, when two aristocrats, Hassani and Musa, left in 1450 to search for new wealth, they traveled south: Musa stopped in Ilha de Moçambique and established a ruling house, while Hassani established one in Angoche. (Lupi 1907: 124-26; Hafkin 1973: 2-3). The Portuguese came much later, when Vasco de Gama arrived at Moçambique Island in 1498, where he encountered the Muslim shaikh Musa Mbiki, who he described as a subject of the sultan of Kilwa (Hafkin 1973).

[33] The *Indigenato* Regime—the colonial administrative and legal system that allocated native authority—was formalized at the start of the Estado Novo (1926-1974). Customary chiefs *(regulo*) selected by the Portuguese were allocated authority over their native "subjects"—labeled *indigena*—and tasked with enforcing *chibalo* (a system of forced labor), taxation, and racial classifications (Obarrio 2014: 41). Southern Mozambique became a labor reserve for the South African mines while plantations in the north and center of the country were leased to chartered companies, and labor was supplemented through *chibalo*. In 1917, Portugal introduced a new legal category, *assimilado* (assimilated) that offered Africans exemption from forced labor as well as a route to social mobility, provided they adopt Portuguese customs, religion, language, and dress code (Obarrio 2014: 41). This was an elusive stamp of modernity—by 1950 only 5000 Africans had been designated *assimilado*. Moreover, the Catholic faith was an essential component of Portuguese national identity, which marginalized African Muslims—a change from the past, when they had occupied the position of social and political elite. I discuss this history in greater depth in Chapter 5.

late 1920s and 1930s, after the Portuguese consolidated their colonial power and built new transport and communication infrastructures that accelerated movement between the coast and interior (Bonate 2007: 67).

Tufo was introduced on Ilha de Moçambique in 1931, during this volatile period of religious and political transition, through the commercial and religious networks operating between southern Tanzania and northern Mozambique. According to oral histories, it was brought by Sheikh Ussufo (or Issufo) from Kilwa, Tanzania, who was a guest in the home of Sheikh Amur Jimba, a local representative of the Shadhiliyya (Bonate 2007: 69; Arnfred 2004: 43).[34] Sheikh Usuffo taught the ritual—then called *mawlid*[35]—to men in the brotherhood, and after he returned to Tanzania, Sheikh Amur continued this instruction and the practice spread to new Muslim coastal communities through the *turuq* (Mattos 2018: 464).[36] The Sufi ritual that men performed included elements of *dhikr* ('remembrance'), a rhythmic devotional chanting that engages worshippers through physical movements, repetition, and the vocalization of God's names and Quranic recitation, "which frees the physical effort from conscious thought" (Trimingham 1964: 22). However, *mawlid* underwent several changes in this new context: as a practice that included drums,[37] it was secularized, deemed a

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[34] A slightly different origin story, relayed by Ismael, the executive president of the Allekusalaam club network, identifies Mocímboa da Praia, a coastal city further north in Cabo Delgado, as the place where *tufo* first arrived. A group of young men from that city reportedly learned the practice in Kilwa, where they were attending the madrassa. When they returned, they introduced the dance to Mocímboa da Praia before continuing to Cabeceira and Ilha de Moçambique where it really developed as a practice.

[35] Like in Tanzania and Comoros, there is a distinction made in Mozambique between the purely religious *mawlid* that is performed in mosques and on religious occasions by *turuq* initiates, and a secular or semi-secular *mawlid* that is open to everyone during religious and life-cycle celebrations. The flexibility of the practice may also explain its survival in a religiously tense, colonial context, at a time when Islam in northern Mozambique was suppressed by the Catholic colonial authorities. See Bonate (2007: Ch. 3).

[36] Conversion to Islam began to rapidly increase between the 1930s and 50s, coinciding with Portuguese labor laws under the *chibalo* system that forcibly relocated African men to other regions for work. As Muslim men migrated, they established new branches of Sufi Orders which became critical solidarity networks for those away from home, attracting many new converts. The *turuq* structure became an alternative form of kinship that offered members economic and social support in case of illness or death (Bonate 2007; Arnfred 2004: 45). The *turuq* network provided the channels through which *tufo* would later move, and while today there is no connection between cultural groups and the brotherhoods, the large organizational structure of the network of *tufo* associations is homologous to that of the *turuq* (Arnfred 2004; Teixeira 2007: 20-21).

[37] In the early 20th century tensions over power and authority emerged within the Sufi Orders and were further exacerbated by Portugal's legal and political restructuring. Many of these tensions sedimented around the permissibility of drumming in the mosque for Islamic ceremonies, like *dhikr* and *mawlid,* and for associated chiefly installation

dance society activity, and renamed after the drum of the tambourine family that often accompanies Islamic celebrations around the world—*ad-duff* in Arabic, *dufu* in Kiswahili, and *adufo* in Portuguese (Farmer 1993: 621). In northern Mozambique, it became *tufo* following Makhuwa language pronunciation, where the 'd' becomes a strong dental 't' (Lutero & Perreira 1980: 19).

Furthermore, women became involved in *tufo* when men from the local Muslim Associations asked them to come brighten (*brilhar*) their soccer games, indicating that even in a recreational, competitive context, success and power were reinforced through women's blessings and praise. Abdul Satar, a member of Pebane's first *mawlid* group, recalled, "When *tufo* started, men were busy playing soccer and invited women to dance *mawlid*, but the women started another culture, and it became *tufo*" [38] (Figures 0.4 and 0.5). As women grew the practice,[39] they adopted the names and uniform colors from the soccer teams for their dance associations.[40] In Pebane, *tufo's* integration into sports competition also presented opportunities for group travel,[41] as men's teams would bring their

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ceremonies. While drumming was a common feature of Muslim festivals and funerals prior to the arrival of the Orders, it was definitively outlawed from *dhikr* and *mawlid* as the Orders expanded between 1930 and 1963. In northern Mozambique, these disagreements became known as the "*dufu* (drum) wars," or the *sukuti* (from Ar. *Sukut,* silent) vs. *t/s/dikiri* (*dhikr*) debates, and echoed debates occurring throughout Swahili communities at the start of the 20th century (Trimingham 1996: 82, 98-101; Nimtz 1980: 78-81, 137; Pouwels 1987: 196-198).

[38] Elders in Pebane recall that women took over around the time of independence in 1975 although women began to dance in Ilha de Moçambique and Angoche much earlier.

[39] The feminization of *tufo* was most likely a gradual process, though this has been an ongoing debate in literature (See Pinto 2015: 258-265 for a summary). Lutero and Pereira (1980) said men and women could dance together in separate lines, and a photo from 1966 of a group called Tufo Achirate Libanate in Pebane includes male and female members, which confirms that both men and women were dancing, although elders informed me that men stopped dancing at once, around the time of independence, when they received news from their affiliate groups in Angoche that men were no longer dancing. While producing a radio documentary on *tufo* for the BBC in the 1990s, Karen Boswell encountered men's groups around Ilha de Moçambique that were still active. Today, men are permitted to dance, though seldom do, and I have only seen one all-male group perform *tufo* (Figure 0.5). Their performance was much closer to *dhikr* than contemporary women's dancing.

[40] It is uncertain whether or not *tufo* was deemed a dance society activity before or after women joined. Women's competitive societies had been prevalent along the coast since at least the turn of the century, because Lupi noted in 1907 that dance associations, or "sociedades de batuques," were popular among women and that these groups had great rivalries and were usually grouped according to family predilection. In the indigenous neighborhoods of Antonio Ennes (the city of Angoche), they counted three of these societies: *muárênpule*, *m'sandja,* and *escombéla.* Annually, after the rainy season, each of these dance clubs would host at least one party, with banquets, fancy dress, and lighting, that would last for several days, and were covered by the association costs (Lupi 1907: 106-107). Lupi was most likely describing *carramas*, which were annual ritual feasts along the Swahili Coast. Sixty years later, Mello Machado identified *tufo* as a recreational dance inspired Islam that was popular among African women in Angoche (1968: 626).

[41] According to Abdul Satar, men's groups did not travel and only danced in Pebane—most likely because men's dancing began as *mawlid* and was a religious practice reserved for fellowship and local celebrations.

affiliated *tufo* group for support when they played a match in a nearby town. In the 1960s, around the time when the armed struggle for national liberation began (1964), the financial patronage of the large football clubs in places like Ilha began to disappear, and along with it, the teams themselves, leaving only the dance associations (Arnfred 2011; Mattos 2019).

Figure 0.4 - Abdul Satar in his home in Quichanga, Pebane, July 5, 2017. Photo by author.

Figure 0.5 - Men's tufo group, Nampula, April 2017. Photo by author.

While men's participation in *mawlid* was attached to the Sufi brotherhoods and was therefore a spiritual endeavor, women's *tufo* was folded into secular occasions and gradually, into politics.[42] In the predominately Muslim, matrilineal Makhuwa societies of the northern coastal provinces where *tufo* is avidly practiced, women have long been active participants in local political processes. Historically, female chiefs (*apia-mwene*) facilitated transitions in political authority by leading the ceremonial *batuques* – the generic term for singing, drumming, and dancing – that communicated with the ancestors, and owners of the land (Mattos 2019).[43] However, after independence in 1975, Frelimo adopted a Marxist-Leninist platform and initiated a period of socialist modernization. Frelimo replaced *apia-mwene* and other traditional authorities with a system of *poder popular* (people's

[42] The colonial authorities also utilized women's *tufo* groups to support their own official performances of power. For example, a photo of the Inauguration Ceremony of the Railway between Mozambique and Malawi, attended by President Hastings Ramuzu Banda, on 9/25/1971, shows a line of young women dancing *tufo*—indicating that *tufo* had already been incorporated into official ceremonies by the Portuguese before the end of colonialism. Given the differential ways imperialism was enacted on women's bodies (i.e. Stoller 2002; Ballyntine and Burton 2006), their choice of beautiful young women to inaugurate this feat of engineering can be read as assertion of patriarchal and colonial dominance, or it could be linked to the broader desire for Makhuwa women evident in exoticizing accounts written by Portuguese men in the early 20th century. Coastal Makhuwa women were admired for the way they "artfully arrange their clothes, giving good lines to the figure…[and] the beaded headbands and necklaces highlight the well-shaped body, creating an agreeable sight" (Lupi 1907: 98).

[43] The political power of the *pia-mwene* derived from her ritual role as the intermediary between the ancestor and her descendants, because as the carrier of the *nihimo* (matrilineal clanship), she was the symbolic link to the common female ancestor (*errukulo,* the Makhuwa word for womb, or *nipele,* meaning breast. See Hafkin 1973: 78-80; Bonate 2007: 42) who was the founder of the clan and the first-comer to the land. The *pia-mwene* possesses the powerful ritual flour, *epepa,* that she scatters over the land to ask the ancestors to bless the clan and its territory with fertility, success and protection. It was also used in chiefly installation ceremonies, and consequently, as the ritual substance in which the chief's power was embodied, the *epepa* could not be replaced by the Qur'an in political rituals, securing the *pia-mwene's* position in the chief's entourage (Mbwiliza 1991: 69-71; Bonate 2007: 58).

power) but continued to utilize the political power of women's singing and dancing to affirm its authority at more diffuse levels. *Tufo* was one of several genres harnessed by the new government and used at political rallies to cultivate *moçambicanidade* (Mozambicanness) because, among a largely illiterate population, songs and hymns became critical weapons of ideological mobilization through which these nation-building narratives circulated (See Israel 2014). The state became a patron for women's dance associations to the extent that Mahafil Islaamo, Mozambique's first *tufo* club – founded on January 2, 1931 – changed its name to Estrela Vermelha, meaning Red Star, in homage to the international socialist symbol and the Frelimo security forces (Arnfred 2004: 61). *Tufo* repertoire, which prior to independence largely consisted of Sufi devotional songs soon included revolutionary hymns sung in Portuguese that praised the virtues of Frelimo and captured the euphoria of independence.

Politicization brought certain changes to *tufo*, compressing ritual practices that offer participants divine experiences through sonic, sensory stimulation into the performance of postcolonial nationhood, blurring the sacred and profane in musical feeling. Today, politics eclipses prayer: as I previously noted, the 'traditional' seated choreography, characterized by the slow, graceful movement of the torso, arms, shoulders, and head, is being gradually replaced by standing dance forms that prioritize agility and creative footwork. But sacred sounds are still present in *tufo* repertoires and contribute to feelings of emotional uplift – captured through the verb *animar* (animate) – that are a meaningful aspect of *tufo* performances and enhance the beauty of the dance and its dancers, a theme I address in detail in Chapter One.

Since the end of Mozambique's 16-year long civil war in 1992, *tufo* groups have been expanding into rural and semi-urban areas in Northern Mozambique, countering the trend among other *ngoma* genres in Eastern Africa, which have declined or disappeared in recent decades (See Gearhart 1998; Hill 2000; Fair 2002). In Pebane, for instance, three new groups formed in a period

of eight months in 2018, a substantial increase from the eight groups active when I arrived in November 2016. Teixeira (2007) links *tufo*'s growth to multi-party democracy, implemented in 1994 when Mozambique held its first democratic election. Frelimo's monopoly on state power has continued to be an advantage for affiliate dance groups, while local political branches of the main opposition groups, Renamo and MDM,[44] have formed their own groups, or established ties with pre-existing groups. Often these political affiliations are widely known, but unspoken. A group's presence at local party meetings, however, signals that party leadership value *tufo* groups as privileged vehicles of their social influence (Teixeira 2007), even if, at the highest level of government, competitive dance associations—once regarded as "total social facts" – have been relegated to culture associations in the post-colonial context.

Tufo dancers are not just political performers, however, and groups continue animate the wide range of public events that *tufo* groups are invited to perform at, including weddings, ritual celebrations and commemorative days. While the increase in political events in the era of multi-party democracy is one explanation for *tufo's* growth, in this study, I move beyond party politics and focus on the forms of mobility that dancers identify as meaningful. Women's participation is intimately connected to socio-spatial mobilities, which fits within the broader regional narrative of women's organized dancing as a social equalizer and advancement mechanism: from *lelemama* in Mombasa (Strobel 1979), to *ngoma* networks in colonial Tanganyika (Geiger 1997) and *taarab* in Zanzibar (Askew 1999; Fair 2002; Fargion 2014), women have used song and dance to navigate patriarchal authority in its many guises and realign status and power since the end of the 19th century. Of course, women's dancing is also an ambivalent space, rendering visible long-standing frictions between politics, aesthetics and gender in the region (See also Gilman 2009; Israel 2013). Yet, while

[44] The Democratic Movement of Mozambique (Movimento Democrático de Moçambique) is the newest major political party. A breakaway party from Renamo, MDM was founded on March 6, 2009 and led by Daviz Simango, the mayor of Beira, Mozambique's third largest city.

women's (im)mobilities are acknowledged in studies of competitive dance, this project centers mobility as the object of study to understand what women's movements mean, how they are experienced, how they are politicized, and finally, their direct relationships to music and dance.

Theorizing Mobility

Mobile Subjects & Mobility Politics

Central to this project is the way in which mobility and its constitutive components—movement, meaning, practice and potential—have geographies and histories of gendered difference (Uteng and Cresswell 2008). While mobility often signifies progress, freedom or modernity, with the caricature of the 'hyper-mobile' individual feeding into "powerful ideologies of national progress and nation-state building" (Adey 2014: 13), it is also depicted as deviant and rebellious, or in need of control, as made evident by the state-sponsored violence against people of color moving through public spaces in the US. As recent scholarship shows, who is mobile, and the ways in which groups are physically, socially and economically mobile, matters politically (Adey 2006; Cresswell 2010; Bissel & Fuller 2011). Tim Cresswell argues that these conflicting meanings of mobility—as shaped by socio-cultural and historical contexts—are what give mobility its status as "a politically fractured and contested resource" (2006b) that is contested, negotiated, and managed, elsewhere adding that "it is the differential distribution of this resource that produces some of the starkest differences today" (2011: 163).

In contemporary Mozambique, where physical, social, and economic mobility are commonly perceived as a means for advancement, the differential politics of movement are strikingly evident along lines of class, region, political affiliation, race and gender.[45] Government rhetoric, corporate

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[45] A recent edited volume, titled *Mozambique on the Move* (2018) takes a multi-disciplinary approach to examine Mozambique as a still emergent nation-state by looking at changing historical and contemporary dynamics through cultural, political and economic lenses.

advertising, and popular music laud the nation's advancements, yet non-elites—often moving on foot as state officials, foreign diplomats, and aid workers move along the crumbling roadways in all-terrain SUVs—underscore the ways in which mobility has become profoundly inequitable (Paasche & Sidaway 2010; Groes-Green 2013; Archambault 2012, 2013). Furthermore, as growing numbers of men are stuck at home, unemployed, women's mobilities are increasing as they pursue work in parallel markets to feed their families (Sheldon 2002), countering movement patterns during the colonial era dominated by male labor migration.[46] These upward trends are further segmented according to region (north vs. south), ethnicity, religion, and space (rural vs. urban). Yet throughout the country, participation in competitive dance associations plays an important role in increasing women's movement opportunities. Successful, well-connected groups travel locally, regionally, and in some cases nationally, to perform at events, and this travel also allows dancers to expand their social-networks and cultural and economic capital, as they form friendships with new groups and meet potential patrons at performances. At the same time, such mobility is not uniformly positive, nor is it consistently upward: it has also led to tensions in intimate relations, and more specifically marriage, as men fear their wives' increased visibility and freedom of movement will attract wealthier suitors and lead to divorce. As Virginia Scharff notes, "Movement belongs to men…The freedom to move is a marker of social power and of legitimacy, and for women, that freedom seems always in doubt" (2003: 3).

Dance has been presented as a form of bodily movement par excellence within mobilities scholarship (Thrift 1997; Nash 2000; Cresswell 2006; Merriman 2010; Dewsbury 2011), yet curiously, 'the dancer' has been excluded from typologies of mobile subjects, which still focuses on

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[46] Labor migration is a prominent theme in scholarship on southern Africa and is described as "one of the most important demographic features of the African continent" (Simelane 1995: 207 in Barnes 2002: 166). Yet, while labor migration has been a significant driver of societal change during the 20th century in southern Africa, it has largely been studied as a male phenomenon, with some exceptions. This reflects a broader historical treatment of women as immobile, while mobility, travel, and migration are naturalized as uniquely male domains (See De Bruijn et. al 2001).

the citizen, soldier, vagrant, tourist and commuter, among others.[47] In this dissertation, I consider the *tufo* dancer to be a culturally specific mobile subject because, similar to other mobile subjects depicted in scholarship, she has a distinctive subject position that is shaped by the history and geography of "particular means and styles of moving" (Cresswell 2011). The iconic choreographic movements of *tufo*, that center on graceful upper body movements, the controlled raising and lowering of the shoulders in conversation with the drums, and the collective discipline of a team as they dance as a synchronized unit on stage, convey geographically and historically specific ideas about feminine respectability, morality, and piety that are connected to her subject position as a *muthiana orera* (beautiful woman). Yet, as I explore in Chapters One and Five, the meanings and practices of women's beauty are changing, which has moral implications for *tufo* dancers and complicates the politics of their mobility as participants in dance societies. While onstage, dancers are icons of 'traditional' beauty and figures of morality, when moving offstage, they are increasingly perceived as a social problem, exemplifying how mobile subjects are, "defined by representational schemes that lie beyond the scale of the individual" (Cresswell 2011).[48] Similarly, the (male) vagrant—a problematic mobile figure within settled societies from the medieval era through to the present day (Bauman 1998)—has been variously constructed as a "hero and villain" and as a "threat and salvation" in legislation, newspaper accounts, and popular culture.

[47] Dance has been explored from two theoretical directions in mobilities studies. The first approach focuses on the multi-sensorial phenomenological aspects of the moving body and draws heavily on Nigel Thrift's non-representational theory. Dance, from Thrift's perspective, is an exceptional form of bodily movement—a, "concentrated example of the expressive nature of embodiment" (1997: 125) that is connected to other social activities, like ritual, rhythmic work and play. While he sees dance as an unconscious form of expression, it also manages to elude and subvert power because it is, "gratuitous, free, noncumulative, [and] rule-bound" (Nash 2000: 656). In contrast, new mobilities scholars who view dance as a form of communication—a text to be read—draw heavily on dance anthropology (Desmond 1997; Buckland 2006; Wulff 2007) as they pursue the meaning of bodily motion within different socio-historical contexts.

[48] While vagabond emerged in the late 19th century (see Bauman 1998; Cresswell 2011b), the refugee and tourist are mobile subjects of more recent origins (Bauman 1993). Section Five of The Routledge Handbook of Mobilities (Adey et. al. 2014) explores a wide range of mobile subjects in depth, including several that are lesser discussed in literature, including the Diseased, Elders, the Impaired and The Child.

The universalizing tendencies of these representative schemes, however, are incomplete or impartial, as is made evident in the celebratory language of "flow" that was popular in globalization theories of the 1990s.[49] For Appadurai (1990, 1996), Castells (1996), Hannerz (1991, 1992, 1996), and others (Meyer and Geschiere 1999; Bauman 2000, 2002, 2005; Inda and Rosaldo 2002; Bernal 2004; Bissell 2005), "flow" captured a kind of pure, romanticized mobility and its representative modern subject was the white, male, able-bodied and western "kinetic elite" of global capitalism (See Adey et al. 2014: 13). As a heterogenous term for talking about the unfettered movement of people, goods, capital, and ideas at a transnational scale, "flow" also obscured socially constructed inequalities (Ferguson 2006) and individual experiences of movement (Rockefeller 2011). This dissertation builds on scholarship that has challenged such singular framings of mobility by foregrounding the lives of mobile subjects previously marginalized and excluded from academic studies, such as women, the poor, and elderly, and in so doing, contributes to an understanding of how mobilities are multiple, differentiated, and highly uneven in Mozambique.

Tufo dancers—as Muslim, Makhuwa women, largely based in the northern provinces and often with minimal formal education and limited economic participation—are seemingly incommensurate with the archetypes of the modern mobile subject that circulate in Mozambique's popular media. On social media platforms like Instagram and Facebook, Maputo-based popular musicians, media personalities, and a growing number of 'influencers,' exemplify how Mozambique

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[49] For example, Appadurai (1996 [1990]) argues that the new global cultural economy can no longer be understood through the pre-existing center-periphery model because the economy, culture and politics have become deterritorialized. Rather, he proposes that this "complex, overlapping, disjunctive order" can be understood by looking at the relationship between "five dimensions of global cultural flow" (1990: 6): ethnoscapes, technoscapes, finanscapes, mediascapes and ideoscapes. Meanwhile, Castells (1996) uses the metaphor of "flow" in his work on the global city, which he describes as "spaces of flow"—globally connected organizational spaces created by information technology—that sharply contrast with "spaces of places"—the spaces of experience "self-contained within the boundaries of physical contiguity" (453). Hannerz (2000 [1997]) also uses "flow" but in a somewhat different manner, instead relying Kroeber's notion of "cultural flows" (1952: 154) to construct a processual model of how we can think of an organized global entity—a global ecumene. However, the ubiquitous language of "flow" has also been heavily critiqued as an overly "romantic reading of mobility" (Kaplan 2006). Anna Tsing (2000), for example, argues that by describing globalization through the language of "flow" and "imagined landscapes", anthropologists have overlooked "scale making"—the important political and cultural process through which the concepts of "regional" and "global" are defined (330).

is 'on the move' by promoting Mozambican brands in lifestyle photos that document their advancing social and economic positions.[50] A small cohort of the country's most popular male artists, like MC Roger, Mr. Bow, Valdemiro Jose, and jazz saxophonist Moreira Changuica, are even brand ambassadors for Volvo, Mazda, and car dealers like Car Premium Mozambique, connecting metaphorical upward mobility to the ease of their spatial movements as they post photos of weekend road trips to beaches in the southern provinces, labeled with hashtags such as #domestictourism, or #inculturewetrust.[51] Comparing the movements of a male musician in Maputo as he travels to perform at a national commemoration ceremony or a wedding in a sleek new car, with female *tufo* dancers that walk several kilometers across town, or travel on an open back truck to reach a performance event, illuminates how the same act of moving from A to B involves different movement practices, representations and experiences. Reframing rurally located women dancers as mobile subjects, I argue, draws attention to the ideological, practical, embodied and spatial constraints on women's mobility within patriarchal societies (Tivers 1988; Massey 1994; Porter 2011). As I illustrated in the introduction, in rural areas and in the north, women's participation in the 'modern' nation-state is often limited only to their performance as 'traditional' subjects.[52] A close study of women's movements also challenges patriarchal discourses and ideologies that reinforce conceptual binaries like traditional/modern, female/male, rural/urban, production/reproduction that have real, negative effects on everyday lives.

(In)Visible Mobilities in a Capitalist Market Economy

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[50] Instagram influencers are a relatively recent phenomenon in Mozambique, but, like elsewhere in the world, being a brand ambassador is a fast-growing occupation. In Mozambique musicians seem to be the most popular and common brand ambassadors because they already have a celebrity status and a built-in audience.
[51] While the car ambassadors are overwhelmingly male, several female influencers advertise car companies, too.
[52] During socialist modernization, rural Makhuwa women were chastised by the state government for being too traditional, with their initiation rites banned as 'obscurantist', while during capitalist modernization, these same women are critiqued for innovating through dance, for not being traditional enough.

The invisibility of women as mobile subjects is related to specific colonial histories of capitalist production that gave rise to the male migrant worker as the dominant mobile subject in Southeastern Africa. Historical narratives of social rupture and change follow a common narrative: men migrated to mines, wage labor transformed economic relations, and reconfigured gender and generational relations as younger men gained social power through the money they earned, while women were required to provide for their families in their absence.[53] As a result, mobility, travel, and migration have been naturalized as uniquely male domains (See De Bruijn et. al. 2001), reflecting a broader historical treatment of women as immobile, economically powerless "rural subsistence farmers" (Allman et. al. 2002: 6).[54] Recent historical works, largely by feminist scholars, show that women's mobility is often more subtle, illuminating the ways women have pursued social and economic advancement through motherhood, reproductive labor, homemaking, and relationships (Thomas 2003; Osborn 2011; Stephens 2013; Jean-Baptiste 2014). Women's movements—like those of Hawa Ramadhani, Tanzania's first female automobile driver (Grace 2013)—have challenged state-led modernization narratives that privilege the labor and mobility of men and reinforce gender ideologies that exclude women from skilled work and confine them to the home. At the same time, many discussions still frame women's mobility in relation to men's, and in doing so risk reinscribing tropes that attribute women's social value to their 'natural' roles as mothers, wives, or sexual objects.

One of the primary arguments in this dissertation is that women are excluded from mobility narratives because they move in different ways than men. Rural women, in particular,

[53] Lynn M. Thomas (2009) notes that early South Africa anthropologists studied the societal transformations brought about by labor migrancy. See, for example, Schapera (1933, 1940), Hunter (1932, 1936), Hellmann (1937, 1940, 1948), and Krige (1936).

[54] These gendered analyses of mobility are linked to earlier colonial-era concerns over controlling movement of male, African laborers, and related notions of civility, and situated women within the home or household where they could reproduce the colonial work force (De Bruijn et. al 2001: 6). In addition, colonial court systems across the continent reinforced perceptions of African women and girls as subordinate to men, redefining social roles such as daughter, wife, and mother to conform to Western ideological notions of these positions. African male authorities, eager to exercise greater control over women within the household and society, often embraced these changes (See Falk-Moore 1986; Roberts 1987; Allman 1996).

have been disproportionately excluded from the market economy and as a result remain absent from the dominant discourses that understood mobility through upward progress, urbanization, economic development, and productive forms of labor.[55] In Northern Mozambique's matrilineal Muslim areas, there are socio-cultural restrictions on women's work (Tvedten et al. 2009; Stevano 2014), and like elsewhere along the Swahili Coast (i.e., Callaci 2017, Fair 2001, Strobel 1979), women's movements and economic participation have been closely monitored by male kin, colonial, governmental, and religious authorities. In these contexts, dance associations have been important sites for "women's business" (Neveu Kringelbach 2007), where women from different class backgrounds convene to organize weddings and initiation rites, fundraise and politically mobilize, build relationships and expand social networks—activities that often fall outside 'the market,' but are still highly productive. Julia Elyachar (2010) for instance, analyzes women's sociality practices in Cairo, Egypt as "phatic labor" because the social infrastructure they constructed was as valuable an economic resource as material infrastructures like roads or bridges, and generated profit for public and private ends.

However, within market capitalism, it is often women's 'deviant' movements—such as their participation in the "sexual economy" (Cole 2009; Jean-Baptiste 2014) or night life culture—that receive public and political attention. In Mozambique, as in other post-socialist contexts, gender has become 'a strengthened vehicle of post-socialist politics…[because] nationalist ideologues …see the health of the nation as dependent on women subordinating their

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[55] In the past decade there has been significant interest in African urban life, some of which has countered depictions of women as rurally based and economically inactive, demonstrating how urbanization actually facilitated women's mobility (Hunter 2010; Jean-Baptiste 2014; Callaci 2017). Jean-Baptiste (2014) shows how women were prominent actors in the urban economy in Gabon during French colonial rule (mid-19th century-1960s), and through interracial unitions, often had greater legal, social, and economic mobility than Africa men. Likewise, in urban Maputo, women's economic participation has increased to the extent that in Maputo, many female-headed households are actually better off than male-headed households (Tvedten et. al 2009). Women's mobilities have made significant advances, but in turning attention to urban centers—as much recent scholarship on mobilities has done—the experiences of rural women, which greatly differ, have remained muffled. Although it's important to note that recent work—like Emily Callaci's contemporary history of Dar es Salaam's 'street archives', pushes against the urban/rural dichotomy by focusing instead on movement between.

bodies and interest to the collective task of national "rebirth"' (Verdery 1996: 14). For example, public expressions of feminine sexuality related to consumer culture are seen as a threat to a 'nationally appropriate' femininity by the Maputo-based middle class and political elite. In response, these privileged groups are promoting the figure of the housewife as the feminine ideal (Groes-Green 2011) highlighting how women's morality and movements are connected in often contradictory ways: for the socially and spatially mobile elite, the nation's health rests on women's stasis and adherence to 'tradition.'[56]

Traditional Performance Economies

Tradition is symbolically associated with stasis, timelessness (Hymes 1975; Ben-Amos 1984), and often positioned in opposition to the modern, conceived of as progress, change, and futurity (Graham and Marvin 1996; Edwards 2003; Foucault 2010). In *The Invention of Tradition,* Ranger and Hobsbawm (1993 [1983]) link the traditional/modern dichotomy to the emergence of 'the nation'—as nations sought to naturalize their existence, they used cultural traditions as a way to anchor themselves in a primordial past. The analytical and symbolic connection between tradition and nation is pervasive in literature on African expressive culture. Anti-colonial African theory presents traditional cultural practices as sites of colonial resistance that generate national consciousness (Fanon 1963; Cabral 1994). Feminist analyses of women's performance practices, however, paint a broader picture of how women undermine, embrace or ambivalently respond to the attempts of others to traditionalize them (Rofel 1999; Abu-Lughod 1998; Schein 1999; Yang 1999). In her work

[56] I follow Jean-Baptiste's (2014) definition of the "sexual economy" as "the transactions and relationships of everyday life around the meanings and lived experiences of gender identities and sexual relationships." (3) While the sexual economy she charts is primarily focused on the institution of bridewealth and monetary transactions involving sex, I like her approach because she also pays attention to the "intimate matters" (10) and emotions (12-13) that were central to the political economy of these relationships. She argues "...for the need to step back from deterministic analysis of sexuality and also analyze the subjective and interpersonal realms in which historical actors engaged in and conceived of sex" (13). As I explain in Chapter 2, women in matrilineal Makhuwa communities control sex within a marriage, while men are expected to provide financial support. By definition, this could be considered transactional, but that obscures the socio-cultural meanings of marriage, the emotional bonds between spouses, etc.

on post-Mao China, Schein (1999) examines how the Miao people—depicted in dominant national discourse as feminized keepers of Chinese tradition— "worked and restaged just the symbolic material that was used to mark off their difference" (386) by performing their own version of modernity. These performances, she argues, were not just a contestation of ethnic, racial or gender identities, but instead a scripting of social and economic mobility within existing structures—a movement towards modernity that is important for understanding China as it renegotiates its global position.

I understand the dynamic movement inherent to women's song-and-dance traditions in Mozambique as operating within a performance economy, which, following Alex Perullo's (2011) definition of a music economy, I define as "an arrangement of creative human activities and practices intended to produce, distribute, [experience], perform, and consume various facets of music," (4) dance, and other aesthetic practices. The small additions I have made to this definition accommodate the full range of aesthetic practices that circulate and accrue value among *tufo* groups, and also reflect my understanding of "the economic" to include the "full range of productive powers and practices through which people constitute diverse livelihoods" (Bear et al. 2015), including non-market performance activities. While feminist scholars have critiqued the division of market and non-market domains, as well as challenged earlier Marxist conceptions of labor by arguing that domestic work—unpaid and performed by women—is as socially productive as industrial labor.[57] I extend this analysis to mobility, rethinking the meanings of 'productive' movement to include feminine forms of movement that fall outside the hegemonic forms of capitalist economic exchange, but are no less productive.

[57] Some of the feminist scholarship that has influenced my thinking, here, is Gibson-Graham's alternative economies project (1996), "Gens: A Feminist Manifesto for the Study of Capitalism" (2015) by Laura Bear, Karen Ho, Anna Tsing and Sylvia Yanagisako, and the related series "Generating Capitalism" on the Society for Cultural Anthropology page. Also, theories of Immaterial and Affective Labor (Weeks 2007, 2011; Hardt 1999; Lazzarato 1996).

At the same time, even though women are "innovators and drivers of change" who have created a public realm in which they wield power (Fargion 2014), women seldom feature in contemporary studies of African performance economies, which, by and large, focus on urban, male-dominated genres that are highly commodified.[58] Within these industries, being a musician is an attractive career option because of the economic value attached to music as a consumer good, the diversification of musical labor, and finally, because successful industry figures are represented as symbols of wealth, prestige, and mobility (White 2008; Perullo 2011; Shipley 2013). In her work on the concert danseuse in Kinshasa, Lesley Braun reveals that when women do pursue careers as performers, they are caught in a 'double bind', where their economic independence and mobility are at odds with their virtue (2016: 4). However, this literature still foregrounds explicit economic practices and market activities, which means women's movements and activities within performance economies like *tufo*, which are also growing under capitalism but are not commodified, fall outside of these analytic models.

In *tufo,* like in other non-market musical practices, value is differently conceived. While government officials push to commodify 'traditional' music and dance for the benefit of the growing tourist economy, in rural and semi-urban areas *tufo*'s expansion is, in part, due to its affective capital and ongoing importance as a celebratory performance practice at ritual events and commemoration days. In contrast to commodified genres like Congolese Rumba, where creativity and innovation depend on money or stardom (White 2008), in *tufo* they are predicated on a deeper cultural logic that prioritizes collaboration, group rivalry, and the exchange of meaningful messages. As I describe in Chapters One and Two, songs and choreography could be considered "inalienable possessions" (Weiner 1992), described by Carol Muller in her study of Nazarite music-making in South Africa as

[58] Some exceptions include studies of women musicians in *taarab* (Fargion 1993; 2016), *kwaito* (Impey 2001), *sungura* (Mhiripiri 2011), hip-hop (Neff 2015; Clark 2018), in Nigeria (Opara 2017; 2018), and in Mali (Durán 2007).

"artifacts of emotion and experience given form through expressive culture and circulated among members in systems of ritualized exchange" (1999: 58).

Moreover, in Mozambique's technologically sparse rural and semi-urban areas, innovation and its limits require a different explanatory framework; following Mavhunga (2014), this requires a reconceptualization of the definition of innovation to include the 'art of survival' and traditional forms of knowledge. Here, I suggest that a traditional song-and-dance genre like *tufo* is a lens through which to understand African conceptualizations of innovation. While Western understandings of innovation are often rooted in communication technology and media, innovation with performance practices has been examined as a shift in, or production of knowledge. Furthermore, tradition and innovation can coincide within this model: ethnomusicologists Schramm (1986), Friedson (1996), Impey (2013, 2018), and Sakakeeny (2013) all show how traditional sounds, techniques, and styles, demonstrate inherent qualities of innovation through movement—whether that be the circulation of music, instruments or the mobility of performers.

Defining Mobility

In this dissertation, I understand mobility to be movement across form and scale that accrues social and political meaning. This includes sonic vibrations, affective movements, gestures and choreography, social mobility, and geo-spatial movements, like walking or travel—all of which are interconnected in *tufo*. The kinetic vitality with which a group of dancers moves their shoulders, for example, may secure them an invitation to perform at an event elsewhere, necessitating new travel experiences that could, in turn, increase a group's social status back home. I employ such an expansive definition because I am interested in how the intersections and interactions of different movements are given meaning when situated within specific social, cultural, political, and historical contexts. For Tim Cresswell, mobility itself has no inherent meaning because physical movement—

the raw material of mobility—only acquires meaning through shared representations, and subjective embodied experiences (2010: 160). I follow Cresswell in considering mobility both as an analytic and an object of observation that becomes meaningful through practice, experience, and representation, while also including in this definition the *possibility* for movement and the strategies people adopt to actualize mobility—termed motility (Kaufmann 2002; Kaufmann et. al 2004)—in order to consider the imagined forms of future movements that have the *potential* to materialize as a result of women's membership in the broader *tufo* network, and their aesthetic creativity on stage.

I position embodied micro-scale movements as consequential for macro-mobilities, a relationship that is left out of the "grand narrative" theories of globalization that, in their pursuit of new connections between people and places, often exclude the body.[59] Yet different experiences of movement are embodied. Bourdieu's (1977) reformulation of Mauss' concept of habitus shows how social structures are embodied and naturalized in everyday life.[60] Feminist scholars have explored the phenomenological dimensions of gendered embodiment (Young 1980; Bordo 1993), and morality has been an important theme: Boddy demonstrates that women's bodies are made into 'living

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[59] Wallerstein's world-systems theory (1974) is one of the most comprehensive theories in addressing power imbalance within the world economic system through proposing a core/periphery dichotomy. While it revolutionized the spatial conceptualization of the movement of people, goods, and ideas as globally uneven, it has also been critiqued by post-modern theorists (e.g., Giddens 1990; Harvey 1992[1989]). Giddens (1990) contends that Wallerstein ignores political and military concentrations of power, which can operate differently than the economy (69). For Harvey, the World-Systems Theory is too simplistic in its divisions. Zoning, he contends, may be more appropriate for understanding how the movement of capital has shaped the division of international labor. The economic placement of the West at the center and the "Third World" at the periphery have been challenged in works like Sidney Mintz's *Sweetness and Power* (1985) and Paul Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic* (1993), which invert the Euro-centric notions of center and periphery by reinterpreting global history during the project of industrialization. In *Modernity at Large* (1996), Appadurai disregards the designations of center and periphery altogether.

[60] For Bourdieu, habitus describes the way we inhabit our bodies—more specifically, the bodily, emotive, and ideological dispositions we have internalized over time—and can be identified by an external observer (Bourdieu 1977; Wacquant 2004; Bizas 2014). Hexis, on the other hand, is the embodiment of habitus, and difficult to articulate as discourse because "the principles embodied in this way are placed beyond the grasp of consciousness and hence, cannot be touched by voluntary, deliberate transformation, cannot even be made explicit" (1977: 94). These concepts have been frequently discussed in studies of dance because breaks in bodily hexis—for example, through learning a dance from a different culture—allow a person to become more aware of the body and its habits and reflect on non-semantic knowledge (Jackson 1983; Leder 1990; Ness 1992). Likewise, de Certeau (1984) examines everyday bodily practices as "ways of operating" through space. These include practices of naming, narrating, remembering and even walking through the city, showing how spatial practices are socio-culturally produced.

vessels' of moral value through pharaonic circumcision in Sudan (1989), while dance scholars show how differently embodied moralities of gender are confronted (Cowan 1990) or imposed through normative dance forms (Neveu Kringelbach 2013). Dance studies also show how the dispositions dancers come to embody influence dancers' movements in daily life (Wulff 1998, 2007; Wainwright and Turner 2003) and conversely, how embodied experiences of movement through space are made visible through dance (Kwan 2013).

I expand on these approaches by looking at the constant interplay between movements of everyday life and the 'stage' (Hastrup 1995, 2004), beginning at the site of the body and working outward to connect the mechanizations of performance aesthetics (micro-movements) to broader ideologies and practices of mobility at the macro-scale. Norman Bryson (1997) studies this connection through social kinetics—the history of socially structured movement—in order to achieve the political and theoretical goal of "seeing mobility as operating within fields of power and meaning" (Cresswell 2006: 10). As Bryson demonstrates in his study of French dance forms, dance practices need to be studied within the context of larger ideologies and practices of movement at a particular point in time and emphasizing how larger-scale politics of mobility are embodied.

I understand the politics of bodily movement, therefore, as both a form of cultural embodiment and as a form of mobility politics. Cresswell analyzes the broader politics of mobility (2010) through aspects of movement, like motive force, velocity, rhythm, route, experience and friction, that reveal how mobile hierarchies and politics are constituted. Kinetic dynamics of dance such as the "feeling of gesturing" (Noland 2008: xx), which is both body-and culture-specific (Sklar 2008), show how these broader movement politics are embodied as encoded dispositions, and reveal how these "seemingly mundane interpersonal relations at the micro level have much larger consequences" (Covington-Ward 2015: 4). I bring these ideas together in Chapter Three, when I discuss how a group's social mobility and future event invitations, which can lead to more

opportunities for travel, are dependent on the dancers' ability to effectively embody and perform the vitality affects that define the dance.

However, body movements are inseparable from music in *tufo;* dancing is guided by drumming, and choreography is designed to accompany the singing and augment the overall message. Central to the politics of body movement, therefore, are sound and audibility, which mediate "one's relation to the practical and moral world" (Hirschkind 168). Andrew Eisenberg describes sounds as "always in motion; they emanate, radiate, reflect, canalize, get blocked, leak out, and so on" (2015: 191). Listening is a sensory skill and embodied practice that people cultivate over time, and sonic movements—whether resonating as affect or vibration—can "sculpt" (Hirschkind 2006:79) or "transform" the body (Kapchan 2017: 283). In his study of sermon listeners in Cairo, Hirschkind (2006) analyzes the body as "a kind of fluid medium, one animated and traversed by an ensemble of interlinking movements: the gestures of the hands, the face and eyes, the nerves, muscles, and breath that in their synthesis and complementarity form the sensitive heart of an ethical listener" (103). Likewise, Deborah Kapchan describes how members of the Qadirriyya Boutshishiyya—one of Morocco's largest Sufi orders—are imbued with energy long after traveling to the orders' summer sanctuary because "The body carries the songs and their vibrations in its cellular memory," (2015: 41) resonating with the long-term energetic effects of a *tufo* performance. There is a politics to this transformation of the body through sound, as well, that are captured through the concept *animation* (animar), which I discuss in Chapter One. Dancers recognize the malleability of the body, and use sonic movements for specific ends, whether to become closer to God, or to mobilize an audience on behalf of a political patron.

Finally, Black feminist studies foreground the racialized, gendered body in theorizing the long-term legacy of violence and social disruption in the wake of Transatlantic Slavery (e.g., Cox 2015; Sharpe 2016; Williams 2018; Thomas 2019). This body of scholarship foregrounds affect and

embodiment in discussions of diaspora and migration. Among its many theoretical and methodological contributions is a re-thinking of the archive to consider popular expressive culture as objects of affect and resistance that capture the black experience, and in particular, black women's experiences. Moreover, much of this work focuses on radical liberation through dance—how experiences and emotions migrate through gesture and the dancing body, how Afro-diasporic movement and sound practices are themselves an affective archive of resistance, or, as Sarah Bruno recently argued in a blog post on *bomba*, "a balm" (2020). The attention to affective politics in this work informs my consideration of affect as a form of mobility in *tufo,* and its liberatory potential.

Research Site & Context

Arrival

I am often asked how I arrived in Pebane, at "the end of the world." Pebane does indeed feel like an ending point rather than a place of departure, and in fact, one elder shared that Pebane's first name—what it was called before colonial occupation—was *Malawa,* from the Makhuwa verb *omala* (to finish/end) because it was where the land ends and the river emptied into the bay. However, as Filip De Boeck (2012) points out, places of stuckness, where infrastructures do not work, are also sites of possibility, where creativity can emerge (See also Von Schnitzler 2013). Pebane's rural, coastal location, together with its established tradition of *tufo* dancing, the robust competition, and ongoing expansion of women's dance groups in the district, made it an appealing site from where to examine women's growing mobilities through the practice. However, given the relative isolation of Pebane and the complex network of kin relationships in the region, my long-term field research was only possible because of my pre-existing relationship to Januario Faustino and his mother, Domingas Felipe. Domingas' family is extensive, and though she left Pebane during the civil war, her mother, brother, aunts, uncles, and cousins still lived there. She assumed the role of

my Mozambican mother (*mãe*) in Pebane, and as her fictive kin, my husband and I were accepted into the community—albeit cautiously.

I met Janu and Domingas in Maputo in 2013. At dinner one evening, Domingas—who was visiting from Quelimane—mentioned she had danced *tufo* as a child in Pebane. Coincidentally, I had just read a newspaper article on Pebane's *Casa da Cultura* (Culture House) that discussed the long history of *tufo* in the district. When Janu invited me to travel with him to visit family in Zambézia and Nampula provinces the following year, I quickly agreed. However, tensions between Renamo and Frelimo had escalated the previous year and military convoys were installed to escort all vehicles through areas with frequent insurgent attacks along the EN1, the north-south highway. The Mozambican state airline, LAM, had the monopoly on domestic air travel and had capitalized on the uncertainty and danger of overland travel by raising ticket prices. Flights to Quelimane were prohibitively expensive, so Janu and I boarded an old, toilet-less bus early one morning at 3:30am and spent two and half days traveling 1,600km north. This journey, which offered me firsthand experience of the transport and infrastructure challenges—and dangers—of travel in Mozambique, prompted my interest in mobility.

We spent time in Quelimane, Nampula City and Ilha de Moçambique, where we met briefly with members of the country's first *tufo* group, Estrela Vermelha. Our last stop was Pebane, to visit Janu's grandma, Amina. From Quelimane, the journey was eight hours on a minibus (*chapa*), and we traveled along the worst roads of our entire trip.[61] When we arrived at Pebane's *parragem*, the main transportation hub, we were exhausted and filthy; the minibus broke down en route, leaving us standing at the roadside for an hour in clouds of swirling red dust as trucks lumbered past. From the

[61] I didn't know it at the time, but we were lucky—six months later, the bridge crossing the Licungo River at Maganja da Costa would wash away in the devastating floods that severed transport between the North and South of Mozambique and cut off the electricity supply in the area for several months. When I returned for long-term fieldwork, traffic to and from Quelimane was channeled along one dirt road, which had considerably deteriorated from over-use, and the 354km distance between the two sites was a 12-14-hour journey on public transportation.

parragem's *pensão* (motel), owned by Janu's aunt, Helena, we walked five kilometers to Amina's house, passing the secondary school, the praça, Tibone market, the hospital—places that two years later would become a part of my everyday life.

The main road ends at Pebane's small aerodrome, dissolving into an open sand field that serves as the runway for the occasional small plane or helicopter. After crossing the field, we picked up a small path that carved through neatly planted cassava beds and led us to a small cluster of mud houses, anchored in the middle by an oblong structure—the family mosque—and surrounded by cashew, mango, and coconut trees (Figure 0.6). Amina's settlement was perched near the edge of the bluff and overlooked an endless beach, set against the backdrop of cliffs painted red, yellow, and gray, from natural clay and mineral deposits. We shared a meal of six fresh lobsters with Janu's grandmother (Figure 0.7), uncle, and his small children, drank fresh coconut milk, slid down the steep mud cliffs to the beach below to enjoy the natural waterfalls, then visited Pebane's most famous fishing beach, Morremone, before returning to the *parragem* (Figures 0.8 and 0.9). Pebane seemed like paradise.

Figure 0.6 - A boy studying the Qu'ran on the veranda of the mosque. Photo by author.

Figure 0.7– Dona Amina outside her home in 2014. Photo by author.

Figure 0.8 – People purchasing the daily catch at Morremone beach. In the distance, on top of the escarpment, is the lighthouse on Point Matirre, originally built in 1913. Photo by author.

Figure 0.9– Fishing boats on Morremone beach at dusk during low tide. Photo by author.

Later that evening, I told Helena that I was eager to see a *tufo* performance if there were still any active groups in town, and by the next afternoon, ten dancers from Estrela Vermelha de Pebane – a daughter group of Estrela Vermelha de Ilha—sat on the step outside the *pensão*, dressed in matching red shirts, *capulanas* and *lenços,*[62] and decorating their faces with *mussiro*[63] in preparation for the performance. They danced for about an hour, first seated, then standing, and by the end a large crowd had amassed to watch the dancing and to watch us, the strangers. Afterwards, two dancers, Samira and Zena, lingered to share a few beers with us and talk more about *tufo*. I asked if I could come back and learn to dance with them in the future: "Yes, you are very welcome," Samira responded. But neither she, nor Zena, owned a cell phone, so we parted ways with a tenuous agreement.

Ilha de Moçambique initially seemed like the logical choice for long-term research on *tufo* because of its historical significance to the genre's development. My experience in Pebane pushed me to revise my research plan and focus instead on *tufo*'s prevalence outside of tourist destinations, where performances were more commoditized than in rural areas. But it also brought questions of mobility to the foreground: travel was important to the dancers I met but was hindered by lack of financing and poor infrastructure. The geographic location and socio-political history of Pebane shaped the possibilities, experiences, and meanings of women's movements, and I was interested in how, for those in rural districts, music and dance facilitated or inhibited other forms of movement, and how, in turn, women's mobility fed back into performance.

Pebane

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[62] A *capulana* (*kanga* in Swahili contexts) is a brightly colored cotton material, about 1.7 by 1m that forms the basis of the *tufo* uniform (*equipa*). One or two *capulanas* are wrapped around the legs and tied at the waist, while a third, called a *lenço,* is fastened on top of the head.

[63] A white natural cosmetic paste made from a tree root that is iconic of Makhuwa women's beauty practices.

The geographic location and socio-political history of Pebane, known as the "forgotten district" of Zambézia province (Kröger 2005), has shaped the ways in which people move (Figure 0.10). Pebane district is bordered to the southeast by the Indian Ocean, and Pebane Vila, the district's administrative capital, is situated on the northern shore of the Moniga river estuary as it has long been called by locals (Figure 0.11 and Video 0.3).[64] The Moniga river has historically formed the southernmost border of the geographic and cultural areas that constitute the North of Mozambique, a region that has long been influenced by Islam because of centuries of Arab trade (Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa 1906: 201). As of 2007, approximately 60% of the district was Muslim, while 36% were Catholic. Those born in Pebane district consider themselves to be Moniga, a linguistic denomination that takes its name from the river and describes all people living along its shores, sharing general cultural practices and dialect. The Moniga language is a mixture of Makhuwa and Lomwe, indicative of the long history of population mobility in the region as those whose ancestors come from the inland identify as Lomwe, while those whose ancestors migrated down the coast identify as Makhuwa.[65]

[64] In colonial documents, this river has been called Tejungo (T'jungo) and also the Quizungo (Quissungo) by the Portuguese and British. Arab geographers referred to this coastline south of Mozambique Island as *Al-Akwar* (the estuaries) because it is low-lying and swampy, often with mangrove thickets lining the shores of the channels that wind their way through muddy islands and salt marshes of the coast (Newitt 1993:10).

[65] In 2014 statistics, 57.5% of the population listed eLomwe as their mother tongue, and 22% listed eMakhuwa, 14.6% other, and only 5.3% Portuguese. eMoniga is not recognized as a language on the census, perhaps because it is a dialect of eMakhuwa. Yet, there are ongoing debates between residents as to whether they consider eMoniga as eMakhuwa or eLomwe.

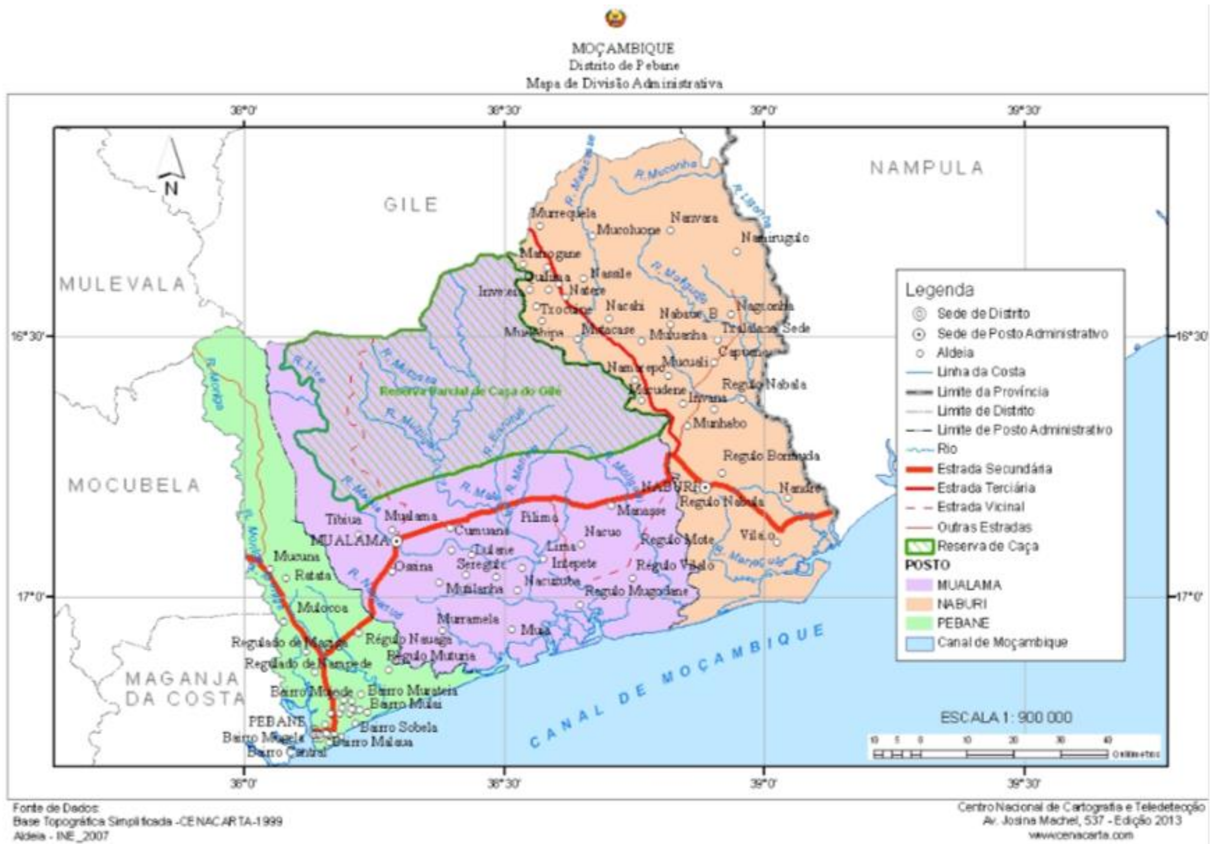

Figure 0.10 - Map of Pebane District, 2007.

Figure 0.11 - A view across the Moniga estuary from the shore of Maverane beach, as fisherman take advantage of the high tide to catch small fish (*mirosi,* a local delicacy). In the distance you can see the palm trees of Dogoro Island.

With an excellent natural port,[66] Pebane has been a notable transport hub on the coast—a striking paradox to the present-day isolation that some residents bemoan. Pebane's history, moreover, much like the rest of northern Mozambique's coast, is marked by the comings and goings of different groups: including the Maravi, the Moors, the Arabs, the Indians, and the Portuguese.[67] In the early 16th century, the territory of Pebane district was part of the Maravi empire. During the

[66] In 1882 O'Neill described the Tejungo as "the only port worthy of the name between Kiliman and Angoche, to both of which it is in many respects superior..." adding later that "The town of Monega is about 7 miles up the Tejungo. There are no Europeans here" (Africa Pilot 1889: 224).

[67] Portuguese Dominican missionary João dos Santos, in April of 1595, detailed his personal encounter with the Zimba at the mouth of the Tejungo river on his return to Mozambique from Sofala. His vessel encountered bad weather and was forced to port in the mouth of the Tejungo, where he and his companions were stranded for thirty-two days and, as Edward Alpers summarizes, "were unable to procure provisions from the mainland, not only because there was a great famine at the time, but also because the Zimba were in occupation of the country. Even the local Makua had fled to a deserted island lying off the coast." (1975: 52).

Zimba wars of the 1580s, Lundu, the second most prestigious Maravi chief, rose to power and expanded his dominance over the southern Makhuwa, extending his territory to the northern bank of the Zambezi (Alpers 1975; Newitt 1995). In the 18th and 19th centuries it was an outpost of the Shirazi Sultanate of Angoche (Lupi 1907: 28) and is mentioned in many colonial maritime logs as an active port in the slave trade because the small, mangrove-lined tributaries that wind through the estuary provided cover for local slavers. Likewise, the muddy waterways were too difficult for the British and Portuguese warships policing the coast to navigate (Video 0.4).[68] In fact, the whole stretch of coast between Pebane and Angoche was hazardous to European navigators unfamiliar with these waters, and as a result, the Angoche Sultanate was able to maintain autonomy and political control until 1898, when, after prolonged military struggle, the Portuguese successfully established military posts in the region.[69]

Oral histories that circulate among Pebane residents recall how the Portuguese followed the Moniga river inland for a few kilometers, navigated through the mangrove swamps of the Malaua tributary, and landed on a muddy stretch of shoreline where they asked the locals to hold a traditional ceremony, called *mkotoh*, to call the ancestors to bless the Vila. The priest sprinkled white flour (*epepa*) on the sand, repeating the words, "Peba, Peba, Peba", and after that, the place became

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[68] When the Portuguese abolished slavery in its African territories in 1869, the sheikdoms ignored them, led by the infamous leader Mussa Quanto, who, at the time of his death in 1877, controlled the whole coast from Mogincale in the north to Tejungo in the south (Hafkin 1973). Ussen and Farley, the leaders who took control of Angoche after Mussa Quanto's death, "were able to confine the Portuguese to a few coastal garrisons, continue the slave trade until the end of the century, and gradually build up an anti-Portuguese 'front' amongst the Macua peoples of the hinterland." (Newitt 1972: 672) In the 1880s and 1890s the slave trade even expanded, with most slaves sent to Madagascar and Cuba. During his journey to Angoche in 1884, O'Neill confirmed that the trade was still very active, and had left a strong mark on the people and way of life along the coast: there was internal conflict, marked by warring chiefs who would conduct slave raids and destroy villages—factors that had led to the significant depopulation of the coastal belt.

[69] Colonial occupation and the geo-political organization of territory over time has also strongly shaped how Pebane district is culturally categorized in contemporary Mozambique, and worth noting here because it offers a possible explanation for why Mozambicans are often surprised to learn that I studied *tufo* in Pebane, a district in Zambézia province, when it is known as being a dance from Nampula and Cabo Delgado provinces. When the Portuguese first declared 'ownership' over what is today Pebane district in 1865, it was part of the district of Angoche in the Province of Moçambique. Later, in 1893, when the Portuguese were trying to secure their military control over the region, it became a *capitania-mor* (military command). When the provincial borders were re-drawn, Pebane district became part of Zambézia province, and Angoche district remained in what is today called Nampula province, even though indigenous residents of the Vila are connected through religion, kinship, and cultural practices to Angoche.

known as Pebane.[70] On October 29 of each year, members of the vast Pebane diaspora return to celebrate Dia de Pebane—the day the Vila was established as a Portuguese administrative post (Maloa 2016).

Beginning in the 1930s, the colonial regime used the system of forced indigenous labor (*chibalo*)[71] to build road systems and railways, expanding land transport to consolidate their control in the interior (Chilundo 1994). The construction of the railway in the 1930s brought new wage labor opportunities for men who would migrate to work in the tea plantations in Nyasaland, the mines in Southern Rhodesia, or sisal plantations along the coast, while "women were believed to be incapable of undertaking such long and dangerous journeys" (Chilundo 1994: 12). The expansion of land transport also facilitated new forms of commerce and industry, connecting coastal districts to the interior and expanding markets. With 7km of natural beach, Pebane also became known as a tourist resort, with foreign nationals driving hundreds of kilometers from Malawi or elsewhere in Mozambique to spend their holidays at the ocean. The remains of their beach-front holiday rentals still line the road down to Morremone beach; 50 years ago, these crumbling walls would have been idyllic cabanas nestled at the bottom of a plateau, and at the edge of gently rolling sand dunes that dissolve into the warm, choppy waters of the ocean.

[70] The suffix, -ne, is a locative descriptor, so the name translates to 'the place of Peba'. There is an account of a similar ceremony from 1874 when the chief of Quitangonha was installed. Like the naming ceremony in Pebane had most likely been, this was a syncretic ceremony that combined Islam, Makhuwa, Portuguese and Swahili rituals: "The Portuguese official dignitaries arrived by boat. Two lines of women, singing and dancing, and playing cuche-cuches (wooden spoons), walked into the water to greet them. A procession formed, and the Portuguese Army played the National Anthem, Catholic hymns and patriotic marches. There followed a service of prayers in the mosque. Flour was then placed on the new chief's head. Seven months later the Makua shot him in the back." (Freeman-Grenville 1993: 246)

[71] The Native Labor Codes of 1899, 1911, and 1914 defended the used of forced labor for those who failed to pay taxes. Such labor was often public work like building roads, and both men and women were sent to do this until the 1942 Manual Contribution Ordinance was put in place to stop female labor for road and bridge construction. Instead, all male natives between 18-55 were expected to work on roads within 20km from their villages for five days a year (Chilundo 1994). In addition, women were often forced to cultivate cash crops, such as cotton (Sheldon 2002: 50). Labor songs collected by Leroy Vail and Landeg White (1978, 1983) in Zambézia province provide further insight into the suffering women experienced through this forced separation from their husbands, as well as the specific types of abuse they experienced—in addition to frequent sexual abuse, plantation foremen were reported to lock women's babies in until the work they completed was satisfactory. For more on the history of forced cultivation, see Isaacman 2003.

Today, older residents remember how the aerodrome, constructed atop the Cape Fitzwilliam bluff, offered twice weekly flights to Quelimane (Figure 0.12).[72] The port was also still active and received larger cargo ships traveling along the coast, providing people with several transport options. In the 1980s, when road travel was unsafe due to the civil war, Pebane became the site of the largest refugee camp for internally displaced people (Finnegan 1992) because of its coastal access, allowing ships and planes from Quelimane to deliver *calamidades* (provisions) to the embattled population. Carlos, the night guard of the house we rented just off Pebane's *praça*, described how the large *quintal* (yard) behind the house—now planted with manioca and mango trees—was full of *deslocados* when the war was at its peak. Each night people would flee to the beach where they would sleep, only returning to their encampments in town during the day.

[72] The British explorer Henry O'Neill described the bluff five miles east of the town of Moniga (now Pebane) as, "a remarkable bluff composed of yellow earth cliffs, with a few rocks around them on the beach. This cape and Cape Edward are the most remarkable points along this part of the coast. Cape Edward is a remarkable bluff formed of red earth cliffs, with a sandy beach and a few rocks at the base of the cliffs. This cape is 6 miles eastward of cape Fitzwilliam, the land between being very low, with Mlai (Mulai river that runs through Maiai) creek about midway" (Africa Pilot 1889: 224). These bluffs served as coastal markers for British and Portuguese navigators, and in the early 1900s the Portuguese erected a lighthouse (*farrol*) atop Fitzwilliam bluff, that today, is a local landmark.

Figure 0.12. Cape Fitzwilliam bluff. Photo by author.

Since the end of the war in 1992, people have largely rebuilt their lives. Dance associations reconvened their activities 1993 and became an avenue for war-time migrants to become part of the community: many of the members of Estrela Vermelha, for instance, were born in Ilha de Iuza, a coastal village in the north of the district, but moved to Pebane during the war. Yet, the coastal topography of the district, which, throughout history has facilitated the coming and going of people, today buttresses its remoteness and encumbers access to goods, jobs, and healthcare. Pebane is indeed one of those spaces in contemporary Africa that 'the global' has skipped over, illustrating how people, objects, ideas and capital do not 'flow', but rather hop from point to point in enclave networks (Ferguson 2006: 48). As one Mozambican journalist observed, Pebane is "too provincial. Truly rural. Bearing no traces of the dynamic forces of urbanization or rural development that

characterizes the 21st century." There are only four qualified doctors for the district's 223,000 residents, and 14 health centers but no hospital. The average life expectancy is 45.9 years. Moreover, trade is significantly constrained due to the lack of infrastructure: the district's main thoroughfare is reduced to a single dirt road that is often impassable during the rainy season.[73] The district's first bank only opened in Pebane Vila in 2019—after I completed fieldwork—and prior to that, civil servants would have to make a two-day round trip to the nearest bank to withdraw their pay, traveling on overfilled, deteriorating minibuses that are expensive and frequently break down.[74] Most households depend on subsistence agriculture and with fishing, or earn a meager income from selling cash crops (Fusari and Carpaneto 2006; Ministério da Administração Estatal 2014).

Today, some express nostalgia for the late colonial era, what they remember as the height of development. As one friend put it, "Before, we used to work. Now we don't. The airport has died, the port has died. Pebane used to be full of cashew and coconut trees…People used to make soap, oil, everything right here in Pebane. But this stopped a long time ago and now we have nothing." Precarity, as Kathleen Stewart (2012) writes, "can take the form of a sea change, a darkening atmosphere, a hard fall, or the barely perceptible sense of a reprieve" (518). When a tropical cyclone pummels the coast, as happened in 2000, 2012, and 2019, the precarity is obvious and catastrophic as people contend with loss of life, extensive flooding and damages to already fragile infrastructure.[75] But in the in-between, precarity is ordinary and residual, the ambivalence of which is captured by the

[73] Incidentally, in statistical reports, the district is listed as having 0 primary roads, which is a testament to their poor quality (Folheto Pebane 2019).
[74] There are few up-to-date statistical reports on Pebane, but even reports from 2007 paint a general picture of the high level of poverty in the district, and overall lack of infrastructure and material goods. As of 2007, only 13 people in the district owned a computer, 72 owned a telephone, while 44.6% owned a radio, demonstrating the importance of the radio (and other sonic means of communication) for the circulation of information. Only 312 people (.7%) had electricity in their homes. 42 people (.1%) of the population owned a car, and these were most likely district administrators. 46.1% of residents had access to a bicycle, while 37.9% had no mode of transport.
[75] Tropical cyclone Hudah (2000) blocked the main road into the city and damaged 10% of roofs, four schools, and left 300 homeless. In 2012, tropical cyclone Funso destroyed or damaged the homes of 2,200 families in Pebane and neighboring Maganja da Costa. March and April 2019 brought two separate cyclones – Idai and Kenneth – that caused flooding in Pebane, but the most extensive damage and loss of life was in Sofala province, and the city of Beira.

popular phrase, *É nossa realidade*—It's our reality—a sentiment that was best summarized by Abdul, who complained one afternoon that, "Poverty doesn't know fun. These days, life is stagnant, and many people just sit at home."

Methodology: Studying Mobilities Across Scale

The majority of the data analyzed in this study was collected during an extended period of field research in Pebane between 2016 and 2018, totaling 14 months, and three two-month-long pre-dissertation research trips to Maputo in 2013, 2014, and 2016. As a project focusing on the intersections and entanglements of multiple mobilities, I used a variety of methods that included performance as research, mobile ethnography, semi-formal interviews, audio-visual recording and analyses, and archival research. In the following sections I outline my methodological activities as a member of the group Estrela Vermelha of Pebane, and the benefits and limitations of embodiment as a method in a highly competitive context.

Archival Work

In the early stages of this project, my research activities largely centered on what Diana Taylor terms "the *archive* of supposedly enduring materials" (2003: 19) and included documents, literary texts, maps, videos, and CDs. During pre-dissertation research I spent significant time at the National Library in Maputo flipping through newspapers and magazines from the late 1960s and after to get a sense of how discourses about music and dance in Mozambique have changed over time in line with specific political regimes. I also attended live concerts and festivals and spent time at night clubs, music venues and house parties to become familiar with the sonic and musical landscapes in Mozambique, and how they differ regionally and generationally, and from urban to rural areas.

It was Signe Arnfred's sociological study of *tufo* dancing in Ilha de Moçambique and Angoche (2004) that sparked my interest in the genre during the second year of my PhD when I was at a personal and professional crossroads: my PhD advisor in anthropology, Neil Whitehead, had passed away the previous spring unexpectedly, and I needed to rethink my anticipated dissertation project. I stumbled upon Arnfred's article by accident, and the similarities she noted between women's *tufo* in Mozambique and other Swahili coast music and dance brought to mind the *taarab* and *kidumbak* performances I had attended in Zanzibar several years prior. I immediately e-mailed ethnomusicologist Angela Impey who was my master's thesis advisor at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. Did she know anything about *tufo* in Mozambique?

Angela's response secured my decision to focus on *tufo* within the broader landscape of Mozambican cultural performance and made this whole project possible. In 1989, amidst the protracted civil war, her husband, music producer Ben Mandelson, and Roger Armstrong, his partner at Ace Records (Globestyle), traveled throughout Mozambique recording music. Their fieldwork recordings became a two-disc compilation, *Mozambique 1* and *Mozambique 2,* which contain song recordings of several *tufo* groups from northern Mozambique.[76] Roger Armstrong generously sent me copies of the original field recordings, including video clips of the recording sessions, and photographs taken of each group. These were invaluable resources for my initial study of *tufo,* especially given the overall lack of research available at the time. They provided substantial listening material, as well, that allowed me to get a sense of the sonic features of the genre from an *etic* perspective. I also began collecting contemporary material on *tufo* from journalistic accounts (e.g. newspapers, magazines, blogs, social media), reports and policy documents, and colonial documents to understand how narratives around *tufo* have changed over time. During my first research trips to

[76] Various Artists. 1989. *Mozambique 1*, GlobeStyle DVORBD 086, compact disc; Various Artists 1989. *Mozambique* 2, GlobeStyle DVORBD 087, compact disc.

Mozambique in 2013 and 2014, I augmented this data with many formal and informal conversations with Mozambicans about music and dance practices, focusing specifically on *tufo,* people's knowledge and perception of the practice, their opinions on women's participation, and the associations they made between dancers and traditional beauty.

The Repertoire: Embodied Knowledge

There were significant limitations to this "archive," however, as women's subjective experiences and perspectives were largely absent. As mobility emerged as a theoretical and empirical focus of this project, mobile ethnography—a method that entails participating in movement patterns (Sheller & Urry 2006: 218)—became my broader methodological frame. With the body being the locus of human mobility (Cresswell 2006), I turned to what Taylor terms the "repertoire": "performances, gestures, orality, movement, dance, singing" (2003: 19) to understand how less visible movements, such as affect, sound and kinetic vitality, are meaningful forms of embodied knowledge for women.

Local gender norms largely determined the how, when, and where *tufo* practitioners moved, and as a result I focused almost exclusively on women's movements. In African contexts, as many scholars have noted, gender is a central factor in determining the kinds of knowledge researchers have access to. For instance, in *Performing Africa,* Paulla A. Ebron writes, "Although I assumed that gender would be an issue because men *jali* are associated with instruments and women *jali* with singing, I had not fully anticipated the degree to which gender played a part around issues of mobility, reputation, and access to performances" (2002: xii). More recently, Catherine Appert (2017) addresses how ethnomusicological research methods, which prioritize musical transmission and rapport, conflict with the researcher's gendered experiences within the field. Musical spaces are not exceptional spaces, she argues, and the broader power dynamics inherent in the field shape the

research itself, and likewise, the somatic transmission.[77] Women's spaces and forms of knowledge were the ones I was most privy to as a researcher and performer, though I consider the differential and relational experiences of gendered mobilities in my analysis.[78]

I used my own body as a means to access knowledge following a method of participation, reflection and transmission called "cultural embodiment" (Browning 1995; Farnell 1994; Hahn 2007; Sklar 2001; Ness 2004). As Ness describes, embodied practice seeks to gain rather than "bracket out" cultural understanding and "explore embodied cultural knowledge as temporally and spatially dynamic, situational in its meaning, and creative in the interstices of personal and communal histories that reach across experiences of researcher and researched" (2004: 14). By learning to embody sounds, rhythms and conventions related to feminine posture, gesture, and dress, I combined content and context-oriented approaches to movement; that is, I traced how embodied feminine aesthetic practices performed on stage at a *tufo* event intersect with those performed in everyday life. My approach to body movement is informed by dance studies that engage habitus as a theoretical tool for connecting everyday movements and dance (Kondo 1990; Ness 1992; Kwan 2013; Covington-Ward 2017). In her work on dance in the Philippines, for instance, Sally Ann Ness observes the "resiliently bouncy" bodily habitus that characterizes the everyday movements of Cebu City inhabitants. These movements are so inscribed in the culture that they are incorporated "into the vernacular language itself" as a tacit feature of several dances (1992:55). Bourdieu's idea of habitus is helpful for analyzing the ways in which dance and everyday movements overlap within larger systems of socially learned movement, yet in this project, I am more interested in the way

[77] See also Appert and Lawrence's article "Ethnomusicology Beyond #MeToo" (2020).

[78] Feminist scholarship on embodiment (Butler 1990; Boddy 1989; Bordo 1993) draws attention to how people have bodies and *are* bodies in different ways (Lock 1993). The body is not a natural, biological entity, nor a blank slate upon which "culture" is projected, but rather human life is lived in a multiplicity of bodies that are historically contingent and informed by culture, politics, and discourse. Moreover, the female body is constructed and experienced in a way that differs to the male body, and the connection between ideologies of gender and material practices, in particular, is central to the experience of learning *tufo*.

women perform different styles, tastes, or bodily movements with *intent*. Yolanda Covington-Ward's work on gesture and power in the Lower Congo has informed my understanding of embodiment as a method for studying movements across scales because, by centering the moving physical body in everyday performance, she shows how micro interactions of the body "can have a decisive effect on macro-level systems of power and structures of authority, and also be impacted by those same societal structures" (2017: 4).[79]

As an ethnomusicologist, however, I consider sound knowledge—defined by Kapchan as "a nondiscursive form of affective transmission resulting from acts of listening" (2015: 42)—as equally critical to women's embodied experiences of moving. I joined the Cultural Association Estrela Vermelha of Pebane, which was founded in 1980, and today boasts around 45 members, 20 of which are dancers, ranging in age from seven to about sixty. The current president, Eliza Muller, is a now-elderly woman of German-Mozambican descent and assumed the leadership position in 1993, although today, the vice president, Abudala, and secretary, Mussa, along with several elder mentors (*mwanene,* or, "the women that created *tufo"*) are the group's main advisors.[80]

As a *tufo* 'apprentice' I learned how these different forms of embodied knowledge, such as sound, gesture, posture, dress, and energy, are created, transmitted and understood through *tufo*. Participation through music and dance apprenticeship is a well-known fieldwork method for ethnomusicologists (i.e. Hahn 2007, Rahaim 2012, Weidman 2012)[81] and I learned *tufo* as many

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[79] Several recent studies consider the body and body movement across scale. Vanessa Agard-Jones' "Bodies in the System" (2013) draws on Trouillot's multiscalar thinking about Caribbean history (1988) that begins at the microlevel—the village—to understand transnational labor processes. For Agard-Jones, Trouillot's attention to systems and scales and social analysis can be applied to thinking about the body (in this case, the Caribbean body) in relation to global systems of power. See also Ch. 2 of Claire Wendland's forthcoming book *Partial Stories* (2021) which investigates pregnancy-related deaths in Malawi through socio-spatial scales of vulnerability and resilience that shape bodies from the molecular to global level.

[80] While I use the real names of *tufo* associations and their elder group leaders in this dissertation to document the history and development of the genre in Pebane, I have used pseudonyms for contemporary group leaders (such as Abudala and Mussa), drummers, and dancers in my ethnographic descriptions.

[81] Participant-observation became an increasingly popular method in ethnomusicology beginning in the 1960s and 70s, and while I will not rehearse the history of fieldwork in ethnomusicology here, see *Shadows in the Field* (2008) for the first comprehensive discussion of fieldwork experiences by ethnomusicologists.

dancers do: through the gradual accumulation of sonic, kinaesthetic and sensorial knowledge as a participant and observer at rehearsals and performances.[82] As Amanda Weidman (2012) points out, the performer's body is not just a vehicle for transmitting music, but the learning process can capture implicit, somatic forms of knowledge that participant observation does not always catch. Some moral, musical and social values, for instance, are "rarely articulated in language, remaining instead in the form of aesthetic sensibility and embodied feeling" (Weidman 2012: 215). During the process of learning with EVP, I was explicitly taught genre conventions and aesthetic considerations that are important to dancers, drummers, and trainers within the rehearsal setting, but I implicitly learned how to embody moral values related to feminine beauty through learning to dress well, move and sing in harmony with others, and the forms of feeling and energy I need to convey on stage. In short, by learning *tufo* I also learned feminine "body techniques" (Mauss 1973)—the forms of social conditioning that are lodged "in the very tissues of the body" as "socially organized kinesis" (Noland 2009:21).

Membership in a dance association in Pebane opened up the rich world of women's cultural and initiation practices for me as well, revealing how dancing *tufo* at commemoration events, political meetings, weddings and initiation rites is only one aspect of group life. Many *tufo* groups also promote and perform women's rituals like *emwali*, where girls—and adult initiates, like myself—are taught to embody culturally specific expectations of womanhood via song, dance, and a series of

[82] During my first few weeks of Pebane when I was struggling to figure out how to put the methodological design I had imagined in the classroom into action in the field, Michelle Kisliuk's *Seize the Dance!* (2006) along with Alma Gottlieb and Philip Graham's *Parallel Worlds* (1994) which both document the early stages and challenges of ethnographic research, language learning, and socialization in rural African contexts, were immensely helpful in easing my own research anxiety and helped me ease into the long process of fieldwork. My fieldwork experience as a student of *tufo* is similar to that described by Kisliuk in her study of "singing, dancing, and everyday lives" (2006: 3) of the BaAka in southwest Central Africa. Kisliuk's methods were groundbreaking at the time of her research because she moved beyond structural and symbolic anthropological approaches that looked to establish the internal coherence of cultural (and musical) systems by instead drawing on performance studies to develop a "full performance paradigm that emphasizes the elements of experience and interaction, leaving room for choice, irony, contradiction, and surprise" (12). Performance, she argues, is "enacted culture" (12), and she builds on John Blacking's approach, which centers the body in understanding musical practice (1973).

skits (Figure 0.13). It was through these processes of apprenticeship that I was able to understand embodied knowledge as sonic, kinaesthetic, and ethnographic. It was also in moving with dancers across multiple spaces and performance and non-performance contexts that I observed how sound and song changed the moral perceptions of women's movements: often, women's movements in public are deemed acceptable when they are cloaked in the morality of song.

Figure 0.13- An *emwali* in Pele Pele. The young initiates are embodying the submissive posture that girls are required to assume throughout the duration of the initiation: heads bent to avoid eye contact, and hands in their laps with palms facing upward. Girls are undergoing initiation at earlier ages, in part, because of the growing influence of Brazilian soap operas and other forms of new media that are introducing children to sexuality before they have learned through community education. Photo by author.

Rehearsing and Performing

Throughout my year of ethnographic fieldwork in Pebane, I attended thrice-weekly EVP rehearsals, held each Wednesday, Saturday and Sunday afternoon at 14:00,[83] and performed with the group at public events. Even though I recorded and conducted interviews with eight *tufo* groups in Pebane Vila and its surrounding areas, the members of EVP became my primary interlocutors, as I spent the majority of my time with them in rehearsals, meetings, at performances, and traveling.

EVP rehearsals largely follow the same schedule: the earliest to arrive (or the youngest club members) prepare the club house by sweeping the floor, laying out the *esteiras*, and starting a fire to heat up the drums. Dancers arrive one by one or in small groups, and congregate on the veranda of the clubhouse, or just inside. The first thirty minutes of each rehearsal are usually devoted to socializing and *conselho* (giving and receiving advice). Sometimes, a group leader will attend the beginning of rehearsal to speak to the group about an important matter, like future travel plans or to make a decision on a performance invitation. Once enough dancers have arrived, Amina, the Queen, will often cut across the conversation with a song to indicate rehearsal is beginning. The room immediately quiets down and the chorus of voices joins her. On days when the drummers are unable

[83] In my first two weeks of research, I made the mistake of taking the starting time literally. I wanted to be punctual, to participate in every part of rehearsal, from the introductions to the *despedidos* (goodbyes), but each rehearsal day I walked down an empty main street to arrive at an empty club house. Sometimes, Amina, EVP's queen, would poke her head out of her house, adjacent to the club house, and see me sitting there alone and call over, embarrassed that I had been waiting. Other times, her sister Zaquichela, who lived in the house across the road, would invite me to sit on an *esteira* under her mango tree while women slowly congregated. After each rehearsal I would confirm that the starting time was indeed 14:00, but the cycle would repeat itself again and again. Finally, I realized that 14:00 was a symbolic time, and that rehearsals actually operated around afternoon prayer and the *tempo de passear* – literally, the time to walk, that denotes the two-hour leisure time that buffers the end of each working day and sundown. As Ingold and Vergunst (2008) argue, walking is "embodied social action" that transforms a seemingly fixed, static place into a dynamically experienced 'entangling intersections of multiple trajectories of movement' (2008: 172). *Tempo de passear* is a period of day when movement, as an aesthetic practice, comes alive – where the pace and style of one's walking offers information on where a person is coming from and going, and invite frequent commentary, suspicion, or questioning; as I walked quickly and 'soldier like' according to one friend', through the sandy streets of Pebane on my way to rehearsal, I learned that the frequent calls of '*Muyooyi*? (where are you going) or *Munrooyi?* (where are you coming from) shouted at me from fenced in *quintals* were both a form of greeting and an interrogation – one's daily movements are woven into everyday gossip. Dancers walk to and from rehearsal with friends, moving at an intentional pace; school children meander through the streets in play, civil servants return home from work, often speeding by on a motorcycle, those visiting friends or shopping in the market move at a leisurely place, stopping to greet each friend as they pass.

to attend, the majority of rehearsal may be devoted to practicing songs in the repertoire or learning a new song. If the drummers are present, the dancers dance several seated songs to warm up before moving on to more complicated standing dances. As a novice dancer, I was positioned near the front of the block of dancers so that I could follow the movements of those dancing in front, while also be observed and corrected by those dancing behind me. Singing was more difficult to learn given the linguistic variety of songs, which included Portuguese, Makhuwa, Moniga, Koti, Swahili, and Arabic, and in the first several months I recorded songs during rehearsals to later practice at home.

The mood and intensity of a rehearsal depends on the group's performance schedule: if there is an upcoming performance, members are focused and the elders more critical, insisting that the dancers spend time ironing out choreography. If there are no upcoming events, rehearsals are more relaxed and fewer members attend, opting to spend their free time doing other activities, but if a dancer takes a prolonged absence several members of the group may visit her to inquire about her health. Dancers will come and go as they need, and many arrive late or leave early, but rehearsals always end around 17:00 so that members can buy dinner at the market before dark.

I was included in EVPs public performances from the onset of my training with the group. Among the first things I learned was how to tie a *capulana* and *lenço,* which are the required attire for dancing. I was encouraged to wear them around town, as well, to demonstrate my knowledge of the local beauty norms. Performances were loosely divided into three categories: commemoration days and related political events, ritual events such as circumcision ceremonies and weddings, and events exclusive to the *tufo* network like *carramas,* competitions, and meetings. Occasionally, groups are invited to perform at extraneous events for NGOs, local schools, or private patrons. During long-term fieldwork, I performed at three circumcision ceremonies, two weddings, two *carramas,* roughly

fifteen political meetings, commemoration days and extraneous events, in addition to attending a wide range of *tufo* performances in Maputo, Nampula, and Zambézia provinces.

Throughout my fieldwork I used audio-visual recordings to facilitate my own learning process, while also to stimulate conversations about changes in aesthetics, genre conventions, and cultural ideals about femininity over time. I recorded performances and rehearsals on a camera or iPad, and would later rewatch these videos in the company of dancers and interested members of public. This dialogic mode of data collection and analysis (by eliciting feedback on recordings) is one used by ethnomusicologists and anthropologists of sound (Stone and Stone 1981; Feld 1982; Gray 2013, 2020) as it offers insight into the way people talk about music. Similarly, recording playback was an important part of my methodology in that I was able to learn about the listener/spectator's experience through video commentaries and ask and refine questions about the aesthetic forms and feelings that make a good/bad performance or performer.

Spatial Mobilities

Mobile ethnography was a critical method for connecting the aesthetic forms of embodied knowledge transmitted in rehearsal and on stage to broader socio-spatial mobilities, while also bringing to the fore the politics of women's *actual* movements. Much of my research was focused on travel: my own travel to and from Pebane by car, openback truck and mini-bus, movements on foot to and from rehearsals or events, and the moral assessments and implications of women's movements within and outside of Pebane. While the majority of these movements occurred locally, on several occasions the group traveled to perform at events within and outside of the district and even province, when EVP and two other groups in Pebane attended a *carrama* in Nampula that required they travel on an open back truck. When traveling in Mozambique, material infrastructures, like roads, vehicles, and transportation routes, are impossible to ignore—travel is an embodied

experience, and breakdowns in infrastructure, such as potholes, or broken-down vehicles, are can reverberate through the body for days as joint pain, a headache, or exhaustion.

By moving with the members of my *tufo* group I observed first-hand how material infrastructures, gender norms, and social networks shape women's mobility practices, and experienced the ways women improvise and navigate within these infrastructures, creating and maintaining networks in spite of material and social restrictions, observing "the logic of individuals' movements in specific contexts" (Ghannam 2011: 298). My own mobility, by comparison, was incredibly priviliged, and limited the extent to which embodiment was an apt method for understanding women's movement experiences—and related forms of immobility—in everyday life (a point I will return to in the next several sections, as well). I owned a car, and later a motorcycle; I knew how to drive, and I had the financial resources to travel as and when I needed to. These inequities were very noticeable and caused frictions between group members who vied for rides to and from rehearsal, and also, served as another marker of difference that positioned me on a higher socio-economic level than the majority of dancers. As often as possible I would walk to rehearsals and performances, but during the last few months of my research it was unsafe for me to do so as a single woman, and the inequitable politics of mobility strained social relationships beween myself and some group members, and between EVP and other groups in town, as I explain in great detail in Chapter Four.

Becoming Estrela: The Limits of Embodiment

The process of becoming a member of Estrela Vermelha, and my own positionality as a researcher highlight some of the limits of embodiment as a method. The initial membership process was a prolonged negotiation and provides a starting point for a broader discussion of my positionality, power relationships within the field, and research ethics, which affected my research

and shaped its outcomes. I arrived to Pebane for long-term fieldwork in November 2016,[84] accompanied by Domingas, and within the first week I reconnected with the EVP dancers I met on my initial trip. They gave me a warm reception, and when I asked if I could join the association, those present responded with a resounding yes and suggested that I come to the next rehearsal at the club house. In my field notes I naively wrote, "Yesterday I joined a *tufo* group. It was a much easier process than I had been imagining over the course of application writing and studying." In reality, the terms of my membership, as a white foreign student with research funds and a car were negotiated over the course of several meetings during my first two weeks in Pebane and continued to be revised through the course of my fieldwork.

Domingas was crucial to the membership process, serving as a linguistic and cultural translator. The first rehearsal I attended was a formal event: the dancers arrived in full uniform, applied *mussiro*, and distinguished members attended to welcome me and Domingas. We sat alongside these dignitaries in plastic chairs at the front of the club house while the other members danced, with Domingas and I joining them for several songs. At the end of the rehearsal, I briefly introduced myself, and then, eager to follow my due diligence as a researcher, read aloud the IRB script that explained the project and its proposed outcomes, including that they would receive copies of all recordings. I was met with confused looks, and Domingas, aware of my missteps, immediately intervened and initiated a conversation about what the group expected from me in exchange for participation. The distinguished elders, speaking on behalf of the others, said they were happy for me to work with them and record rehearsals, but before my membership was formalized, they wanted to first meet and discuss what they wanted from me. We scheduled a meeting the following week, where the group presented their requests, all of which were forms of financial assistance. They

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[84] Incidentally, my 'arrival' day was the day after the 2016 US presidential election. The 12-hour journey from Quelimane to Pebane was one of mixed emotions that oscillated from despair and anger at the election outcomes, to anxiety and excitement as we barreled down the sand road towards a year of field research, with many unknown outcomes.

asked that I pay for small group expenses, like purchasing new mats for dancing, that I assist them with hosting a *carrama* (feast/festival) in Pebane—one of the group's long-standing dreams—and that I cover the transport expenses and monthly salary for a new drummer from Nacala, as there was a significant shortage of drummers in Pebane that was affecting their ability to regularly rehearse and perform. I agreed to the terms, and to celebrate our partnership, we danced together, which groups do to formalize amizade (friendship).[85]

The embodied process of 'becoming' a dancer was hindered by the specific body I occupy and the sensorial modes of knowledge that were most familiar to me. Years of formal aural skill training as a musician prepared me for listening to and transcribing melodies, harmonies, rhythm, and song structure, while a class in African dance at UW-Madison was instructive for identifying rhythmic cues that communicate changes in choreography. Yet dance was also new for me—no one in my household danced, and as a child I was so uncoordinated that my earliest dance instructors suggested I not continue. I opted for soccer, instead. Classical *tufo,* as a seated dance that requires only upper body movements in repetitive motions, is a relatively easy dance that, as one dancer reminded me, "anyone can dance *tufo*. Even you!" The standing, *avant garde* choreography, however, included elements of other popular dances that some women had learned in school or through play activities. I did not have the muscular memory needed to quickly learn these dances, and also, I am a head taller than most women and have a much larger frame (Figure .14). As a result, I took up more

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[85] My involvement was not viewed as positive by all, however, and members of the group often had to defend my participation to men in the community. Ana told a story that one man who saw me dance with the group at the *praça* asked her, "Why did you all sell *tufo* to the white person?" She challenged his use of the verb vender (to sell) and asked him what he meant, to which he elaborated saying that they had sold *tufo* to me so that I could take it back 'there' (away from Pebane) and make money from teaching it to others. Members of the group responded strongly to these accusations: Elena's learning how to dance with us, they justified, as a member of the group, and they could not understand how he thought they were selling me *tufo*. There was significant concern over these accusations, and Ana was downright offended. *Tufo* wasn't something that could be sold—at least in the way he was implying, as a transactional arrangement—but it's a form of sociality for women that is to be learned and shared. The man's accusations were a commentary on the obvious economic imbalance between me—as a white American—and the vast majority residents in Pebane.

space, which became a problem when learning in a small club house, while also trying to coordinate my body movements to match those of the other dancers as we moved as a unit.[86]

Figure 0.14 - Author with members of Estrela Vermelha de Pebane on Morremone beach for a World Ocean's Day celebration, June 8, 2017.

At the same time, there were many points of overlap between my own experiences of making music as a member of an ensemble, and those of women that participate in competitive

[86] My physical body was a frequent topic of conversation because of my size and phenotype. Many men and women in Pebane unabashedly told me I was the first fat white woman they had ever seen; this was meant as a compliment, as being 'fat' was read as an indicator of health and, by extension, wealth. The cultural differences in ideal body types for women between northern Mozambique and the US/England was made clear by the comments people made after I lost a noticeable amount of weight between my first and second fieldwork visits. In Pebane, many interpreted my weight loss to be a sign of illness and were concerned about my health because I had "lost my body." In England and the US, in contrast, friends and family commented on my weight loss like it was an achievement, exclaiming that I (now) looked really great, adding that I should "keep up the good work." For some, my weight loss was assumed to be related to *improved* health through diet and exercise.

dance associations. I grew up in a homogenous predominately white suburb west of Chicago, and had limited exposure to diversity—cultural, musical, religious, or otherwise. Within my nuclear and extended family—conservative life-long Midwesterners committed to Protestant values—travel was largely considered unnecessary, unaffordable, and incongruous with everyday work. As a child, therefore, music making had been a localized activity that happened in the church or at school, until I reached high school, when an out-of-state trip with my high school orchestra transformed the way I understood ensemble participation in a significant way. From that point onward, music was no longer just a hobby, but became an activity that afforded me opportunities for mobility that I would not otherwise have access to. Perhaps most significantly, many of the benefits of participating in competitive dance as a leisure activity noted by *tufo* dancers living in Pebane directly connected to my personal experiences as a performer. Mobility, in both accounts, is one of the many ways people generate meaning from their musical experiences, and group membership provided opportunities for *tufo* dancers to travel to new places, show off their talent as a group, exchange aesthetic and artistic ideas with others, and, as one dancer put it, to learn "how other people are human just like us"—similar to the aims of ethnographic research. In fact, my interest in joining a *tufo* group as a method of learning about community life and negotiating insider/outsider status fit within a culturally specific logic of knowledge acquisition in the region: one of the lessons that young girls are taught during initiation rites is that travel and cultural exchange are critical forms of education, and they are required to return home and share what they've learned with the community to benefit the group (a more literal translation is, you are required to urinate on (fertilize) the earth when you return, sharing the riches that you've brought with you). Women frequently suggested that I should start a *tufo* group in the US and introduce *capulana* culture upon my return as a way to share some of the Pebane's most beautiful cultural practices with those in my home community.

Positionality

Even though I connected with other dancers through shared experiences as women and performers, the members of the dance groups I worked with are marginalized on multiple levels in ways that deviate from my own privileged life experiences as a white, cis-gender, heterosexual, highly educated white woman from a middle-class socio-economic background in the US. Post-colonial Mozambique is vulnerable economically and politically on an international level. Nationally, the North of Mozambique receives less development aid than the South, even though it produces more resources, and these extractive economies—inequitable on multiple levels—have led to several conflicts. Zambézia, in particular, is the country's poorest, yet most populous province, and within that, Pebane, is among the most underdeveloped districts. Moreover, there are significant gender inequities: although Makhuwa-Lomwe ethnic groups are matrilineal, they are still patriarchal, and women are the most economically and socially vulnerable. While 7% of the working population in Pebane are salaried employees, a mere 1.5% of women earn a salary, while 96% of women are subsistence farmers (2014: 50). Moreover, as of 2019, over 80% of women over the age of 15 in the district were illiterate, in comparison to 46% of men, further increasing women's exclusion from employment opportunities.[87] Kin networks and class position also determine who has political and social access to jobs, and these are based on much longer histories of exclusion and inclusion.

The intersections of my gender, race, marital status, foreignness, and economic position, among other identities and privileges, shaped this project at every step of the way and afforded me multiple vantage points and opportunities to move between different social worlds in Mozambique, while also excluding me from others. In Maputo's institutional settings, my status as a foreign researcher from an American University, and as a research affiliate at Kaleidoscopio—the Maputo-

[87] Illiteracy (*analfabetismo*) is defined in these reports as those above the age of 15 that do not know how to read nor write in any language.

based public policy and culture research center—allowed me to participate in colloquiums, access the National Archives, the National Library, and Radio Mozambique, as well as meet with and interview popular musicians, although my gender was often an inhibiting factor because, as a youngish-looking white woman, I was not taken seriously as a researcher by many in the male-dominated music scene.[88] In Pebane, however, my academic identity was minimally valued, whereas my gender, marital status, race, and dance association membership were far more significant in determining my social positions, which were themselves, always in flux.

The violent histories of the slave trade and European colonialism still reverberate through the region, and as an *acunha* (Moniga for Portuguese people, but a catchall term for white people), I was frequently met with skepticism and fear by members of the underclasses in Pebane. Within the context of group membership, however, my race was never expressed as a prohibiting factor to participation because, as a cultural import introduced by Arab traders, *tufo* is touted as a dance practice that everyone is welcome to perform. EVP's longstanding president, Eliza Muller, was a light-skinned woman of German descent who was born and raised in the region, and similarly, two of the female group presidents in were also mixed-race women who, like Eliza, were business owners with financial means.[89] I was therefore often perceived as EVP's new financial patron, which also caused problems between groups in town competing for scarce funding opportunities. When I

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[88] My on-going frustration with the gender hierarchies I encountered led me to change my dissertation project from urban popular music-making to focus exclusively on *tufo* dancing because it was a women-only space. I don't want to go into the particulars of my experiences as a female researcher in Maputo, here (anthropologist Rosa Tolla's dissertation (2018) offers an excellent description of these challenges, including fragments of my own experiences), but the differential experiences of ethnographic research along gendered lines were made very clear when my husband, a British trombonist, began his own dissertation project in Maputo in 2016. When we arrived, I introduced him to several musicians I knew from previous visits. Within a week, he was invited to gigs, happy hours, and forms of musical and knowledge that I was not privy to. While I had already decided that I was not the right person to be conducting such research, I was frustrated by the contrast in our experiences based on gender. Of course, as a trombonist, he was also able to reciprocate through musical collaborations which was highly valued in Maputo given the shortage of brass players at the time. In her forthcoming dissertation (2021) on music-based film-making in Mozambique, Karen Boswall also reflects on how gender affected her experience as a musician in Mozambique over the course of eighteen years, including her membership as the sole woman in the popular band Ghorwane.

[89] Given the history of Arab and European colonial encounters in Mozambique, it's also significant that female patrons were almost exclusively mixed racial backgrounds.

received a phone call from the president of a group in Pebane inviting me to attend a rehearsal, my research assistant Isa expressed her annoyance, by telling me he just wanted money, and insisted that I ask permission from EVP before visiting the other group. When I pushed back, saying I was interested in learning from all groups that dance *tufo*, she responded definitively, "*Sou natural daqui* [I'm from here]. You can only learn *tufo* with one group and you have to first ask permission to visit another group. If your group denies you permission, you can't go." I promised her I would and recited the way I would ask permission out loud for her approval. She chuckled and shook her head slowly, then said aloud, "Oh, to be a *branco* (white person). Everyone wants you." Her comment was a direct commentary on the ways my skin color afforded me considerable advantage, including access to elite spaces, elite people (the "everyone" to whom she was referring), and valuable resources that many Pebane natives—like Isa—were excluded from. For instance, I had access to the Administrator—himself an outsider in Pebane because he was born in Tete and grew up in Maputo—which the vice president of the group was quick to utilize during the planning stages of the *carrama*. I received priority treatment at the hospital, as well, as did other elites and foreigners in town.[90]

While addressing the power imbalances between myself and participants in this study is both necessary and important, it is neither my aim nor my intention to characterize the women with whom I worked and danced as dependent, subordinate, or powerless. In Chapter 3, I use the concept social navigation, defined as the way people move through a constantly changing environment, or movement squared (Vigh 2009), to describe the diverse strategies women and

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[90] Pebane has been a recipient of development aid, and residents are constantly reminded of the presence of these international patrons as they dive out of the way of the large white SUVs barreling down the road, emblazoned on the side with the USAID symbol, or COSV (Italian development organization), or Save the Children, among others. Residents expect that foreigners residing in the District, which during the period of my research included a small number (approx. 20) American Peace Corp Volunteers, Italian COSV project managers, South Africans working in tourism and hospitality, American missionaries, and researchers like myself, contribute to the local economy by creating new jobs for residents, such as hiring evening security guards and an *empregada* (domestic worker).

young men implement to navigate exclusionary social hierarchies based on gender, class, and age. For women, this often involves a negotiation with or around patriarchal structures of power, yet these strategies, such as inviting men to assume leadership positions within the group, or allowing me to become a member, are often interpreted as an example of women's subservience rather than as a calculated mode of action through which they mediate tradition and invention. I understand such social navigation strategies as acts of nego-feminism. Nego feminism stands for "no ego" and is a feminism of negotiation. Obioma Nnaemeka argues that this is the particular form of feminism practiced by African women, for whom negotiation has the double meaning of "give and take/exchange" and "cope with successfully/go around"—evoking the "dynamism and shifts of a process as opposed to the stability and reification of a construct, a framework" (2004: 377). For Nnaemeka, nego-feminism, as an act, "knows when, where, and how to negotiate with or around patriarchy in different contexts" (377). Within rehearsals, *tufo* dancers try to strike balance with men, recognize the give and take, and strategically navigate the patriarchy sometimes by conferring with it—a social navigation strategy that has been misinterpreted as dependence (i.e. Tvedten 2009). James Ferguson's article "Declarations of Dependence" (2013) also adds nuance to what dependence actually means in Southern Africa. He contends that while in liberal thought, dependence is often defined in opposition to freedom, in Southern Africa, relations of social dependence have long been discussed by anthropologists as the foundation of polities and persons alike. Dependence is instead a "mode of action," and Ferguson reflects on this history to challenge interpretations of contemporary practices that appear to simply be "lamentable manifestations of a reactionary and retrograde yearning for paternalism and inequality" (2013: 223).

Negotiating dependence as a form of social navigation for women was also evident in my own role within the group, which was constantly managed by women group members, showing how these strategies extend beyond gender hierarchies and are also deployed to negotiate other complex

relationships, including those along lines of class and race. While male group leaders recognized and utilized the advantages a white, foreign woman could bring the group through my privileged institutional access, visibility, and financing, women group leaders were quick to temper their enthusiasm and draw clear boundaries that placed limits on my participation and decision-making abilities. Throughout this dissertation, but especially in Chapter Two, I consider how dependence is instead an act of feminism—of social navigation through unfamiliar terrain—rather than simply an example of the patriarchy re-asserting itself over any attempts at emancipation, no matter how small.

Additional Data: Interviews & Song Texts

To collect data on individuals' experiences of participating in *tufo,* group structure and responsibilities associated with each role, and to map out a general history of *tufo* in Pebane, I conducted semi-structured formal and informal interviews with 27 group leaders: 14 men and 13 women. The men held administrative roles as presidents, vice presidents or secretaries, while the women were either group presidents (4) or group queens (*anuno mwanene*). A woman president does not have to dance, but sometimes does, while a queen is the singer and dancer that leads the group's performance activities. These are two separate leadership roles. I also interviewed seven drummers and three professional trainers, and over thirty former and current dancers. The number of dancers is variable because, as I'll explain, interviewing dancers presented one of the largest challenges during field research.

During the first two weeks of my research I conducted formal semi-structured group interviews with eighteen EVP dancers. These interviews were primarily led by Domingas Felipe. However, at the end of our very first interview with four of the group elders, the women advised us

not to ask these same questions to the remaining interviewees—all of whom were younger dancers—because they would not answer our questions truthfully.[91]

Margaret Strobel encountered similar reservations in the early stages of her research with women members of dance societies in Mombasa, Kenya. Given the sensitivity of the data she was collecting, such as ethnic attitudes and historical rivalries between groups, friendship and intimacy with her interlocuters was imperative, though took a long time to build: "For example, one woman provided me with key information about the competition between dance societies only after fifteen hours of interviews and innumerable visits to her home spread over several months" (1979: 6). In the mid-1970s, moreover, when Strobel was conducting her social history, Swahili women were still largely absent from written sources on and in the region, leading her to conclude that writing about Swahili Coast women "is to prove the history of the inarticulate and invisible" (1979: 4). Women's voices were seldom heard: men wrote about women in newspapers, in colonial reports, and in Swahili literature, and the implicit biases of these authors would often include sexist or racist perspectives. Heidi Gengenbach has made similar observations, noting in her work on women's tattooing in Southern Mozambique that, in addition to the 'typifying' male point of view that narrates much of the scholarship on African women's lives, rural women have further been overlooked as producers of historical information (2000: 256). Feminist scholars like Gengenbach, Jan Shetler (2000: 526), Angela Impey (2016), Jonna Katto (2020) and Emily Callaci (2017) have turned to activities like pot making, tattooing, singing, walking, dancing, to better understand women's experiences.

Likewise, during my research, semi-formal interviews with current and former group presidents provided important data on the localized histories of *tufo* and the roles and responsibilities

[91] Jérôme Camal's (2019:26) discussion of opacity within interviews—through Edouard Glissant's poetics of Relation—resonates with my own experience. One key interlocuter avoided phone calls and ignored appointments, and our discussions of *tufo* remained informal. During group interviews, women's responses were incomplete, and often meandered away from the original question.

of an association's governing body, yet they did not provide much insight into women's individual life experiences, nor did they clarify how notions and practices of "feminine" movements have changed over time. These were more effectively gleaned through participating in group life, informal conversations with women, traveling together, and deep 'hanging out'.

The challenges I encountered with conventional interview techniques also prompted me to reconsider where women's voices were most audible. The answer brought me back to performance, where women are able to speak through both the body and voice; even when the song lyrics are not their own, women largely make the aesthetic decisions that facilitate the message's delivery. Here I borrow from Louise Meintjes theorization of *ngoma* song and dance in KwaZulu Natal (2016). Meintjes writes that the body and voice bear equivalent value when the dancing body is speaking: "Being heard requires that a voice be materially instantiated" (15). Drawing on Steven Feld's work (1996), she adds that "A material voice carries the past, including the contours of biography" (ibid: 15). In *tufo*, the voicing of women's daily lives, historical experiences, and social conditions are enacted through the interweaving of lyrics and choreography, with the latter often serving to emphasize the former. The dancers of EVP, for example, will collectively design a choreographic program that amplifies the message of the lyrics. These gestures often draw on personal experience and are a form of women's embodied knowledge that is evident in performance – whether on stage at a *tufo* event or in the secluded, gender segregated space of an initiation rite.

We sing in Kimwani, We sing in in Makonde, We sing in Swahili, We sing in Makhuwa, We sing in Portuguese…

Like the origins of *tufo*, the languages present in *tufo* songs are diverse, and groups are proud of their ability to sing in multiple languages; some groups boast about being polyglots when introducing themselves to the audience, as indicated by the italicized lyrics above, taken from a verse

sung by the group Aly Assanate from Mocímboa da Praia in Nampula Province.[92] *Tufo* songs often mix a local language – such as a Makhuwa dialect – with Portuguese, alternating a verse of Makhuwa with one in Portuguese so that the message reaches both a local and regional or national audience. I encountered several challenges when trying to translate songs in Pebane. First, there were difficulties translating an orally-transmitted language, like Makhuwa-Moniga, into Portuguese—an issue I will discuss in greater detail in the section on language. Second, age and knowledge hierarchies inhibited 'just anyone' from assisting with the translations. While many young people that completed secondary school had the linguistic knowledge and were able to write, they did not have the same familiarity with the song text content. A third prohibiting factor was Portuguese illiteracy amongst elder women who are owners of this knowledge. For instance, during my Moniga lessons I asked my teacher, Mansur, who had been a Portuguese teacher at the secondary school level prior to retirement, if we could translate the song lyrics together. As we listened to several songs I recorded, however, it became clear that translating was a difficult task. His wife, also a dancer in the group, joined our translation efforts, but they both concluded that to understand the meaning of the songs we would need to consult with the elders, and more specifically, Amina, the queen. Mansur organized a meeting with the elders at his *barraca* one afternoon, and we listened through the songs together. I explained – again – that I needed to translate the lyrics into Portuguese for my study, and Samira, a long-time dancer who is fluent in Portuguese and has completed her secondary school education, was there to assist with the translations. Amina would offer a loose interpretation of the song's meaning as we listened, but the elders deferred to Samira and Abudala, the club president, with any questions I asked. By the end of our listening session, I had a better grasp on the meaning and history of some of the songs, but I learned much more about the interpretation and debate over

[92] Various Artists. 1999. "Viemos Cantar." *Mocambique Tradicional 1*.

this meaning. These songs weren't theirs, and so they were hesitant to provide definitive translations. Moreover, the discussions around the texts revealed that interpretation is subjective.

For elder dancers, moreover, translating entire songs into Portuguese was an incomplete task because it only told a partial story, reinforcing Paulo Israel's observation that, "Listening to songs on the dance-field is nothing like reading their lyrics. Amongst the rumble of drums and the cheering of crowds, they are perceived in waves, as lines or at best as verses" (2013: 209). *Tufo* stake holders, such as dancers, drummers, group leaders and members, politicians and the audience, often emphasize that the message is the most important aspect of a performance, but this message emerges through the full range of genre aesthetics. I draw on Israel to point out that performances cannot merely be read, but they must be felt, and this is not done in linear fashion, but in fragments, as spectators shift attention from a melody, to an evocative song line, to the rapid acceleration of the drum, to a choreographic gimmick, to a costume failure (ibid.: 209). As a result, I have not added an appendix of song texts, like the one included in Cachat's dissertation (2009) on historical memory and heritage sites in Ilha de Moçambique, which is an excellent resource on the variety of ways different *tufo* groups address similar themes.[93] Throughout this dissertation I include song texts or short excerpts from songs in English that I have translated from Portuguese, and these examples are

[93] Cachat collected and translated song texts as oral history data, and the appendix of her dissertation offers a range of songs from eight *tufo* groups on Ilha de Mocambique. While some of the meaning was inevitably lost in translation – texts were translated from Makhuwa to Portuguese, then from Portuguese to French, and I had to translate them from French to English – I noticed several similarities in theme that reflect the specific performance context in which they were collected. Cachat writes, "Faced with the difficulty of attending rehearsals, where the presence of a foreigner, even introduced by a member of the group, always comes at a high price, we took advantage of the frequency of tourists to the island, and would sometimes organize *tufo* performances at the headquarters (Zawia) of the Qadiriyya in the Macuti area" (2009: 33-34). In other words, the majority of the song texts collected and translated were from events specifically catering to tourists or distinguished guests on the island, and the repertoire would have been selected accordingly to welcome distinguished guests. The order of the songs listed in the appendix also maps on to the majority of *tufo* performances I have attended: the group begins by welcoming the guests in song, introduces themselves as a group, and sometimes giving information on their history or boasts of their accomplishments. Then, they address the theme of the event, which, in these examples, is uniformly about place, fitting within the focus of Cachat's research. Dancers sing the virtues of Ilha de Moçambique and its residents, bemoan its decline, rehearse its history and heritage, and extend their hospitality to the distinguished guests. These song texts are an excellent cross section of matters of local importance and provide more insight into the history of the genre. Given that they are largely taken from one or two performance contexts, they only provide a minimal example of the full range of themes addressed in *tufo* at other events, like weddings, political and religious celebrations, etc.

ones that interlocuters noted as being important or meaningful in the context of performance. However, as a musicological study, I foreground the full range of sounds and body movements that are meaningful, and conditions listeners expectations and experiences. I will return to these themes in Chapter One where I elaborate on how meaning is made through aesthetics and affect.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was an ongoing process because a large bulk of my data emerged from my own embodied experience of learning to sing and dance and traveling with dancers. While conducting fieldwork I took detailed fieldnotes in Evernote after each rehearsal and performance, which I later coded according to theme. I conducted preliminary analyses of some of audio-visual data—recordings of rehearsals, performances and meetings—by watching and reflecting on this data with experienced dancers and drummers, in part, as "a step-by-step re-making of . . . mobile experiences" (Murray 2010: 16). I also elicited feedback on performances from interested members of the community who were generous in their commentaries and provided a valuable emic analysis of *tufo* that I later coded and compared. The coding schema I developed was based on key words from pre-existing literature on *tufo*, as well as concepts and themes that repeatedly emerged during field research and in interview data. When I returned to Pebane for follow-up research in 2018, I was able to refine these themes through additional conversations with dancers and undergo and record my own initiation process (*emwali*) to clarify how modes of femininity embodied in *tufo* dancing are prevalent in other forms of performance. Moreover, audio-visual documentation of rehearsals and performances captured interactions between women during the dance and augmented the field notes I took on my own learning process, providing different types of data for analysis of transmission and form (Hahn 2007). Finally, I triangulated my own embodied experiences of moving and the ethnographic data collected during fieldwork, with archival, media and academic literature on *tufo*,

analyzing how the meanings of movement, intersect with the actual experience, and their representations in popular discourse, while also identifying divergences.

A Note on Language

Most residents of Pebane Vila speak a eMakhuwa dialect called eMoniga—a hybrid of eMakhuwa and eLomwe, which are the two dominant languages spoken in Zambézia and Nampula provinces.[94] Portuguese, Arabic, and other Makhuwa-Lomwe dialects are also spoken (Kröger 2005). Once I decided on Pebane as a research site, I studied Swahili for three semesters to facilitate learning Makhuwa-Moniga while in Pebane. As a Bantu language, Swahili is closely related to many Makhuwa dialects spoken throughout the Zambézia and Nampula provinces and shares many loan words. However, once I returned to Pebane, Swahili proved useful only for understanding a basic grammatical structure of Moniga and for grasping the lyrics of two songs performed by EVP that were in Swahili.

Moniga is not a written language.[95] Furthermore, there is a gendered disparity in education in Pebane. Most men tend to speak Portuguese as it is the official language of education and politics in Mozambique, but most older women who were not formally educated during the colonial era speak or understand a little Portuguese but prefer to speak Moniga.[96] While I picked up some words and

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[94] The e- prefix specifically denotes the language. Throughout the dissertation I drop the prefix, but specify when I am referring to the language.

[95] Phil and Elin Henderson are missionaries who have lived in Pele-Pele, a rural village 39 km (by road) northeast of Pebane Vila, for the past fifteen years. They are now fluent Moniga speakers and have established Moniga literacy programs for community members interested in learning to read. Phil has been enormously helpful in arranging for some translation of song lyrics from Moniga to Portuguese, and I would like to acknowledge the hard work of his colleagues in Pele-Pele who have assisted in these translations. In addition, Phil and Elin have shared literature on Makhuwa-Moniga grammar, language learning methods, and socio-cultural observations and information, for which I am incredibly grateful.

[96] There are several reasons for this education disparity. First, during the colonial era—as one *tufo* song explains—Africans were not allowed to attend school beyond the fourth grade if they were not assimilated. Pebane was a circunscrição, which was a political term to describe a region where people practice a 'traditional' way of life, and most were not assimilated. Furthermore, to be assimilated one was also required to follow the Catholic faith. Pebane natives are predominately Muslim, which would have also prohibited access to education. At the same time, however, most residents received Islamic education. While parents were hesitant to send their daughters to a Portuguese school during

phrases through attending rehearsals, which were primarily conducted in Moniga and asking questions, most of my interactions were in Portuguese.

During my long-term fieldwork I learned key phrases for dancing and could understand conversational contexts but given my limited time in the field I focused on learning to sing and dance and my Moniga never advanced to conversational. This limited my ability to understand some rehearsal conversations, and other discussions about *tufo* among women. Interviews were almost always in Portuguese, but older people preferred to speak Moniga and these interviews have been translated.

To try to account for some of these language issues, I returned to Pebane for two months in 2018 with support of a FLAS fellowship to study Moniga intensively for six weeks. My teacher was Manuel Chinai, a retired principal and former pedagogical trainer for teachers. While studying the language formally was challenging, the news of my language study circulated quickly. People began to greet me in the streets and would start conversations with me to help me practice. During this time, I made progress in both speaking and comprehension, however, I continue to rely on my friends and dance colleagues in Pebane for song and conversation translations.[97]

Returning to Pebane as a language student rather than as dancer with EVP was also important for building rapport within the community as a whole. I will elaborate on this in Chapter

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the colonial era because they did not want their daughters to learn the language of the Portuguese (*acunha* in Moniga), they attended Muslim schools and learned instead to read Arabic script.

[97] A note about these translations: I have had help translating song lyrics from Moniga to Portuguese from several dancers in Estrela Vermelha de Pebane and other *tufo* groups. However, these translations are not word for word, but rather interpretive. When asking for translation help, I have been referred to three women in my group who have secondary school education and are fluent and literate in Portuguese. In these translation sessions we will listen to a recording of a song, and we will go through verse by verse, with them giving me the interpretation in spoken Portuguese. As a result, these translations are highly subjective. Several of these recordings have also been translated by Phil Henderson's team in Pele-Pele, and translations differ greatly. The overall meaning is largely the same, and with songs where there are two different translations, I often combined these translations. Furthermore, when songs were in Swahili or a different Makhuwa dialect—and these tend to be the older songs—dancers will defer to 'the owners of this music', which is the queen of the group and several elder mentors, known as *mwanene,* or the women of the group "that created *tufo.*" The queen, Amina, grew up in Angoche and therefore learned *tufo* from its 'owners'. When dancers are uncertain about the meaning of an older song I am always told to talk to Amina. She is the authority.

Five, but my membership in EVP during my long-term fieldwork often restricted me from interviewing and dancing with other groups in town, as they are competitors. This resulted in tension between myself, EVP, and several of the other groups during the last several months of my fieldwork, which resulted in sorcery accusations. When I left Pebane at the end of October 2018, I felt that my relations with EVP were strained. I was upset that they were prohibiting me from talking to other groups, and when I did record and interview other groups without their permission, or without a member of the group accompanying me, as is protocol, members of the group were upset. While we never openly discussed our strained relations, there was a palpable loss of intimacy in the last few weeks of my time in Pebane, and when many of the dancers did not attend my last rehearsal with the group, I left without a formal goodbye. After several months of distance—literally and figuratively—I began communicating again with the few group members that have Facebook or Whatsapp, and when I returned in July 2018, time seemed to have healed any former estrangements. The fact that I had returned to learn the language helped prevent further tension. I would attend some rehearsals and dance events with Estrela, but I no longer posed a threat to other groups because I was there to study Moniga, and not for *tufo*. As a result, I could freely converse with rival groups, could attend their rehearsals as a spectator, and my social life and movements were no longer policed as stringently. No one seemed to care who I talked to, or why. Animosity resolved, I felt much more a part of the Pebane community and less the property of the EVP community, even though I am still identified as being a member of EVP.

Chapter Descriptions and Organization

Each chapter in this dissertation explores women's mobility from a different perspective: sound, affect, social advancement, motility and aesthetic agency, infrastructure, and stasis, concluding that women's mobilities take different forms than men's, but are no less transformative,

challenging gender hierarchies that constrain women's mobilities off-stage, by performing 'traditional' norms of femininity through on-stage movements.

Chapter One, "Animating Audiences and Aesthetic Technologies in Performance," considers affective movements and mobilizations through public performance. In public performances, I argue, women use a variety of 'aesthetic technologies' that enhance sonic, material, ideal and felt forms of beauty when they perform on stage. My focus on feminine beauty offers a new perspective on the relationship between performance and politics in Eastern Africa. While many studies approach these themes from a macro-political level, and therefore prioritize the experiences and contributions of male musicians to nation-building processes, I foreground women's political participation by showing how public affect is cultivated through the sonic, sensorial dimensions of beauty that women perform on stage.

"Visions of the Future: Navigating Gendered Knowledge in Tufo Groups" is the second chapter and examines the gendered relations of exchange that occur between dancers, drummers, patrons, and their audiences to better understand *tufo* as a diverse economic configuration. Among women dancers, *tufo* is not commercially oriented, nor is it driven by monetary gain; *tufo* is a leisure activity for which they receive minimal compensation. Men, in contrast, who participate in *tufo* as drummers or trainers, are considered workers and always compensated for their labor—they are hired by *tufo* groups to accompany them at rehearsals and during performance. This chapter is a case study on how gender performance is a strategy for social navigation, in particular, among women and underclass men that participate in dance associations.

In Chapter Three, "Programming Possibilities: Significant Sounds, Expertise, and Motility" I examine repertoire selection within a rehearsal to describe how *tufo* creates the potential for movement. I draw on sociological and musicological uses of the term motility to propose that "aesthetic agency" (Bohlman 2011) is a movement strategy appropriated by dancers. More

specifically, I discuss how women strategically use these aesthetics—an embodied form of knowledge—by analyzing how EVP selects and prepares song repertoire for three performance events: a regional *tufo* festival, a political meeting, and a local recording session. I draw on ethnographic data collected at rehearsals, performances, and in post-performance reflections, to explore how dancers creatively and strategically work within the conventions of the genre to showcase their knowledge of *tufo*, while considering the potential of aesthetics to turn into actual forms of mobility in the future.

Chapter Four, "Moving through the Club: Circulation, Infrastructures, and Occult Interventions" examines the physical movement of dancers as they move to and from events, while also paying attention to the various human and non-human actors involved in manipulating this movement. First, I focus on the social infrastructure of *tufo*, held together by a constellation of named clubs, then I discuss the human, material, and more-than-human agencies that can inhibit or stop movement through the experience of traveling to and from a *carrama* with EVP. Abandonment, corruption and civil-war-era destruction are some of the larger political and economic forces that explain immobility in rural areas in Mozambique. Yet, as I show, disgruntled ancestors, fetish objects, and sorcery also manage the movement of people, and therefore influence the circulation and exchange of knowledge.

Finally, in Chapter Five, "Compromising Beauties: Morality, Marriage, and Women's Immobilities," I examine the relational politics of movement and stasis in order to understand the external forces at play that restrict women's movements. In the first section, I contextualize macro-level institutional and social constraints that have historically imposed themselves on women's lives and movements in Mozambique. Then, I detail the actual politics of women's physical movements within Pebane, to reveal what types of meanings—and relatedly, restrictions—are attached to their contemporary movements, before turning to the more intimate constraints on women's movements

that are affective and economic. I argue that public affects, such as the joy, excitement, or desire that *tufo* performances generate, can bring other forms of movement to a halt.

Taken as a whole, this dissertation can be read as two distinct parts. Part one consists of the first three chapters, which are close ethnographic examinations of embodied knowledge in tufo through the relationship between sound, movement, affect, and feminine beauty in three contexts related to *tufo*: a public performance, the rehearsal setting, and through the process of performance programming. These chapters detail women's agency, aesthetic creativity, and hopes and strategies for the future through participation in competitive dance associations. The second part of the dissertation, chapters four and five, focus on larger-scale movements, such as travel, and political economy, and attend to internal and external constraints—the myriad of human and non-human actors and political and economic forces that manipulate their movements.

Chapter 1: Animating Audiences: Aesthetic Technologies in Performance

Introduction

"Estrela Vermelha is up next." There is no microphone, so the announcement ripples through the crowd of spectators congregated around the performance space plotted out in the sand (Figure 1.1). A row of plastic chairs denotes one end of the space, while at the other end sits the district administrator's wooden table, flanked by a Mozambican flag and a framed portrait of President Felipe Nyusi that hangs from a low tree branch. The dancers, dressed head-to-toe in matching red *capulanas*, *lenços* and bright yellow blouses, are gathered in the shade of the large mango trees clustered along the perimeter of Pebane's *Praça dos Herois* (Heroes' Plaza) (Figure 1.2). When the team hears the news that it's time to perform, we move quickly, tossing our flip-flops and purses into a pile that a group elder watchfully guards, then press our bodies together in two compact lines near the stage entrance. Even though the steady ocean breeze blows across the *praça*, here, the atmosphere is dense, thickened with noise, dust, and heat; some dancers bounce on the balls of their feet with anticipation. I am at the back of the line alongside Belinde, who squeezes my hand tightly, nervous for her public debut as a *tufo* dancer.

Figure 1.1 - The event stage at the *praça* in Pebane Vila. Photo by author.

Figure 1.2 - *Praça dos Herois* (Heroes' Plaza) in Pebane Vila. Photo by author.

Today is September 25th, 2017 and community members and district authorities have gathered at the *praça* to celebrate Armed Forces Day, a national holiday that commemorates the start of the armed struggle for national liberation. National holidays are frequent in Mozambique and make up the state's "liturgical calendar," fitting within Mbembe's (2001) analysis of the postcolony, in which the dramatization of the *commandement's* power occurs especially within such ceremonies.[98] Cultural groups[99] are invited to perform at every commemoration day in Pebane but *tufo* groups are by far the most popular, surpassing those that perform other genres, like *n'sope* or *parampara*, in number and demand[100] (Figure 1.3). Commemoration ceremonies are predictable, with their "para-

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[98] In Cameroon during the Ahidjo regime (1958-82), "'Massive, spontaneous and enthusiastic'" participation was expected of the populace at state ceremonies (Mbembe 2001). Mbembe describes these ceremonies as similar to communist ceremonials, and the characteristics are similar to those held during Samora Machel's presidency in Mozambique, the remnants of which are still present in present-day Mozambican state ceremonies. Mbembe writes that the ceremonies produced, "intense emotional and symbolic expression. They had a repetitive character typical of myth and of cyclical time. In the end, their regularity invested them with the power of custom" (2001: 120). Moreover, through establishing an official calendar, "the regime ultimately created its own rhythms of time, work, and leisure, and from them acquired a degree of predictability" (120).

[99] "Cultural group", or "Grupo cultural" in Portuguese, is an emic term used to denote any 'traditional' music, dance, or theater group. In Pebane these include 11 *tufo* groups, 2 *masobe* groups, 1 *parampara* group, Mapex Bangue—a traditional dance group showcasing local *batuque* styles—and a theater troupe affiliated with the secondary school. Like *tufo*, *masobe* and *parampara* are traditional women's dances from Nampula province. Mapex Bangue and the theater group are comprised of young men and women.

[100] *N'sope* (pl. *masobe*) and *parampara* are also practiced in Pebane, and like *tufo,* are considered to be imports from coastal communities in Nampula province. *N'sope* is the 'dance of the jump rope' (*dança da corda*) and is similar to double dutch, the African American vernacular game that is popular among girls (See Gaunt 2006). *N'sope* is also popular among girls and young women in northern Mozambique because it requires athleticism, balance, and poise, and is practiced informally in neighborhoods, as well as formally within the context of women's dance associations. Many of the dancers in Estrela Vermelha de Pebane first learned to dance *n'sope* before transitioning to *tufo* when they got older, although this may also be because *n'sope's* popularity is declining more broadly throughout the north (https://www.dw.com/pt-002/contra-o-desaparecimento-da-dan%C3%A7a-tradicional-nsope/a-39632414; http://www.verdade.co.mz/cultura/38293-uma-corda-que-satisfaz-a-danca). This is attributed on a broader scale to lack of financing, but locally in Pebane, women prefer to dance *tufo* because of the associated beauty culture, ubiquity of the dance—and relatedly, more opportunities to travel, and inclusiveness of the practice. *N'sope* demands more agility and cannot easily be performed at the praça because dancers need a relatively flat, hard surface for skipping rope. Moreover, *n'sope* does not bear the same Islamic influence, and requires a different drum that is tall, oblong and hit with a stick as opposed to the hand, and therefore has a different rhythmic basis. The group *Tufo de Mafalala* in Maputo frequently combines *tufo* and *n'sope* in their performances, under the broader heading of *tufo. Parampara* is a dance practiced by Makhuwa women, and developed out of girl's initiation rituals, which were banned by Frelimo after independence as a symbol of obscurantism. According to Meneses and Santos 2009) in Angoche, it was formalized by Frelimo in the years after independence, which meant women needed to get permission from the neighborhood secretary and pay a fee in order to perform the dance, which was a celebration of womanhood and would attract large groups of women (161). *Tufo* groups will, from time to time, dance *parampara* at the end of a performance to involve audience members. There is one *parampara* group that was founded by the sister of one of the members in Estrela Vermelha, and many women were very excited to take part, although when one EVP dancer who is from Nampula province asked permission to be in both groups, the EVP members consulted and decided that she had to choose only one group, and she remained in EVP.

religious features" following the same protocol: the singing of the national anthem, laying a wreath at the star monument that marks the center of the *praça*, then speeches and cultural performances under the mango trees. Overseeing today's ceremony is Suraya, an energetic primary school teacher and active Frelimo party member who stands near the stage entrance, holding a clipboard and wearing a tight red polo shirt with President Nyusi's face emblazoned on the front; the word PROTOCOL extends across the back in large black letters. When she sees us waiting, Suraya directs a member of her team to clear a path with a long stick, moving unruly bodies into place so we can pass through.

Figure 1.3 – Pebane's Masobe group performing on December 4, 2016. Photo by author.

Tuk, tuk, tuuuuk. From across the stage, we are beckoned by the *kupurra*, the largest and deepest of the four drums. The *ngajiza*, slightly higher in pitch, responds by reversing this rhythm,

and together they establish a march-like cadence. We lurch forward as a unit, moving in a slow, coordinated jog, marking the beat on the ground with bare feet, and swinging our arms in a regimented fashion. Two by two, we enter the circle and are enveloped by sound, movement, and euphoria. Amina,[101] EVP's *anuno mwanene*—the queen or "owner" of the group—begins to sing. Her voice is high-pitched with a nasal vocal timbre[102] and cuts through the cacophony of ululations, conversations, and drums. Almost immediately, she is joined by Fatima, who harmonizes with the melody, though several pitches below. "*Somos artistas, artistas de Pebane* [We are artists, artists of Pebane]" they sing in Portuguese to a melody that recalls the revolutionary songs that saturated Mozambique's sonic landscape during the independence struggle (See Meneses 2018). We respond as a chorus, repeating the phrase, while we march into block formation at the centre of the stage to face the local dignitaries and deliver the message.

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[101] She is the lead singer, and although she is one of the oldest dancers and a small woman, her voice is powerful, and brings to mind an interview I conducted with Roger Armstrong years prior. Armstrong recalled his first recording session with the legendary Zanzibari singer Bi Kidude, an icon of *taraab* who learned her trade from Siti Bint Saad, herself. Bi Kidude would have been well into her 80s at the time—several decades older than Amina—but when the recording engineers saw her frail, aging body step on stage, they moved the microphones as close as they could. But when she belted out the first phrase of the song, she almost blew out the amp.

[102] This timbral vocal quality is called *ghunna* in Arabic and is widely considered to be a characteristic of excellent singing in the Arab world.

Figure 1.4 - The four drums used in *tufo*. From L to R: *duassi, apustua, ngajiza, kupurra.* Photo by author.

Tufo groups animate public events, generating a communal sense of joy. They are also politically compelling: on stage, beautiful women praise the heroic actions of the Armed Forces while dressing, moving and sounding as a collective, and in doing so, bring the ideal of *moçambicanidade* (Mozambicanness) into material form through song, dress and gesture. One member of Estrela Vermelha on Ilha de Moçambique told Signe Arnfred: "*Tufo* songs have more political impact than the speech of some government ministers" (2004: 40). Indeed, one of the primary purposes of a performance is to transmit a message and given the frequency of national holidays and party meetings, political messages constitute the bulk of new repertoire, leading Arnfred to question whether "the groups and the women will be able to maintain their autonomy and independence *vis a vis* economic and political powers" (2004: 62).

In this chapter I respond to Arnfred's query by analyzing women's autonomy in public performances of *tufo* through the lens of affect, moving away from the dominant political frame of the nation-state.[103] Deborah Thomas (2019) ethnographically explores the relation between affect and sovereignty[104] by critically thinking with and through the body, "not just as the raw material of management, but also as a way of knowing, both publicly and intimately" (3). As Thomas argues, exploring how political subjects are made through the cultivation of embodied affects, rather than through nationalism or state-driven subjugation processes, "enables us to interrogate the ways political affects can transcend the context of their emergence, allowing them to appear and resurface unpredictably. It can thus unbind sovereignty not only from territory, and therefore from the political centrality of the independent nation-state, but also from the teleologies of linear,

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[103] Nationalism and the state have been dominant themes in many important studies on politics within African performance practices (Turino 2001; Askew 2002; Edmondson 2007; Moorman 2008; White 2008; Gilman 2009), and some of this scholarship has highlighted women's roles in these processes which are less visible and not as readily acknowledged as men's participation in post-colonial nation-building (See, in particular Susan Geiger's 1997 study of TANU).

[104] Thomas asks, "What does modern sovereignty *feel* like?" in the wake of the New World plantation (2019: 1). She argues that the dominant logic undergirding all sovereignty projects is internally threatened by spaces where "enslaved people maintained a conception of themselves as human rather than as property" (1), producing a tension that is legible through ethnographic attentiveness to moments of exceptional violence, and everyday life. People in northern Mozambique have physically and affectively moved through "the unpredictable afterlives of colonialism and slavery, nationalism and state formation" (ibid 2019: 1) that are tethered to the institutionalized social and economic arrangements that resulted from Transatlantic slavery and new world plantations. That *tufo* was introduced into Mozambique and expanded through Muslim social networks at a moment when an extractive forced labor regime was tearing apart the social fabric of everyday life among indigenous African communities, is not coincidental. Dance associations, for many, became a mechanism of survival that patched together new relations of kin that would provide the financial and funerary support people needed when away from home. As many of my interlocuters described, *tufo* began as a leisure practice among Arab merchants longing for home. Dancing together and transcending the self to form communion with God through sound and movement practices was a way to "*matar saudades*" or "kill" the longing they had for a faraway home. It became a celebration of survival during the war—frantically performed in the rare moments of peace in between violent attacks from rebel and government forces. In instances where *tufo* has been coopted for political purposes—either by colonial or post-colonial regimes—dance groups rely on the polysemic nature of song-and-dance practices, and their multi-linguicism to critique the very powers they were praising: sung in local languages, songs from the colonial era document physical and emotional abuses, while those composed after independence confront government neglect and environmental decay. Women confront gendered forms of abuse, reminding men of their humanity, appealing for equality, and demanding that they no longer be treated as slaves in their homes. These messages—remembered through *tufo* as embodied practice—are what Thomas terms "Witnessing 2.0" that, following Dwight Conquergood, is a "co-performative witnessing"— "a commitment to 'shared temporality, bodies on the line, soundscapes of power, dialogic inter-animation, political action, and matters of the heart' (quoted in Madison 2007: 827)" (2019: 2). *Tufo* performances name names through public remembrance of ancestors, events, and moments, holding a public space to memorialize what has passed that is presented alongside 'what is going on now' in performance. As one dancer described, people love hearing groups from other places because it is a reminder that "others are human, just like us."

progressive time" (ibid.: 5). While dance groups certainly help bring the nation into being on holidays like Armed Forces Day, they have long been central fixtures at a wide range of festive occasions and life cycle events, such as traditional Muslim weddings, birth celebrations, initiation rites—ceremonies that have been at odds with the state's vision of its ideal political subjects.[105] The embodied forms of feeling that *tufo* dancers produce, manage, and circulate through public performances are a form of political relationality, binding people together through affect, while also redressing or perpetuating imbalance in power relations in public and intimate ways. Employing a macro-political lens to understand the social value of women's performance practices in rural areas at the margins of the nation-state, therefore, overlooks women as "innovators and drivers of change" (Fargion 2014) who have created a public realm in which they wield power as producers of pleasure. Public pleasure, as Nomi Dave (2019) shows in the case of Guinean popular music, is so politically powerful that it can uphold authoritarian regimes. In Mozambique, pleasure is more politically ambivalent: a praise song that celebrates the party-state, Frelimo, for example, is not necessarily an indication of political allegiance but might be a peace-keeping strategy amidst ongoing political agitation between Frelimo and Renamo. In other words, local women's praxis and agency—in this instance, through song, movement, dress, and play—are participatory and strategic political acts (Berry et al. 2017), though in ways that are not always obvious.

I argue that dancers use aesthetic 'technologies' to *animate* (energize) the audience, mediating and managing feelings to create an atmosphere of celebration—akin to what Émile Durkheim termed the collective effervescence of the ritual assembly (1995 [1912]). Kyra Gaunt's conceptualization of the body as a "*technology* of black musical communication and identity" (2006: 59) informs my understanding of how *tufo* dancers use their bodies as a tool of artistic composition

[105] The general term for these rites is *owula,* but the specific rites are differentiated by biological sex: *emwali* are girls initiation rites, and *mwamwali* are the boys' initiation rites.

and performance. Through uniforms, choreography, facial expressions and singing, dancers use their bodies to transmit sensorial knowledge that has been selected specifically for the event theme and intended audience. The specific technologies dancers have developed to enhance audience pleasure are wide ranging, and I focus on four—song structure, showing off (*gingar*), the entrance (*entrada*), and the uniform *(equipa*)—to capture how feelings are managed through structure, sound, kinetics and style. But the dancer's feminine body is also a tool that connects different forms of movement within the performance context— from emotion to gestures to rhythmic propulsion. I turn to Clapperton Mavhunga's work on "technologies of everyday innovation" in Africa to propose that *tufo* is an example of what Mavhunga calls a *transient workspace*: "an area, site, or space where mechanical work is being performed as and because the body is moving" (2014: 19). Dancers' "mechanical work" as musical *animateurs* is two-fold: they serve a political purpose by mobilizing audiences and disseminating messages, but their labor is also affective, cultivating an atmosphere of joy that offers audiences a way to forget through feeling. In fact, I have been told on more than one occasion that the only reason people come to commemoration ceremonies is to watch the *tufo,* to hear the message, to be consumed with joy and carried away by sound, affirming one of the dominant themes in discourses about cultural practices in Mozambique: they play a critical role in emotional satisfaction, alleviating the stress and trauma from the successive conflicts that mark the country's recent past.[106]

I begin by theorizing the concept of animation, which emically captures what *tufo* does to an audience, as sensorially experienced through the body. Then, I turn to the sonic dimensions of *tufo* that contribute to public pleasure and mobilizing a crowd—which is also politically valuable. Next, I

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[106] This is a common theme in popular discourse. For instance, in 1994, two years after the Rome Peace Accord was signed, bringing an end to the protracted civil war, Mozambican journalist Arnaldo Langa wrote that people are "often astonished at the fact that…Mozambicans maintain the ability to laugh and maintain good humor even in the most painful and revolting circumstances of life. There is no fact or event that cannot become a pretext for drumming to the echo of songs, and to vibrate bodies. Here life and death are celebrated, and these exchanges are because the spirit overcomes the adversities of everyday life" (10-11).

discuss the specific aesthetic technologies of affect that I outlined above to describe women's autonomy at political events through managing and manipulating public affect. But as Thomas (2019) points out, affects are unpredictable and unruly. I conclude this chapter by considering how the changing moral perceptions of women's beauty practices destabilize pleasure, as well, showing limits to affect as a form of women's political agency.

Animation

Performers and spectators alike describe *tufo*'s potency as a performance practice that animates (*animar*), which aligns well with definitions and theories of affect that emphasize movement as an innate characteristic.[107] Affect is "the capacity to act and be acted upon" (Seigworth and Gregg 2010:1), described as an "aliveness" or "vitality" (Clough 2007: 2) that *moves*, circulating sensations, and prompting actions (Massumi 2002; Stewart 2007; Berlant 2011; Ahmed 2014). For Kathleen Stewart (2007), affects are ordinary, "things that happen" in the world, that, following Massumi (2002) are embodied and pre-cognitive, but not pre-social because, as Sara Ahmed (2014) points out, affect is shared, circulating between bodies, "sticking" to objects.[108] My Moniga teacher, Manuel, elaborated on the meaning of *animar* in the context of dance in Pebane, capturing the feeling of

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[107] Much of this scholarship has developed in the social sciences and humanities since the early 2000s. Feminist and queer scholarship on the body and emotions are foundational to these theories of affect, yet are often under-acknowledged. See the Afterward to the second addition of Sara Ahmed's *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (2014) for a lengthy critique of the ways in which male scholars have largely claimed credit for the 'turn to affect' by repackaging earlier insights on the body-emotion relationship—the important work done by feminist and queer scholars—in new terms.

[108] Scholars of the 'affective turn' have often drawn on Deleuze's Spinozian definition—further mediated through the work of Brian Massumi (2002)—to differentiate affect from emotion, privileging the former over the latter. Affects, according to Massumi, are pre-personal, unmediated, escape signification and are mobile, whereas emotions are mediated, personal, signified and contained. Critiques of the affect-emotion divide, on the other hand, contend that this has the potential to reify the very mind-body divisions that affect theory seeks to escape. Sara Ahmed argues that emotions "involve bodily processes of affecting and being affected" and "are a matter of how we come into contact with objects and others" (2014: 2018). I agree with Ahmed's point that just because we can separate affect and emotions does not mean that we should. Both affect and emotions move people in various ways and some of these affective movements are signified while others are not, but it does not change that people are affected in some way when they watch a *tufo* performance. For that reason, I often use affect and emotions interchangeably and will specify the difference when necessary.

animation through the Portuguese phrases, *nos alegra* (it makes us happy), and *aumente a alma* (expands the soul), and in Moniga, *owiina onnireehela ofurahee* (dance brings us happiness/satisfaction). Yet *animar* is also used to describe the energized atmosphere of a place, close social bonds between people, or as an intrinsic quality of certain consumables, like fresh coconut milk (*lanya),* revealing how animation can also be inherent to things. The ability to animate, moreover, is a quality that can be possessed by humans and non-humans; the receiver's relationship to the actant (whether it be a person, sound, object or food) is established through an embodied feeling that manifests as an energizing force.

The forms of *animation* that I describe in the subsequent sections bring together two understandings of musical animacy. First is the animated quality of the 'sonic object' (Blacking 1973: 34). In her study of *fado,* Lila Ellen Gray noted that for many listeners of the genre, musical forms, "had taken on the charge of fetishised objects" (2020: 326). She writes, "These musical forms, ephemeral, aural and writ through and through by the social, had about them a certain magical 'thingness', a tangibility" (ibid. 326) and discharge affect. Gray touches on a social understanding of sound as containing affect, or animation, that resonates with the widespread discourse in Mozambique that music and dance possesses an inherent vitality that produces spiritual and emotional fulfilment—especially in contexts of extreme violence that people have lived through. The power a particular *tufo* song possesses, as I will discuss in subsequent sections, is socially determined and rewarded through cheering, ululating, public commentary, or tipping. However, it's also important to note that while a musical experience may unite people through shared affect, listener's affective dispositions "are partly the result of our personal histories, experienced in particular bodies, environments and groups" (McGraw 2020: 269). While certain songs may be fetishized for some, such as a political hymn celebrating Frelimo's victory in the independence struggle, and social life may momentarily coalesce around its public performance, animation is not

universally positive and the possibility of negative feelings or memories may also repel some people from a sonic atmosphere. For instance, one woman shared that she refuses to attend Frelimo meetings because the hymns remind her of a traumatic war-time experience during her adolescence. One afternoon, the Frelimo military captain in the area—renowned for his brutality—called a public meeting in the village square. A group of community members had been walking through the bush near Renamo soldiers, who were providing them protection, when they were intercepted by Frelimo troops. The Renamo soldiers fled and the civilians were taken hostage, accused of supporting the rebels. The hostages were displayed in the center of the square while the captain gave a speech condemning their Renamo affiliation and led the community in Frelimo hymns to reaffirm their patriotism. Then, to everyone's shock and horror, he singled out one family from the group and executed them on the spot. The hymn being sung at the moment of execution was imprinted in the woman's memory, and she sang several lines to demonstrate the lasting impact it had. More than thirty years had passed, and that song was the reason why to this day, she won't go to any Frelimo meetings. In include her story as a reminder that even though the social discourse that emerges around *tufo* is largely positive, as I will describe in the next section, personal histories affect individual experiences of animation that may deviate from the collective, social experience of joy, and the energy certain songs possess is not uniformly positive, nor always desired.

Animation is also used to explain the social effects of popular music in Africa. Bob White, for instance, writes about animation as a political project in Congo from the 1970s to late 1980s, when the Mobutu regime garnered support by using praise-based folkloric practices—a system called *l'animation politique et culturelle* (political and cultural animation). In White's analyses, three aspects of music contributed to *animation*: it was created by song structure, by the act of encouraging people to enjoy themselves, and the resulting emotional state, described as joy or ecstasy (2008: 5).

Animation, here, is not necessarily an inherent quality of music itself, but is something that artists *do* to elicit public joy. For instance, in Congolese music, the *seben* section is marked by a fast-paced dance sequence that is punctuated by shouts of joy (*cris d'extase)* from the *atalaku,* a man that dialogues with the guitar player by adding short, percussive words that contrast from the slow lyrical content in the verse and chorus. The *atalaku*'s screams, Achille Mbembe argues elsewhere (2006: 86) were a way to harmonize sound and movement, as the *atalaku* directed the dancer as to the next step while also transforming the musical atmosphere.

In the subsequent sections, I examine animation—as an energy that possesses agency and as an agency that people possess—within *tufo* performance events to clarify the relationship between the dancers and the audience. As I argue, sound itself has animating properties that mobilize people, enhancing its political efficacy—a power that supersedes human interference and incorporates the spiritual. The actual atmosphere of performance, however, is managed and manipulated through the artist's actions.

Sound

Sound moves in multiple ways: it acts on felt bodies (Becker 2004; Kapchan 2015; Eisenlohr 2018), moves the physical body across space, towards or away from something (Labelle 2012), and can affectively mobilize people (Goodman 2012). *Tufo*'s political sway as a genre is that through sound it is "at once a physical force and moral power" (Durkheim 1995 [1912]: 192 in Mazzarella 2017: 1). The drums, voices, cheering, singing—the sonic dimensions of the practice—physically pull spectators toward an event, circulating public pleasure when the breeze coming off the Indian Ocean carries the sound of the drums inland, saturating the densely populated *bairros* (neighborhoods) with the rhythm that "calls the community." The affective pull of sound was underscored by the president of one *tufo* group in Pebane who said, "When I hear the drums, and

people cheering in the distance, I say to myself, '*Epah*, I have got to go see what people are so excited about.'" Another group member added that when people hear *tufo*, "everyone will leave their homes to go listen to the message the group is going to tell," capturing how listening is an affective practice.

This relationship between sound, affect, and physical movement, is also shaped by historical modes of political and religious mobilization in the region. As a performance that developed from *mawlid*, the public celebration of Prophet Muhammad's birthday, *tufo* has been modelled after rituals that engage body movement, sound, and textual recitation to achieve spiritual pleasure.[109] With the secularisation of the practice around the time of independence, these ritual practices were compressed into the performance of postcolonial nationhood, blurring the sacred and profane in musical feeling. But sacred sounds are still present in *tufo* repertoires and contribute to feelings of emotional uplift that are a meaningful aspect of *tufo* performances. For example, EVP still performs several songs from *dhikr,* a Muslim funerary practice intended to "lift the spirits" of those in mourning. As Manuel described:

> After the internment, people sit and dance together and sing songs of sympathy to stop crying over the person who has lost their life. If a person is unhappy, if they are weighed down, their sadness ends, and they are liberated…because they were dancing in the company of others. Some of these songs are in tufo, too. The ones in Arabic.

When EVP sings these songs from *dhikr,* while danced seated at the *praça,* they trigger nostalgia among older Muslims in the audience, who become "really, really happy," as one dancer put it.

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[109] The accommodation between individual and collective control within the dance, as well as several other shared aesthetic features, such as sacred texts and pious movements, matching uniforms, competition and spiritual elation, and grounded, seated dancing that synchronizes moving bodies en masse, are noted in Rebecca Gearhart's account of a *rama* group in Lamu, Kenya (2000) and Michael Lambek's beautiful description of *mawlid al-Barzanji* in Mayotte (2006: 173). Additional genres, like *dufu* from Zanzibar, *mbiwi* or *deba* from Mayotte, among others, also bear a strong resemblance to *tufo*. These similarities in sound, choreography, text, and dress, speak to what Prita Meier and Allyson Purpura describe as the "aesthetics of cosmopolitan mobility" that are prevalent throughout the material culture and performing arts in the Indian Ocean arena (2018: 13).

Sound practices have been a tool of political mobilization in the region, as well, where populations that prioritize oral communication use song-and-dance genres, like *tufo,* as critical means of political organising, cultivating public opinion and 'talking back' to power (Vail and White 1978, 1983; Israel 2014). In particular, women's efficacy as musical *animateurs* at public events is informed by the ritual and political power Makhuwa women have historically held through their positions as *apia-mwene* (female chiefs). As carriers of the *nihimo* (matrilineal clanship), *apia-mwene* played important ritual roles as the intermediaries between the ancestors, the land, and their descendants. Their power—and political position in the chief's entourage—rested in part in the *epépà,* a powerful ritual flour used by *apia-mwene* in chiefly installation ceremonies (Mbwiliza 1991: 69-71; Bonate 2007: 58). Yet, *apia-mwene* also accrued power as leaders of the *batuques*—the generic term for the singing, drumming and dancing—that were the primary vehicle for ancestral communication at these ceremonies (de Mattos 2019). Even though traditional chieftaincies and local authorities like *apia-mwene* were replaced by a system of *poder popular* (people's power) during socialist modernization, Frelimo harnessed the political and ritual power of women's dancing to disseminate political ideology at public ceremonies in the north, aligning with the party's commitment to eradicate gender inequality, in part, by involving women in the revolution while simultaneously reinforcing their own authority. As one drummer explained, "Naturally, *tufo* is a form of culture that the national government uses in situations such as meetings to '*chamar o ambiente'* [create the atmosphere/environment]," underscoring the genre's ongoing political valence through its affective potency.

Patrick Eisenlohr's (2018) "sonic atmospheres" is a useful analytic for understanding the affective significance of *tufo* performances because it accounts for listening as a culturally specific embodied practice, bringing together the political meaning of women's performance and the spiritual significance of sound. The concept of atmosphere has gained recent interest among sound

scholars because it "account[s] for the ways sound transforms experiences of space and mood 'seemingly automatically'" (McGraw 2016). Sonic atmospheres are tangible; they are shared spaces of affective intensity that become perceptible through shifts in air, mood or soundwaves (McGraw 2016, 2020; Reidel 2015; Abels 2017; Sprengel 2020).[110] For Eisenlohr, it is the learned, social attunement of bodies to sound that make the "suggestions of movement" people feel in certain sonic atmospheres highly meaningful (50). This helps to explain the animating or uplifting quality of *tufo* at public events where people are sonically attuned to the felt-bodily effects of devotional practices like *mawlid* or *dhikr,* but also attuned to post-colonial political experience of drumming and dancing as a revolutionary act. As a result, the sonic atmosphere, cultivated through the drums, voices and cheering that pull people toward an event is "a vital force of visceral mobilization" (Hofman 2020: 93) through which embodied social practices and political collectivities take form (e.g., Gray 2013; Tatro 2014; Gill 2017).

While the sonic atmosphere of *tufo* moves the individual body, the collective body is also socially attuned to the effects of sound at an event. Ethnomusicologists show how melancholy (Gill 2017), or longing (Port. *saudade*) (Gray 2013) are valued affective practices in some musical settings, while pleasure and joy (Mbembe 2006; Guilbault 2019; Dave 2019) are important in others, in particular, in conflict and post-colonial contexts, like Pebane, where joy is a therapeutic lifeline. Interlocuters describe how joy (*ofurahee*) circulates through the audience, animating forms of attachment. Manuel explained, "When people see a *tufo* group dancing on the *praça,* "*Ankhalo furaheni.* We become happy, satisfied because our spirits are lifted." Muanacha, a dancer, used similar language when reflecting on a particularly skilled group that had performed in Pebane months earlier at a *carrama* (festival) commenting that, "they really lifted the soul of Pebane." In describing how *tufo*

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[110] See Sprengel (2020) for a critique of the idea of sonic presence that is foregrounded in studies of sonic atmospheres. Sprengel, instead, argues for an ethnomusicology of the nearly-inaudible that rather focuses on "the frequencies and vibrations that produce meaning by means of their very (or near) absences and illegibilities" (263).

affects the collective, both Manuel and Muanacha underscore how the invocation of affective and physical movement through sound is a form of community sociality in Pebane that is experienced as a positive, pleasurable force. As I'll explain in the following section, women's affective labor on stage is part of what makes *dancers* politically powerful—in some ways, a continuation of their role as *apia-mwene*, bringing together past, present and future modes of authority through music and dance.

Aesthetic Technologies

EVP is at the end of their set when Fatima suddenly breaks rank and grabs the *duassi,* the smallest of the four drums, disrupting the steady rhythm with a high-pitched syncopated beat. It is an injection of energy and rejuvenates the tired dancers by offering one last opportunity to *gingar* (show off). Afisa, a dancer in back, shouts "*Isso!*" [That!] and hips begin to sway, the tempo picks up, and the steps change: *right, left, right, right; right, left, right, right.* On the last two beats of the bar, with their weight on the right side, dancers thrust their left hips twice, grinning. Rules prohibit eye contact, but the dancers flirt with the crowd through subtle, stylized gestures, and unabashed joy – they are beauty in motion, and the audience responds with claps, cheers, and ululations.

Hip thrusts are examples of what I call "aesthetic technologies" that heighten feelings at certain moments within a performance through meaningful forms of innovation, creativity and play that range from socially poignant lyrics, to creative choreography, or, a group's unique style, all communicated within the frame of genre. As Paulo Israel (2013) argues, in Southern Africa's drum-dance traditions, genre is a significant frame for understanding the intersection of the aesthetic form and affective experience, because the formal rules reflect shared meaning that conditions listeners' expectations, what Lauren Berlant describes as the, "aesthetic structure of affective expectation" (2008: 3). New content, moreover, is absorbed into the genre conventions and aesthetic technologies

that convey to enculturated listeners how and when to feel, bringing "structures of feeling" (Williams 1977) into the public realm.[111]

Although a genre's rules guide audience expectations, performances are "perceived in waves," (Israel 2013: 209) and dancers manipulate and manage pleasure through a combination of the expected and unexpected: aesthetic technologies that are structural, stylistic, kinetic, and improvisatory. I begin by examining the structure of *tufo* songs, then analyze three technologies—the entrance (*entrada*), showing off (*maneira de gingar*), and the uniform (*equipa*)—that illustrate the feminine modes of style that are emblematic of the genre, earning it the name the dance of the beautiful women (*athiana orera*). These aesthetic technologies are themselves examples of "production on the move" (Mavhunga 2014: 85) in that body movement, kinetic energy, and body enhancement—when performed synchronically by a large group—produce affective motion experienced as waves that undulate through a performance atmosphere. These technologies are significant because they connect different forms of movement—from emotion to body movement to rhythmic propulsion—within the performance context. I also read them as a political mechanism of manipulation to redress or perpetuate imbalances in public and intimate relationships. In this way, some aesthetic technologies could be read as "tactics" (Certeau 1984) of the relatively weak to gain advantage over consolidated structures of power, as women command attention through sensation and play in spaces where they are otherwise marginalized. But, as I'll discuss in the concluding section, affects are also unruly, circumventing institutions and institutional spaces (Cooper 2018), and the pleasure dancers produce during performances may modulate to ugly feelings (Ngai 2005), like jealousy, as the moral meanings associated with women's beauty—especially when in motion in public spaces—also evolve in the capitalist context.

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[111] Lauren Berlant's concept of "intimate publics" also resonates here. According to Berlant, "what makes a public sphere intimate is an expectation that the consumers of its particular stuff already share a worldview and emotional knowledge that they have derived from a broadly common historical experience" (2008: viii).

Structure

Song structure in *tufo* facilitates animation because it shapes how audiences engage with the message, guiding attention from the melody, to the lyrics, to the choreography and rhythm as the song evolves. With the exception of revolutionary hymns, songs are a call and response between leader and chorus, and often begin *a capella* with the solo voices underscoring (*enfatizar*) the melody by using vocables like *-aye-, nana, yoyo, -lena-,* to attune the listening ear. Vocables are vocal techniques used in a wide range of singing traditions around the world but are notable in Southern Africa (see Kubik 1964; Meintjes 1990; Turino 2000), and also common in Native American music (Frisbie 1980). Vocables are commonly defined as sung syllables that have no referential meaning, and drummers and dancers describe their function in *tufo* as a mnemonic device used to help people remember a song through repetition.[112] Given that *tufo* songs are often multi-lingual, the vocables in *tufo* facilitate an easy listening experience and operate much in the same way as the vocables used by Don Omar and Lucenzo in their Portuguese/Spanish hit song "Danza Kuduro" where they "effectively become melodic riffs or hooks that further perpetuate the cyclic dance music form of the song and give energetic landing points for the audiences" (Eid et. al 2014: 235) that have no knowledge of the song's language. A group's choice of vocables is also a part of their stylistic identity; for example, Estrela Vermelha groups use *yoyo* and *-lena-* as their vocables of choice, which is meaningful for intra-club competition.

[112] However, Louise Meintjes analysis of vocables in the song "Homeless" on Paul Simon's Graceland album suggests that they have deeper meaning and can "facilitate a linguistic transition from one language to the other and operate semiotically to reference Zulu tradition" (1990: 45). If there is no obvious linguistic meaning, when used within *tufo*—and set to Islamic melodies—vocables are sonic signifiers of the blending of interior and coastal (African and Islamic) styles of music making.

'Traditional' *tufo* songs follow a two-part structure that guides how an audience perceives the message.[113] In part one, the melody and song lyrics are foregrounded while the choreography is often minimal: dancers sit or stand in place, moving gently from side to side, and gesticulating with their hands on the off beats of each measure while they sing. During the newer, standing dances, in particular, dancers have developed a gestural grammar that supports the lyrics, miming significant words so that even those who do not understand the language being sung can recognize the main themes. When singing a song discussing the dangers of cholera, dancers will keel over at the waist and place their hands on their stomachs as if in pain, to emphasize the grueling symptoms of the disease. Or, while performing a song about independence, they may hold imaginary AK-47s or raise their right fists in the air to emphasize the word *luta,* or struggle (Figure 1.5).

Figure 1.5 - EVP performing a gesture that mimics holding AK-47s during their performance for Mozambican Women's Day, 2017. Photo by author.

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[113] The song *Democracia,* performed by EVP in 1999 (Kewa Zambézia recording), for instance, follows a common structure. Each semi colon marks the end of an 8-bar phrase. *Enfatizar* x 2*;* A (solo – Portuguese) x 2; B (chorus – Makhuwa) x 2; C (solo – Portuguese) x 2; D (chorus – Portuguese) x 2; E (solo- Portuguese & Makhuwa) x 2.

The percussive accompaniment—four interlocking frame drums—provide a stable rhythmic foundation (usually 4/4 time) with the beats of the lowest drums falling on the first and third beats of each measure. Melodic phrases are elongated, and the singers use vocal ornamentations to embellish notes that bear characteristics of Arab singing styles (Marney 1980: 10). The transition to part two often begins after 3:00[114] and is marked by an acceleration in the drumming, moving to a 2/4 or 2/2 time, and the *duassi,* the smallest, highest pitched drum adds a driving syncopation to stimulate dancing. The singers repeat a thematic phrase or the chorus on a loop—or stop singing all together—while the choreography becomes more intricate. If dancing seated, the *kuppura,* the bass drum, guides the synchronous movements, which closely resemble Zanzibar's *mawlid ya homu* (mawlid of the monsoon), in which the synchronized choreography of swaying, prostrate bodies mimic the movement of the dhows across the sea (Fujii 2010: 93).[115] In unison they recline their torsos, looking up towards the sky, then to the right, the left, and finally, forward until they parallel the ground, dancing to the earth with the right arm still extended with the hand clenched in a loose fist, the index finger raised, and the shoulders rising and falling to the beat of the drums (Figure 1.6). The audience cheer and ululate, encouraging the dancers to maintain their control as this is a position that is muscularly demanding. After holding this posture, sometimes for an entire eight bar phrase, they dance back to the starting posture, with the torsos slightly reclined to the back right, and finish the song.

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[114] This is a loose average, based on my analysis of fifty *tufo* songs from the 1980s until present. It is important to note that not every song has this two-part structure, but this is a characteristic of 'classic *tufo*'. Popular songs, as I will explain in Chapter 3, retain their structure but are put to a *tufo* rhythm and adapted to a call and response style, or sung together as a chorus.

[115] *Mawlid ya homu* (*Molidi,* or *maulidi* in Swahili) is also known as the *Rifa'iyya* in Zanzibar. In Mozambique, *Rifa'iyya* is simply referred to as *mawlid.* Many of the choreographic movements of *tufo* today closely resemble the *mawlid ya homu,* and other similar regional practices, like the *rama maulidi* in Lamu, named after the rocking motion of the body (*rama*) that is central to *dhikr* (Gearhart 1998: 106).

Figure 1.6 - A dancer from Chimpimpi de Tibone in Pebane exemplifying the 'classical' tufo posture. Photo by author.

Showing Off

One afternoon in late July 2018, my friend Isa and I attended a rehearsal for Assanap, Pebane's newest *tufo* group. While we watched from the narrow veranda of the queen's house where we were safely tucked underneath the overhang of the palm-frond roof, thirteen women of all ages danced in the middle of the fenced-in *quintal* (back yard), defying the grey rain clouds that swirled low in the sky above. They made it through two songs before the rain began to fall—lightly at first, but it quickly intensified. As rainwater pooled at the dancers' feet and their t-shirts sagged from saturation, their enthusiasm only intensified: "Talent is a person that dances like this," they sang during the chorus of one song. Taking their cue from the lyrics, the dancers leaned backwards, with their arms raised and bent ninety degrees at the elbows. In synchronized movements, they flicked

their hands back three times to the beat of the drum. On the final beat, they paused, striking a pose (Video 1.1).

In Portuguese, this is called the *maneira de gingar*—the way dancers' show off. The verb *gingar* can be difficult to translate because it is more than just style and the swing of a moving body. For those familiar with Afro-Brazilian movement practices like *capoeira* or *samba,* the embodied concept *ginga* may be recognizable as "a swaggering way of sliding or tilting (parts of) the body from one side to another when walking or, otherwise, acting in society" (Rosa 2015: 24). Cristina F. Rosa, who I am quoting here, goes on to explain that it is a "central mechanism with which one may 'juggle' weight across time and space, while maintaining a cool and supple sense of flow" (ibid: 24). Given its complexity as a term, the usage of *gingar* differs slightly in these two contexts. In Brazil, *ginga* is "the movement you see when a man sways his hips or a woman shuffles her feet" (ibid: 3) that is part of a much broader aesthetic movement system associated with Afro-Brazilian heritage. In the northern Mozambique context, *gingar* was introduced to me as "*uma maneira de ser e estar" –*a way of being that is both permanent and momentary and is the stylized affective way dancers move on stage and through the world. But within *tufo* more specifically, *gingar* also brings together two types of feeling: the energy and emotion a dancer exudes (their inherent animation), and the kinetic sensations associated with beauty (the strategies they use to animate) like the seductive raise of an eyebrow, or the vitality of a hip thrust, or even a stylized sway. Through mediating and managing feelings, the dancer commands attention from the audience and manipulates the performance atmosphere.

While we reviewed the video of the rehearsal later that evening, Isa pointed out a young woman in a leopard print shirt dancing in the front row. Grinning, she said, "See, that girl really likes *tufo.* You can see in the way she moves her head like she's possessed with joy. And her friend on the end too. Their technique is still poor but they already know how to *gingar* so they are fun to watch."

She was optimistic about this group: their *animating* abilities were foundational to her assessment of their talent, even though their shoulder movements were too enthusiastic, betraying their lack of knowledge of the genre's basic movement patterns. But this could be learned, Isa reminded me, and this group had been able to *move* her, and over the course of the next week, she asked to watch the video clip again on several occasions, each time revisiting her initial pleasure.

Isa's positive experience as a spectator captures how subtle movements, like force, enthusiasm, and energy, that are at times imperceptible to the eye can often provoke a deeper affective response than the visible qualities of beauty in the dance, like coordination, skill and choreographic form. But animation also hinges on how well dancers perform "the *feeling* of the gesturing" (Noland 2008: xx)—the complex qualities of kinetic energy that are embodied in movement, like a surging, explosion, crescendo, or diminuendo, that are body-and culture-specific (Sklar 2008). Vitality affects in *tufo,* such as the force of shoulder thrusting, or the relaxation of the wrist as it guides the arm, or the thrust of a hip, and the swing of a head, are embodied modes of feminine knowledge that constitute a kinetics of beauty that has been refined by coastal Makhuwa women who dance *tufo.* The young dancer that Isa was so affected by did not yet have the skill, but her energy, enthusiasm and style conveyed her future potential, or emergent possibilities through felt forms of the feminine. Her contagious energy opened up possibilities for Isa, as well, who after watching this dancer repeatedly, commented that if she returned to dancing—which she had recently given up after a feud with her group—she would join this group.

The Entrance

A group's performance always begins with the stage entrance (*entrada*), a high-stakes moment where they introduce themselves to the audience, commanding attention and claiming control of the event atmosphere. At events where multiple groups are performing, the entrance is what

distinguishes one group from the next, establishing a shift in energy and style, and must therefore be flashy and creative to win the audience's favor. A memorable entrance sequence might highlight the agility or balance of the dancers, evoking soccer players preparing for a game, as dancers lift one leg to tie an imaginary shoe. Other sequences are playful, and dancers run on stage playing hand-clapping games in time with the drums. Although the entrance sequence is the first encounter between the dance group and the audience, it initiates a relationship between groups, as well, which can be unpredictable and fraught.

Ten months after finishing my long-term fieldwork, I was back in Pebane and reviewing videos of the *carrama* EVP hosted in October 2017. When we came to a video of a performance by Estrela Vermelha from Nacala—the favored group of the festival—the dancers' excitement and appreciation for this group's talent quickly returned. We watched their entrance to the main stage of Pebane's Culture House, where the opening ceremony was held on the day of the festival. During their *entrada,* the dancers from Nacala mimed lifting their *capulana*s up around their waists—as one would do if their pants are falling down—and synchronized this motion to the rapid-fire beat of the drum (Video 1.2). A year later and this flashy entrance sequence still elicited such a strong emotional response from EVP dancers, who watched the video several times to admire the group's skill. Eventually, Muanacha sighed and said, "they can do that because of their drummer. With that rhythm, they can do anything with their choreography."

During an entrance sequence, in particular, the relationship between the drummers and the dancers is critical: drummers, here, are often in a supporting role, providing a clear, confident rhythm that will augment, rather than obscure, women's creative movements. Moreover, the pace of a drummer's rhythm contributes to group identity as members of a particular club. Chimpimpi groups, for example, always move to a fast rhythm, or "run" (*otimaka*) (Video 1.3) whereas Estrela Vermelha clubs, on the other hand, prefer slower rhythms, which oblige their identity as

'traditionalists' who are masters of classical *tufo* (Video 1.4). But dancer's dependency on the drummer during the *entrada*—when a group's talent is expressed through creative choreography that must grab the audience attention—reveals some of the contingencies of women's mobility, too. In the moment of performance, dancer's affective labor also relies on men's work. When the relationship is successful, as was the case with the group from Nacala, who sparked joy with their demonstrated mastery of aesthetic form and feeling, the group is able to leverage their knowledge to advance. The Nacala group, in this instance, asked EVP to pay for their return journey. This expense was not in the festival budget, but EVP scrambled to collect additional funds to comply with this request—how could they say no to a group who travelled so far, made them feel so much, increased EVP's prestige as hosts, and was one they would certainly invite back in the future.

The Uniform

Since becoming a women's genre after independence, affect is increasingly sedimented, circulated and transformed through material aesthetics associated with feminine beauty. As Chana, a veteran dancer reminded me one hot afternoon, as we sat in the shade of her *quintal* (garden): *"Tufo* is to sit, dance, *gingar* (show off) and sing. It's easy." She paused, taking a sip from a cold bottle of Fanta before adding, "But of course beauty is a big part of it because the dancers are beautiful, and so is the message." Coastal Makhuwa women are renowned in Mozambique for their beauty and artful dress,[116] and *tufo* dancers epitomize this beauty through the uniforms they wear, which include

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[116] Written accounts from the early 20th century document the beauty of the Makhuwa women, who, in the view of the Portuguese, were more culturally sophisticated than the interior populations due to intermixing with the Arabs and Indians (*mouros*, in Portuguese accounts, were people mixed of Arab, African and perhaps Persian blood—though predominately African). This miscegenation was not just racial, but religious and cultural as well. Lupi, in 1907 describes the Makhuwa as, "arranging with art the clothes they wear, giving good lines to the figure; naturally, as in all parts, the weaker sex strives to look good, and achieve it by showing off their figure, thanks to the way in which they fasten the fabric. When the clothes are scarce, the metallic bangles of the wrists and ankles, the beaded headbands necklaces, highlighting the well-shaped body, creating an agreeable sight" (98). Another colonialist observes that *mouro* women, "…are deservedly famous for their beauty, very correct features, black eyes, elegant as they move, bright in their dress, and they always wear valuable jewelry of gold and silver; they are the true possessors of the art of dress, and using fabric of beautiful colors, just seeing them is an interesting spectacle." (Lobato 1945 in Machado 1970: 116) Likewise, in 1970

capulanas, lenços, and blouses, gold jewellery, and *mussiro,*[117]a natural cosmetic applied to the skin—all potent expressions of 'traditional' Makhuwa beauty (Figure 1.7 and Figure 1.8).[118]

Figure 1.7 – *Tufo* dancers applying *mussiro.* Photo by author.

Figure 1.8 – EVP dancer Eliza Muanacha displaying women's beauty norms that make up the *tufo* uniform: *mussiro,* a *lenço* (headscarf), *kimão* (traditional blouse), and jewelry. Photo by author.

Machado writes that women in Antonio Enes and Moma, "dress in immense taste and color, adorning themselves with flashy head wraps, delicate ornaments, and tasteful. The visitor is surprised by the beauty of their outfits, the bright colors of the capulanas, the air about them, the agreeableness of their femininity. Very happy and jovial, active and quick, the people of the coast lend a captivating and festive air to whatever settlement" (220).

[117] *Mussiro* is another powerful symbol of Makhuwa femininity and considered the 'secret' to women's beauty. As Zaquia Rachid, the queen of Tufo de Mafalala in Maputo, said in a newspaper interview, "with [mussiro] I feel like a *Mutiana orera* (beautiful woman) of Nampula, uma moçambicana (Mozambican woman)." (Nguane 21 May 2015) The strong association between *mussiro* and female beauty (often sexualized) is also reinforced in popular culture, as *mussiro* is frequently evoked in poetry about the beauty of Ilha de Mocambique and its women. Take this poem by Nelson Saúte, for example. Titled "Mulher de M'siro", he uses the image of a woman's body as a metaphor to capture 'enchanting' beauty of Ilha de Moçambique.
O m'siro//The M'siro
Encantamento dos meus olhos//Enchantment of my eyes
Perfaz a tua insular imagem//It makes your insular image
No litoral do teu corpo//On the coast of your body
A apoteotica espuma//The dazzling foam
Do orgasm das ondas//The orgasm of the waves
O jubilo na falesia do canto//The jubilation on corner of the cliff

[118] These forms of body adornment have been an important aesthetic and affective component of women's competitive dancing throughout the Swahili cultural zone. The parade of dancers' beauty at some festivals and celebrations is an important part of the performance, as people come to watch and admire the displays of wealth, while for dancers and participants it is a presentation of their status, connected to upward mobility (See Fair 2001). *Tufo* groups will hide new uniforms before an event to add suspense and to shock their rivals. Dancers coordinate their arrivals to the *praça*, because the affective impact of a group of women dressed identically is stronger.

Among these, *capulanas* are the most important symbol of beauty in Mozambique (Meneses and Arnfred 2018).[119] Popularized by Swahili women at the turn of the 19th century, *capulana* fashion spread quickly to Mozambique's Swahili outposts, like Angoche and Ilha de Moçambique. There, Makhuwa women quickly mastered the art of dressing with *capulanas* to obscure or emphasize the contours of the body in visually compelling ways[120] (Figures 1.9 and 1.10). "*Capulana* culture," like *tufo,* was introduced in Pebane through kin and religious networks from Angoche. According to Ancha Adriano, the leader of Assanate Anuar in Pebane, "Before they arrived, we did not know how to wear good clothes like *capulanas.*[121] They were the ones who taught us to wear two *capulanas* and to tie a *lenço* around the head. This culture is really good, and really beautiful but the problem is that it costs a lot because you have to dress really well." She laughed, before adding, "But when a woman is really well dressed—when she's wearing *capulanas*—it's so beautiful."

Figures 1.9 and 1.10 - Women in Pebane Vila dressed in Swahili fashion, 1948.

[119] *Capulanas* are a complex form of communication. *Capulanas* are designed and sold for important days, like Josina Machel Day, Independence, Christmas, Vila days, etc. But beyond that, there is significance in the purchase and gifting of *capulanas.* Giving a *capulana* to a person is a sign of affection and friendship. These are sentimental gifts that have much personal value for the receiver. In Estrela Vermelha de Pebane, the group would give *capulanas* names—typically after the person who selected the design, or after the specific event at which they were inaugurated. See Arnfred and Meneses (2018) for a detailed study of the significance of *capulanas* in Mozambique.

[120] In Zanzibar in the late 19th century, former slaves dressed in kangas to re-identify as Swahili, the freeborn coastal Muslims (Fair 2001, 2004). Kangas became an indicator of economic power, urban life, and local cosmopolitanism throughout Swahili society (Meneses 2008).

[121] While women in Pebane began using *capulanas* in the early 20th century, during the colonial era, today *capulanas* are a symbol of national identity, and for some, are a material reminder of the post-independence advances made by Frelimo. One song reminds the audience: *Ikuwo khidhaphwanyaneya, dhaphitiwa mittaikho ndhinana iiriwa naphito ikakusiwa ekavahiwa atthu* // Before Frelimo, there weren't clothes. Clothes were made from the bark of a tree and used like a *capulana.* These clothes were called *naphito.*

Women living along the northern coast are largely Muslim, and local understandings of piety also inform the way clothes are worn—covering the shoulders, hiding the legs, with one, sometimes two *capulanas* tied around the head or waist. These ideals are reproduced and strictly enforced in rehearsals and on stage: dancers must keep their legs, head, and shoulders covered, their armpits hidden, and always dance wearing a *capulana* because it enhances the physical beauty of the dancer. Moreover, uniformity is the ideal aesthetic for group movement and the *capulanas, lenços, blouses* or *kimão* (long sleeve cotton blouses that can be embroidered with complimentary colors or designs) that dancers wear must match, and groups prefer their uniforms (*equipa*) to be in club colors.[122]

This culture of beauty—which is consolidated on stage during *tufo* performances—is also linked to understandings of what it means to be civilized. Within coastal Makhuwa communities, this can be understood through the frame of Muslim notions of respectability, but bears traces of colonial definitions as well. To be cultured, Ancha explained, does not just describe a person who dresses, or dances well, but also denotes a person's comportment, and their socialization habits, such as the way they treat others and whether or not they know how to maintain friendships (Figure 1.11). Similarly, Teresa, a *tufo* dancer in her late 40s, told me that these days, the whole world wants a person who's *assimilated,* which she defined as someone who has studied, who knows how to dance, and who is able to properly converse with others. Moreover, civilized people always *look good*, and wear beautiful *capulanas* on days of celebration. Teresa's use of the word *assimilado*, the colonial-era

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[122] Estrela Vermelha's club colors are yellow and red, and during a *carrama* dancers wear red *capulanas* and *lenços* and yellow blouses. The colors of the other main clubs in Pebane are Chimpimpi: blue and yellow; Anuar Assanate: black and red; Associação de Quichanga: green and white. The colors of the major tufo groups on Ilha de Mocambique are Forte Amizade: Red and yellow; Beira Mar: Black and white; Fura Redes: Green and white; Ausuafi Sania: Blue and white (Arnfred 2004:42). The team colors have special meanings in and of themselves, according to the leaders of Estrela Vermelha and Beira-Mar on Ilha de Mocambique. When I asked dancers in Pebane about this, no one thought that the colors had special significance. Janina Momade, of Estrela Vermelha said in a newspaper interview that "Red is the color of the dress of the group Estrela Vermelha but through its strong light we transmit a message hope, of change of attitude, of perseverance, of strength for a better future, and finally of love for your neighbor which is the foundation of peace that we all want to enjoy at each moment." (Tembe, 18 February 2014). Agira Saide, of the group Beira-mar, said that since not everyone that watches the groups knows how to read, the *capulana* is a vehicle of communication. Her group, "privileges the colors white and black, being that white transmits messages of peace and love and black is necessary to protect against pain and offences" (Tembe, 18 February 2014).

Portuguese term used to determine which Africans were legally considered "civilized," demonstrates the extent to which colonial terminology still persists. But what both Ancha and Teresa describe is a local ideology of beauty that valorizes a woman's sense of style, articulated through her use of the *capulana,* her knowledge of cultural practices, like dance, and her ability to communicate with others.

Figure 1.11 - Ancha Adriano (center) at Olimani Morremone—Pebane's main beach—with her group, Azzanate Anuar (seated), on International Tourism Day, September 27, 2017. Photo by author.

Capulanas have been an indicator of economic power, status, and local cosmopolitanism throughout Swahili societies, though their meanings and uses have changed over time (Fair 2001; Meneses 2003). Afisa, a *tufo* dancer, explained that during the colonial era if a woman wore one *capulana,* she was rich. But today, women are embarrassed if they only wear one *capulana* because it reminds them of a time "when people lived like animals. When they did not know how to dress presentably." In his work on plastic surgery in Brazil, Alvaro Jarrín argues that "beauty gives a body

social value and creates the conditions of possibility for human dignity and happiness" (2017: 4). For many, then, wearing two or three matching *capulanas,* as women learn to do in *tufo,* is a form of self-fashioning that, following Jarrín, makes a woman *feel* socially valued and dignified, contrasting sharply with the dehumanising experiences of colonialism and war, when people often wore clothes from tree bark (*napito*), or rice sacks. On stage, when a group of dancers is dressed in matching uniforms—itself a sign of comradery and social affinity—beauty is heightened, and the sense of pleasure women get from looking good enraptures the audience, as well. The affective capital of the uniform in *tufo* is perhaps best illustrated by the negative emotions that surface when dancers fail to uphold these ideals: a group that wears only one *capulana*, or that performs in mismatching *capulana*s or blouses, is heavily criticized by other groups. Often, inappropriate appearance is related to economics—groups coming from poorer areas cannot afford to purchase new *capulanas*. Focusing on the *relational* production of beauty captures how the felt experience of beauty quickly changes. The *capulanas* a dancer wears in one context might generate pleasure, but on stage, in relation to other, wealthier groups, may be a visible reminder of poverty, destabilizing the joyous atmosphere through feelings of shame. These "ugly feelings" (Ngai 2005) are what I turn to in the final section.

Unruly Affects: Desired and Dangerous Dancers

Expressions of beauty in *tufo,* of course*,* are far more complex than strictly physical articulations. Ivorian historian Harris Memel-Fotê argues that in Africa, beauty perceptions can best be defined as unitary, meaning that they form a complex ontology constituted by physical-mathematical, ethical, and metaphysical and metamoral aesthetic dimensions (1968: 48-50 in Boone 1986: 87). Suggestions of these 'pluri-dimensional' understandings of beauty are evident linguistically in Makhuwa. The word *orera* designates physical beauty, while also describing a person's health, morals, or character – encapsulated through the expression *murrima orera* (beautiful heart). On stage,

dancers exemplify *athiana orera* (beautiful women) and constitute a habitus of feminine respectability that women learn to embody from a young age through Qur'anic education, female initiation rites (*emwali*), and cultural associations, like *tufo* groups. Moral values like control, piety, and comradery are reinforced in singing and choreography, where women display humility by avoiding eye contact with the audience, demonstrate control through erect posture and graceful body movements and embody collective discipline as they move and sing as a synchronised unit.

Yet, as Sarah Nuttall (2006) and others contend, beauty – especially in the African context – is not neutral, nor sublime, but is politically salient and interwoven with ugliness and power. Women's bodies are often "a battlefield for cultural-moral struggles" (Tamale 2016: 83) and a beautifully adorned body – as a site of gendered agency – can elicit accusations of 'ugliness' that are leveraged at a woman's moral character. Such assertions of power over women's bodies, by virtue of their morality, reveal the contradictions in the patriarchal logics that police women's beauty practices: figured as the embodiment of morality, women are guardians of community 'tradition', while also morally weak (Dosekun 2016: 2).

The experience and moral evaluation of beauty is contingent on the context of encounter, which is, according to William Mazzarella, "a trigger moment, an impact, an impetus or an initiation…a moment whose affective tenor is not just one of a categorical challenge but also potentially one of fascination, seduction, identification, or desire" (2017: 7). While a beautiful dancer may generate pleasure, joy, and desire in a performance, pulling in an audience, she may also provoke a "traumatic echo" or an unexpected feeling of danger when she moves off stage—sentiments I heard echoed in conversations among men on an open-backed truck headed to Pebane. One man disparaged women who wear new *capulanas* bought by their husbands when they go to the market. The others agreed: there is no doubt a well-dressed beautiful woman will attract several potential suitors who may be much wealthier. She will either take them as lovers or leave her

husband altogether. "You can't trust a woman who likes to *andar* (move about town, travel)" one said. "I don't like them. I like women who stay at home." Another added that *tufo* dancers are the worst. "If I give her money to buy *capulanas* and travel to a *carrama*, for example, she will find another man. You can't trust these *tufo* women. They're dangerous." Women's beauty, as they affirm, becomes dangerous when in movement. Broader moral anxieties are evident in local discourses in Pebane as well, where women's beauty is discussed in more conservative circles as immoral and dangerous when flaunted in public. One Imam complained that the growing emphasis on beauty – in particular through women's elaborate dress – is a serious problem, precisely because it is put on display. He explained, "It used to be that women would save their best clothes to wear at home for their husbands as the Qur'an dictates. Now, women are wearing beautiful clothes outside the house, and more specifically, while they dance *tufo* at the *praça*." He added that seeing beautiful women dance suggestively in public means that men are becoming more and more aggressive in pursuing them.

These contradictory moral politics that shape perceptions of women's beauty are tied to what Alexander Edmonds identifies as the rising emotional and social significance of beauty within capitalist modernisation, where markets enable "the social fantasy of mobility and self-invention" (2008: 156). Since Mozambique's post-war shift to market capitalism, physical beauty has become a valuable commodity, and for young women in particular, a form of "affective capital" that can have real upward effects on their social and economic standing (Jarrín 2017). As women gain new opportunities for self-actualisation and independence, they are reconsidering what they need – and want – from intimate relationships, loosening the grip of patriarchal morality and disrupting traditional gender hierarchies (See Constable 2009; Archambault 2016).

Such changes to the meanings and uses of beauty are evident in the way *tufo* dancers are represented in both national and local discourses, further illustrating how the physical, material

manifestations of beauty have been divorced from the moral, reducing a complex ontological system to an object of sexuality. Some journalists depict *tufo* dancers as dangerous, with infallible seductive powers to which every man submits (Abreu, 15 May 2015). The "dexterity and exoticism" of their "wiggling bodies" are described as irresistible, and *tufo* is characterised as the dance that "summons love" (Lurdes Cossa, 13 September 2015). Though hyperbolic, this discourse demonstrates the paradox of dancers' beauty – they can be an icon of respectability and 'tradition', a bearer of culture, as well as an object of male desire, and therefore a danger. Furthermore, in these framings, *tufo* dancers threaten a loss of control over one's senses, which is especially salient in the matrilineal Makhuwa context where expertise in sex is a "female gendered position" (Arnfred 2007) and a source of pride for women. While girls are taught marital expectations and how to take care of hygiene, husband and home through a series of songs, skits and dances, they are also taught to be sexual agents and to sculpt an erotic body for mutual pleasure by wearing waist beads (*missanga*) and practicing labial elongation (*ithuna*), upholding the broader idea that during performance – whether in intimate settings or on stage at a dance event – women enhance pleasure by utilising the visible, invisible, audible, and sensory dimensions of beauty.[123] For the uninitiated, however, this expertise is often misunderstood to be promoting promiscuity and has been subject to governmental controls and condemnation (Meneses and Santos 2009). As a result, the pairing of danger and desire in discourses on *tufo* gain particular currency in the South, where Makhuwa women from the northern provinces are subject to ethnic stereotyping, exoticized for their sexual knowledge. In one interview, Zaquia Rachid, the queen of the renowned Maputo-based group Tufo da Mafalala expressed frustration at these reductive characterizations, saying, "Many people say that women from Nampula

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[123] For an overview of the variety of genital modification practices that are common throughout Southern Africa, see Bagnol and Mariano (2011:276). For a broader discussion of how these practices are a part of 'Osunality' – African eroticism – see Nzegwu (2011).

are dangerous. But the truth is that we aren't dangerous, it's only that we know how to do things really well" (Abreu, 15 May 2015).

Affective management and negotiation are women's work. On stage, dancers manipulate the sonic atmosphere and collective affect as performers by using aesthetic technologies, but they must also manage the excess, and in particular, the negative emotions that permeate intimate relationships when women assert their independence. I will return to this theme in the final chapter where I discuss how "ugly feelings" (Ngai 2005), such as jealousy, are impeding dancers' movements, especially those that are married. Positive affects, like the joy one feels when watching or dancing *tufo,* draw people to a social space and create new forms of solidarity that can be harnessed for political ends. Ugly feelings, like jealousy, do quite the opposite – they close off connections and disrupt mobility. Unlike other forms of feelings, jealousy does not circulate between many bodies, but, rather, it infuses private spaces, which makes it powerful, and highly effective, on an intimate scale.

Conclusion

Women's mobility, in *tufo,* begins in performance. These movements are heard, felt, embodied, and derive from forms of animation that are both inherent, and imposed. The socio-historical meanings of sound bring together sensory feelings of spiritual transcendence with post-colonial euphoria through affective modes of listening that draw people together in public space. Although *tufo* is coopted as a tool for nation-state politics precisely because of its mobilizing power, these state-led processes are not all-consuming, and a song's content does not signal complicity. Rather, *tufo* dancers—women living at the margins of state power—use aesthetic technologies on stage for different ends, to manage and manipulate public pleasure. The conventions of genre offer stability, fulfilling audience expectations, while moments of improvisation and stylistic flair when

entering the stage, through the vitality of movement and the style of dress, can heighten emotions among dancers, drummers and spectators, while building relationships through feeling. The excesses of affect are unruly, however, and can have unintended consequences—a topic I'll return to in Chapter Five.

I want to end this chapter on a more optimistic note and return to the Moniga concept, *ofurahee* [joy], that Manuel used to describe how singing and dancing *tufo* makes people feel. *Ofurahee* is not just reserved for a performance but is connected to other forms of movement in *tufo,* as well. For example, it explains the happiness you feel when receiving a visitor, and the happiness they feel with a proper reception—both critical aspects of a performance. A visiting group might say, *kifurahee hatapura leytho* [I'm happy because I was received well by the group when I arrived].[124] Moreover, this feeling is relational, because the hosts are also happy if a group is pleased by their reception. If a trip is a success, then people might say *nikurelo furahee* [I'm really pleased with this trip]. Happiness and pleasure are rooted in movement practices: the coming and going of people, and the norms of hospitality that govern a proper reception; one's journey away from home, and dancing bodies at a public celebration.

While people frequently attribute the benefits of all singing and dance practices to the sense of emotional fulfilment and stress release it affords, *tufo* differs in that it affords pleasure and satisfaction in multiple ways, since *tufo* groups greet visitors, travel for performances, and perform in public. From rehearsals to travel, dance association activities are all connected to the moment of performance through joy, reinforcing how the malleable body can be shaped and transformed by sound, which in turn, can affect movements and experiences across bodily scales. Yolanda Covington-Ward's work on gesture in power among Kongo (2015) intervenes in embodiment studies by shifting the focus from affective states and feelings to how bodies are actually used in

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[124] Another phrase he used to express a similar idea was *hakeleliwa sana* (I was received well).

everyday life. This, she argues, is the work of performance because, as a concept, performance captures ongoing processes of social life. Her definition of performance brings together several approaches, and frames performance as "restored behavior enacted with a heightened awareness, consciousness, and/or intention, with the capacity to transform social realities" (2007: 5). While *tufo* dancers create a sonic atmosphere that moves the audience by engaging the senses and producing pleasure, following Covington-Ward's work, they also use their singing, moving bodies to create and transform the world around them. In the next chapter, I examine some of the strategies women employ within the context of a dance group to navigate these ever-changing worlds.

Chapter 2: Visions for the Future: Navigating Gendered Knowledge in Tufo Groups

Introduction

Two days after EVP's *carrama*, Abudala, the group's vice president, called a meeting so the group could "analyze their work" as hosts. The scene was serene: the late afternoon sun showered us in a golden hour glow as the women fastidiously flicked fire ants off the *esteiras* [woven mats] while Abudala spoke from his plastic-chair throne. A well-seasoned leader, he began with our successes. First, he reviewed the performances. The group from Nacala carried the festival and raised the overall quality of the event. The dancers were unanimous in their agreement and Rehema squeezed my forearm to remind me they were eager to watch the videos of this group after the meeting ended. Abudala moved on to finances—reminding them to pay their outstanding dues—followed by logistics and hospitality. He thought that the *carrama* ran well because each person helped out where they were needed, "except for Paula, who did not help with the cooking." Several heads nodded in agreement. Incidentally, Paula, who is perpetually late, had not yet arrived and missed the opportunity to defend herself. "Overall, I'm very satisfied," Abudala concluded. He then took a deep breath and his benevolent expression darkened. After a dramatic pause, he announced, "I am also really annoyed because of *nossas bocas* [our mouths]." The presidents of two visiting groups from outlying towns had complained to him that their dancers did not want to eat because one of EVP's dancers had accused their groups of not knowing how to dance. She was not the only one; there were four EVP members cited for insults, and their guests were so upset that they considered leaving immediately without saying goodbye. "This was ugly behavior and I'm really offended," Abudala said. There was a whimper of protest from one of the offending dancers, who responded that those two groups didn't know how dance and didn't even wear matching uniforms. Abudala ignored her and continued his speech. "You all have to shut your mouths if you want to

develop the group. I have *olhos a frente* [eyes in front] but you all have limited *visão* (vision)." He then gestured towards Mansur—the newly appointed Secretary, who was seated beside him—and said, "Finally I have someone that is at my level. Mansur is here to lift up our group, but if you don't keep your mouths shut, we're both going to leave, and so will the *mulupules* [the important women, Amina and Zaquichela]."

Abudala's paternalistic posturing was not unusual and was characteristic of hierarchical gender relations within the group. The tensions evident at this particular meeting, however, highlighted the differences in how male leaders and female group members evaluated performance events. Dancers value aesthetic innovation and a demonstrable knowledge of the genre's conventions—a point made clear by the fact that some felt justified in insulting the sub-standard groups. Male leaders, on the other hand, value public decorum and social discipline, because their group's behavior at an event reflects their ability to govern. The gendered roles that the male leaders and female dancers assume within group life correspond with "symbolic" gender differences that are prevalent in other domains, as well.[125] For instance, Victor Agadjanian (2002) observes that among urban street vendors in Maputo, "men often state that women vendors tend to be loud, emotional, and verbally offensive and are prone to squabbles and scuffles with other vendors and with customers—ascribing them characteristics typical of a 'women's' work style. Men, in contrast, are often portrayed as reasonable, calm, and conciliating" (339). Similarly, in this group meeting, male leaders deployed these symbolic differences to distinguish their work style from that of the female group members and reinforce gendered hierarchies: evoking popular modernization metaphors, men

[125] Susan Bordo discusses broader gender binaries through a discussion of the mind/body dualism within Western "culture". While men are synonymous with the mind, which, like the soul has been projected as noble and good, women are linked to the body, and therefore associated with the affiliated negative stereotypes, such as, "distraction from knowledge, seduction away from God, capitulation to sexual desire, violence or aggression, failure of will, even death." (1993: 5)

are carrying the group into the future, while the 'undisciplined' women are hindering their progress and stuck in the past.

Tufo associations are, by and large, administratively and politically led by men, which complicates ideas about women's self-governance within these spaces. When superficially examined, these associations may even appear to uphold patriarchal norms, with one study on women's economic exclusion in Nampula province commenting that women's activities in civic institutions (NGOs and Women's Organizations) are "mainly related to song and dance and other cultural expressions—which tend to cement rather than change gender relations" (Tvedten et. al. 2009: 15).[126] However, as I discussed in the introduction, superficial readings of women's song and dance groups as supporting the status quo miss the nuances of negotiation, where sometimes, women navigate oppressive cultural norms by appearing to adhere to them.

In this chapter, I analyze the power dynamics within *tufo* associations through a gendered frame to argue that performing and playing with gender norms are a strategy for navigating an unstable economic domain. In the first section, I discuss why women in rural areas participate in *tufo* as a leisure activity,[127] when participation seems to defy 'rational' economic logic because they do not

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[126] *Tufo* is included in their examples, and they draw on Arnfred's (2004) discussion of changing choreography in *tufo*—from seated to standing—as indicative of women's changing sociocultural positions between rural and urban Nampula. The faster-paced standing dances, they argue, is more popular in urban areas and reflects women's advancements, while the seated dances with more religious inflections are still most popular along the coast, and indicative of the slower pace of change. Their conclusions are not based in any apparent analyses of the dance, other than discussions with informants. I would argue that the choreographic preferences are far more influenced by generation – many members of the country's oldest *tufo* groups (located around Mussuril, the rural coastal area where they completed their study), learned the version of *tufo* closest to *mawlid* and maintain this form of dancing, in part, because it is closest to the 'traditional' iteration. Urban, inland groups are newer, and may have many younger dancers that learned standing dances, like *makwaela* when attending school after socialism, and such choreography has been incorporated into *tufo*. Most groups in Pebane mix seated and standing dances, although all still revere the seated dance as the classical version of the dance.

[127] In urban centers like Mozambique Island and Maputo—both the centers of tourism—*tufo,* like many other cultural practices, is undergoing a process of commodification. In Mozambique Island, groups won't dance without pay. Karen Boswell, a filmmaker and musician, reported that when she returned to Mozambique Island after many years away to reconnect with a group she had met and recorded years earlier, she was confused by their lukewarm reception, and overall disinterest in dancing for her. Her experience with the group in the late 1990s had been very different. Then, she had been welcomed to join rehearsals. When she mentioned her disappointment to her guide, he explained that had she paid them they would have danced. That's exactly what she did the following day, and they danced with their characteristic enthusiasm. As tourism has increased in Mozambique since the end of the war, this makes complete sense—performances have become an important way in which groups and artists are able to make money from foreign

financially profit from dancing, and members—many of whom are single and without a reliable income source—must pay to participate in group activities, which include purchasing new uniforms, contributing to the *caixa* [group fund] and travel costs. As I'll discuss, *tufo* is not about money for women but is rather about how their lives are enriched by play, performance, sociality, and the exchange of knowledge.

At the same time, even though group activities largely take place outside of the market economy, members' daily lives and broader hierarchies of power within which they operate are shaped by the extreme economic inequality that has emerged since Frelimo adopted neoliberal reforms in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In the second section, I use the gendered expression of *visão*, a Portuguese term that translates to vision in English, as a lens for understanding how men and women are navigating the instabilities of capitalism within group life. Anthropologist Julie Soliel Archambault first identified *visão* as an important element of social navigation for youths in a peri-urban neighborhood of Inhambane, a coastal city in southern Mozambique. According to Archambault's interlocuters, *visão* is a quality that individuals possess that hinges on life experience, skills, and knowledge. It is necessary for survival and, more importantly, enjoying life (*curtir a vida*) amidst contexts of everyday uncertainty (2013: 90). In northern Mozambique, the gendered connotations associated with *visão* are more pronounced and I argue that men's *visão* corresponds with the oft-used phrase, "men are always in front" [*homens sempre estão em frente*], that is both a spatial and temporal metaphor for their authority. A closer analysis of the performance of masculinity and femininity within association meetings and rehearsals illuminates how women 'play' with the patriarchy, using masculine norms and men's *visão* to fulfill their own desires, such as traveling locally

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nationals. The commodification of *tufo* in urban areas was one of the reasons I chose to do research in Pebane, a peripheral town, without a robust tourist economy

and regionally and gaining their own experience that will afford them more independence in the future.

In the third section, I dissect how men's visions for *tufo* associations are articulated in terms of organization and discipline—skills that they possess, and women lack—which they benevolently apply to helping women realize their goals and "develop" [*desenvolver*]. Women's success is externally evaluated according to the experience, knowledge, and labor practices that men have learned as participants in the market economy. While women's ideas of success correspond with aesthetic expressions, they rely on men's "work" for maneuvering networks, events, and economic and political bureaucracy. In other words, men's *visão* is rendered 'visible' through the organization and discipline a group exhibits, while women's *visão* is opaque, yet evident through their recruitment of men to work on their behalf, appealing to traditional gender hierarchies and norms to advance.

I conclude the chapter by following this process in reverse as I analyze the *visão* of trainers and drummers—always men, and usually from lower socio-economic positions—who appropriate femininity in different contexts to be able to fulfill the "man as provider" ideal (Archambault 2013). These practices illuminate the gradual commodification of *tufo* that also fits within a broader trend in late capitalism, where "men are becoming women and women men," (Tvedten et. al. 2020) as men's growing precarity and diminishing opportunities in the formal labor market draw them into the informal economy, which has historically been women's domain. The monetization of men's activities in *tufo,* like drumming, create new tensions within the group, while also show how traditional gender norms are being simultaneously upheld and dislodged in performance.

Serious Play

"Tufo isn't about money." Pebane's head of culture, Safiana, was in the passenger seat of my car, which was crawling down the dirt road that connects Pebane to the EN1, Mozambique's North-

South highway. It was a five-hour journey to Mocuba, the nearest city, and also a perfect opportunity to have a prolonged conversation with Safiana about *tufo*. She was responding to my very basic question: "why do women like to dance so much." I admitted I couldn't understand why women devoted so much time, energy, and money preparing for their performances at commemoration days and other government-hosted events, when—unlike the ministers and other civil servants—they are rarely compensated. But Safiana kept guiding our conversation away from surplus value and towards a wide range of motivations that Lisa Gilman refers to as women's "multiple agencies" in the context of political dancing in Malawi (2009: 170). For Safiana and the other dancers with whom I worked, fun, play, stress-relief and sociality were all reasons why women enjoyed *tufo*. "Plus, there are many more opportunities to travel now," she added.

Since the first half of the twentieth century, women in Eastern Africa have explained their participation in dance associations as an evolving combination of entertainment and escape, mutual aid, status attainment, social networking, and travel (Strobel 1976: 191; Gearhardt 1998; Fair 2001; Gilman 2009). In Mozambique, where the cultural economy has been slow to develop outside of Maputo, singing and dancing are widely considered to be leisure activities, albeit a productive form of play.[128] Women congregate at *ensaios* (rehearsals) several afternoons a week,[129] when the muffled sounds of the drums contribute to neighborhood soundscapes around Pebane Vila, indicating that women are playing, socializing, and training. The drums are a pleasurable sonic reminder that

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[128] The emphasis on *tufo* as a leisure time activity in rural/semi-urban areas differs from women's participation in *tufo* in Ilha de Moçambique, Nacala-Porto, and Maputo, where *tufo* associations are more integrated into the formal market economy through tourism. Following the commercial and political success of the group Tufo de Mafalala in Maputo, and the growing opportunities some *tufo* groups have in Ilha de Moçambique as the tourism sector develops, there are several new groups that have been established specifically for the purposes of making money. I consider these to be 'working' groups that deviate from the historical tradition of *tufo* dancing as it is practiced by established groups who are the 'guardians' of the tradition. Tensions between old and new groups have emerged as a result of these dynamics.
[129] EVP rehearsed on Wednesday, Saturday and Sunday afternoons, which highlighted that this was a leisure practice that people participate in when they are not working (weekends). Other groups in Pebane, and in particular, new groups, trained every afternoon, although most would not dance on Friday because of Friday prayers.

something is getting done—that the neighborhood *esta a levantar* [is rising][130] —because women are not just sitting at home [*sentar em casa*] waiting for their husbands but are participating in its social and cultural development.[131]

Tufo dancing is often framed in opposition to sitting at home, insinuating that women have only two ways in which they can spend their time in the afternoon. The two or three hours proceeding the late afternoon prayer (*Salat al-'asr*) is referred to as the *tempo de passear*, literally, the time to walk/pass, and marks the end of the work day (Figure 2.1). As the sun sinks low in the sky, Pebane comes alive and people visit friends and lovers, go to the market, walk to or from school, and participate in leisure activities like soccer or *tufo.* While men move around with ease, women's movements are more restricted, and those who are not selling food stuffs along the street or at the markets will usually stay at home or visit with neighbors to avoid being gossiped about. Walking to and from *tufo* rehearsals, however, is socially permitted, and people come to identify *tufo* dancers by observing their afternoon sojourns to and from the club house in their neighborhood.[132]

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[130] "Each neighborhood needs a group," said the president of a young group in Frescura neighborhood, one of the Pebane's newest neighborhoods. A *tufo* group indicates that the neighborhood is organized and developing.

[131] It's telling that *tufo* groups reformed immediately after the war as a part of a broader project of 're-organizing' life, or that groups popping up in new neighborhoods today are seen as a community development initiative, aimed at avoiding 'women's stagnation'.

[132] *Tufo* is an activity considered to keep women and girls out of trouble in the afternoon—although I will discuss in Chapter Five how this is changing.

Figure 2.1 – Masobe dancers walking in front of Pebane Vila's *Casa da Cultura* (Culture House) during the *tempo de passear* on a Sunday afternoon. Photo by author.

A *tufo* group is an indicator of a neighborhood's status, and their residents' organization. Initially, *tufo* was a largely elite practice through which people affirmed their Islamic identity. In Pebane, in the late 1930s, Daia Molde started the first *mawlid* group at his uncle's house in Quichanga, Pebane's first *localidade,* and home to its Muslim elite (Figure 2.2). In local dialect, Quichanga means "to admire," which was a fitting name because, according to elders, its residents were "very organized"—meaning they were accomplished, had their lives together, and maintained beautiful homes. A chronology of *tufo* groups in Pebane is also a history of the Vila's development and expansion. As the population grew and new homes were built—especially during and after the war—the number of cultural groups in town increased. The three oldest groups, Estrela Vermelha, Assanate, and Associação are based in the oldest neighborhoods—Quichanga and Baixa—and were

followed by Chimpimpi and Assanate groups in newer neighborhoods, like Tibone. Within the most established neighborhoods, *tufo* has been a leisure activity passed down from one generation of women to the next. For instance, Afisa said she inherited her love of dancing from her mother, who was also an enthusiastic dancer. Stories of mothers, cousins, aunts, and sisters dancing together in the same group reinforce the importance of a dance association as a dynamic kin and neighborhood network, though one that is constantly evolving as disagreements lead to fractures, and new groups form that test familial allegiance.

Figure 2.2 – The *tufo* group Anuar Assante of Quichanga, on June 12, 1966, at the wedding of Satar's cousin Afonso. Original photo by Abdul Satar.

Given the various types of labor women perform on a daily basis, from cooking to cleaning, to gardening and child-rearing, to formal and informal employment,[133] more experienced dancers will attend rehearsals only when they have time, or before a large dance event. Manzara, a single dancer who works full-time at the maternal health clinic, explained that "participation isn't obligatory. When women can't afford it, or are busy, or sick, or their husbands are home, or they are away from Pebane, they simply don't go." Those who were married or had young children were busy with domestic duties and would bring their babies or toddlers to rehearsal, where they were passed from lap to lap while the mother was dancing. EVP often took a month-long break after the busy season—October-December—to give dancers some time to rest and relax.

Even though *tufo* is classified as a leisure activity, it is both hard work and play.[134] Play can be a difficult concept to translate because of "the cultural baggage the capitalistic notion of play carries, which often sets it in opposition to work" (Drewal 1992: 15). Current divisions between labor and leisure activities in northern Mozambique are colonial era legacies.[135] Within the colonial system of

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[133] EVP members worked as nurse assistants, primary school teachers, in local government, sold bread and foodstuffs at the market, or beer clandestinely from their home

[134] Play is an integral part of everyday life and a 'mode of activity' that can happen at any time and place. (Schwartzman 1978; Schechner 1988). Anthropologist Helen B. Schwartzman, for example, contends that perceptions of play are 'culturally embedded', and in the West, play is understood by what it is not: "Play is not *work;* play is not *real;* play is not *serious;* play is not *productive;* and so forth." (Schwartzman 1978: 4-5). Other anthropologists show that this work-play distinction that is attributed to industrial societies is not always present in nonindustrial societies. (Norbeck 1971; Turner 1969, 2018 [1974]).

[135] Machado (1968) goes into great detail about the contexts of dance and leisure activities in and around Angoche in the late colonial era. I quote at length because he vividly captures the social and organizational elements. "In the more populous areas, like Antonio Enes (Angoche) and Moma, there are several cultural and social clubs for recreation purposes. In Antonio Enes, 'O Clube Recreativo' (The Recreation Club) is almost exclusively Europeans, and the meeting site of local society, and they celebrate new year, carnival, and the Club anniversary. In the same locality, they have the headquarters of 'O Clube Africano de Angoche' (The African Club of Angoche). They have almost identical activities as the European club but is much more modest in possessions and directive capacity and has the simple objective of wanting to elevate the native, though this is not always possible because of a lack of clear direction and efficient guidance. In Antonio Enes, Moma, and Larde, there were additional clubs without approved statutes. These were modest clubs, born of the spirit of rivalry between native villages of neighborhoods. From these arose the football clubs that represent the neighborhoods and villages and gave origin to the popular clubs…like Sporting do Puli I and Benfica do Inguri in Antonio Enes and Moma, and Sporting in Larde. Through the football teams that they represent, these clubs promote popular weekly dances that generally degenerate, for lack of proper guidance and facilities, in promiscuity and drunkenness, ending in the brothel. And it's not only the natives that frequent them. Whites, mixed races, Indians and blacks attend these dances, and pick-up women. A long time ago, one tried to organize a club for each regulado, an idea that arose with good intentions in the area of Moma. But to the best of our knowledge, only the regulo Nambui was able to build and inaugurate his club, with a brilliant party. The idea, however commendable did not

forced labor (*chibalo*) the *batuques* (large scale drum and dance events) that were a central part of ritual and ceremonial life were considered counter-productive, and the Portuguese—eager to control indigenous bodies for labor purposes—established sporting and leisure associations in the indigenous neighborhoods of urban areas and on cotton and sisal plantations[136] (See Mattos 2019: 27-28). These "native cultural associations," moreover, were part of a broader project of re-structuring of time from a Muslim or harvest-based calendar that operated according to important celebrations, life-cycles, and seasonal harvest,[137] to a capitalist labor clock where work and leisure time were strictly divided.[138] Regiane Augusto de Mattos (2019: 27-28) points out that even though the leisure associations and sports clubs were created by colonial regimes as a mechanism of population control, they were also spaces where indigenous populations affirmed their cultural identities and fomented political resistance. Incidentally, in the 1960s, around the time when the armed struggle for national liberation began (1964), the financial patronage of the football clubs began to disappear, and along with it, the teams themselves, leaving only the music and dance associations. *Tufo* was therefore designated as a recreational leisure-time activity, even though the women who danced were largely excluded from the market economy and the cycle of events that groups performed at still followed Makhuwa and Islamic calendars.

Play, as a social activity embodied through the movement, is frequently enacted through dance in southern and eastern Africa. Paul Spencer notes how the Samburu of Kenya use the term

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correspond with the native aspirations. Without association traditions and without the social maturity to assimilate, the people in the bush were only seduced by the less respectable, among which were the ease and abundance of drinks, together with the licentious promiscuity. Therefore, such clubs require careful assistance of enlightened people, and a good orientation, without which they will inevitably become a brothel" (627).

[136] In the northern and central provinces, plantations were leased to chartered companies, and labor was supplemented through *chibalo* that radically transformed women's roles within the household and in rural villages (Sheldon 2002).

[137] As Nancy Hafkin notes (1973: 45), along the Swahili coast in Mozambique, the *shaikhs* used the Islamic calendar in correspondence, but otherwise followed the Makhuwa agriculturally based calendar.

[138] This was not entirely a Portuguese initiative, however, and many of the early football teams in the region were established by Muslim associations. The first *tufo* group on Mozambique Island took its name from *Mahafil Islaamo* the first football team in Ximanculo, a suburban neighborhood in Lourenco Marques. According to archival records, *Mahafil Isslamo* was the oldest club in Maputo, and founded in 1915 by an association of Muslims (*Anuaril Isslamo*) from the Comoros Islands (Domingos 2015: 319).

play (*enkiguran*) as a metaphor for dancing or singing, even though they are more than "mere play or gossip" but are rather a powerful force through which people contest gerontocracy that has relevance for all (1985: 140). In his study of African rhythm, Kofi Agawu (2016) notes that while dance rhythms do have communicative capacities, "their primary purpose is to make play possible." (159). Likewise, Louise Meintjes argues that for ngoma dancers in South Africa's KwaZulu Natal, "ngoma does not always say something. Sometimes it is a way of being in the world that exceeds explanation. Sometimes it is just playing" (2017: 24).

In Makhuwa communities, play is a serious form of sociality that is integral to conceptions of a good life. The queen of the Maputo-based group Tufo de Mafalala was quoted in an interview as saying, "We [Makhuwa] grow up with a culture of dancing, playing, conversing, so that when we are alone, we aren't happy. We need to be together with others" (Quive 2012: 19). Afisa, a member of EVP, echoed these values during a conversation about leisure activities in the US. She wanted to know what people do in the afternoons for fun, and when I admitted that people devote a lot of time to work and have to schedule time to *conversar* [converse] with family and friends several weeks in advance, she was visibly perplexed, remarking, "I wouldn't like to live in America. You might have money, but if you don't *brincar* [play] or *conversar*, that's not a life." Dancing together is therefore *socially* productive, and like I mentioned earlier, this ties in to the broader view that the presence of an active *tufo* group means a neighborhood is organized and developing, and is indicative of the social health and well-being of those living there.

For Ana, a single *tufo* dancer in her mid-30s, dancing *tufo* is a practice of self-care and has been integral to maintaining her health and well-being during challenging times in her life. Ana grew up in Pebane's *baixa* neighborhood, near EVP's club house, and joined the group when she was 14. Unlike most of the dancers in the group who entered through family connections, Ana was actively recruited by Amina, the group's queen. "I always appreciated the dance, but I never had the reason

to join group," Ana explained. But Amina's persistence paid off and she decided to give it a try.[139] She quickly realized she loved dancing *tufo*, and was good at it, too—when the group traveled to places like Beira and Moma for competitions, she was always told to dance in the front row, a coveted spot reserved for the group's best dancers.

However, when Ana joined the group she was still a student, and her parents were unhappy that she spent so much of her free time dancing rather than studying. They insisted she choose between school or *tufo,*[140] but Ana refused because "Dancing was already in my heart. I told [my parents] I was going to continue to study and dance because I really liked to do both things. I said, 'I'm not going to stop dancing because I'm studying, and I'm not going to stop studying to go dance. School is *meu conhecimento* [my knowledge], while dancing is *meu divertimento* [my fun].'" Eventually, Ana was forced to stop dancing when she left Pebane to complete her secondary school education in Mocuba for several years but resumed again when she returned. Since then, *tufo* has become increasingly important as a therapeutic mechanism to cope with the fact that the expectations she had for her life, especially after studying for so long, have failed to materialize.[141] Several years after matriculation and she still hadn't found a job, which was "the greatest source of my sadness." Securing a job in Pebane is difficult and often requires paying someone for the position, but like many, she did not have the money to pay for employment. She continued to apply

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[139] As a new dancer, she also had to go through a prolonged initiation process, earning the group's trust by sweeping the club house floor before and after rehearsal, setting out the *esteiras*, and run errands for the group. These hierarchies and age-based divisions of labor mirror those within the domestic realm, where girls do much of the cleaning and will run errands for their mothers and older female kin as a part of their domestic education.

[140] Their perspective is at odds with how many older dancers perceive dance associations, often describing them as schools where girls receive a cultural education. At the same time, they also reveal an attitude more common among younger generations that have bought in to the post-colonial promises of formal education. Indigenous Africans were prohibited from attending school beyond the fourth grade during the colonial era. Many Muslim parents wouldn't send their daughters to school at all, choosing instead to send them to *madrassa* to receive an Islamic education.

[141] When Ana was younger, her dream was to become a traffic cop, but unfortunately, she didn't meet the minimum height requirement for that profession.

the honest way, by gathering and submitting her documents every time there was a vacancy, but she was never selected.[142]

What unsettled Ana even further was that she was still unmarried and had to depend on her parents for financial and material assistance, explaining, "When I run out of charcoal or flour, for example, sometimes I have to call them and ask them to send me some. I just feel so bad that after all they have done for me, I can't help them out. They need support, too." A husband would help relieve some of these financial burdens and would also be able to do things, like carry a sack of charcoal, that were too difficult for women to do on their own. From her perspective, marriage was necessary because the gendered division of labor made certain activities impossible for her to do on her own. Men's control of the economic domain means women often rely them as market intermediaries, and for Ana, being unemployed and unmarried enhanced her precarity, which had negative effects on her health. She frequently lost sleep because of racing thoughts or stress headaches, and the only time her depression would lift was when she went to rehearsal. Ultimately, dancing was what got her through these difficult moments, offering her a brief respite from this constant hardship through fleeting moments of joy and comradery with other women.

Ana's story, and before that, Afisa's comments, resonate with what adrienne maree brown discusses in *Pleasure Activism: The Politics of Feeling Good* (2018). Capitalism has created conditions in which we no longer think our lives should feel good. It has perpetuated poverty for many, and within this system, oppressed peoples have been socialized to believe that "our health, our votes, our work, our safety, our families, our lives don't matter—not as much as those of white men" (2018: 87). Later, brown adds that, "Our misery only serves those who wish to control us, to have our

[142] Gender norms further constrain her opportunities for finding formal employment. Given that men are still widely considered to be household providers, men are almost always prioritized for work. Weeks before my fieldwork ended and I left Pebane, Ana's name was finally called and she was offered a job as a nurse's assistant at one of Pebane's two health clinics. As a care-based profession, this is one of few professions that was dominated by women in Pebane (the other was primary school education).

existence be in service to their own" (604). Makhuwa women like Ana and Afisa, who have little direct access to the market economy, recognize the social and emotional value of play as serious work. While people desperately want to improve their circumstances, cultural norms—in particular those circulated and upheld by women—still prioritize play as socially necessary, and not something to be sacrificed at the expense of productivity or profit. While in the US, pleasure and self-care are framed as a radical political stance, or in Audre Lorde's words, an act of "political warfare" (1988: 130), in Pebane, they are means of survival, and what it means to be human. As some of the interactions and tensions I discuss later in this chapter show, however, as *tufo* is gradually being pulled into the market economy, or rather, as men introduce capitalist values into women's leisure spaces, women's play also risks reform and discipline.

While *tufo* might not be *about* money for dancers, it is an essential part of association activities and is growing in importance as the genre is gradually being incorporated into the national cultural economy through heritage tourism. Historically, the economic dimension of dance societies has been important for women's social mobility. Margaret Strobel's work on women's *lelemama* associations in Mombasa Kenya in the first half of the 20th century describes how women could buy status, rank (*heshima*), and honor by paying a customary fee—a strategy used by women of slave descent to mitigate the stigma associated with their birth status (Strobel 1976: 192). Similarly, in the Zanzibari context, women's participation in *kunguiya* and *ndege* dances, which were a part of girls' initiation rites, were contingent on their available financial resources (Fair 1996). Lavish displays of wealth were central to public dance competitions and could temporarily minimize class and status difference. At the same time, access to the necessary wealth (initiation fees, high quality cloth, and gold jewelry) was dependent on a dancer's social connections, and Fair concludes that dances like *ndege* were still "a public demonstration that real money was still in the hands of the aristocracy" (1996: 159). Dance association practices affirm that money is more than a medium of exchange but

is "an integral part of the hierarchies and networks of exchange through which it circulates" (Hart and Ortiz 2014: 466).

The shifting landscape of late capitalism has thrust women into male domains, and likewise, men into women's domains, which require new cultural competencies. Participating in *tufo* costs money: it is required for travel expenses, for paying drummers, for repairing drums, for maintaining the club house, and for purchasing *capulanas*. In order to perform publicly, a dancer must purchase the *capulanas* required for the uniform, and often, must be able to contribute the monthly dues to the *caixa*—the communal fund. The size and scope of an association's ambitions depend on financing, and groups are constantly in search of new patrons to finance group activities. When I asked the female president of a *tufo* association in Mocuba what she wanted people to know about her group, she responded, bluntly: "we need financial partners that can help us travel." This gradual shift towards professionalization and financialization means that *tufo* is no longer only about dancing and having fun, but instead, as one president summarized, about "creating the conditions to dance." Creating these conditions requires experience and knowledge that is gendered as male, and the next section historicizes this gendered division of labor in northern Mozambique that has precluded women's market participation and restricted their access and ability to travel.

Gendered Economies

Spatial mobility and market access are interconnected and both male-dominated spheres in northern Mozambique. Anthropologists have noted how gender relations in the north are still marked by the perpetual influence of 'tradition' and religion, which have shaped gender relations, and excluded women from income opportunities (Urdang 1998; Tvedten et al. 2008). These traditions are not static, of course, and have evolved in response to political and economic change since the pre-colonial era, but by and large, Makhuwa cultural constructions of manhood and

womanhood are influenced by their strong matrilineal tradition and patriarchal Islam. Food production, domestic chores, and social reproduction are women's work, while men are responsible for building homes, clearing land, and providing household goods, clothing, and cash (Machado 1968 in Chilundo 1994). Put differently, wage-earning men provide cash and clothes, while food and sex are domains of female power (Arnfred 2007), and this gendered division of labor has been the foundation of domestic economies.

Women's access to things and money in Mozambique has hinged on their relationship to male kin, and especially their husbands. From the pre-colonial period, gendered divisions of labor shaped the spatial movement of people and established women's exclusion from the market economy. Historically, communities acquired clothing, salt and other commodities through travel between the hinterland and coastal markets. Rural economies were structured around this long-distance trade, and the division of labor was allocated according to age and gender. Women produced the crops required for consumption and trade and performed the ancestral rituals to ensure safe passage, while able-bodied men traveled to and from coastal markets. According to Chilundo, "…long, dangerous and tedious journeys from the hinterland to the coast could not accommodate women. Women's absence for long periods was considered detrimental to their primary role as food producers for the family" (1994: 6). While women's agricultural production formed the backbone of the local economy, men had complete control over market participation as traders.

Men's mobility, moreover, corresponded with women's immobility: social rules and taboos governed women's behavior and movements during men's absence. For example, married women could not travel more than a kilometer from their homes and could only leave to fetch water or cultivate food. They could not shut their front doors, cook for male guests, travel, or converse with men who were not kin while their husbands were away. Breaking any of these taboos risked

threatening their husbands' safety while away, and if something did happen, women would be blamed.[143] Women's 'good behavior' was further incentivized through gift giving upon men's return from the coastal markets, when desired goods, like cotton cloth (*ekuwo*) were given to married women and children. This had the additional effect of compelling women to marry because single adult women were excluded from this exchange and condemned to wear bark cloth (*nakotto*) (Chilundo 1994: 7).

Men's position as intermediaries between the community and coastal markets meant they had complete economic control when money was introduced as a necessary currency during the colonial era. During the early colonial period, for instance, women became completely dependent on men for access to the money they needed to pay the Portuguese-implemented hut tax (Sheldon 2002: 50). With men away performing forced labor, a large percentage of women defaulted on tax payments, especially in the hinterland where there were still no cash-based markets where women could sell their produce. For women, marriage became an important coping strategy because single, divorced and widowed women had less access to cash and were vulnerable to forced labor,[144] and abuses from colonial officials and *regulos* (Chilundo 1994).[145] The construction of the railway in the

[143]Many of these taboos still operate, though in modified versions. In coastal communities in Pebane district there are restrictions on a woman's movements and activities while her husband is away fishing. Similarly, one of the dancers in EVP had to stop dancing *tufo* and significantly restrict her movements around town while her husband was sick in the hospital in Nampula. If she was dancing—an expression of joy—she told me that her husband's family would accuse her of inflicting his illness through witchcraft in order to take all his money. She had to perform a state of mourning while he was away to quell any accusations, and to prevent any retaliatory *feitiço* (sorcery).

[144] The Native Labor Codes of 1899, 1911, and 1914 defended the use of forced labor for those who failed to pay taxes. Such labor was often public work like building roads, and both men and women were sent to do this until the 1942 Manual Contribution Ordinance was put in place to stop female labor for road and bridge construction. Instead, all male natives between 18-55 were expected to work on roads within 20km from their villages for five days a year (Chilundo 1994). In addition, women were often forced to cultivate cash crops, such as cotton (Sheldon 2002: 50). Labor songs collected by Leroy Vail and Landeg White (1978, 1983) in Zambézia province provide further insight into the suffering women experienced through this forced separation from their husbands, as well as the specific types of abuse they experienced—in addition to frequent sexual abuse, plantation foremen were reported to lock women's babies in until the work they completed was satisfactory. For more on the history of forced cultivation, see Alan Isaacman's *Cotton Is the Mother of Poverty* (1996).

[145] See Chilundo (1994: 13-14) for a discussion of how Makhuwa women's frequent inability to pay taxes was interpreted as laziness by some men. As Chilundo points out, this was a consequence of the impact that taxation and commodity production was having on the traditional way of life in rural areas. Women were working hard to sustain social reproduction, produce food for their families, and even increasing the size of their *machambas* (garden plots) without help from men who were away working and often had to choose between feeding their family and selling their crops for cash.

1930s brought new wage labor opportunities for men who would migrate to work in the tea plantations in Nyasaland, the mines in Southern Rhodesia, or sisal plantations along the coast, while "women were believed to be incapable of undertaking such long and dangerous journeys" (Chilundo 1994: 12). Travel remained men's domain, and their experience and knowledge of other places, people, and maneuvering transport systems, became a valuable cultural capital that, in places like Pebane, also justified women's immobility. When women did travel, it was always accompanied by male kin, and many older women complained about the persistence of this negative perception of women as being incapable, or not intelligent enough to travel. Their counterargument is that it had nothing to do with intelligence, but instead was lack of experience that made travel difficult.

However, with the interior expansion of the road and railway systems came rural stores and markets that that gave peripheral peasant communities direct access to the global commodity market.[146] At local markets, women could sell their cash-crops, gaining access to money while their husbands were away. Direct market access gave women more autonomy; they could now pay their own taxes and buy cloth, weakening their dependence on marriage. If a husband no longer fulfilled his marital obligations, his wife could divorce him.

Frelimo's post-independence socialist policies brought new changes to gender relations. As a party committed to gender equality—at least ideologically—they challenged men's economic domination by abolishing private companies and establishing OMM, a national women's organization that had political power (Pitcher 1998; Arnfred 2007). Women's entry into the public sector also increased during this period although it did not eliminate gender inequality. Furthermore, Frelimo's collective production initiatives unsettled rural livelihoods in Nampula by weakening subsistence farming and cash-crop production (Pitcher 1998). While women regained control over

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[146] The colonial regime built the road and railway systems using forced indigenous labor. For a time, women were also forced to aid in construction and exploited by colonial authorities and local *regulos* (Chilundo 1994).

agricultural production in northern Mozambique when the socialist experiment ended, subsequent male-led privatization efforts have largely excluded them from cash-generating activities and from controlling proceeds (Pitcher 1996).[147]

Most recently, economic liberalization and the civil war led to socioeconomic crises and material poverty that have further transformed gender relations in the household, while also re-entrenching some of these 'traditional' norms. While economic necessity has increased women's opportunities to participate in the economy, men still exercise control over the decision to work and women's cash-earning activities. In her dissertation on women's work in Cabo Delgado province, Sara Stevano (2014) observes that instances where women gain access to higher levels of income, such as successful agricultural associations, "appear to trigger men's desire to control and appropriate cash earnings" (183), highlighting men's ongoing presence in regulating women's participation and their activities.[148] In the next section I show how these power imbalances play out in the context of *tufo* associations. Here, these 'traditional' norms of masculinity and femininity are performed and reinforced in interactions between the group governing body—positions usually filled by men—and the female dancers. Today, few men have the financial means to support these endeavors, yet they possess other forms of capital that women find desirable, such as the knowledge and experience necessary to travel long distances.

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[147] The 2005 report on Pebane district listed agriculture as the dominant family sector activity (93%) with production centered around mandioca. Cashew nuts are the primary source of family wealth, but peanuts and rice are secondary cash crops. Along the coast, coconut is another important cash crop. As a coastal district, fish is also a significant source of family wealth for those living near water, though this is a male-dominated activity.

[148] Residents of Pebane district have had another significant obstacle accessing the market economy: it was one of the only districts in the country without a bank. Residents would have to travel to Mocuba to do their banking, a ritual that civil service employees, like teachers, would have to undertake once a month to collect their salary at their own expense. In a district where only 4% of the population had salaried employment—and only .3% of women earned a monthly salary—women's access to money is extremely restricted (Ministério da Administração Estatal. 2014: 36). While mobile banking has eased the circulation of money in rurally located towns, most women I know rely on male relatives for these transactions. One pervasive idea—particularly among young adults and those in larger urban areas—is that older women living in Pebane don't need money because there is nothing for them to purchase. For the older generation of women, many of whom did not attend school and cannot read and write, this generates significant anxiety because of their total dependency on their children and extended kin.

"Men are always in front": Social Navigation as Proxy

This history of changing gender roles and relations illuminates why association leadership is predominantly male. Most *tufo* groups have adopted a common corporate structure, with a president, vice president and secretary. The governing body is in charge of the administrative, political, and logistical aspects of a group, such as booking new performances, providing or procuring funding and material support for group activities, and interceding in social conflicts between or within groups—activities that are usually gendered as male. Consequently, women group members generally seek out men for leadership positions, inviting those who are respected in the community, have some financial means, and an interest in organizing and promoting cultural activities, often demonstrated through previous leadership positions in local soccer teams. However, while leadership *positions* are male-gendered domains, the position *holder* can be a man or woman, and a person's suitability is determined by their qualities, competencies, and social status, challenging binary concepts of gender that assume women's *a priori* subordination (i.e., Amadiume 1987; Oyewùmí 1997; 2002).[149] The long-standing president of EVP, for instance, is Elisa Muller, a woman from Angoche who is of German-Mozambican descent. Elisa was, for many decades, the owner of Pensão Pebane, a successful guest house and restaurant, and is highly respected in the community for her work ethic, entrepreneurial success, and for having provided significant financial support and employment to many before, during, and after the war. She was also the first female to be elected as a president in Pebane after women started dancing *tufo*. Today, Elisa is in her mid-80s and too old to

[149] African feminist scholars showed how indigenous conceptions of gender are far more flexible than mainstream feminist thinking (at the time), which positioned 'woman' and 'men' in binary opposition. For Amadiume (1987) social positions might gendered, but these could be occupied by men or women—the 'female husband' phenomenon is one such example. Oyewumi argues that concept of 'woman' used in Western gender discourses did not exist in pre-colonial Yorubaland (1997: ix) where biological women are not *a priori* subordinate to biological men. Hierarchies are far more complex, and depend on social relations and positions such as seniority, lineage, insider/outsider status, etc. See also Arnfred 2007.

maintain an active leadership role in the group, so she is president in name only. The vice president and secretary—both men—are the group's acting leaders.

However, female-led associations are still relatively rare, and most dance groups elect men to the governing body because the cultural competencies, knowledge, and experiences that most men acquire through socialization processes align with socio-cultural understandings of a good leader. According to one EVP dancer, women capitalize on men's "good ideas" to "avoid nullification" (Jackson 1998: 26), explaining that "Men are involved in the group so we don't disappear. They make sure things are going well, and that us women don't destroy it, so the group doesn't decline. Women have weak ideas, but when men are involved, their ideas are good." Men had similar ideas about their role in the group, even framing their participation as a form of altruism. Most group leaders I spoke with told me they wanted to help women achieve their goals. One president reiterated this sentiment to the group, reminding dancers that men were there to "*ajudar organizer*"—to help organize. "Here in Mozambique," he later told me, "women have limitations, and men have to help them develop. Women can't decide things on their own so men are always in front (*sempre estão em frente*)." Limitations, for him, meant that when women want to do something, like travel, they often aren't able to do it without help from men. Patriarchal authority is prevalent in all social domains, and he added, "even in the government, men always lead the way (*enfrentar*).[150] Women can't decide things on their own, so they always have to have a man in front."

"Men in front" means two things within the context of dance associations. First, it is a spatial metaphor that refers to men's leadership and socio-political position as group representatives. They are the first point of contact for the group, building social and political partnerships, navigating

[150] Gender norms that govern familial relations extend to dance association relations as well, which are described as 'families', a topic I will explore further in Chapter Four. In a family, as I explained in the previous section, the man is responsible for providing the cash and the clothes, and these are the material and financial resources that dance groups rely on to host and attend performances. Women are responsible for the domestic activities that contribute to these events, such as cooking, preparing food, fetching water, etc.

(patriarchal) bureaucracies, arranging transport logistics and, being fluent in Portuguese, they speak on behalf of the group at public ceremonies. For example, Abudala typed and printed invitations for the *carrama,* and organized their distribution throughout the region. In lieu of a mail service, this was a complicated process that required him to mobilize his vast social and kin network. He was also the group representative at events and meetings outside of Pebane, and actively pursued new social connections and partnerships with the local government and NGOs that might benefit the group. Women's group activities are less visible, often occurring behind the walls of the *quintal* (garden). In addition to their artistic pursuits, women organize cooking, arrange uniforms, and perform ancestral ceremonies. Again, this does not indicate subordination – as Arnfred (2007) makes clear, Makhuwa women derive social power from their control over sex, food, and as historical literature indicates, ritual connection to the ancestors (Bonate 2007).

Second, "men in front" describes a temporal orientation: men looking ahead [*olhar em frente*] to the future, captured through the term *visão* (vision), which is defined by anthropologist Julie Archambault as "the poise and cunning required for successful living" (2013: 90) that requires an individual to become adept at concealment, discretion, and maintaining appearances. Abudala's longer-term project of obtaining official association status from the Provincial government was an example of how *visão* is operationalized within a group context. He had been working on the application for months, writing association by-laws, compiling required materials, and eliciting assistance from his network of contacts.[151] After a month of silence on the matter, he showed up to a Saturday rehearsal in the middle of July beaming, with a thick manila envelope in hand. He pulled out the contents and held one page in the air and made his big announcement: Estrela Vermelha was

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[151] I was among those he asked for help and was incorporated into his broader *visão* for group success. In the most immediate sense, he utilized my typing skills and laptop computer to type up the documents needed for submission. We had to photocopy the government-issued IDs of each member, and as he was away at work, he assigned me the task of taking a photo of each ID, then printing the photos at the print shop. But Abudala also had experience working for foreigners, including South Africans and Europeans, and as a result, recognized that, as an American, I had access to funding and other resources that the group needed.

now an officially recognized association. The response in the room was underwhelming—there were no ululations, but rather a few weak smiles from the dancers lounging on the *esteiras*. Unperturbed, he continued, explaining to the room of women what this could mean in the future: they can now ask for money from all organizations, even those in America, he added, glancing in my direction. Still, there was minimal reaction from group members, with the exception of Zena, a life-long group member and former teacher who today holds the administrative position of *chefe do posto* of Magiga. She sat up, took the packet of papers from Abudala and looked at the signature on the bottom of the page. A wide smile spread across her face and she flipped through the sheets of paper one by one with satisfaction. She was the only one in the room who knew the inner workings of government bureaucracy well enough to understand what resources the association's new-found status could potentially access.[152]

Visão, in this example, captures Abudala's ability to plan for the future and navigate bureaucracy, a vision that is enhanced by his life experience and knowledge. In Southern Mozambique during the colonial period, labor migration became a rite of passage for men that distinguished those with *visão* from the "inexperienced and ignorant provincials" (Harries 1994: 157 in Archambault 2013: 19) who did not participate. As Archambault explains, "The rationale was part economics, part tied to the acquisition of mind-opening experience and knowledge" (2018: 90). While historically *visão* was not accessible to women, today it is more democratic as young people develop *visão* through a range of pursuits like education, involvement with foreigners, mass media,

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[152] The group's overall ambivalence was not a total surprise, as they had been largely disinterested in the bureaucratic process of submitting the application. Abudala kept the members abreast of progress at each stage of the application and read aloud the by-laws to elicit feedback from all members. While I won't analyze the laws in this dissertation, I am including them here because they illustrate how socialist-era ideas of gender equality, which were evident in discourse, though not in practice, are still upheld in legislative creation at the local level. The by-laws include: majority opinion rules; the association's primary objective is to defend culture, and *emwali*, women's initiation rites, is included in this (a notable inclusion given the government's discrimination against this rites historically and at present); their secondary objective is to promote events and relationships with other groups (which was modified during the discussion to mean EVPs friends, like Chimpimpi, at least); the governing body (*direção geral/conselho geral*) must consist of at least 50% women.

and drug and alcohol consumption (See also Groes-Green 2010; Archambault 2012). In the North, however, *visão* is still a masculine quality. This does not imply that women cannot possess *visão*—Zena had acquired valuable knowledge and experience through her education and political career that helped her succeed. But *visão* must also be actualized and implemented, and women search for leaders who will *act* on their behalf.

Social navigation as an analytical optic warrants a much closer look here because, as Archambault notes, *visão,* is "part and parcel of social navigation" (2013: 90). Navigation has been used in social sciences to understand how people move through contexts of uncertainty, conflict, social change, or confining structures of power. More recently, it has been deployed by anthropologists studying how people living in contexts of social upheaval and conflict are not just surviving and coping, but pursuing a "multidimensional agenda of life projects" (Lubkemann 2008: 323) by "maneuvering within networks and events" (Vigh 2010: 156; see also Utas 2005; Vigh 2006). Henrik Vigh (2010) considers how navigation evokes a more complex form of movement that always occurs within an already moving environment, or "motion within motion" (Ingold 2000 in Vigh 2010: 151). Navigation brings together two forms of movement: 1) agents' movements through social formations; and 2) the movement of social formations themselves, over time, adding a third dimension to our understanding of mobility—*interactivity.* Social navigation draws attention to the interactions between agency, social forces and change, because, as Vigh puts it, "We act, adjust, and attune our strategies and tactics in relation to the way we experience and imagine and anticipate the movement and influence of social forces" (2009: 420). Vigh analyzes navigation in Guinea Bissau through the term *dubriagem,* which means movement and dynamism and is also embodied as a rhythmic, yet disjointed, upper body movement. The interactivity between micro and macro forms of movement captured through *dubriagem* is similar to how I understand *visão* in northern

Mozambique because it refers to a mode of survival that contains "both the spatial and temporal awareness needed to move and position oneself expediently within a tumultuous terrain" (ibid.: 425).

"Men in front" encapsulates the spatial and temporal awareness needed for success in this patriarchal context where the political-economic spheres are still largely men's domain. To be valuable, *visão* is more than just a vision but it is about the movements one makes to position themselves for success. Navigation also draws our attention to the ways in which our power to move is situational, relational, and contingent. Both men and women recognize that the experience and knowledge of movement is gendered in *tufo*. Women master the aesthetic techniques that are important for a group's recognition through their ability to generate public pleasure as last chapter described. As *tufo* networks expand, more opportunities for travel emerge, and funding is a growing imperative. Women's ability to move and maneuver these domains is largely contingent on their proximity to men, and relatedly, their recognition of men's "good ideas" is a recognition of the *visão* they need to move. While men's social navigation skills are considered to be future oriented, and quite literally move the group forward, women's strategies connect the past to the present through ancestor rituals and the performance of tradition. For example, when preparing for a group trip, men will organize transport and arrange travel logistics, while women perform ritual ceremonies where they sweep the graves of group ancestors and pray for their protection. In the next section I look at how these gendered forms of knowledge and experience are expressed within group meetings and rehearsals.

Working Men: Envisioning Organization and Discipline

Discipline and organization are the two concepts that position *visão* as a masculine attribute and show how competing regimes of value come into conflict.[153] Men deploy these concepts in

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[153] These terms also have historical meaning. From the colonial era, through socialist modernization, and during post-war reconstruction, organization and discipline have been values that are embodied in strong social and material

rehearsals and meetings to distinguish their working style and abilities from women's. Organization, as a structure, and discipline as a practice, are guiding principles for their vision of success that "creates the conditions" for dancing, as Ismael, the executive president of the club Associação Familia Aleikussalamo, described. The strategies implemented by Abudala and other male leaders in EVP were aimed at creating structure and stability in order to anticipate and protect against future uncertainty.

Organization is highly valued among associations because it is a visual marker of success. An organized group is a productive group, showing outsiders that its members are serious. This is also a recruitment strategy, because, according to Ismael, "If we are well organized, then others will come." Furthermore, in a social environment that is always moving, "being organized" is an adaptive mechanism used by associations of all kinds to offer security and support to its members. Today, these benefits involve money. Like other mutual aid associations, if a member is ill, the association should have enough in the *caixa* from monthly contributions to help with expenses.

Organization also depends on experience, because, as another president declared, "without experience nothing gets done." These experiences also correspond to the gendered division of labor. For example, months before EVP's *carrama*, Abudala accompanied the group to participate in a *carrama* in Nampula City. While the opportunity to travel to Nampula and perform and watch other groups was exciting for dancers, this was also an experience-building mission. Abudala wanted the dancers to attend the *carrama* so they could learn what they should and shouldn't do for their own *carrama*. When they woke up the first morning in Nampula, tired and sore from the shoddy accommodations and hungry because no food had been served, he saw these experiences as "valuable" because the dancers now understood what a "disorganized" *carrama* looked like.[154]

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infrastructures that buttress communities against uncertainty and violence. Organizing one's life after disruption has always been a symbol of progress and development in Pebane.

[154] Festivals and other competitions are fun; they require that a group prepare, rehearse, and compete together, producing comradery between members of the same team. But competitions are also part of prestige economies, where

Discipline is a quality that individual members need to maintain group organization. Discipline has historical significance as an embodied practice at the heart of colonial, and later socialist, modernization projects (See Pitcher 2002). The way in which men and women understand and embody discipline hinges on their relation to these regimes. Men equate discipline with time, and time with money, revealing how their conceptions of discipline derive from their experiences with the market economy. Women, on the other hand, learn to embody 'traditional' modes of female discipline during initiation rites. Obedience and control over emotions and body in public spaces, as I explained in last chapter, are deeply connected to ideas about feminine beauty.

During rehearsals, tensions frequently erupted over competing understandings of organization and discipline. Often, these conflicts emerged from gendered ideas around space and discipline. Rehearsals were private spaces for women, hidden behind high walls of the club house where women could relax, play, and have fun—be 'undisciplined'. As the following examples will illustrate, for men, rehearsals were about 'work' and directly conflicted with dancers' leisure sensibilities. Work and play were not presented as a dichotomy because as I mentioned before, women's leisure activities, like *tufo,* are taken seriously and at dance events women perform affective labor. But these tensions centered around the capitalist values that shaped men's understandings of work, time, and discipline, and women's espousal of play as a necessary form of sociality, central to well-being.

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patrons reinforced their authority and undermined rivals through conspicuous acts of generosity, such as providing their guests with enough food. The best hosts, moreover, are those who attract the most people, which in turn enhances the prestige of their event. As Glassman notes, "competitive feasting, in which hosts and guests were provoked and humiliated to outdo one another in aggressive displays of generosity, was a widespread feature throughout Swahili society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; muted traces of the custom can still be found in practices such as the public maulid feasts often hosted by well-to-do families" (1995: 167). These "muted traces" are evident in *carramas* in northern Mozambique as well, where adequate hosting was the main concern for EVP during their festival preparations and the biggest point of consternation when they attended a *carrama* in Nampula where the food and provisions offered were deemed to be insufficient in quantity and quality. Yet when resources are limited, as is the case in Pebane, prestige offers movement potential—*motility,* as I describe in the next chapter—to one group, while subjugating other groups within the social hierarchy.

Before proceeding, I need to introduce a third role within dance associations: the trainer/drummer. This is a position almost exclusively filled by men and they are the only members of the group compensated for their participation. Trainers, also regarded as *maestros* (masters), are typically men who learned to drum and dance at a young age (10-12), often within the context of a family-run group. Trainers also compose and choreograph original songs and are hired by *tufo* groups throughout the northern coastal provinces to teach new material and improve their skills, more broadly. This is not a new position in *tufo*. Elder group founders in Pebane talked about bringing trainers from Angoche to teach women how to dance after they took over the practice.[155] In the contemporary capitalist context, however, this has emerged as a lucrative profession for young, ambitious men in pursuit of geographic and economic mobility. The professionalization of this role, and the recent expansion of *tufo* in Zambézia province, has created many new opportunities for trainers—who come from urban areas Nampula and Nacala-Porto—to make a living in rurally-located towns. At the same time, being a trainer is not a prestige profession outside of *tufo,* and the trainers I met were men from lower socio-economic backgrounds that had not had the opportunity to complete a secondary school education. This is in sharp contrast to the men who participate in group governance, who already come from positions of social prestige and economic security. For them, *tufo* is not a career but an extra-curricular activity that reinforces and enhances their prestige through their leadership skills.

During my research EVP brought two trainers to Pebane. Abdul and Nuno were brothers from Nacala-Porto that the group hired to work with them for a month, but with the hope that the arrangement would work out and they would choose to stay in Pebane and be the group's

[155] The first person to train the group during my research was Nuria, the queen of EVP's mother group in Angoche, and the cousin of EVP's queen, Amina. She was visiting family in Pebane for two weeks and it had been arranged in advance of her visit that she would teach the group several new songs. Her time with the group was not considered 'work'—she is a group leader, not a trainer—and was therefore not compensated, although it was highly valued by group members. It was a reaffirmation of the relationship between the two groups and the songs that she allowed us to record were a gift to EVP and gave them new material to sing at the *praça* that was highly valued by dancers and local audiences.

permanent drummers.[156] The songs they taught the group were valued, but the relationships between the drummers and dancers proved to be more fraught. Discipline and money were points of constant negotiation as both parties navigated different expectations about aesthetics, compensation, and rehearsal time.

Trainers have been instrumental in transmitting *tufo* from Nampula to Zambézia province, where it is currently growing in popularity, and as a result, the dancing styles have not deviated too far from the tradition as it is practiced in Nacala-Porto and Ilha de Moçambique. Trainers also brought with them an idea of professionalism from urban areas, where groups are "very developed" in local parlance, although urban professionalism can at times be at odds with the leisure ethos that attracts female participants in peripheral towns like Pebane. These tensions became evident during Abdul's tenure with EVP in April and May of 2017 and were articulated through the discourses of discipline.

With two upcoming *carramas*—one in Nampula and one in Pebane—EVP dancers were intent on making the most of rehearsal time. Their anxieties became apparent in discussions about discipline, the most memorable of which occurred several days before Abdul and Nuno arrived to train the group for a month. In lieu of Sunday rehearsal, the group scheduled a meeting at the house of the treasurer, Helena, to count the money in the *caixa* to determine what the group had earned in the past year from performances. Dancers were stretched out across several *esteiras* counting coins and notes when Samira arrived, late, and took a seat in one of the two plastic chairs. Samira has been a member of the group since 2004, but has been dancing *tufo* since 1994, and is one of the few dancers that has completed her secondary school education and can read, write and speak fluent Portuguese. Her mother, aunt, sister, and cousins are members of the group, and Samira has

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[156] With such a shortage of drummers in Pebane, and group infighting and competition, it had become increasingly difficult to find drummers to attend rehearsals. This had been a constant source of anxiety for EVP because without the drum accompaniment, they were unable to practice choreography regularly.

emerged as a de facto leader because of her adeptness at navigating (masculine) institutional structures and translating this social world for dancers. Even though she is not the queen, dancers frequently defer to Samira's opinion when making group decisions, and the governing body frequently utilizes Samira as a group ambassador. In Abudala's absence, Samira was performing masculinity by playing the role of the president.[157]

This afternoon, while reclining in the plastic chair, Samira lectured the group on their punctuality, or lack thereof. She was translating time, equating punctuality with discipline. Her voice was measured and sleepy, her eyes half-closed and head tilted slightly upward so her gaze was fixed on a point in the distance so she could avoid eye contact with the women seated on the *esteiras* at her feet—a performance technique that she perhaps borrowed from *tufo* dancing, where dancers do not look the audience in the eye, and instead look towards the sky in communion with God, maintaining an ethereal presence. She was preparing us for the arrival of the trainer, insisting that, "We have to start on time—at 14:00, not 16:00 like we have been." Lately, our rehearsals had been getting shorter and shorter; some evenings, we only danced for an hour before dancers rushed off to the market at 17:00 to buy fish for dinner before it closed.[158]

The speech seemed to renew the group's dedication to rehearsing because the following Wednesday, when I arrived just before 15:00, the *esteiras* were already laid across the floor of the club house, and Saide—the group's on-again-off-again drummer—was standing in the doorway while the drums heated in the fire outside. Inside the clubhouse sat six or seven women, who reassured me I

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[157] The male leaders also respect her organizing skills and she was involved in logistics planning for the *carrama* and other events. Her adeptness at moving between feminine and masculine registers in different contexts meant that she was also highly respected in the group. It also begins to reveal how the seemingly rigid, traditional gender binaries are more malleable in practice, in particular as women gain knowledge and experience within economic and political spheres, and men find reason to insert themselves into the aesthetic practice of *tufo*. This will become clear in the following section, where men perform femininity as a social navigation strategy.

[158] 14:00 was the de facto rehearsal start time, but that was not literal. After arriving to rehearsal promptly at 14:00 during my first two weeks of field work and waiting outside by myself for an hour, I realized that 14:00 meant 15:00, directly after afternoon prayer (*Asr*), which begins at 14:46.

was not late when I entered in haste, visibly flustered. Like always, we sat and chatted while we waited for the other members to arrive, then started to dance while seated to warm up. Abdul, the highly anticipated trainer, had arrived the night before from Nacala with his younger brother, a drummer. Zena and Safiana, the *chefe do posto* and head of culture, respectively, were at rehearsal today as well to officially welcome the guests and lead the introductions. The atmosphere was charged with excitement.

After much waiting, Samira and Zena finally arrived at the club house with Abdul and Nuno. Abdul, in his late 20s, wore a light-yellow t-shirt, black skinny jeans, and black high-top sneakers—an urban style that, in Pebane, betrayed his outsider status. Nuno was similarly dressed but was also much younger and appeared timid next to his self-assured brother. In his introduction to the group, delivered in the Makhuwa dialect spoken in Nacala, Makhuwa-Enahara, Abdul emphasized that he and Nuno *always* work as a team and they would also wait to see what the conditions were like in Pebane before deciding how long to stay. Safiana responded by suggesting the group meet after the rehearsal to finalize what they would be able to offer the drummers.

That two young men had left their families in Nacala for a job in a rurally located town in a different province without first knowing the terms of employment, highlighted their eagerness for new work opportunities.[159] Neither had completed secondary school, and were uncomfortable speaking in Portuguese, an indication of limited formal education. Like other trainers I met, their

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[159] A deeper discussion of trainers' labor migration is beyond the scope of this chapter. Those that I spoke to said that they decided to come to see how the environment (*ambient*) was in Pebane, and with the group. If they felt the conditions were acceptable and found other work opportunities that may boost their overall wage, then they would consider staying. Short-term migration was really common among young men, more broadly. Many were looking to 'build a life' and would follow one opportunity to the next while they built personal capital. In his work with Makhuwa communities in Niassa province, Premawardhana (2018) borrows Potts term "circular migration" (2010) to describe the patterns of movement between urban and rural areas that are characterized by transience and repetition. As he observes in Niassa, "Returning from big cities to rural districts or from town to countryside therefore sometimes affords more economic mobility than does settling permanently in towns and cities. There, jobs either do not exist or remain out-of-reach for all but the best connected" (2018: 22). While *tufo* trainers are departing from their urban homes for work elsewhere, and do not fit within this narrative of return, their frequent movements between rural and urban districts in the northern provinces for work further complicates "unidirectional conceptions of the urbanization path" (ibid.: 23).

skill set was highly valued in *tufo,* but they had few work opportunities outside of the culture sector. They needed this work, and as Abdul would later tell me, he was trying to support his wife and two small children in Nacala-Porto. The members of EVP were sensitive to the fact that this money would support another woman and her children, and that gave his salary added importance when the group was discussing the terms of employment at the meeting after rehearsal, where they agreed to provide housing, food, and a salary of 1200 MTS ($20 USD) each for the month, in addition to transport costs.[160]

After the introductions we started to dance, but in somewhat of a disarray. Samira and Carlota got up from their seats and arranged us into an orderly block of dancers, a technique used on stage before a group performs to visually demonstrate their organization through attentive leadership. When we finished our first song, Abdul talked to us about the importance of melody, and asked what kind of vocables we prefer to use at the beginning of the song. The dancers argued a bit but concluded that *lena* and *yo-yo* are their preferred choice for highlighting (*enfatizar*) the melody. Using *yo-yo* vocables, he taught us a new melody, guiding us through each phrase by call and response. When we reached the end, he asked us to sing the melody in its entirety. This was a disaster, with voices meandering every which way so that the melody was not even recognizable. He was patient, though, and had us start again, repeating the call and response until he was confident we knew the melody. Next, he taught us the lyrics, again, going slowly, phrase by phrase so that we

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160 After rehearsal ends, the group tells the drummers to wait outside Zaquichela's house, on the other side of a large tree and public footpath, or 'road', that runs in front of the clubhouse. The negotiation process is always long, with each party taking their turn to discuss their interests and desire. Everyone is welcome to talk and often there are several people who wish to contribute an opinion. This certainly is the case after rehearsal when negotiations begin. Samira tells the group she does not have space to host them for much longer. Carlota says she can't host them for a month. Zena is annoyed and says, "Well you already brought them here so we have to give them somewhere to stay." She says she has an empty house near the administrator's residence on the main road that they can stay in, but it does not have a bed and the outside latrine needs to be refurbished. I offer my plastic table and chairs and two buckets. Someone else offers a mattress. Little by little, women offer household items to furnish the house for our guests. But then, there is the issue of food. Zena asks, "How are we going to feed them?" The group agrees that each member will need to contribute 30 MTS each to buy rice, flour, salt, and oil, and I offer to bring them fish every day as I live next to the beach and can buy it directly from the fishermen (albeit for an inflated price).

committed the song to memory. He was a fantastic teacher, and by the end of the rehearsal we had learned the melody, lyrics, and choreography to a new song. The dancers were thrilled with their progress and Samira was jumping up and down from excitement.

At the end of rehearsal, Abdul delivered his professional assessment of the group: we lacked discipline. He complained that the dancers were easily distracted and talked too much during rehearsal, emphasizing that he, in contrast, was there to work, and that the group he performs with in Nacala, Hisubo Rahamane, was *much* more serious. Hisubo Rahamane was only twelve years old but had already amassed 73 members, four drummers, and had worked hard to become the city's best-known group. They had performed for the President Edgar Lungu of Zambia when he visited Nacala-Porto in 2016—even singing a song in English so that he could appreciate *tufo* in his own language—and were the only *tufo* group selected to represent Nampula province at the 2016 National Festival of Culture in Beira.[161] He added that their performance schedule was so rigorous that they rehearsed every day—they did not have the time to take breaks. Nacala-Porto is one of Mozambique's largest port cities, and as the home of many organizations and companies, groups like Hisubo Rahamane had more invitations because there were frequent events that needed entertainment. One dancer later remarked that they were probably more professional because they *had* to be—they had more work! Yet the women in the room listened intently to his lecture, and later concurred that we needed to be much more serious and take advantage of our time with these experienced trainers if we wanted to get noticed at the *carramas.*[162]

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[161] I first met this group at the National Festival of Culture and kept in contact with the queen. When I was settled in Pebane, I called her to invite her to the festival we were planning. Several group members spoke with her on the phone and asked her to help them arrange drummers to come train our group in preparation.

[162] Successful performances in other cities are milestones in a group's historical memory. When EVP won a competition in Beira nearly a decade ago, they apparently made such an impression that people are still talking about their performance, according to the oral history of the event that is frequently repeated. They returned to a hero's welcome in Pebane, a victorious scene that has been described in great detail.

Group discipline became a source of conflict over the coming weeks, however. Abdul taught the group several new dances, and initially, this lit a spark in the group, similar to the effect of Samira's lecture. More dancers regularly attended rehearsals and the group as a whole was more committed to training. But while the dancers were eager to learn the new songs he was teaching; they grew weary of his demanding teaching style. He had a much stricter sense of rehearsal time, frequently reminding them, "I'm here to work," a phrase that was used by other drummers, as well.[163] Many dancers disliked this discipline because it undermined the fun, social aspects of rehearsal, like gossip, and joking around. Their growing frustration with Abdul's seriousness coincided with a gradual rejection of the material he was teaching. Many didn't like his style of dancing—yes, it was innovative and showcased their athleticism through complex choreographic sequences, but they preferred their way of dancing, which was slower and more graceful. Moreover, since Abdul was teaching them songs that discussed life in Nacala, the themes were not resonating as much with the Pebane audience, where daily life and language were different.

These tensions came to a head one rehearsal when there was a heated verbal exchange between Abdul and Nilza, a dancer. When he yelled at her for talking, she shot back, defending herself and some of the other dancers whom he had scolded earlier in rehearsal. "We were talking about the dance!" she shouted, and the argument quickly escalated, ending only when Nilza stormed out of the club house. With the end of the month-long trial period approaching, the group decided not to renew Abdul and Nuno's employment. On top of the existing grievances, they collectively determined that the drummers had become too opportunistic, taking advantage of their hospitality by visiting individual dancers at their homes to ask for food and money beyond what had been agreed.

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[163] These were the same words that a different drummer used several months later. During rehearsal, there are always many pauses for chit-chat, and lots of playing around. The drummer got annoyed at these delays and started complaining: "why can't we start on time? We're slacking too much. You aren't here to work while I am." They largely ignored his complaining and started to sing over him at one point.

Men's critiques of women's disorganization and perceived lack of discipline extended beyond the rehearsal space and included their accounting practices and time management skills. At 10:00AM one Saturday morning—the day before Abdul and his brother were supposed to return to Nacala-Porto—EVP members gathered in the club house for an emergency financial meeting. The small room was packed tightly with little free space on the *esteiras*. Abudala and Makumaka, the Secretary at the time, sat grumpily in the plastic chairs at the front of the room where they were trying to account for outgoing expenditures, and figure out how the group was going to pay for the drummer's return ticket. The trainers 'divide and conquer' tactics had worked: they asked individuals for money, who would later seek reimbursement from the *caixa*. With minimal oversight, and fragmented communication between members, the collective fund had disappeared, and the group had to quickly raise 2,000MTS ($30 USD). The men took turns scolding the women on being so disorganized with their finances and lectured them on how a proper association should manage the *caixa,* which included budgeting in advance and giving the drummers a daily allowance that we could afford. Abudala was upset that no one had called him earlier to talk about these financial issues, while Samira cross checked a list of outgoing expenditures, trying to prove where the money had gone. There were many side conversations as women took turns relaying stories of how the drummers had taken advantage of them. Frustrated, Abudala yelled at them for talking so much, saying "for us, time is money", nodding towards the Secretary. One by one, each group member reluctantly tossed a 50MT note on to the *esteira,* and Abudala remarked, "This meeting was held because the group is disorganized. We are all paying as a result." This final example underscores how tensions manifest within the group, as well. This was not a matter of women's disorganization but of a clash in vision and long-term planning. EVP dancers were duty-bound to being excellent hosts to the drummers as a matter of reputation—Hisubo Rahamane had been generous in 'lending' the drummers to EVP during a time of need and insisted they be well looked after. For EVP dancers,

moreover, this was relationship they wanted to maintain for future exchanges and invitations. Men's vision, in this instance, was short sighted and concerned with the immediate inconvenience rather than the longer-term problem. Moreover, it was far easier for them to blame the dancers for the problem than it was to confront the drummers, over whom they had little authority.

"A body like a woman": Performing Femininity to Fulfill Norms of Masculinity

As employers, women had a modicum of control over their aesthetic vision and rehearsal time. While they value the organization and discipline that men bring to the group, the relationship between men and women can also be exploitative. Trainers with *visão* move between aesthetic and disciplinary work, which are gendered domains. Even though trainers are paid for their compositions and choreographic work, they also earn money by literally dressing up as women and dancing on stage. Given *tufo's* history as a men's dance, women do not have a problem with men dancing—in fact, this is often a source of amusement. But women do have a problem when men intercept their tips at their performances.

Sabir, a *tufo* trainer with the network Associação Familia Aleikussalamo illustrates how some male participants are able to capitalize on femininity. Sabir was born in Nampula but his parents were from Nacala-Porto, and he started dancing *tufo* when he was eight years old, accompanying his mom to rehearsals. Sabir has a small frame and feminine facial features, so he was able to pass as a girl, and later a woman, when he wore a *capulana* and *lenço*. He also started composing as a child, an activity that he is passionate about as an adult, often losing sleep because he is thinking about his songs. Sabir's talents as a composer and dancer were noticed by Ismael, who employed Sabir as the network trainer, giving him "direction in life" as he was sent on training "missions," to work with Aleikussalamo groups throughout the region for several months at a time. He has travelled

extensively throughout Cabo Delgado, Nampula, and most recently, Zambézia province, where the network is actively expanding and founding new groups.

The first time I met Sabir was at a large meeting at the Aleikussalamo club headquarters in Nampula City, where he was one of several drummers accompanying the groups performing at the meeting. Halfway through the hosting group's performance, however, he handed his drum to another drummer, and to my surprise, wrapped a *capulana* around his waist, tied a matching *lenço* on his head and joined the group, sitting in the middle of the front row. His presence energized the dancers on stage, and those in the audience—members from Aleikussalamo affiliate groups in Zambézia, Nampula and Cabo Delgado—cheered, though their responses led me to believe that Sabir's dancing was nothing out of the ordinary, and at this particular event, an all-male *tufo* group also performed, indicating that dancing *tufo* was not exclusively a women's activity. Sabir later told me women don't mind him dancing, and he likewise, dancing as a woman poses no threat to his masculinity. He feels very comfortable with what he's doing because it allows him to make a living and travel to new places which is desirable for single young men.

Women's opinions were more ambivalent. When my friend Isa was reviewing the videos I recorded at the Aleikussalamo meeting, Isa identified Sabir as the trainer who had come to work with her group for three months. He has a "body like a woman" she added with a hint of contempt in her voice. He was an excellent dancer, and clearly beloved by the audience, who responded to his talent with enthusiastic ululating and cheering. But Isa commented that "This is why women don't like men dancing, because they take away money from women." I witnessed this first-hand at a wedding in the nearby village of Maiaia several weeks later where EVP was performing at a wedding. This was around the third week of Abdul and Nuno's tenure with the group, and they accompanied us to the wedding along with one other drummer. The group performed classic *tufo* songs that impart advice to the newly married couple, and also debuted several of Abdul's compositions that

the crowed responded to with enthusiasm. At the height of their performance, and mid-way through a song Abdul wrote about a wedding day, he handed his drum to his brother and wrapped a *capulana* around his waist then took a spot in the front row. The crowd of several hundred people erupted in cheers and many women rewarded him with coin tips, dancing through the crowed to place the coins in his hand, rather than on the *capulana* set in front of the dancers for group tips. He was the star of the performance, and when several women requested that he dance a second time, meaningful looks passed between EVP dancers. He immediately obliged and was again showered with tips. Dancers were clearly uncomfortable with his performance: while on the one hand, he was adding to group appeal by offering a playful, humorous display that animated the audience, on the other hand, he was appropriating femininity as capital to intercept monetary tips that dancers need.

Throughout Africa, tipping is an important way in which audience members participate in a performance event by communicating through small gifts. Janet Topp Fargion (1993; 2016) and Kelly Askew (2002: 128-131; 139-142) describe the social significance of tipping (*kutunza*) at *taarab* events in Zanzibar and Tanzania as a way to express appreciation for a particular song, but also to demonstrate individual wealth and beauty in public. Lesley Braun observes that tipping practices in Kinshasa, called 'spraying', are a way in which audience members themselves perform, dancing their way to the stage, making a spectacle of their gift-giving, by placing money on performers' foreheads or into their pockets.[164] Spraying is a public acknowledgement of one's favorite performers, and "offers an occasion to demonstrate one's taste and even one's critical eye, displaying knowledge of good performance" (Braun 2014).

[164] See also White (2008) for additional examples of 'spraying' in Congo.

Figure 2.3 - A young dancer in the group Associação de Quichanga receiving a tip from an audience member during a performance in Pebane. Photo by author.

While tipping in *tufo* is not as competitive a practice as it is in women's *taarab* (*taarab ya wanawake*),[165] it is still a way in which audience members and patrons participate in performances by offering monetary gifts or food items to an individual dancer or a group they admire.[166] At smaller

[165] Kelly Askew (2002: 128-131) attributes the increase in competitive tipping practices in *taarab* to the emergence of the *mipasho* (insult poetry), when ostentatious tipping became a way of sending a message to other women via public approval of lyrics. For other examples of tipping, see Gearhart (1998: 48-49), Edmondson (2007: 2, 44-46, 92).
[166] December and January are popular months for circumcision ceremonies because children are on school holidays. Two to three groups are usually hired to perform at these ceremonies, and often invited through friend or family connections. Dance groups will perform from an hour and a half to two hours each, and these are usually all-day celebrations that culminate with a feast. Women arrive at these events prepared—after dancing, they pull large plastic containers from their handbags, which are then filled to the top with rice and beans.
At political rallies, welcome ceremonies, and holidays celebrated at the *praça*, dance groups in Pebane seldom received any form of compensation—not even drinking water. Members of government rely on artists' obligation to "perform the nation" as dutiful Mozambican citizens, and Makhuwa women's ritual role as arbiters of community knowledge at celebrations and ceremonies. Dancers labor for nothing, while the officials "eat" the money. Groups complain about these inequities, and during my research, a few groups had started to protest what they felt to be the exploitation of their affective labor by the district government by refusing to dance at the *praça*. With the number of groups increasing,

events like weddings or circumcision ceremonies, performing *tufo* groups will set out a handkerchief where audience members can place tips that will be later divided equally among the supporting members. Dancers are able to judge the success of a performance based on the tips they receive, particularly when there are other groups dancing as well. These monetary tips are not a salary and usually consist of small notes or coins, but they still incentivize dancers and fuel competition. When divided between ten to twenty performers, individual take-home is quite small; dancers would usually receive somewhere between 20 and 30 MTS ($ .25-.45 USD) in tips after each event. Yet in Pebane, this will buy fish at the market for dinner or phone credit. If a group has several performances in one week, as frequently happens between November and January when initiation rite ceremonies and weddings occur, a dancer may bring home upwards of 100 MTS ($1.50) a month in tips. December 2016 was so busy for EVP that dancers were thrilled to be able to buy large household items, like buckets, with their earnings.[167] Tips are also used to buy items that women want, like *capulanas* or jewelry. One dancer from the group Associação de Quichanga, recalled how the group received a 1000 MTS ($15 USD) tip at a performance in Nampula after they sang a song about the variety of fish people eat in Pebane. Due to its vivid depictions of life in Pebane, this song is always an audience favorite, and she proudly showed off the gold-colored earrings dangling from her ears, that she had purchased with her cut of the tip money.

Even though money is not a motivating factor for women's participation in *tufo*, drummers are paid to perform so co-opting tips is bad practice. Yet young trainers seldom have loyalty to their hosts—for them, *tufo* is about money—and performing femininity allows them to fulfil norms of

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however, there are always *some* groups willing to dance, and the competition obligates ambitious groups to show up. Payment is decided before a performance, with the artist or group negotiating the fee and transport costs, but in the case of *tufo,* group members usually expect to receive a meal if performing at an event where food is served, in addition to extra tips from attendees.

[167] 100MTS was substantial in Pebane, where wages are very low given the lack of regulation in the formal sector. At the time, the minimum wage for those with contract jobs was 5,000MTS ($60 USD a month). However, most (men) working informally in construction or as security guards earned anywhere between 500 and 1500 MTS a month.

masculinity that require that they financially provide for their families. As Sabir explained, "I didn't study much, but I work with that which I've learned," and one thing trainers have learned is that feminine beauty is valuable on stage. The tips they receive when they dance augment their meagre salaries, and they may send it to their family, or simply spend it on things they desire, like a new cell phone (See Archambault 2016). Through *tufo,* they are able to build a life that they would not have otherwise had.

Men's encroachment on women's money-making opportunities is not unique to *tufo* and is part of a broader trend within the market economy. Post-war urbanization in Mozambique led to an influx of unskilled male workers in cities, at a time when formal employment opportunities in civil service were rapidly shrinking. The rise in unemployment among young and old men, in particular, has pushed them into areas of the informal economy that have traditionally been considered 'women's work,' such as low-income and low-prestige positions in urban street trade (Agadjanian 2002; Companion 2010). Agadjanian noted this change in the labor market in Maputo in the late 1990s, observing that, "men who are most likely to end up selling in the streets are those to whom the mainstream labor market is particularly unfriendly and whose manhood is not to be compromised by doing a 'woman's job' – especially the young, the old, the physically disabled, and the socially marginalized" (2002: 336). He analyzes this trend as "a dialectical process of de-gendering and re-gendering" in the occupational domain, where the workplace is first de-gendered as men and women are forced to interact and cooperate through their new spatial and structural proximity, then re-gendered as new inequalities and differences are established. This data led him to predict that the most economically disadvantaged may reach gender equality faster. Twenty years on, his hypothesis has proven to be correct in urban centers like Maputo, where women's economic participation has increased to the extent that many female-headed households are actually better off than male-headed households, such that "men are becoming women and women men" (Tvedten et.

al. 2020). Yet, poverty and economic participation are spatially stratified in Mozambique, and Companion's research (2010) indicates that women market sellers in Nampula—a region where there are still socio-cultural stigmas against women's work—have experienced an increase in economic and social marginalization as men have entered their informal commercial domains and monopolized prime selling routes.

The example of trainers performing femininity on stage for profit demonstrates that this process of "de-gendering and re-gendering" also extends to non-market domains, like cultural associations. While masculinity and femininity are becoming more flexible as people navigate economic instability, men's experience and knowledge of the market economy—their *visão*—still allots them power. Women are able to make social and political advances through performance aesthetics, and certainly control this realm, but they are still vulnerable to exploitation by men who themselves are vulnerable.

Moreover, these examples reinforce the importance of understanding the dance event and social relations as they are embedded within broader webs of power. Observing and analysing the tipping practices that occur during a performance reveal the public affirmation of social relationships, public practices of aesthetic evaluation, audience participation and the performance of status, among other things. Yet the public performance of gift giving does not tell us how these tips are divided, how and if they contribute to household economies, the extent to which they shape future performances, and how the social relationships that were made publicly visible on stage influence everyday life as it unfolds off stage. The tips Abdul is handed while performing as a woman on stage conceals the labor and labor relations that contributed to that moment, which are complicated and gendered, precisely because *tufo* is a women-dominated practice.

Money is more than a medium of exchange but is integral to the creation and destruction of social hierarchies. The relationship between drummers and dancers that coalesces around money

and the performance of femininity shows how power dynamics among the most vulnerable are complex and fraught. While women are dependent on men's *visão* for moving through a patriarchal social environment, men still have the power to benefit from women's inexperience and capitalize on the growing value of feminine beauty.

Conclusion

This chapter historicizes 'traditional' gender norms and their associated economic activities to understand contemporary gender roles in *tufo* associations. Interactions between men and women are embedded within larger webs of power, and in a post-socialist market economy where class and economic inequality is increasing, these traditional gender hierarchies are being both exacerbated and scrambled. It is widely acknowledged that structural adjustment policies and the depletion of public sector work has increased unemployment, particularly among men, who now struggle to fulfill their roles as economic providers. Broader economic insecurity, particularly after the civil war, has weakened any one individual's ability to finance group activities—as was historically the role of the president—requiring groups to find new funding sources for their activities. With the gradual commodification of *tufo,* this has created a shift in value from aesthetic content, or women's knowledge, to market access, which has historically been men's domain. Women still value aesthetics, but they also recognize that to stay relevant, they need to appropriate men's cultural competencies. Travel knowledge, for women, was the most important cultural competency men possessed because it would allow them to attend dance events and participate in song exchange. These songs were an important form of capital that they would memorize or record and could incorporate into their own repertoire at home—the topic I will discuss in the next chapter.

One larger theme that emerges from these portraits of gender dynamics within inner group life, is that the performance of masculinity and femininity is also a form of social navigation, or *visão,*

that both men and women pursue. Men may reinforce their authority eliciting "symbolic" gender differences that emerge through discourses of organization and discipline—masculine attributes that they consider important to group success. These discourses, and their delivery in group meetings are infantilizing to women, whose work it is to dance and play. That dancers like Samira, and trainers like Sabir are able to move between both realms by performing characteristics that are considered to be feminine or masculine, and finding success through doing so, shows how malleable these gender binaries are becoming in practice. Finally, a deeper look at *why* they cross these gender divides, and in what contexts, brings up the question of value. Samira performs masculinity at a meeting to inspire dancers to take rehearsals more seriously, so they will perform better on stage and grow their reputation, reinforcing the value that women place on aesthetic discipline. Sabir performs femininity on stage in order to make money, a value closely associated with masculine ideals. These examples also show that the cultural associations are not merely spaces where gender binaries are reinforced, but spaces where they are also played with and challenged.

Chapter 3: Programming Possibility: Significant Sounds, Expertise, and Motility

Introduction

It was the first meeting of the Zambézia delegation of the *tufo* association network Associação Familia Aleikussalamo and fifteen leaders and delegates from groups in the towns of Zalala, Pebane, Mocuba, Ile, and Quelimane were seated on plastic chairs inside the sparse, cement structure of Ile's cultural center. The network's executive president, Ismael, called today's meeting between the five Zambézia groups and the Nampula-based general directive to solidify relationships, plan upcoming events, and to discuss future recruitment. But the atmosphere in the room was tense: while the meeting had been scheduled to start at 9:00am, it was already noon and Ismael had still not arrived. "He only caught the bus from Nampula this morning" grumbled one delegate, in disbelief. In theory, the 300km trip from Nampula City to Ile (Errego) should have taken four hours, and later, Ismael justified his decision to the group; long-distance bus journeys in the North depart around 4am, giving him ample time to travel to Ile for the 9am start. Yet, even with proper planning, travel can be hindered for any number of reasons and while we waited the president of the hosting group kept us abreast of Ismael's movements: there were delays, of course, and finding a connecting minibus from the EN1 to Ile was more difficult than he anticipated, leading one delegate to retort, "He should have planned ahead and traveled the day before" like everyone else.

Ismael is an amiable, charismatic person, so when he finally arrived the mood quickly lightened as he circulated the room, greeting each individual person and apologizing profusely for his tardiness. The expanse and organization of the Aleikussalamo network is impressive: there are more than 70 member groups in the three northern coastal provinces, and it continues to grow, reflecting Ismael's skills as a leader and his broader ambitions for the network. He called today's meeting between the five Zambézia groups and the Nampula-based general directive to solidify

relationships, plan upcoming events, and to discuss future recruitment. Furthermore, Ismael is eager to capitalize on Zambézia's potential for expansion. Whereas in Nampula City *tufo* is declining as women no longer have the free time to commit to practice, it is actively growing in Zambézia, and when he finally takes his seat among several other leaders at the wooden table at the front of the room, he makes his objectives clear: "We are the first large association with this level of organization, but we have to think about how to expand."

During the course of the three-hour-long meeting,[168] network growth was the primary talking point. The delegation of dancers from Pebane announced they had recruited three new groups from Mugeba, Atapa, and Mugela, and had already planned a naming ceremony with one to formalize their membership. This was exciting news, which raised the question of how to best support new and current groups in Zambézia. João, a group president, felt that association organization was the key to recruiting and retaining members, because "social groups have to be well-organized, because if not, outside people will make negative comments, and say, 'eh pah' what happened here." Ismael suggested creating a Zambézia province delegation that will assist groups with achieving maximum functionality by offering a strong support network. This idea appealed to the majority of the men in the room, who took turns imagining an ambitious institutional structure that would organize every aspect of group life. The women present were skeptical about how such a vast organization (led primarily by men) would meddle with the social and artistic activities (women's play) that attract dancers. One queen reminded the delegates that, "*Tufo* dancing, in the majority, is for women. Women rarely accept the opinions of men when it comes to dancing." But

[168] Like commemoration ceremonies, official meetings follow a strict protocol and as a result, last several hours or more. They begin and end with a *tufo* performance—in this instance, the hosting group showcases their talent—followed by greetings and introductions, where attendee announces their name and where they are from. Next come the speeches: first the president of the hosting group, then Ismael himself, and finally, a local representative from the cultural sector. Then there is a break, and Ismael meets individually with representatives from each group to find out how they are doing, ask about problems and the support they need. When we resume, we re-arrange our plastic chairs into a large circle, dissolving the hierarchies that have been established by the spatial organization of the room.

the conversation was quickly brought back to recruitment and institutional support, with Ismael asserting, "Today our problem isn't dancing, it's creating the conditions to dance."

The debates that took place in this meeting reveal competing notions about advancement and success in *tufo* that are predominately gendered and derive from the position one assumes in the group. For men group leaders, affiliation, naming, and institutional support were understood to be the basis of potential expansion and mobility within *tufo* networks, aligning with what John Urry terms "network capital": the capacity to create and sustain social relations across distances which result in "emotional, financial, and practical benefit" (2007: 197). Although dancers also recognized the value of creating a strong social network to support *tufo* activities, they emphasized the role of song and dance in contributing to capacity building.

Tufo creates the potential for movement. This potential works across form and scale, as dancers use performance aesthetics to gain access to geographic, social, political, and occasionally even economic mobility. In this chapter I draw on ethnographic data collected at rehearsals, performances, and in post-performance reflections to explore how dancers creatively and strategically use performance aesthetics and select repertoire as movement potential, or motility. First, I examine how value is created in a non-monetary performance economy, like *tufo*. Then, I discuss sociological and musicological uses of the term motility to propose that "aesthetic agency" (Bohlman 2011) is a movement strategy appropriated by dancers. More specifically, I will discuss how women strategically use these aesthetics—an embodied form of knowledge—by analyzing how EVP selects and prepares song repertoire for three performance events: a regional *tufo* festival, a political meeting, and a local recording session. I demonstrate how dancers creatively work within the conventions of the genre to showcase their knowledge of *tufo,* while considering the potential of aesthetics to facilitate *actual* forms of mobility in the future.

Performance as Potential: Motility and "Aesthetic Agency"

"Elena, are you recording this?" Samira whispered in my ear, breathless from excitement. She had just run off stage—several large woven mats (*esteiras*) lining the floor of the *mpantaney,* a large open-air shelter for dancing. EVP members had spent much of the previous day weaving palm fronds (*macubara*) to cover the wooden poles of the *mpantaney* and decorated with colorful strips of cloth (*zibandera*) and the vibrant, purple flowers of the jacaranda tree[169] (Figure 3.1). These were some of their final preparations for a *carrama,*[170] a large feast accompanied by singing and dancing that is a central part of religious rituals and life-cycle events throughout the western Indian Ocean (Figure 3.2).

[169] The details of the performance space for the *carrama*—with woven mats, cloth flags (*zibendera*), flowers, and food such as samosas—are similar to the preparations for the *rama maulidi* in Lamu, Kenya, detailed by Rebecca Gearhart (1998: 27).

[170] *Carrama,* or *karama,* derives from the Swahili word *karamu*, or feast, that characterized *ngoma* competitions along the east African coast. Often hosted by wealthy community members, these were events of mass expenditure, and raised the social status of the sponsor (Gearhart 1998: 110).

Figure 3.1 – Members of EVP weaving the *macubarra* covering of the *mpantaney*, Mozambique, September 14, 2017. Photo by author.

Figure 3.2 - *Tufo d*ancers inside the *mpantaney* at the closing ceremony of a *carrama* hosted by Estrela Vermelha de Pebane in Pebane, Mozambique, September 17, 2017. Photo by author.

The group Estrela Vermelha from the port city of Nacala had arrived in Pebane earlier in the afternoon after traveling for two days on public mini-buses and open backed trucks. In spite of their head and body aches—inevitable side effects of rural travel—they were showing off their talent at the celebration held to welcome the four participating groups to Pebane (Video 3.1).[171] Hosting a *carrama* in Pebane had been EVP's dream since re-forming after the civil war ended in 1992. This was a big moment for the group, and Estrela Vermelha of Nacala was exceeding their expectations. Bringing such an accomplished group would raise EVP's status in town.

[171] Welcome events are important at *carramas*. It is a time when the hosting group can welcome their guests, and express friendship and comradery by dancing together. Groups exchange pleasantries through songs, singing about their journeys, greeting their hosts, and relaying information about the history of the group and the town or village they come from.

By the end of the first song, the members of EVP were ecstatic. Several had danced with the Nacala group on stage as an expression of friendship and were now jumping up and down, clapping and ululating. "They just perform so beautifully!" a woman next to me gushed. I had been observing the event from a chair at the back of the audience, but amidst this clamor of celebration, Samira pulled me from my spot to a plastic chair in the front row, shooing away its occupant. "Sit here, and record *everything,"* she instructed. "These women are the real owners of *tufo*. They are *ashinène*!" In Makhuwa, the primary Bantu language in northern Mozambique, *ashinène* means "original owner" or "first-comer."[172] It is a word that designates authority and knowledge and can be used to refer to ownership of land, a language, or a cultural practice like *tufo*. In short, Estrela Vermelha de Nacala is a group that *knows* the genre, expressed by mastery of aesthetic form and feeling. As a result, they earned status, respect, and would almost certainly be invited to perform again.

Tufo performances create the potential for movement in that dancers can gain access to geographic, social, political mobility if their group is well received by the audience. In northern Mozambique, for instance, *tufo* plays an important role in increasing women's movement opportunities, as successful, well-connected groups travel locally, regionally, and in some cases nationally, to perform at events. This travel also allows dancers to expand their social-networks and cultural and economic capital, as they form friendships with new groups and meet potential patrons at performances.

The potential for wealth, in this context, is created through dancers' movements. In his study of Ghanaian hiplife,[173] Jesse Weaver-Shipley describes how musicians become more valuable through circulation because of the fame they accrue as audiences become more invested in interpreting and debating their musical activities. He argues it is the "Being or becoming a celebrity

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[172] First-comer status is historically and socially significant along the northern Mozambican coast, and along with matrilineal clanship (*nihimo*), has been an important criterion for determining authority (Bonate 2007).
[173] Hiplife is an eclectic popular music genre that mixes hip hop, older forms of highlife, and Akan proverbial oratory.

that transforms stylish bodies into condensed signs of social value and potential wealth," (83) a valuation process that occurs through the mobilization of non-material wealth. In *tufo,* as in hiplife, wealth is "value that inheres in the body as a set of qualities and experiences" (ibid.: 106). But another form of non-material wealth emerges through movement as well— "wealth in people," a pre-colonial ideal of social organization through total exchange, where power is derived from a person's ability to secure a following of dependents. According to Guyer and Belinga (1995), a vast social network that one can rely on is a better indicator of wealth than the commodities a person possesses. Both non-material forms of wealth are actualized through the event travel groups undertake. First, a group is able to expand and establish a vast social network of support (wealth in people), which was the principal concern of most group leaders at the Ile meeting. Second, dancers access new experiences and embodied forms of knowledge through aesthetic exchange with other groups, that are markers of success and social value. As Ancha, the now elderly president of Pebane's Assanate Anuar explained, "the best part of traveling is learning" because "we exchange experiences through songs," adding that, "When a group can sing in the style of each new place they've been, then it shows that they are knowledgeable." Such knowledge is valuable because it elevates a group's social status within the community, which can increase their number of invitations to perform and in turn, provide new opportunities to travel.

As I discussed in the introduction, I follow Tim Cresswell in considering mobility as more than just the physical act of moving; mobility politics also encompass the representations of movement that give it shared meaning, and the embodied experiences of moving that give it subjective meaning (2010: 160). However, while Cresswell's definition focuses on mobility in terms of *actual* movement, here, I include the *possibility* for movement and the strategies people adopt to actualize mobility—what Vincent Kaufmann terms as "motility" (2002)—in order to also consider

the imagined forms of future movements that could materialize through aesthetic creation and the maintenance of social networks.

Motility is a concept borrowed from the biological sciences to describe movement that is "yet-to-be-realized or might-never-happen" (Leivestad 2016: 140). In the social sciences, it has gained theoretical currency as a way to tie people's social movements to their capacity to be spatially mobile; or put differently, the way a group or individual transforms potential into actual mobility (Kaufmann and Montulet 2016: 45). According to Kaufmann, motility depends on one's *access* to different forms or networks of mobility, their *competence* in recognizing and utilizing access, and their ability to *appropriate* access and skills—which could refer to the strategies, values, perceptions, and habits that are meaningful in relation to movement (2002: 1). In the context of *tufo,* a group that belongs to a strong team network, like Aleikussalamo, will have access to a wide range of events like *carramas* or meetings hosted by provincial delegations. A well-known and admired group will also receive frequent invitations that provide opportunities to travel. Their ability to appropriate such access may depend on the competency of their leadership (or, *visão*) in arranging group participation and organizing travel, while appropriating access to mobility could depend on fundraising strategies to pay for their travel, or other skills gained through previous travel experiences. While I discussed gendered understandings of competency in the last chapter and turn to questions of access in the next chapter, in the remainder of this chapter, I analyze how dancers approach performance aesthetics as one such "field of possibilities" that they can appropriate as movement potential.

While in the social sciences motility is used to foreground the social agency of people in determining their movement capacity, it has an earlier history in musicology where it was adopted to describe music's agency in yielding bodily movement.[174] In his work on the physiological expressions

[174] What Bohlman terms the "metaphysics of music's mobility", became an important area of musical study during the Enlightenment, and also contributed to the modernization of European music throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (2011:150-151; 2016:168).

of melodic form, Austrian ethnomusicologist Erich Moritz von Hornbostel described song as sounded gesture and melody as an "act of motility" (1928: 49).[175] Likewise, Adorno used motility in his critique of the "motoric" quality of Stravinsky's music, arguing that Stravinsky's concentration on accents and time relationships produced only an illusion of bodily movement, but was "actually incapable of any kind of forward motion" (Adorno 1980: 178).

It is important to note that both Hornbostel and Adorno were thinking about musical motility in the first half of the 20th century when so-called "primitive" aesthetic forms were being appropriated in European modernist art, literature and music, while for anthropologists, the seeming homogeneity of "primitive" societies were a marker of contrast from "complex" modern industrial societies. Hornbostel used motility to describe the unbridgeable "gulf" between contemporary European music and African music, arguing that motility was the "essential contrast between our rhythmic conception and the African's; we proceed from hearing, they from motion" (1928: 53).[176] Adorno, on the other hand, was critical of neo-classical composers' use of "primitive" models, like dance-forms, which he believed erased the agency of the individual subject and were allegories of bourgeois domination. For Adorno, Stravinsky's ballets enacted "the barbarism of collective oppression and the destruction of the subject" (Witkin 2013: 153), and his rhythmic procedures aestheticized schizophrenic traits, such as the performance of routine motor functions without emotion or directive ego (Adorno 1980: 178 in Witkin 2013: 155). Stravinsky's accents and rhythms were representations of the "primitive" that lacked expressive substance and motivic development and according to Adorno, the music's motility was this empty illusion of movement. Both approaches exemplify problematic ideas of African "difference" that have contributed to what Kofi

[175] I am not drawing on Hornbostel's problematic theory to reinforce his ideas about African music as "not conceivable without dancing." I am rather using it as an example of some of the early ways comparative musicologists probed the relationship between motion and music.

[176] Hornbostel did not consider that movement also begins from hearing, or deep listening. Practices like *tufo* are first and foremost embodied listening practices.

Agawu calls "The idea of 'African Rhythm'" (2016: 155).[177] Implicit in these ideas, moreover, are broader stereotypes about African music as static and void of expressive agency, which the example of *tufo* refutes as women artists harness rich aesthetic fields of signification and affect to pursue forms of movement that they find most compelling.

Philip Bohlman's concept of "aesthetic agency" offers a theoretical bridge between the musicological and sociological understandings of motility in that it highlights music's ability to sustain physical mobility by accommodating multiple political meanings, which people can appropriate (2011: 150). According to Bohlman, music is "spatially malleable and mobile" (2016: 168), it can move and be moved, and its aesthetics carry forms of knowledge that, depending on the context, can adopt or express different meanings. In other words, aesthetics can propel movement in spite of outside forces. At the same time, performers appropriate aesthetics for their own political ends.[178]

As a genre that accommodates multiple historical influences and meanings, *tufo* aesthetics are malleable and have the potential to generate and sustain other forms of movement, depending on a group's access, competence and appropriation. In the next section, I show how women strategically use the particulars of sound, lyrics, rhythm, and choreography in *tufo* performances to pursue the forms of movement that they deem valuable.

History, Politics and Pop Music: The Appropriation of Aesthetics in Three Examples

[177] See Ch. 3 of *Representing African Music* (2003) and Ch. 4 of *The African Imagination in Music* (2016) for Agawu's critique of rhythm and representation of African music.

[178] While music and mobility has received considerable attention in studies of sound, migration, identity formation, and globalization (See the Introduction to *Music Moves* (2016) for a critical overview), the relationship between music and immobility is still largely unexamined, with the exception of Barbara Titus' chapter on contemporary *maskanda* practices (2016) and Gavin Steingo's work on electronic music-making in urban South Africa. Steingo (2015; 2016) challenges assumptions about music's hypermobility in a digital era by exploring the negative and generative aspects of immobility in a context where theft, technological failure, and overall sedentariness are commonplace.

In the context of competitive public performance, the visual, kinetic, sonic, and affective textures of *tufo* weave together as forms of capital that can raise a group's status, or alternatively, destroy their reputation. Selecting repertoire to perform at a public event is therefore serious business, and in EVP rehearsals this is a collective decision open to debate. Group members choose lyrics, melody, tempo, choreography and uniforms that speak to the event's theme and the anticipated audience. If they do this well, they may receive invitations to perform at additional events, which translates into future possibilities for travel. Returning to Kaufmann's definition of motility, dancers access new forms of mobility through event invitations. Their competence in utilizing this access, however, depends on their skill as a group, which includes their ability to successfully show off their knowledge of the genre's conventions, their ability to energize (*animar*) the audience, and also to secure the appropriate patrons or funding that facilitate their actual travel.

However, as the following three examples illuminate, dancers also appropriate the "aesthetic agency" of *tufo* when selecting performance-specific repertoire to maximize their future mobility potential. There is more to group success than technical skill, energy, and fundraising; success is also achieved by the expert pairing of lyrics and melody, for example, to praise a visiting government official, or by embodying piety in the choreography for an Islamic song at a wedding. Each of the following examples highlights the ways in which women debate and select song repertoire that caters to the theme, audience, and purpose of an event, while also strategizing for their own advancement.

Example 1: Historical Migrations and Knowledgeable Movements

Twenty-five women were packed inside the mud brick clubhouse. EVP was meeting to practice choreography in preparation for the upcoming *carrama* they had been invited to attend in Nampula, northern Mozambique's largest city. While the drumheads were warming up in the fire outside, Amina led us in song, accompanied by Fatima, who sang a countermelody, matching the

volume and timbre: "*Allah hu allah. ya rabi salama, siku ya kiama, moto ya kasema.*" This is an old song with Kiswahili lyrics that evidences the genre's Islamic heritage. Amina told me later that it is about judgment day—*siku ya kiama*—and is a reminder to think about the end of life, "when the fire is going to call us." This song would be included in the *carrama* repertoire, but there was some confusion among the dancers as to how it should be choreographed. Is this better seated or standing? "*Opatchera okilati"*—you have to start seated because it is a *carrama*—asserted Safiana, Pebane's head of culture, who was attending the rehearsal to help the group prepare.

Protocol is strictly observed at *carramas*. A performance begins with the stage entrance (*entrada*), where dancers coordinate an opening choreographic sequence with the drums while moving into formation. From there, they transition to a seated position—the classical form of *tufo*—for their first several songs in order to display their knowledge of the genre's performance conventions (Video 3.2 and Video 3.3). EVP dancers were aware of these rules, and group members agreed that this song, as an opening selection, must be danced seated. But when a young dancer from the back row asked, "How fast should we be moving?", this sparked another debate. Elder members, who no longer dance but still participate as advisors to the group, argued that the song must be danced at a slow tempo because originally, it was a prayer. When a few of the younger, more forthright dancers pushed back, Safiana was forced to intercede and chastised the group members for their indecisiveness. "You are going there to show them what you know," she reminded the dancers, "so demonstrate that you *know*. But you must go with certainty so that the other groups don't say that this group doesn't know."

To know, in this context, is to have mastered the history, affects, and aesthetic form of the genre—to correctly embody the shared conventions that have circulated through time and across space. Musical genre, argues Fabian Holt, is not only "in the music," but in the "minds and bodies" of groups of people who share its conventions (2007: 2). Conventions are founded by what Holt

calls "center collectivities," which are "specialized subjects that have given direction to the larger network that sustains and creates the genre's identity" (ibid: 20). While Holt's conception of "center collectivities" emerges from his study of genre in American popular music and includes a wide range of authorities and corporate companies that are largely urban based, "center collectivities" works well to explain how genre conventions are created and circulated in the *tufo* network because it aligns with Makhuwa matrilineal "first-comer" ideology through which authority has historically been determined. As direct descendants of the first and oldest *tufo* groups, those from Muslim-majority coastal towns like Ilha de Moçambique, Angoche, and Nacala in Nampula province, and Mocímboa da Praia in Cabo Delgado, are widely considered the owners of the practice, or *ashinène*—the label EVP members attached to Estrela Vermelha de Nacala-Porto. *Carramas,* which bring together geographically dispersed groups from the same team network, are events at which these "center collectivities" reinforce and correct genre conventions, and where team identity is celebrated through aesthetic display. For dancers from places like Pebane, where *tufo* was introduced later through internal migration down the coast, it is especially important to demonstrate that even though they "aren't the owners of this culture," as one elder asserted, they have been properly acculturated and know the sounds and gestures that form the basis of *tufo,* correctly embodying its historical "roots."

The aesthetic "roots" of *tufo* as a genre emerge from multiple historical "routes." Cultural and postcolonial theorists like James Clifford, Paul Gilroy, Stuart Hall and Susan Friedman argue that roots and routes move dialogically back and forth and are "two sides of the same coin: roots, signifying identity based on stable cores and continuities; routes, suggesting identity based on travel, change, and disruption" (Friedman 1998: 152). *Tufo* narrativizes the disruption, displacement and intercultural encounters of slavery, colonization and migration through song, sound, and body movement. The aesthetics of body movement in classical *tufo* are a dialogue between rootedness and

routedness in the most literal sense—as a seated dance, the lower body is rooted to the earth while the upper body mimics the movement of the dhows across the Indian Ocean. These aesthetic narratives tell the story of multiple intercultural encounters in the second half of the 19th century: Hadrami migrations to East Africa, the expansion of the Sufi brotherhoods down the Swahili coast, and the movement of slave trade caravans inland, destroying some Makhuwa chiefdoms through slave raids, while "saving" others through conversion to Islam. The sounds and gestures introduced in northern Mozambique through the Islamic ritual practices that were circulated through these migrations, gave rise to *tufo* half of a century later. Today, these "roots" create new "routes" to mobility for groups that correctly embody this knowledge at *carramas.*

While dance practices are a part of processes of inclusion as individuals are acculturated into a community through dance (Ness 1992; Buckland 2002; Hamera 2007; Gilman 2009), they also reveal hierarchies of power and social exclusions (Desmond 1999). In *tufo,* these processes of inclusion and exclusion are revealed, in part, through critiques of the kinetic dynamics of body movement—the factors of rhythm, speed, force, duration, muscular tension and relaxation that we feel when we move our bodies. Diedre Sklar (2008) argues that kinetic dynamics can combine to produce vitality affects—the complex qualities of kinetic energy that are embodied in movement, like a surging, explosion, crescendo or diminuendo, that are culturally encoded dispositions (95). While kinetic dynamics are not always visible, they are critical to the ways in which memory, communication, cultural knowledge, and values are embodied through movement (ibid: 88). A group can learn how to dress well, sing beautifully, and compose socially relevant songs. But in *tufo,* how well one performs "the *feeling* of gesturing" (Noland 2008: xx), which is both body- and culture-specific (Sklar 2008), is determined by the speed and force of shoulder movements, and a dancer's gestural vitality, evident in the way she "shows off" (*gingar*), as I discussed in Chapter One.

The politics of mobility are often revealed through movement's constitutive parts: motive force, velocity, rhythm, route, experience, and friction (Cresswell 2010). In this EVP rehearsal, debates over force, speed and vitality of gesture revealed how the politics of kinetic dynamics are embedded in broader hierarchies of knowledge when several experienced dancers were surveilling newer dancers' movements. Denilde, a young woman who had recently joined the group, was having a hard time setting her right arm in the correct position. In between songs, Afisa, who was seated next to Denilde, was trying to teach her the correct kinesthetic sensation of the gesture, but she was having trouble explaining the qualities of the movement's feeling. Afisa first tried eliciting kinesthetic empathy—she was showing Denilde the gestural sequence by demonstrating over and over again. When that did not work, Afisa tried to mediate bodily empathy through a tactile mode of transmission: she tried to physically manipulate Denilde's right arm posture, but pulling her fist back, prying her clenched fingers apart, and drawing the elbow away from the body. Another experienced dancer, Saugia, began flopping her wrist back and forth to show Denilde where she needed to relax the tension. Zaquichela, one of the group elders, also intervened and offered another visual model: "This is how your hand should be positioned" she said, using her body to illustrate how loose the fingers need to be. Yet nothing worked. Finally, Munzala, one of the group's lead dancers, turned around from the front row and said, "Denilde, you cannot move your torso, only your shoulders." Munzala moved her shoulders up and down with very little force, while her torso remained in place, demonstrating how isolated the shoulder movement should be.

Later, when I discussed this rehearsal with my friend Isa, I admitted that I was surprised the group had spent so much time trying to correct Denilde's movements. Dancers frequently make mistakes in choreography, but these were often overlooked without comment. Isa explained that this was because Denilde had not embodied the *kinetics* of beauty—expressed through the shoulder movements. This movement *is* the embodiment of *tufo.* For the dance to be considered *tufo,* Isa told

me, "you can't move the shoulders with too much force. The up and down movement must be subtle." These must be pious, controlled movements, and when a group betrays their ignorance of these kinetic dynamics at a *carrama*, other groups gossip about their poor performance and dismiss them as amateurs.

As Yolanda Covington-Ward (2015) shows in her work on gesture in Congo, micro-movements of the body can have broader consequences for social and political life. Similarly, the politics of force, vitality, and speed of gestures in *tufo* are connected to women's socio-spatial movements. A dancer's ability to effectively embody and correctly perform the kinetic dynamics that define the practice can determine their inclusion or exclusion from the wider network of *tufo* groups. When they fail, the results can be disastrous for the group. For example, one of the four groups that attended EVPs *carrama* in Pebane performed sloppy choreography on stage during the opening ceremony. Their collective movements were not synchronized, but worse, was that one of their dancers moved from her waist and not her shoulders, just as Denilde had done in rehearsal. Their movements were too forced, enthusiastic, characteristic of the *batuque* dances of the inland, which were policed and condemned as 'uncivilized' during Portuguese colonial occupation.[179] This revealed the group's ignorance, and the general consensus among dancers was, "this group doesn't know how

[179] In the last decades of the 19th century, as the Portuguese moved to secure political control over the land and its inhabitants, *batuques*—an important part of local life—were increasingly seen as a threat and were the focus of much attention in Portuguese and British accounts. During his time on Mozambique Island in 1901-1902, Antonio Enes—the architect of the Portuguese' modern colonial system—wrote about the difference between the religious rituals performed by the "Asian colonizers," who only celebrated in the mosques chanting prayers, and those of the "living, expansive, and bellicose indigenous populations", who have, "…almost as much passion for singing and dancing—what we call the *batuque*—as they have for breakfast" (1902: 90). Much later, in 1929 José dos Santos Rufino, Portuguese, described the 'batuque' dance as, "…not a rare affair. It takes place on every occasion. On the event of a marriage, a birth, a death, under any pretext whatsoever, and even for no feasible or visible reason…. As a proof of the importance given to this sport by the natives, which has also been confirmed by Europeans who have been in close contact with the latter, let it be said, that no man or woman, of what age they may be, as long as they are able to move about, can withstand the call to 'Batuque'. Although in some cases the native music can be called harmonious, this is generally not the case, on the contrary, it is far from being so. Monotone sounds, constantly repeated for hours, and even for days, give the measure for dancing. The words have hardly ever any particular meaning, but sometimes there will be mixed, in case of a warlike 'Batuque' being danced, among the warlike phrases, some obscene ones" (Rufino 1929: XI).

to dance *tufo."* Exasperated by their lack of discipline, the queen of one group even commented, "This isn't even *tufo*! This is something that they just invented now." While this reflects poorly on the hosting group for inviting such amateur dancers, the implications are far more severe for the offending group. Several of their members reported that they overheard people insulting their dancing, and their president considered leaving early with the group in protest. The implications were severe for the offending group—it was later decided by EVP that they would not invite this group to future events, in turn isolating them from the social and performance activities of *tufo* associations in the region.

When put in contrast with the overwhelming success that the group from Nacala enjoyed after their performance at the same *carrama,* the disparity in group experience and reception underscores why EVP was so anxious about their upcoming performance in Nampula. EVP's song selection was strategic—they chose a seated dance taken from the Islamic repertoire that would permit them to show off their knowledge of the culturally encoded kinetic dynamics of movement that form the basis of evaluation at a *carrama.* Ideally, this would raise their profile and make a lasting impression on those in attendance, leading to future invitations. In this context, groups must draw on the genre's roots to ensure future success, because as Sabir, a *tufo* trainer, told me, "Without these events, a group will disband. They would have nothing, or no one to dance for."

Example 2: Sound Politics as the Struggle Continues (A Luta Continua)

Group preparations for a political event highlight different aesthetic choices as dancers appropriate an alternative skill set. In July 2017, Mozambique's vice minister of fisheries came to Pebane for a meeting with provincial leaders and EVP was one of four groups invited to perform. The two groups assigned to perform at the end of the meeting waited outside for four hours to be ushered into the meeting room to dance three songs for the distinguished guests, who spent most of

the performance playing on their smart phones. During the performance, the *chefe do bairro*, a local neighborhood authority, presented several wrinkled 100 meticais notes to a dancer in the front row as a tip. Afterwards I commented to an elder dancer that it was nice the group was presented with money after waiting for so long to dance. She shook her head and whispered that the *chefe do bairro* was only trying to encourage the others to give, but to no avail. After our performance, the dancer gave him back his money.

Tufo performances are critical components of these political events because they mobilize audiences, as I argued in Chapter 1. Moreover, dancers work hard to energize (*animar*) these political gatherings and official meetings, despite little to no material reimbursement. Their participation is often obligatory: with eleven groups in Pebane Vila, the district's administrative headquarters, competition between groups is intense and declining an opportunity to perform for a prestigious visitor means an esteemed group might lose their place at the top of the list, putting future invitations at risk.

At rehearsal several days after performing for the vice minister of fisheries the dancers were abuzz with excitement. Amina was beaming when she told the group that the Minister liked their songs and wanted to bring the group to perform at the 11th Frelimo Convention in Maputo, Mozambique's capital city, in September. EVP was invited to perform at the Frelimo party headquarters in Pebane two days later to showcase their potential as the right group to be selected for this honor. At this rehearsal, they were learning a new song to unveil at this audition. The lyrics had been written by a group member's husband who is literate in Portuguese, the required language at government events. Their poetic strategy was flattery, praising government officials to show off the group's political ambitions and performance abilities.

> *Saudamos com orgulho o engenheiro Filipe Jacinto Nyusi pai de nação moçambicana, filho do povo moçambicano, mestre da unidade nacional e de paz, inimigo da fome, pobreza, injustice, discriminação e maldade.//*

With pride, we salute Engineer Filipe Jacinto Nyusi, father of Mozambican nation, son of the Mozambican people, master of national unity and peace, enemy of hunger, poverty, injustice, discrimination, and malice.

Falar de Nyusi é falar de unidade nacional e paz, da mudança real, de desenvolvimento e da erradicação da pobreza.//
To speak about Nyusi is to speak of national unity and peace, of real change, of development and of the eradication of poverty.

Associação Estrela Vermelha de Pebane Grupo Cultural de Tufo e a comunidade desta capital pesqueira de Moçambique tem convicção que tudo terá com Nyusi.//
Association Estrela Vermelha of Pebane, a tufo cultural group, and the community from this fishing capital of Mozambique, believes that they will have everything with Nyusi.

Aceitamos que o Ministério do Mar Pesca Água de Interior (MPAI) é responsável da evolução e desenvolvimento do sector pesqueira nesta capital. A sua luz verde foca-nos diariamente//
We accept that the Ministry of the Sea, Fishing, and Interior Water (MPAI) is responsible for the evolution and development of the fishing sector in this capital. Your green light gives us daily focus.

É na cultura onde temos a unidade nacional, paz, e a solidariedade. Saudamos o decimo primeiro Congresso da Frelimo que está na porta da realização. Saudamos todos delegados que tenham boas contribuições para o bem do povo. Asalamu aleikum, asante sana, kanimambo.//
It is in culture where we have national unity, peace, and solidarity. We salute the Eleventh Frelimo Congress, that is about to happen. We salute all delegates who have made good contributions for the good of the people. Thank You

The women sang each line slowly, trying to set the lyrics to a melody they frequently use. Equilibrium between the lyrics and melody are an important component of communication in *tufo*. While groups have more aesthetic control over the performance of political songs, in that they often compose new lyrics and incorporate choreographic innovations, thematically they are confined to nationalist sentiments. Moreover, setting political content sung in Portuguese to Islamic melodies originally used in religious celebrations where songs were sung in Arabic or Swahili, often results in aesthetic incongruence.

This was the problem the dancers of EVP were having today. While the first phrase of the lyrics worked well with the melody, they ran into problems when they reached the line "master of national unity and peace." The lyrics did not fill up the entire melodic line. Normally when this happens, they repeat a phrase or important word, a strategy that allows them to fit the lyrics within

the melodic structure without sacrificing content. Occasionally they will even cut superfluous words, but this was a political praise song where every word mattered. Finally, with frustration building, Amina decided to try the lyrics with a different melody. The lyrical phrases fit more naturally within the contours of this melody. Pleased, the rest of the group agreed that this would be the song they sing at the Frelimo headquarters, and they continued with their rehearsal until the song was committed to memory.

While the group members felt they performed well at their audition, the Frelimo Convention came and went, and their formal invitation never arrived. It was not the first time this had happened: EVP often captured the attention of potential patrons, who extended invitations to perform at events that never materialized. This underscores the contingency of motility, and the limits of aesthetic agency. While aesthetics present possibilities for movement, the actual movement is contingent on larger social, economic and political forces over which they have no control. For EVP, however, this is no deterrent. It was still an opportunity to make themselves known—signaling possibility for future movement, while adding another song to their repertoire for the next Frelimo event.

Example 3: Swahili Cover Songs and Creativity

Several weeks before I finished fieldwork, EVP asked me to record them dancing at several important sites around Pebane with my camera. They wanted to capture their talent on film for local circulation, with broader ambitions to sell these recordings and raise funds for group travel. But they were also cognizant that an American audience might one day watch the recordings, and ideally, they hoped for an invitation to someday perform in a foreign country. We devoted an entire afternoon to this recording session, and EVP dancers chose several iconic sites around Pebane where they wanted to be filmed: the beach, the airport, the port, and in front of the Petromoc petrol station—

significantly, all places of coming and going. This was also a unique performance sequence for the group in that there were no thematic restrictions like there are with political or ritual events. They were therefore able to select songs that were meaningful to them as a group.

The repertoire that EVP selected was a combination of classical *tufo* songs and original songs in Moniga, imbued with locally meaningful messages. Notably missing were political songs and revolutionary hymns, yet in their absence, alternative historical alignments were made audible. After a year of learning as a group, I was familiar with the songs they performed during the recording session, with the exception of one. When I later asked Amina about it while we were reviewing the recordings with the group, she labeled it as a *baile*, or dance song. Another dancer added that, "It's Swahili music called Sina Makosa. This is a song we dance to at *Veterano*," referring to the 50+ dance club in Pebane where elders partner-dance to dance-band music from the 1960s-1980s.[180] "Sina Makosa" is a hit song released in 1979 by the Kenya-based group Les Wanyika, popular in East Africa in the 1980s and 1990s.[181] In their cover version, EVP adapted the song to work within the conventions of *tufo*—slowing down the tempo, replacing instrumental accompaniment with the interlocking rhythm of the four *tufo* drums, and singing the song as a call and response—revealing the flexibility of the genre to absorb outside influences and songs[182] (Video 3.4).

While *carramas* demand a mastery over kinetic dynamics, and political events are thematically restrictive, other community events like weddings, circumcision ceremonies or parties are far more entertainment oriented. A group wants to get noticed, make an impression on the crowd, and cultivate a celebratory atmosphere. Performing the popular songs that circulate through local dance

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[180] This club is not exclusive to Pebane, but they have been established in many towns and cities throughout northern Mozambique. Each local club will form a team that travels locally and regionally to compete with other clubs. The structure of these clubs is almost identical to that of *tufo* groups, and they have a president, vice-president, secretary, etc., and will often wear club t-shirts and uniforms when they travel.

[181] Les Wanyika, "Sina Makosa," YouTube Video, 8:10, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HbE7sARmyNU.

[182] Kelly Askew reviews literature on the openness and permeability of Swahili identity in her article, "Female Circles and Male Lines" (1999: 73).

clubs is a strategy that *tufo* groups have adopted in recent decades to reach the widest possible audience and develop their fan base. Regional pop songs by Makhuwa artists like Dama Ija are a favorite, as is Swahili music, and increasingly, Brazilian hits.

Song choice is an act of political and historical alliance. By selecting and adapting a Swahili or Makhuwa pop song rather than a *marrabenta* song,[183] or a Luso-African-Caribbean genre, like *kizomba,*[184] EVP was acknowledging spheres of sonic and choreographic influences based on ethnic, religious and regional identities which they are most aligned—Islam, Swahili, the Indian Ocean, and Makhuwa[185] —that betray the unifying rhetoric of "national culture" developed after independence. Instead, many of the songs that EVP selected to perform during the recording session exemplified what Anne Pitcher terms, "memory-from-below" (2006: 89) because they performed locally meaningful historical cultural narratives that do not conform to ideas of "Mozambicanness" (*moçambicanidade)* disseminated from Maputo. Jesse Weaver Shipley writes that in the Ghanaian genre of hiplife, "Musical products accrue value through newness, but this newness is carefully groomed to appear to have links to the past" (2013: 269). In *tufo,* as I explained in Chapter One, performance innovation must still conform to the historical conventions of the genre, but newness is often incorporated through these cover songs that have specific social value for dancers and audiences at the periphery of the nation-state.

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183 *Marrabenta* is a dance genre from Maputo with influences from South Africa, the US (jazz and soul), and local rhythms such as *magika*, *xingombela* and *zukuta*. It is a product of the mass movement of people between southern Mozambique and South African mines during the colonial era and emerged in Maputo's *bairros*—or poor suburban neighborhoods—in the 1930s and 40s (Laranjeira 2014).

184 Kizomba is a genre that originated in Angola in the 1980s, and is a mix of semba, an older Angolan genre (See Moorman 2008) and zouk, an electronic popular dance music that is West Antillean by construct, but global in reach. Zouk merges Caribbean sounds like Haitian compas, buiguine from Guadeloupe and Martinique, cadence-lypso from Dominica, with Jazz, Salsa, Sound and Funk (See Guilbault 1993, 1994). Kizomba has become a marker of Angolanness in the global music market (Alisch and Siegert 2011) but has also become a popular dance practiced by the Luso-African diaspora in cosmopolitan urban centers like Lisbon, London, New York, and also smaller cities like Maputo or even Quelimane in Mozambique, which is known as 'little Brazil' for the strong 'tropical' influences. Quelimane boasts the largest Carnival celebration in Mozambique, and due to its close geographical proximity, some of these influences reach Pebane due to population migration.

185 As songs that circulate in the public domain, moreover, a single group cannot claim ownership, as happens with the classical or political repertoire. Certain songs are the property of specific clubs, and when another group performs them, it is akin to copyright infringement and reflects negatively on the group.

Aesthetic creativity and programmatic innovation are skills that can be appropriated for a group's social advancement or geographic movement.[186] Mansur told me one day on our walk to rehearsal that other groups in town frequently complain that EVP is always invited to perform at events. Many claim this is politically motivated because EVP supports Frelimo, and both the head of culture and *chefe do posto* grew up in the group and still have strong family ties. "But that's not the reason," Mansur explained. "Estrela is the only group that writes new material. They perform new songs. *That's* why they get all the invitations, because they advance *tufo."*

Conclusion

These examples, drawn from the *tufo* repertoire, reveal the ways in which *tufo* aesthetics, a form of embodied knowledge in Mozambique, are appropriated in different contexts as possibilities for movement, or motility. When the intended audience are those in the dance community, dancers demonstrate skill through performing the histories of movement that define the genre. With politicians, in contrast, praise and political recognition are deployed, as song crafting skills might materialize into actual movements. Dancers articulate their knowledge of Mozambique's political past and present through language, lyrics and melody, in order to present model patriotism as a strategy to secure longer-term political patronage that might fund their activities. Finally, a group may tap into regional histories of cultural circulation to show off their creativity. Their talent is highlighted through repertoire diversity, propelling their reputation as a group who 'knows,' and who accurately captures the life experiences of people in the region.

[186] This differs from other descriptions of creativity within the context of African music economies, which often link creativity to economic potential, or stability. In his analysis of Congolese Rumba after economic liberalization, Bob White (2000) sees financial stability as a driver for creative production. Alex Perullo (2011) attributes musical creativity to growing market competition in Tanzania, as producers and artists must constantly find new ways to appeal to the consumer audience—introducing fresh beats, while forging a personal style that is easily recognizable and reproducible. Moreover, creative practices are not just attributed to musical style, but include all the legal and illegal ways people find social and economic opportunities, such as networking, positioning, branding, bribery, and occult practices (2011: xii). These studies demonstrate that through processes of commodification, the economic value of music often supersedes socio-cultural value as competing actors develop creative new ways to meet their needs.

What is also apparent through these processes of negotiation, debate, and appropriation is the ways in which dancers envision music and dance connecting to other forms of mobility across form and scale. Choreography is connected to social advancement; melodic movement to travel. In rural, impoverished areas like Pebane where decrepit infrastructure limits physical movement, and gender norms often limit women's social and economic mobility, the "aesthetic agency of *tufo*" represents possibilities for movement, regardless of whether or not actual movement takes places.

Amidst today's economic precarity and recurrent political instability, mobility as an adaptive technique for survival is all the more critical, and *tufo* aesthetics offer strategies through which women pursue these critical forms of actual movement, and in doing so are technologies of innovation for their own right.

Chapter 4: Moving through the Club: Circulation, Infrastructures, and Occult Interventions

Introduction

The members of EVP bounce around on the bed of an open-back truck that's barreling down a dirt road, riddled with potholes (Video 4.1).We are returning from a wedding in the nearby town of Maiaia and the cacophony of shrieks, shouts and songs emanating from this moving machine provide a rich soundtrack for our journey and announce the trucks imminent approach to those on the side of the road: bicyclists hauling large sacks of charcoal swerve clumsily into neatly planted cassava beds while hens dart into the brush, and women carrying firewood on their head pull their children close, protecting their faces from the cloud of red dust that engulfs them as we rumble past. Some dancers huddle together against the back of the cab, which offers them protection from the wind, but the younger, more agile women perch on the steel side panel, ducking every so often to avoid low hanging tree branches while they carry on singing, defiantly. The elder women are in the middle, holding on to legs, arms, bags and drums, trying to root themselves to anything material. The young men—a mix of drummers and wedding guests who took advantage of the free lift back to Pebane Vila—brave the very back and have made it a game to stay on their feet while the driver swerves around holes, trying to catapult them from their position. One of the drummers tries to do so with a drum in hand, contributing an erratic rhythm to the polyphony of sounds until he tears the drumhead while trying to catch his fall.

I am still a novice at open-back truck travel and while I secure a good position around the edge of the truck, I quickly lose my balance. The weight of my body unfurling dislodges my grip from the truck's side, and I am launched into the empty space in the middle of the bed that forms a natural barrier between the young men and older women. With nothing to hold on to, my arms and legs flail wildly and with each new bump my tailbone smacks against the metal beneath. I'm

shrieking from the odd combination of pain and joy, unable to catch my breath, while my fellow passengers stare at me with wide-eyed amusement as I flop about. Some are laughing with me, others at me, but when the spectacle carries on a bit too long, they realize I'm actually unable to help myself, and Luisa and Mualua grab a hold of my arm and pull me to safety. Once I'm anchored to the elders, they fuss over my *capulana* which has been pulled loose, exposing my legs. My body aches from the unexpected trauma and to help me forget the pain they start singing my favorite *tufo* song, "Zukurani." It is a touching act of care, what Jim Sykes (2018) terms "sonic generosity," when sounds are given as a "technology of care" to ameliorate pain, similar to an aspirin. By the time they reach the chorus, I am smiling, dancing and singing along with them.

Traveling together is an exchange of intimacies: physical, affective, and sonic. People laugh, chat, sing, and argue, and bodies touch, embrace, and entangle, mitigating the discomfort of traversing rough terrain. These sonic and gestural movements are similar to what Julia Elyachar (2011) terms "locomotory body practices," which take place in the background of consciousness while people move towards the real action, which in this instance, is a performance event. These are not superfluous actions, but provide comfort and distraction on the long, often painful journeys that *tufo* groups take together. Moreover, they form part of a "circulatory assemblage" of *tufo* that manages movement and makes movement manageable, bringing together the agents and infrastructures through which aesthetics and affects are circulated and exchanged.

In this chapter, I turn to the relational politics of mobility (Adey 2006), or the contingent relations between movement, stillness, and stopping, that are at the core of women's participation. I follow Michael Salter by orienting my analyses around circulation, as opposed to unidirectional moving and stopping (such as from point A to B), to account "for processes of control hidden or minimized by the relational mobility/immobility paradigm: circuits that isolate particular individuals or populations without rendering them immobile" (Salter 2013: 16). The hidden processes of control

that I discuss here take several different forms and include visible and invisible infrastructures and actors.

First, I look at the social, material, and bodily infrastructures that together constitute an "architecture for circulation" (Larkin 2013: 328) through which dancers and dance groups move. I begin by theorizing the body as the most important infrastructure for the circulation of the songs, choreography and uniforms that make up a group's non-material wealth. Then I turn the social infrastructure of *tufo*, held together by a constellation of named clubs that span northern Mozambique and connected by a shared name, aesthetic and material identifiers that are prominently displayed at annual *carramas*.[187] I examine the ways in which dance groups navigate the boundaries of club control and individual group autonomy through their decision-making processes related to event hosting and travel. Finally, I discuss how, within the context of changing political and economic structure, competition between and within groups has increased in Pebane, disrupting the stability of social infrastructures built through "phatic labor" (Elyachar 2010) across generations.

In the second part of this chapter, I examine distributed forms of agency[188] through an analysis of technological breakdown and illness that inhibit or stop circulation. Abandonment, corruption and civil-war-era destruction are some of the larger political and economic forces that have inhibited mobility in rural areas in Mozambique. Yet the examples I provide offer another explanation: it is a combination of human, material, and more-than human agencies that control the movement of people, and likewise, affect the circulation songs, choreography, and other valued forms of knowledge. Disgruntled ancestors, fetish objects, and sorcery can inhibit a groups movement to a *carrama*, in turn impeding their participation in valuable social and aesthetic exchanges. A group unable to travel misses participating in critical social and spatial processes of

[187] *Carramas,* as I discussed last chapter, recall the large-scale competitive festivals that undergirded prestige economies in urban coastal East Africa in the late 19th and early 20th century.
[188] I follow Jane Bennett (2009) in considering agency as distributive and including humans and non-human actants on a less vertical plane.

circulation through which they gain new experiences, knowledge, and material for their repertoire—all forms of capital I discussed in the previous chapter. In other words, these largely invisible agents can render a group invisible as well. My goal here is to interrogate understandings of human agency attached to a group's circulation and establish the limits of their power to illuminate the multiple factors that can affect the movement or success of a group in an increasingly competitive environment.

I follow my interlocutors' readings of what lies beneath the surface, just out of sight, taking seriously their warnings to pay attention to who or what lurks in the shadows because, as one *tufo* song goes, "you have to know that your shadow is going to betray you [*Wakahal ozueley woney errunkwawoh enamulapata*]," reminding the listener to be attentive to their surroundings when moving around so others do not leave malevolent objects in their path. Mariane Ferme's analysis of concealment practices in Sierra Leone mirrors what these insights, personal experiences, and divination sessions revealed to me in Pebane: "the visible world…is activated by forces concealed beneath the surface of discourse, objects, and social relations." (2001: 2). Friends may quickly turn into enemies (or may be both at the same time), and material objects, when infused with powerful substances and hidden in shadows, crevices, or car doors, can affect other's movements. I conclude by interrogating my own circulations which were manipulated by a range of forces to consider how my own striving—for knowledge, for acceptance, and for my own mis-guided efforts to practice reciprocity in the field—interfered with the mobility of EVP and others, and, unknowingly put others in danger (Ciekawy and Geschiere 1998: 3).

Overall, this chapter does two things: it establishes how the circulation and accrual of capital is organized and configured through infrastructures and logistics, and how these infrastructures are built and broken down through visible and invisible social and material processes that are directed at the body. I consider the interaction between agents and management/manipulation of movement as

part of a circulatory assemblage that is made up of several different infrastructures—the material, the social, and the body. Assemblages are rhizomatic, heterogenous and disaggregated, "systems that mix technology, politics and actors in diverse configurations" (Ong and Collier 2004: 4) and offer a way to analyze the dispersion of power on a horizontal rather than vertical plane, providing an alternative to out-moded state-centric analyses (Salter 2013). Following Jane Bennett (2009), assemblages are groups of all sorts of vibrant material: "living, throbbing confederations that are able to function despite the persistent presence of energies that confound them from within" (23).[189] By using Salter's concept of a "circulation assemblage" I focus on the inconsistent ways the "living, throbbing" infrastructures and agents manage circulation across time, space and networks (Salter 2013). The circulation of actors and aesthetics within the *tufo* performance economy—where exchange predominately occurs at live performances, and therefore requires the physical movement of bodies across space—is not controlled by a coordinated system, but by an assemblage of human and non-human agents.

Infrastructures

Economic circulation and exchange depend on infrastructures—material and/or social anchors through which things, people, and information can move (Urry 2003; See also Marx 1956; Elyachar 2010). As Peter Adey (2006, 2009) argues, material moorings are themselves mobile, as infrastructures, like a rural road system, are sunk conduits that are in a constant state of becoming as

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[189] To expand on this point, Bennett argues in *Vibrant Matter* (2009) that the electric power grid exemplifies an assemblage because it contains a volatile mixture of human and nonhuman actants. An assemblage has agentive capacity, moreover, because of the vitality of these constituent materials (34), which she relates the Chinese concept, *shi*. *Shi* is the "dynamic force emanating from a spatio-temporal configuration rather than from any particular element within it…the *shi* of an assemblage is vibratory; it is the mood or style of an open whole in which both the membership changes over time and the members themselves undergo internal alteration" (35). Her emphasis on the continuous change over time of membership and its members resonates with what I argue later, using Bateson's term schismogenesis. Yet, where Bennett sees a cohesive whole that 'vibrates', Bateson, and Paulo Israel, from whom I borrow the term, are interested in how difference between members of a group is differently produced over time. Both of these approaches emphasize the internal alterations over time, where agency is collaborative, or interactive.

they are modified, fixed and redesigned (Dodge and Kitchin 2005: 172). The single dirt road that connects Pebane Vila to the national highway (EN1), for instance, is always transforming as rain washes away certain sections of road, and impatient truck drivers leave cavernous holes in the mud or carve bypasses creating the road anew. This ongoing process of being and becoming determines movement to and from Pebane and who is able to access the town, which is contingent on road viability and the means of transport (Figure 4.1). At the same time, while potholes or flooded roads may indicate paucity or failure, they also generate different opportunities, and "may become infrastructural elements in themselves, because they create thickenings of publics and offer the possibility of assembling people or of slowing them down (so that one might sell something to them along the road, for example)" (De Boeck 2012). When infrastructures break, opportunities emerge.

Figure 4.1 – The road connecting Pebane Vila to the EN1. Photo by author.

Material infrastructures are managed and manipulated through social processes as well. District administrators, civil servants and private citizens, for instance, transform the road to Pebane when they make decisions about repairs, or use road rollers or hoes to fix impassable sections.

Anthropologist Nikhil Anand's analysis of Mumbai's hydraulic infrastructures reveals how these material and social infrastructural systems interact: the pipes, engineers and bureaucracy make up the system of water delivery, while client-patron networks ensure its delivery (2012, 2017). Anand argues that infrastructures are socio-material *processes*, living assemblages of more-than-human relations that are always in formation, and always coming apart (2017: 13). These insights are consequential for thinking about the infrastructural systems that undergird *tufo* as multiple, intersecting, and ever-changing: aesthetic exchange in *tufo* demands physical presence, and circulation relies on moving bodies, which of course, depends on and is shaped by larger, more expansive infrastructures, like the sprawling social network of *tufo* clubs that coordinate *carramas* and other events that serve as 'marketplaces' for exchange. I understand the body in *tufo* to function in a similar way as pipes in the hydraulic infrastructure that Anand describes. Songs, memories, stories, and choreography are circulated through the body, much in the same way water moves through pipes, with the broader social system through which the body moves—and which also facilitates its movements for *tufo*—itself shaping the aesthetic practices rooted to the body.

Body as Infrastructure

Theorizing a politics of mobility through women's dance societies in Africa requires thinking critically about concepts such as innovation and infrastructure through the body. In this section I consider how the body shapes and is shaped by various social and material processes that, drawing on Anand's insights, are an assemblage of more-than-human relations. My thinking about the body as an infrastructure in *tufo,* as I outline below, brings together literature on African infrastructures, ethnomusicological scholarship on the materialization of sound through the body in performance, and recent studies of music infrastructures.

While new mobilities studies are a largely theoretical endeavor, they tend to be techno-, urban, and Euro-centric (Urry 2007; Adey 2009), and frequently exclude the African context where technology, innovation, and movement are differently experienced and imagined (See Simone 2004, 2009; De Boeck 2011; Mavhunga 2014; Nyamnjoh 2012). AbdouMaliq Simone addresses the distinction between the "kind of stability and regularity that non-African cities have historically attempted to realize" (2004: 410) and the current forms of stability in African cities through the concept "people as infrastructure." Infrastructure, in Simone's definition, is a "platform for providing for and reproducing life" (ibid.: 408), which in inner-city Johannesburg, where old material and economic infrastructural moorings have worn away, has emerged as the materiality of what is in-between-us. Here, it is the improvised collaborations and transactions between producer-residents that are anchoring because their outcomes are open and flexible: collaborations between people convert "commodities, found objects, resources, and bodies into uses previously unimaginable or constrained" (ibid.: 410) that connect the city to the wider world. Stability, and infrastructure, in essence, are created through the fluidity and flexibility of everyday socio-economic relations.

Filip De Boeck (2012) builds on Simone by analyzing the body as infrastructure. In Kinshasa, he argues, cityness is defined by the architecture of the human body and the relations between bodies, rather than the material infrastructures that "engineer public space and its ensuing social capacities, its collectivity, its possibilities of human encounter" (2012). While urban residents face material decay, the "urban body is a building that people constantly strive to build into perfection" through, for instance, bodybuilding or the aesthetic practices of the Congolese *sapeurs*. Critical to my understanding of the body as an infrastructure in *tufo* is De Boeck's engagement with "audible infrastructures" that are invisible and immaterial but also "rooted in and moored by the body." Audible infrastructures in his framing are the "verbal architecture" of the city, or the spoken words that build the city as a mental space, where new futures are imagined, or hope is generated.

Simone and DeBoeck both show how the materiality between people, or of bodies, provides a mooring for innovation, new connections, and cityness itself. In different ways, they capture the socially contingent nature of infrastructure that equally applies to the assemblage of infrastructures within in *tufo*. However, their work is discussing the density of urban spaces, while *tufo* groups are often not as spatially proximate but rather are spread across peri-urban neighborhoods, towns, and villages in different districts and provinces. I am interested in an audible architecture of a different kind—one that constructs the 'imagined community' of a *tufo* club across time and space, where the body is a mooring for the circulation of aesthetic practices that (re)imagine past, present and future worlds.

Theorizing the body as infrastructure requires thinking about the body's role in the circulation of sound during performance, as well. Ethnomusicologists have approached body movement and sound circulation in two different ways. First, there is a growing body of scholarship that examines the relationship between sound and body movement in performance. Matthew Rahaim (2012), for example, develops the concept of "musicking bodies" to theorize how Hindustani classical singers articulate the motion of a melody through spontaneous gestures, rendering sound three-dimensional. Rahaim contends that the body provides the materiality through which sound is rendered visible. More recently, Rehanna Kheshgi (2016) considers the role of dance, positing that "sounding bodies" are "integrated sites for moving through the performative domains of everyday life." In the context of rural *bihu* performance in Assam, India, this includes the sounds the body makes when it sings, claps, gestures through space, or stomps on the earth (35). The sounded body in performance, she argues, reveals the ways in which debates about modernity are gendered and also embodied. Similarly, Louise Meintjes analyzes the dancing body as the material instantiation of voice, adding that the material voice also carries the past (2017: 13), highlighting how experience is circulated through body movement. Such work takes seriously the role of sound in

shaping body movements, while likewise showing that the moving body is a critical technology in the production of sound, which shows how the body operates as a sonic infrastructure on a micro-level.

Music and sound are also circulated on a macro-scale in *tufo,* when embodied forms of sonic knowledge are exchanged and passed between groups. Recent scholarship in ethnomusicology does an excellent job of analyzing how sound circulates through the material and social infrastructures that make up transnational and translocal music economies. Yet much of this work focuses almost exclusively on digital technologies, ignoring the role of the physical body in these processes. Adam Kielman (2018) looks at changing modes of music circulation in the People's Republic of China through diverse sonic infrastructures which include technology, hardware, social media, political systems, social and corporate relationships, and the "high-speed railroads that transport musicians on tour," (23) though leaves out the role that the bodies of these musicians play in producing and circulating sound. Shannon Garland (2014) comes closer to recognizing the role of the body in music circulation by describing musicians on tour as "…types of sorcerers who…literally embody the value of social production as material bodies circulating along the paths generated by social production and by their very own movement (93)." Performance, she argues, brings together in proximate physical space the bodies of musicians and those of listeners, where "they realize the value of participation in the circuits of transnational indie culture" (94). However, in her analysis, the longstanding infrastructures through which Indie music has circulated are largely social—established by record labels, magazines, journalists, touring routes—and musical, "built historically through practices of listening, evaluation and exchange elsewhere" (29).

Focusing solely on the hardware and technologies that circulate digital sounds tends to reinforce the old tradition/modernity dichotomy that excludes the body from consideration as a technology itself (See Mavhunga 2011). In *tufo,* however, where material hardware and digital

technologies are seldom used, circulation cannot be understood without a consideration of the way in which bodies move sound on both micro and macro scales, and, as I discussed in Chapter 1, employ aesthetic technologies to manage affect. In the next section, I examine how the dancing, sounding body is shaped by its position within the multiple and overlapping social infrastructures that buttress *tufo* as a popular genre, because the local group and translocal club a dancer belongs determines the gestural practices, songs, lyrics, and melodies that she learns to embody.

Social Infrastructures

Tufo's impressive social infrastructure is a complex conglomerate of administrators, organizers, patrons, trainers, performers and members, and individuals make up groups, groups belong to clubs, and clubs constitute a complex heterogeneous system (Larkin 2013: 225). The body is shaped by the translocal network[190] of *tufo* clubs, each of which are an 'imagined community' of sorts that materialize through shared name, history, aesthetics, and social networks. Clubs, moreover, play a large part in determining the social and spatial channels through which groups move because of rules and events that restrict some circulations and encourage others, as I will explain. Today, there are approximately ten clubs still active that maintain headquarters in Nampula province and most have member teams throughout Cabo Delgado and Zambézia provinces and in urban centers like Maputo, Tete and Beira.[191]

The headquarters (*sede*) of *tufo* is Ilha de Moçambique, where all clubs originated before fanning out across the region through internal movements and migrations, drawing a striking parallel

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[190] The word network (*rede*) is the emic term used to describe the social organization of clubs, that is imagined and functions as an alternative kinship.

[191] In Teixeira's 2007 study, he identified eight active clubs on Ilha de Mocambique, which include Estrela Vermelha, Beira-Mar, Associação Forte Amizade, Anuaril Hassanate, Achirafi Libanate, Hassanate Novo Sistema, Fura-Redes, Aussuafe Sonia, while during my research in Zambézia province, I counted four active clubs: Associação Familia Aleikussalamo, Estrela Vermelha, Anuaril Hassanate, and Chimpimpi.

to the Makhuwa origin story. Human life began at Mount Namuli,[192] and from there, the original (female) ancestor's offspring descended into the Chire Valley, before splintering off into matrilineal clans (*nihimo*) that established small, dispersed chieftaincies. Some chieftaincies migrated south and crossed the Zambeze river, while others went to the mountainous region of Morrumbala, where the Makhuwa nation was born. The Makhuwa have long been in a constant state of movement (West 2005: 27) that Premarwardhana terms the Makhuwa "culture of mobility" (2018: 44), which has characterized their historical conscious as a people until today—much in the same way dance clubs have evolved and expanded through constant movement, ensuring the survival of *tufo* amidst periods of conflict and hardship. In fact, internal migration has been a significant factor in the success of these clubs because Makhuwa women have been eager to introduce pre-existing social networks to new places so they will have a social system of support and alternative kin network to assist with funerals and other hardships.

Filiation—the kin-like relationships that exists between a group and its larger club network—is what brings a group into larger society, taking them beyond the local. A group's social and spatial proximity to those with more talent and experience is critical to their longer-term success. Building and maintaining these social relationships provides rural groups, in particular, opportunities for exchange, and to participate in club programming. "An isolated group doesn't have a family," explained Ismael. "They don't have anyone. Eventually, they will become demoralized and the group will disband because they are all alone." His statements may seem slightly hyperbolic, but I've heard similar sentiments expressed by dancers and drummers as well, indicating the real threats to *tufo* aren't external influences or loss of authenticity, as I discussed in the dissertation's introduction, but instead, are stasis and isolation when relationships disintegrate.

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[192] This is the regions tallest mountain and located in northern Zambézia province. In Pebane, people attribute each *nihimo* to a particular mountain in the interior region, and in addition to asking someone what *nihimo* they are from (*nihimoninuy mwakhatta wani?*) they will also ask what their mountain is (*mwakonnyu seeni?*).

Club membership also shapes the way one learns and embodies *tufo*. A member group inherits a club's history, name[193] (filiation), and unique aesthetic practices which include uniform color, speed, songs, and preferred vocables. In well-organized clubs like Associação Familia Aleikussalamo, these aesthetic modes of belonging are circulated through trainers like Sabir, whom I introduced in Chapter Two. His movements between groups, moreover, are, in part, what brings the translocal club network into being, because the songs he writes or teaches to a group in Pebane are then, introduced to a group in Ile, and then much later, to a group in Nampula. Annual and semi-annual provincial or regional meetings and *carramas,* that bring groups together in one space, further consolidate these aesthetic ideals and a feeling of collective belonging. Participating groups wear matching uniforms in team colors, hoist a club flag, sing the club hymn, then take turns performing on stage throughout the night (Figure 4.2).[194] Then, when the sun comes up, the participants – exhausted yet jubilant – parade through town, singing, ululating, and flaunting their beauty to mark the completion of the event and agitate rival groups—collectively asserting fashionableness, and in doing so, garnering prestige (See Ranger 1975).

[193] Naming practices are a form of historical, social, and political affiliation that are an important part of a group's being and becoming, positioning them in relation to other groups (and the historical rivalries that involves) and within a broader organization and social system of support. However, when group objectives are expansion in numbers, they are willing filiation practices are secondary to institutional membership, revealing how flexible naming can actually be in practice. For instance, Associação Familia Aleikussalamo was once part of the club Familiar Hisubo Rahamane before changing names, which, shows how club histories are far more complex and incorporate multiple influences, not just a name. Even still, at the meeting of the Zambézia delegation of the club Associação Familia Aleikussalamo, there were prolonged debates as to whether or not a group interested in changing clubs had to take the name of the club, or if they could keep their original name merely become affiliates. Of the twenty or so delegates present, the majority took the position that yes, a group must take the name of the club they want to join, several emphasized the importance name because, as one president pointed out, name is what affiliates us, signifying that, "Those of us here today are a family." A group name, he continued, is like a surname: "I'm the son of my father and so I have his name." Name giving is a process of becoming because it incorporates a group and its members into the kin-like club network. A nascent group will approach a well-established group and ask to be given their name. If the mother group agrees, this relationship will be formalized in a name-giving ceremony where the two groups dance together, and the leaders of each group are present to make the union official.

[194] Even if an invited group is not part of the club, they are expected to comply to these rules. Matching colors are essential to solidarity and enhance the beauty of the occasion.

Figure 4.2 – Inside the *mpanteney* at a Chimpimpi *carrama* in Nampula City, August 26, 2017. Photo by author.

Ancha Adriano explained that the unique style and rhythm that manifest through the different clubs is also what keeps *tufo* socially relevant and exciting: "You can't bring the talent of Estrela to Azanate", she said. "If everyone is singing the same songs, they won't have the same weight or importance. Each group has to do their own distinct thing." Some clubs, like Assanate, dance with a really rapid rhythm, or as some have described, "they run when they dance." Others,

like Estrela Vermelha, adhere more to the traditional style of dancing that would fit squarely within the state's definition of heritage. While the basic conventions of the genre are stable and contribute to a shared understanding of what *tufo* is, it is these malleable, aesthetic qualities of *tufo,* like a group's vitality, pace, song lyrics, uniform, that are the basis of talent assessments locally because they keep the audience engaged,

Social and bodily infrastructures converge through collective aesthetic practices at *carramas*—the most anticipated events of the annual performance calendar because they offer groups an opportunity to travel, perform, compete, and gain prestige, while expanding their social networks. On the one hand, *carramas* are a 'marketplace,' where *tufo* groups from the same club network gather to exchange songs, choreography and beauty practices, all important forms of cultural capital used to animate the wide range of public events at which *tufo* groups perform. But they could also be considered "a communicative hub of 'phatic labor'" (Elyachar 2010: 454)—the place where the historical work of creating social channels converges, and meaningful exchange occurs. By attending or hosting a *carrama*, a group grows their non-material wealth because they gain experience and knowledge, exchange songs and get new ideas, that add aesthetic capital to their repertoire. If they perform well and make the right connections, they gain renown, translating into more invites, and the cycle repeats. When a group's circulation is disrupted or impeded by material or social breakdown, however, their accumulation of capital is stalled, making innovation more challenging.

Navigating Social Infrastructures

While the club network undergirds the larger social infrastructure though which groups circulate, and shapes the sounds, movements, and dress that performers embody and exchange, in practice they have little control over a group's actual movements. As Mark Salter writes, "Mobile subjects are created by and create the structure of mobility in which they circulate" (2013: 7), and the

social interactions, allegiances and decisions made by EVP that I analyze in this section highlight exactly how social infrastructures are in constant processes of transformation that begins at the group level. Each group is embedded within several social hierarchies that are place- and kin-based, overlapping and competing with club networks. Some clubs, with a consolidated central authority, impose fines on individual groups that dance at a *carrama* outside of their network, demanding fidelity to the club and also to their specific aesthetic practices. But ultimately, individual groups make decisions about the events they attend and who they dance with based on their local circumstances and networks—what will benefit them in the day-to-day and advance their position within town—revealing how rigid ideas about club protocol do not capture what groups actually do in practice. The simultaneity of stability and fluidity that Simone (2004) identified as a unique feature of "people-as-infrastructure" in urban Johannesburg becomes evident in *tufo* as well, because relationships between groups, within clubs and with patrons, are anchoring—offering social support through affiliation—and are also fluid and flexible as groups are constantly evolving and creating new collaborations and reciprocal exchanges that "reweave" the fabric of the *tufo* assemblage.

Estrela Vermelha of Pebane began in 1966 as a group called Ezibina,[195] and was founded by three men as a *mawlid* group. The group was dissolved in November 1968 when Rajabo Auaze, one of the founders, emigrated to Angoche, and brought his nieces and cousin—Fatima Aniba, Amina Kassamuge and Rabia Salimo Selemane. When the three women returned to Pebane in 1979, they established the group Mahafil Islam (meaning, a group of Muslims) as a daughter group to the Mahafil Islam of Angoche, with Amina Kassamuge in the position of queen, and her husband, Issa Jamal, as the group president. In 1993, after the war ended and dance association activities resumed, they changed their name to Estrela Vermelha, following the lead of their mother group from

[195] Ezibina was Pebane's second group, and initially was established for men to dance *mawlid* at the mosque in Pebane's *baixa,* around the corner from EVPs clubhouse.

Angoche. This name change was also politically beneficial: Mahafil Islam on Ilha de Moçambique—the founding group and head of the entire club network at the time—changed their name to Estrela Vermelha after independence to align themselves with a new form of authority: Frelimo, a political party. Arnfred (2004) describes how groups connected to Frelimo in Ilha de Moçambique and Angoche thrived after the war ended while those thought to have close ties to Renamo were blacklisted and removed from the Department of Culture's list of *tufo* groups (2004: 62). Even after the country opened up to multi-party democracy, the club's affiliation to Frelimo has afforded them privileged support and new benefits as Frelimo has maintained hold of power. In Pebane, for instance, several EVP members hold prominent positions in the party and local government, and as a result, the group receives invitations to perform at party meetings and at commemoration ceremonies at the *praça*. Moreover, when the district administration is receiving a distinguished guest, they are always selected to perform.

As a result, when EVP's mother group in Angoche recently changed their club affiliation from Estrela Vermelha to Chimpimpi and asked EVP to do the same, EVP refused, creating some tension between the groups. On the one hand, EVP wanted to maintain their close relationship to their mother group because their affiliation transcends *tufo*. As I noted above, EVP's queen, Amina, grew up in Angoche and the queen of the group is her cousin. Yet EVP's local political connections to Frelimo were more consequential on a daily basis than their relationship to their mother group, and their politics were embodied in the name Estrela Vermelha (Red Star).

However, EVP later prioritized their close friendship (*amizade*) with Chimpimpi de Angoche over Estrela Vermelha club rules when organizing their *carrama,* highlighting the flexibility of social infrastructures, and circulation of groups within. Estrela Vermelha club protocol dictates that a member group must plan a *carrama* through their headquarters, yet EVP ignored these rules and sent

out invitations via their extensive friends and family network, inviting both Estrela Vermelha and Chimpimpi groups with whom they had close relationship.

I learned about EVPs breach in protocol because I was given the job of personally delivering the *carrama* invitation to Estrela Vermelha on Ilha de Moçambique—the club's founding group—while visiting Ilha on a short break, five months after invitations had been sent out. I had met the queen, Janina, several times in the past and when I arrived at her house she was leaning against the open door, sitting on an *esteira* (woven mat) in the entry way. "*Passa*," she said as I approached, directing me to the white plastic chair just inside. After a few minutes of conversation, I took the *carrama* invitation[196] out of the envelope and handed it to Janina, who read every word aloud, including the list of invitees, which she read through twice—first, saying each group name, then the second time only the Estrela Vermelha groups. When she finished, I told her we would be honored if they could attend our *carrama*. *Inshallah,* was her response, commenting that it would depend if they could get the money, and she would first have to speak to the president and other dancers. As we talked about the event, however, she made it clear that this was not a *carrama*, but rather a festival. If an Estrela Vermelha group wants to have a *carrama,* she informed me, they have to first send a delegation to the headquarters who will then officially send the invites. What most irked her was that we had invited Chimpimpi groups—a *carrama* can only be Estrela. She was emphatic on this point.

EVP had broken two significant rules: they did not send a delegation to the headquarters to discuss the *carrama* in advance, and they invited groups from outside the club on the invitation list. Furthermore, while the date on the invitation letter was February, it was now the end of June and the headquarters was only just receiving their invitation. This made the group look disorganized,

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[196] Delivering an original paper invitation—signed by the group president—is an important step in protocol. Photocopied invitations are an insult, as they indicate the group was an afterthought, or communicate the group is not taking planning seriously and trying to cut corners. EVP turned down an invitation to a *carrama* that was photocopied, even though their affiliate group in Angoche was closely affiliated with the group.

and, as Janina told me, rude. Yet, most dancers—particularly those of the older generation—know these rules, so it was not ignorance that determined EVP's course of action. When I reported back to the group later, the general consensus was that Estrela Vermelha in Ilha was just being complicated. EVP had been intentional about their planning, putting their group interests above those of the club by inviting groups with which they had pre-existing friendships.

This was not an isolated example of rebellion. EVP was invited to several *carramas* in the Chimpimpi network because of their close relationship (*amizade*) with Chimpimpi de Angoche. Yet, while this affiliation secured them invitations and new opportunities for travel, EVP still made decisions based on what was best for the group. For instance, Chimpimpi de Angoche tried to persuade EVP to attend a *carrama* hosted by their affiliate group in Nampula. While EVP considered connection, they ultimately chose to go to a different *carrama*, hosted by a competing group, in Nampula. This decision was not a slight to the Angoche group but was instead based on convenience and finances. The dates of the second *carrama* worked better for EVP dancers, but the deciding factor was that two Chimpimpi groups from Pebane had also been invited and were planning to attend. The three groups could pool their resources for transportation and rent one large truck which would keep the costs down. In addition, Estrela Vermelha and Chimpimpi de Tibone had a friendship of their own—in part, based on a shared support of Frelimo—which they formalized by dancing together. This means that when one group is solicited to perform at an event where more than one group will be performing, they will recommend that the other group also be invited. However, *amizade* does not override local competition between groups, or within groups, but it is often a performance of comradery in a competitive local landscape marked by intense rivalries between groups. While friendships made publicly visible are a declaration of allegiance, discord between individuals and groups is concealed and expressed through invisible mechanisms.

Temporal Infrastructures and Changing Competitions

Contemporary agencies and interactions within *tufo* also need to be framed through a historical lens. Since at least the 19th century, competitions between rivals has fueled leisure activities along the Swahili coast (Ranger 1975; Strobel 1976; Farrell 1980; Fair 2001; Askew 2002). Moreover, a longer tradition of rival pairs has driven continuous innovation, maintained enthusiasm, bolstered identities, and at times, perpetuated conflict.[197] In Pebane, for instance, Associação de Quichanga and Estrela Vermelha are long-standing and well-known rivals. Competition doesn't only divide groups along club and neighborhood lines but can create cohesion and open up new connections and friendships—Estrela and Chimpimpi's *amizade* is countered by a similar solidarity between Associação and Assanate in Pebane. However, membership to the same club network does not ensure friendship: groups with the same club name may also be rivals, and I've witnessed intense rivalries between two Assanate groups in Maiaia, and two Chimpimpi groups in Nampula.

Changing modes of accumulation after the civil war—coupled with Frelimo's political and economic hegemony—have increased inter-group competition, but also *intra*-group competition, especially between generations, threatening social cohesion. In Chapter Two I detailed how competition for scarce resources has manifested in gender relations, and here I want to elaborate further on the growing generational divide as money and politics have been introduced into *tufo*. I follow one elder's reflection that the government "never entered the club" when she danced, and today, every club has problems when they begin to accumulate material benefits, like money or new *capulanas*. I include this discussion here because these conflicts become most visible in debates over the temporality of social infrastructures that undergird *tufo*, and group members' collective membership in what Kockelman calls a "semiotic community" (2005: 262 in Elyachar 2010) that

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[197] In his introduction to *Mashindano,* Gunderson notes the "diadic organization of non-kinship affiliation" common throughout East Africa that is pervasive in competitive domains such as political parties, football teams and dance societies. These rival pairs operate to ensure perpetual equilibrium in social order (2000: 9).

shares resources like gestures, signs, and communicative channels. Semiotic communities can have a long history, and in the case of *tufo,* the artistic and social labor of ancestors and elders who danced before, is a resource for collective benefit—not just those who currently dance. In fact, *tufo* songs are classified according to those that are considered to be collectively owned and are usually those taken from *dhikr* or *mawlid* (open access songs), and those that are owned by a club or group.

Intra-generational conflict in EVP, moreover, shows how the gradual commodification of *tufo*, alongside a depletion of material resource access in Pebane, has led to debates over whose labor is most valued in the ongoing contribution to these semiotic commons. More specifically, such conflicts reveal that certain types of labor (i.e., dancing) are valued over others (i.e., advising). Intra-generation tensions also raise questions about ownership of capital (aesthetics), and how different generations of dancers understand the historical and social processes *and* actors that shape the (agile, able) body as infrastructure through which aesthetics circulate. In other words, just because a dancer's body can no longer physically perform (because of old age, illness, or death, among other reasons) does not mean they are replaced within a group's social infrastructure by someone younger or able-bodied. As several dancers have expressed, anyone can learn how to dance, but not everyone can learn how to be a good friend (or "play well with others"), which is an essential quality for being a successful, supportive member of a group. While I will discuss 'breakdown' in greater detail in the next section, in the following example, we begin to see how disruptions in temporal infrastructures (the social and bodily infrastructures that have developed over the long-term) involve human and other-than-human agents, like ancestors.

Since the end of the war, new forms of compensation such as receiving rice, money, or *capulanas* for dancing have been introduced into *tufo,* augmenting tensions between dancers and advisors based on how their different roles in the group are understood to generate wealth. During my research, group elders in EVP became especially incensed when dancers stopped informing them

of all incoming event invitations. When the group received a *convite de murrama* (an invitation accompanied by a bag of rice), for instance, the dancers kept the rice to themselves and only informed the elders of the invitation much later. These tensions were further exacerbated when the group received an invitation to perform at a wedding in Quelimane with limited invites. All of the elder advisors had been left off the list of attendees and the dancers had quickly made travel plans without even consulting them.

When these indiscretions came to light, five elder advisors called a group meeting to address the growing problem and admonish the dancers for their secrecy, which was understood as an act of selfishness: dancers wanted to monopolize any forms of payment they might receive in exchange for performing. During her lengthy diatribe, one elder, Luisa, announced, "we know that when you leave here you speak poorly of us and want to travel alone. But you can't go to an event without us. We are still just as much a part of the group as you, only we can't dance." She went on to remind the dancers that "In the past we always traveled with the elders and we never tried to estrange ourselves from them." In their rebuttal, some dancers confirmed the elders' suspicions: for them, this was a problem with the division of labor. Since they were putting in the physical and artistic work of singing and dancing, they were deserving of the surplus and should not be obligated to share with those who are just "following them around" and no longer contributing to the physical and artistic labor of the group. But, as the elders pointed out, the dancers were ignoring the previous work the elders had done to develop the club when they were dancers themselves. Said one, "we were the ones that started *tufo,* and you're only starting now. You don't want us following you because of food? We're not going to leave."

The past forms of labor to which the advisors were referring align with what Julia Elyachar (2010) calls "phatic labor." Drawing on both Malinowski and Marx, Elyachar developed this concept to describe women's historical practices of sociality, like gossip, chatting, and visiting friends and

family, that were never economically motivated, but have nevertheless produced communicative channels, "that can potentially transmit not only language but also all kinds of semiotic meaning and economic value" (2010: 453). Phatic labor, moreover, produces a valuable social infrastructure that, in some contexts, undergirds new profit-based projects. When elders remind younger dancers that they started *tufo* and, always traveled with elders, for instance, they are bringing attention to these historical practices of sociality that built the social infrastructure through which they move today. By emphasizing the fact that current dancers "have only just started dancing" elders are referencing an important chain of transmission: current dancers are indebted to former dancers (elders) who are indebted to the group's ancestors. As EVP's Queen explained, the group's current way of dancing is one that she has passed on from those who taught her to dance as a young girl in Angoche, touching on the important role that ancestors have played in creating *tufo's* social and bodily infrastructures.

Studies that address *tufo's* social infrastructures often focus on human connections while the ancestors occupy a liminal category—as formerly human but no longer physically present. Yet the ancestors still play an active role in group activities: every ceremony begins with a moment of silence for those who have passed, and groups frequently relay their lineage and name the founding members through song.[198] They also play an important role in group travel and have the potential to manage movement. Before leaving for an event, for example, a group will visit the graves of the group ancestors and perform a ceremony, *mukutoh,* at which they ask their blessings and protection for the journey ahead.[199] Likewise, misfortune on a journey may be a sign of an ancestor's displeasure—a belief that extends beyond *tufo*. One man in Pebane attributed his daughter's

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[198] Such songs are an example of what Sykes calls musical giving, where people offer music in exchange for protection (2018).

[199] Interlocuters define *mukutoh* as a ritual that people perform to evoke those who have died. This ceremony is performed on several different occasions. First, when things aren't going well (*quando coisas não correr*). Also, this is done before all trips, or to inaugurate a new project. The ancestors must be included, their permission asked, and if things are going poorly, they must be consulted in case someone has offended them. In the context of a performance, groups must pay homage to those have come before through song, acknowledging those from the group who have passed on, as well as the group's historical lineage.

prolonged illness to the fact that she had not swept her ancestor's graves before moving to Maputo, and she made the long bus journey back to Pebane to make amends.[200] Significantly, these debates over labor, history, and ownership highlight the ways in which *tufo's* social infrastructures are weakening with gradual commodification.

Gregory Bateson's concept of schismogenesis (1936), meaning the "generation of difference," is helpful for understanding these changing manifestations of competition in *tufo*. Following Paulo Israel's discussion of the term, schismogenesis came out of Bateson's observations of puberty rituals in New Guinea where he found that competitive behavior accentuated gender differences between boys and girls and turned them into men and women through a "process of differentiation in the norms of individual behavior resulting from cumulative interaction between individuals" (Bateson 1936: 175 in Israel 2014: 42). When men perform in front of women the very presence of the audience informs their behavior, making them more exhibitionist as women admire their performance. Israel observed a similar dynamic of schismogenetic rivalry between men and women in Makonde puberty rituals in northern Mozambique, which produced an atmosphere of "mutual envy, provocation, and suspicion" (2014: 43). This extends to the *mapiko* masquerades the Makonde perform, and Israel argues that ritual secrecy and dance competitions obey the same logic, as both are "performative game[s] geared to produce social difference" (ibid.: 17). But Israel's larger point—and what is particularly salient for understanding how new forms of social cohesion and difference are emerging through competition in *tufo*—is that the social difference schismogenesis produces "still manifests itself differently in different historical moments, embodied in various social institutions and charged with various emotional and existential tonalities" (ibid.: 47). Similarly, the historical tradition of rival pairs is a performative game that has produced social difference between

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[200] In this instance, after her illness persisted for several months and doctors at the hospital could not deliver a diagnosis, the family performed a divination ceremony that identified the angry relative. After the man's daughter returned to Pebane and performed the ceremony, he was relieved to report that her condition significantly improved.

neighborhoods, *tufo* clubs, and even political parties, as groups flaunt their talent while delivering veiled insults to their rivals through song. But at the present moment, when material and economic benefits are beginning to incentivize participation, social difference is being produced within the group itself, based on who can dance and who cannot. Groups of today are less concerned with following club rules, for example, and will subvert the hierarchies of power that determine their movements, invitations, participation, and individual compensation.

Breaking Down: Limits of the Human

Just as infrastructures can facilitate circulation, they can also produce stillness and stuckness when they breakdown or fail, even if only temporarily (Bissell and Fuller 2011; Adey and Anderson 2011; Adey et al. 2011; Graham 2010; Birtchnell and Büscher 2011). In fact, anthropologists observe that infrastructures often remain invisible or in in the background of our everyday lives *until* they breakdown (Star 1999; Elyachar 2010, Collier 2011, Graham and Marvin 2001; Larkin 2008). In the second part of this chapter, I examine how breakdowns in the material, social, and bodily infrastructures that facilitate dancers' circulations can render spiritual infrastructures visible, drawing attention to the other-than-human actants that affect circulation, like spirits, ancestors and fetish objects. Breakdowns in these contexts manifest as illness (body), car problems (material), and competition (social). In Pebane, more specifically, sudden breakdowns are often read as deliberate, and must therefore be situated within a broader cosmology of witchcraft.

Historically, magic was an object of Euro-American anthropological study used to distinguish the primitive logic of the 'savage' from modern, Western (and enlightened) thought.[201] While post-modern approaches worked to dismantle such characterizations, in doing so, they often presented a more romantic version of witchcraft as a separate, alternative, or visionary reality (See

[201] For extensive reviews of this literature, and discussions of its main approaches, see Pels 2003.

Pels 2003). In the mid-90s, Africanist anthropologists began to analyze witchcraft as a fulcrum through which local realities were connected to global forces. The Comaroff's "occult economies" (1999), for example, explained the rise in occult practices in South Africa as a *response* to modernity and late capitalism, arguing that witchcraft was transforming as a result of economic change. Local discourses of witchcraft, in this framing, capture the invisible, inner workings of contemporary capitalism, where the wealth of some seems to magically accumulate and should therefore be responded to with magic. Adam Ashforth (2005) connects the rise of spiritual insecurity to neoliberal reforms and the decline of authoritarian states: as people lost control over their lives, many turned to witchcraft to respond to instability and growing gender and generational tensions.

As McCaskie (2000) notes, witchcraft is not just a symptom of broader problems, but a historical analysis of scholarship reveals how it has constantly adapted, survived and outlived other institutions. Even still, one of the enduring questions in anthropological scholarship has been whether or not witches are real. According to James H. Smith, "anthropological analysis tends to proceed as if witches do not exist and are not actually bewitching people—or at least that they would not be able to if they indeed tried to" (2019: 73). One consequence, he notes, is the blatant disconnect between African experiences and anthropological interpretations of witchcraft in Africa because anthropologists are often representing others' realities in text, narrating experiences they themselves did not have (ibid.: 73). Phenomenological approaches to witchcraft often prove to be an exception, understanding witchcraft as language that *constructs* reality, saying much about the way people experience and perceive the world in ways that exceed the limits of "Western knowledge" (See Stoller and Olkes 1987; West 2005; Niehaus 2013; Smith 2008, 2019). For instance, in his research among the Makonde of the Mueda plateau—the first liberated zone during Mozambique's struggle for independence—Harry West argues that while socialist modernization policies banned sorcery practices and labeled them as a form of superstition, Muedans have continued to make sense

of changing power relations and the failed promises of modernization through sorcery. Witchcraft is therefore an everyday reality and sub-text in social encounters that must be understood within the context they occur.

In the following two sections, I relay and analyze my own experience of a witchcraft attack when traveling to and from a *carrama* with several groups. What I initially understood as an unlucky series of events that led to mechanical breakdown and sudden illness, became malicious acts of envy when interpreted through the language of sorcery in Pebane. I take the series of events at face value, telling the story as I experienced it, but deferring analysis to my interlocuters and the process of divination. My aim is to show sorcery *as* reality in this particular context, and the array of 'invisible' agents that manipulate movement, including my own role as an actant.

Part One: Illness and Movement

It began with a simple vision problem. It was late July 2017, and I had just returned to Pebane from a three week visit to the US. My husband had been medically evacuated from Mozambique a month earlier for deep vein thrombosis—the culmination of a series of health issues that progressively worsened over a three-month period and ended with a nine-day hospitalization in Maputo. After the trauma of the previous months, I was apprehensive about returning to Pebane as a single woman living alone at a beach lodge, several kilometers from the center of town. But I was also excited for several upcoming events: in a week, EVP would be traveling to their first *carrama* of the season in Nampula, and then a month later, we would be hosting our own *carrama* in Pebane after nearly 8 months of planning.

It was my second morning back and I was settling into my morning writing routine. The bright morning sun reflecting off the water was always a startling contrast to my dark room, but today, as I looked toward the Indian Ocean, I saw two, rather than one palm tree standing between

my house and the beach. *I must still be exhausted from my trip,* I thought. The trip from Chicago to Pebane took 5 days: two international flights, one domestic flight, and a twelve-hour car journey from Quelimane to Pebane. Moreover, it was the first time I had driven to Pebane alone and navigating the road to Pebane, which passes through rural areas with no cell service, had been especially stressful. Over the course of the next five days, however, my eyesight worsened, and by day three I had lost all peripheral vision. Walking gave me bad vertigo and driving became impossible: I was effectively immobilized.[202] I worried I would have to skip the festival and go to the hospital in Nampula instead, but the evening before our departure my vision suddenly improved, and by 4:30am the next morning, when Artur, EVP's vice-president collected me on his motorcycle, the vertigo was gone.

The trip, however, was doomed from the start. The open backed truck rented for the trip was too small to accommodate all three groups, their belongings, and three sets of drums. My car—a 2000 Toyota Harrier—became the overflow transport, and two hours later it was packed full of excess bags, EVP's vice-president, three elder advisors, and Pebane's head of culture. While the rear suspension snapped less than two hours into our trip, we encountered more serious mechanical

[202] At this point in time during my fieldwork, I was completely dependent on a car to get to and from town and rehearsal. When my husband developed a crippling case of arthritis, we moved from our house at the *praça*—which was still under construction—to a cabana at the Pebane beach lodge that had running water and electricity. While the move made his daily life more comfortable, we were physically isolated from town life. Friends and acquaintances were mixed in their opinions—some viewed this favorably, because by living at the beach lodge, which was 2.5km from town, we would be protected from sorcery attacks and from unwanted visitors. Others, like those in my dance group, complained that we would now be too far to accept visitors and interpreted our move as an attempt to isolate ourselves from social life in Pebane. It was as if we were going into hiding—in particular, since the social importance of relationship building is based on visiting one another. Regrettably, this damaged the intimacy and trust that we had built up over the previous five months, but also isolated me in other ways and created new stressors. I became far more dependent on my car—and after that died, a motorcycle—to get around. The road to the beach is a long sandy path that descends from the plateau to wind through an isolated marsh for about two kilometers. This low terrain is populated by some rice fields, loyally tended to by women each morning, and a bathing hole where fisherman frequently stop on their way back from the beach. But it is uninhabited, open terrain interspersed with vegetation, cashew and coconut trees. It also intersects with a smaller footbath that connects to a fisherman's beach. Fishing in the estuary is hard, and at times dangerous, work, and men frequently drink *sura,* fermented coconut water, or small bottles of cheap gin, like *soldier*, when they fish. I was warned many times that walking alone down this path as a woman was unsafe, lest I encounter a group of drunk fishermen. Moreover, several years prior, a new district judge—a younger woman from outside of the province—had been on her solo morning jog when she was sexually assaulted by a group of young men. She left town the next day. Later, when my car died, my movement to and from home became a bigger problem and I relied on a motorcycle, but again, for safety reasons, I had to arrive home before dark—immediately after rehearsal ended (5:00 or 5:30pm).

issues about six hours later, when a low growl began to emanate from the engine as the car climbed a hill on the EN1. Conversations hushed as the sound grew louder, and I watched with terror as the car's speed dropped from 60km to 40, then finally to 20 as the accelerator failed. While the elders had swept the graves of the group's ancestors before we left, and prayed to Allah for a safe journey, in this moment of uncertainty they once again turned to prayer, and hours later, as the car sputtered into Nampula City, these prayers were what they attributed to our safe arrival.

I left the car in the care of local mechanics while we danced at the *carrama,* and three days later, after they replaced several faulty parts, we began our return journey to Pebane, planning to spend the night in Mocuba—a large town near the crossroad of the EN1 and the road to Pebane. The car ran fine during the 5-hour drive and it was just after dark when I stopped the car in front of the house where the elders were staying. A few minutes later when I tried starting it, the car sputtered, then stalled. The engine would not ignite. Early the next morning I met another mechanic who found several new problems. But he worked fast, and by noon, after taking the car for a brief test drive, we departed for Pebane. Yet, 10 minutes later, just as we were passing through the center of town, the car started to die again, and this time I drove the failing machine to my friend Serg, a mechanic-turned-bar owner who lived nearby.

Artur and the elders returned to Pebane the next morning on a minibus while I was stuck in Mocuba for a week while Serg worked on the car. When he finally felt confident the car would be able to make the return trip, I once again, departed for Pebane, this time accompanied by Artur's wife, Paula, who had been visiting her sister in Mocuba. We were just over halfway when the sound of metal scraping along the ground grew louder and louder—something underneath the car had snapped. At the next small town, we managed to rouse a local mechanic from the bar and with the help of his young assistant, he was able to fasten the rod so we could continue our trip.

When we finally arrived at Artur and Paula's house in Pebane several hours later, my hands hurt from gripping the steering wheel so tightly. Artur was sitting outside, anxiously awaiting our arrival. When we got out of the car he shouted over, "*Epah!* Paula, Elena, I was so worried." As they were retrieving Paula's belongings from the trunk, a sudden wave of nausea came over me and, feeling light-headed, I sat down the veranda and put my head in my hands. I woke up to the frantic sound of Artur's voice: "Elena! Elena!" I had passed out and fallen on my side, and he and Paula were trying to lift my limp torso. Disoriented, I struggled to get up, but they braced my arms and carefully guided me inside the house to a foam mattress in the middle of room, where I collapsed, shaking and feverish. I drifted in and out of consciousness for a while but during one moment of lucidness, when Artur was out of the room, Paula placed two 500MT notes in my hand and whispered, "Elena, here. This is the money I owe you." She was repaying an outstanding debt from months earlier.

Soon after, Artur brought me a young coconut (*lenya*)[203] to drink from, and suggested I call the Peace Corps volunteers in Pebane to come get me and my car, adding, "You're of course welcome to stay here as long as you need, but they'll know how to take care of you." Over the next hour he grew increasingly anxious, insisting that they come as soon as possible.[204] An hour later, I had been relocated to their house where I was plied with rehydration salts and food, quickly regaining energy in time to meet the stream of EVP dancers who stopped to visit me on their way back from rehearsal. Artur, too, came to see me and was overjoyed to see I was improving, admitting, "Elena, I was really scared." And for good reason. The sudden onset of my illness—in particular at the end of a long, catastrophic journey back to Pebane—had already sparked rumors

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[203] *Lenya* milk is a natural remedy, regarded for its health benefits and energizing capacities. It's also one of the first lines of defense in Pebane when someone is ill. Interestingly, people use the same verb—*animar* (to energize/animate) the bodily effects of both *lenya* and *tufo*.

[204] I later learned he was afraid that I was going to die in his house, and the American authorities would come arrest him for murder.

around town. This was a telling conclusion to two weeks of perpetual trouble, marked by illnesses, breakdowns, and extreme expenditure, all while trying to attend a *carrama*. Such an unusual sequence of misfortunes was interpreted through the discourse of sorcery.

Illness in northern Mozambique is first attributed to envious relatives, neighbors, or enemies (Laheij 2015). The time and place of my illness, and the unpaid debt, meant Artur and Paula were the primary suspects of using sorcery against me because, as several interlocuters told me, this sudden illness was not just happenstance. Artur and his wife were the common denominator in my problems: one of them had been in the car every time my car broke down, and then, I fainted just after arriving at his home. But Artur knew exactly how this situation would be read, and while I was sick inside his front room, he had tried to get ahead of the rumors by stopping at the public places where people congregate in the late afternoon to spread the news himself. The next day, in a fit of laughter, my friend Isa recalled how terrified he had been and reenacted the scene where he arrived at the *boate* (lit. place of dancing, but today the Casa da Cultura), telling anyone who would listen that, "Elena the American is sick in my house! I didn't do anything. What do I do? The Americans are going to arrest me." She turned serious, however, when she explained how catastrophic this situation could have been for him. If I would have died in his house, people would have concluded that he and his wife killed me so they could take my car and avoid paying me their outstanding debt. This is also why Paula was urgently handing me money as I lay there on her floor.

The car sat immobile outside my house at the lodge for weeks yet continued to deteriorate. Moreover, when I called Amado, our trusted mechanic in Pebane to come look at the car, he said he was ill, then refused to answer my subsequent calls. I asked two other mechanics to come, but they, too, made excuses. Isa found my frustration funny, telling me, "Of course they're not going to come. They are too afraid of the *feitiço* [sorcery]." As the days passed Artur and his wife seemed to be exonerated as new theories developed. Several EVP dancers pulled me aside after rehearsal one

afternoon to share their belief that one of the other two groups traveling with us to the *carrama* in Nampula cursed me because when I decided to drive my car, I only took EVP members. Others, from outside the group, told me that I needed to interrogate EVP, as their members were in the car with me throughout the journey.[205] But the broader consensus was that my illness and car troubles were caused by an external, less visible agent. The *feitiço* was an attack on my mobility, and Sabir, a trainer, warned me that I had enemies and advised me to sit at home for a while.

Part Two: Divination and Explanation

Divination is the first step in solving a problem related to sorcery. When the suspected attacker is a member of kin,[206] divination is often conducted internally by the family[207] but when the sorcery attack is assumed to be leveraged by a family outsider—as was my case—a *curandeiro* (healer) will consult the oracle on a person's behalf. The two times I visited a *divinadora* (diviner)[208] in Pebane—first to inquire about my husband's illness[209] and second to find out the source of my own

[205] EVP was also suspect because one dancer had volunteered to make me a coconut cake for the trip, with ingredients I purchase. Before we left for the *carrama*, she insisted that I try it, but when I offered her some of the cake, she refused as she had made a cake for herself. This was suspicious behavior, according to several people, as I did not watch her make the cake so she may have put "drugs" (a malevolent substance) into the food for me to ingest.
[206] See Peter Geschiere for a discussion on witchcraft as the "dark side of kinship" (1997).
[207] This is typically done using water. The family convenes around a fire and puts a clay pot (*eiypia*) over the flames and fills it with water. One by one, they go around the fire and say aloud the name of each person. If the person is innocent, the water will remain in the pot and it will have to be discarded and refilled for the next person. When the name of the guilty party is said allowed, the water dries. If they are not present, the family then confronts them at their house, asking them to stop using *feitiço*. One man, whose family frequently uses this method, told me that the accused will most likely deny their role, but since the oracle gave their name, they are the guilty party.
[208] The Portuguese terms for diviner and healer were used interchangeably to describe the particular woman I visited on these occasions. People may go see her for a divination, then seek treatment with their personal healer of choice. There is another category of healer, the *munamuku*, who is a Muslim healer.
[209] The first time I visited the diviner was with my husband and Isa, who, concerned with his rapid loss of mobility, encouraged us to go so as to rule out the possibility of a local sorcery attack. My husband has several auto-immune conditions which, under the stress of our first few months in Pebane, manifested as a crippling arthritis that transformed him from able-bodied, and playing soccer on the beach, to bed-ridden in one month's time. While he had previously suffered from arthritis in his hands, the severity of his arthritic symptoms in Pebane in his back, shoulders, feet, and knees, was unprecedented. He would wake up in the middle of the night screaming in pain, and doing simple tasks, like moving from the bed to the bathroom and getting dressed in the morning often took two hours. As his body movements began to transform into those of an elderly man, speculation at the root cause of his decline began to circulate rapidly. Will's illness was an unintentional entry point into witchcraft discourse and traditional healing practices. Ultimately, there were two sorcery-related theories. First, someone—more specifically, a *regulo*—was using sorcery to attack my husband so that he would return to America, leaving me vulnerable to seduction. The second speculation was

misfortune—the oracle gave very different answers depending on the location of the attacker. The oracle, we were told, could only be precise when the attacker was local. If the attacker was born outside of Pebane, and living in a foreign country, like America, it could only provide a vague diagnosis.[210]

Almost a month after returning from the *carrama* in Nampula, I asked Isa if she could take me to see the *divinadora*. "It's about time!" She responded, sounding relieved. "You should have done this long ago." Later that afternoon we entered the *divinadora's* compound, which was buzzing with activity: children, ducks, chickens and cats were moving about the enclosed yard and coming and going from the main house, which was covered by a corrugated-iron roof—an indicator of wealth in Pebane. Opposite the main house was a smaller structure—the kitchen—where an elderly woman was sitting with her back against the clay brick wall, staring blankly into the distance. At the far end of the compound was a third structure: an oblong hut made of thick sticks that were standing upright and tied together in blue twine and covered by a roof of palm fronds (*macubara*). There was no door, and through the open entryway I could see a pair of pant legs on an *esteira* (mat). The diviner sat facing the courtyard, and when she recognized us, she sprung up with surprising agility to greet us. Two faded *capulanas* were wrapped around her waist, offset by a bright fuchsia blouse with a white collar and a yellow head scarf covering her hair. Her client—a middle aged man

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that someone was jealous that our landlord had two foreign tenants living in an unfinished house. His success was suspect, she added, and people felt he was taking advantage of us by charging us an exorbitant rent, which he was using to improve the property, and pursue other entrepreneurial endeavors. By cursing the house—most likely done through burying a charged ritual object or amulet somewhere on the property—the inhabitants would become ill, and have to move out, leaving the landlord without the income.

[210] Perhaps the relationship between the proximity of the attacker and the oracle's ability to reveal the truth speak to its potential to transform the immediate world. In his work on Cuban divination, Martin Holbraad (2012) argues that oracles have a "motile logic": by representing the world, they themselves are vectors of ontological transformation in that they dynamically transform meaning. When relating this to my experience with the oracle, the oracle's efficacy in transforming meaning—in Holbraad's terms, its inherent motility (xix)—is stronger when the people involved are physically present in the same immediate world. The oracle could only transform the meaning of Will's illness in general terms, given that the attacker was in a different country. But when the attackers are resident in Pebane, the oracle is much more effective in revealing truth and transforming meaning.

with a plump belly—followed her out of the hut, greeted us with a nod and a smile, then took a seat on a plastic chair in the middle of the quintal while she prepared a bag of peanuts to send with him.

Once the client left, the diviner ushered us into the divination hut. Isa and I took our places on the *esteira* to the left of the entryway and the diviner positioned herself in her workspace in the back left of the hut, which was partially obscured from view by a mud wall. After Isa explained why we came, the diviner nodded then dipped two fingers into the metal bowl in front of her which was filled with a white powdery substance that looked like flour (*epepa*). After tasting the flour, she scattered a handful on the ground and asked for my father's name. "John" I responded, which was translated to Johnnie, João, then back to Johnnie, which Isa and the diviner both preferred. She began to sing the same song she sang during my husband's divination months before. The melody is cyclical yet erratic and non-linear, jumping across registers. She sings in falsetto with a vocal timbre that is strained, similar to a shriek, and she marks a simple beat by shaking the *sakala,* a small hollow gourd rattle against her leg. The combination of the *epepa,* rhythm, and song facilitated her communication with the oracle and from time to time, Isa would relay additional information to the diviner to include in the song.

After several minutes, she set down the *sakala* and turned towards us, addressing me directly in Portuguese. "You have good luck in life" she concluded, then, after a long pause, she turned to Isa to contextualize the oracle's response, discussing my illnesses and car problems at length, asking me occasional questions for clarification. Finally, the diviner looked me in the eye, and with a straight face, delivered the verdict: "They were testing to see how strong you are. They were trying to kill you, but you are strong." She flexed her arms to emphasize this point. The vision became clearer as she went on: "It was a tall dark woman and a man. They were the two responsible for using the drugs. They wanted to destroy your car because they were jealous." Up until that point in the divination I had been receptive but slightly skeptical. But then, the diviner revealed something

that sent shivers down my spine because it resonated with a recent event: the driver's side door of my car was broken, the diviner said, because the sorcery attack was targeted at me, the driver; a malevolent object had been placed in my side of the door to do me harm. The morning prior, I had indeed tried to open the driver's side door of the car, but the key would not even turn in the lock, forcing me to open the car through a different door instead. It was a frustrating event because it signaled that even while the car sat in disuse, it continued to break. I had not told anyone about the incident—not even Isa—and I was completely alone when I tried to enter the car.

Isa snapped her head in my direction, visibly shocked. "That's true?" she asked in disbelief. "I didn't even know that!" But she was also elated, declaring "I told you she's good!" She and diviner plunged into an animated conversation that moved between Moniga and Portuguese, with Isa recounting the unusual events of my Nampula trip over and over: how upset I was to have to drive, how she had a bad feeling about the journey, that three of my cats died suddenly just as I was leaving, how much money I spent on the repairs. She had committed these details to memory, and, similar to what Martin Holbraad (2012) describes in the context of Cuban divination, the oracle reading had dynamically transformed their meaning for both of us.

The diviner pointed in the direction of the Chimpimpi club house down the road. "Watch out for that *tufo* group. They are dangerous," she warned, meaning they are actively engaged in *feitiço* (sorcery). In her retelling, women from that *tufo* group had cursed me because I had joined EVP, and not their group, and like some of the other explanations I had been told regarding my breakdown, they were angry that I had only driven EVP members to the *carrama* that they were also attending. An older woman had put a drug-infused tooth—a fetish object—in my car door, which is why my car continued to break down, even as it sat there in the driveway. Holbraad, writes, "…dynamic transformations of meaning that oracles bring about suggest a basic analytical reversal: rather than thinking of meaning in a state of rest, as we do also when we think of its role in reflecting the state

of the world representationally, we see meaning in divinatory practice as the kind of thing that moves, quite literally, so as to be transformed" (2012: xix). By the end of the session, it was not just that the meaning of the events had changed, the moving parts had been consolidated into one narrative, and truth had metamorphized through the process of divination.

The first thing I did when I arrived home was search for the tooth. I peeled back the door and tried to peer inside, which Isa found amusing. To undo the sorcery, the diviner was going to have to come to the lodge and make the medicine to throw over the car. I would need to bathe in the concoction as well. But first, the diviner had to go tend to her *machamba* (garden plot) outside of Pebane for several weeks. By the time she returned I was in my final week of fieldwork and time had run out. Neither I, nor the car, were able to be treated. Moreover, I had already sold the car to a friend of Serg—the mechanic in Mocuba. Mauricio, the buyer, purchased the car as a longer-term project that he and Serg could work on little by little. He knew of its problems and arrived in Pebane with Serg to collect the car with tool kits in hand, preparing for a struggle. But after charging the battery (something I had done many times over the past month) Serg put the key in the ignition and the car started almost immediately. He turned to me and said, "Why haven't you been driving this car? There's nothing wrong with it."

A week later, I ran into Mauricio and Serg when I passed through Mocuba on my way to Nampula City to catch my flight home to the US. Serg, who was driving the car to Nampula the following day, offered me a ride to prove the car was fine; he and Mauricio had been driving it around for a week without any problems. But halfway to Nampula the car died, then was temporarily revived, then died again. I was really starting to worry that the malevolent tooth in the car might prevent me from making my flight home, proving its total effectiveness at stopping my movements. Serg dismissed the *feitiço* theory until we made it to town, where the car presented a new challenge: the back wheels locked, and the car would no longer move in any direction. Now Serg

was starting to get stressed: “I’ve never had this happen before. I have no idea what’s going on.” Moving the car up the hill to the local mechanic became a community effort, with several men pushing the car from behind while several more attached the front of the car to a large truck with ropes. Once we reached the mechanic’s shop, Serg and the mechanic spent several hours getting the car to run, but when they finished, the car would only move forward, not backwards. There was literally no turning back.

The following day as I walked towards the plane, a *tufo* group was dancing on the tarmac, bidding the flight farewell, which I read as ironic. The group had been hired to dance at an airport celebration—something I had read about, but never seen (Figure 4.3 and Figure 4.4). Later, I received a text from Serg: “I think you were right about the tooth. The car broke down halfway home, and I had to strip the gas tank in the dark. I made it, but just barely. I’m not touching that car again.” And it has not moved since, still waiting to be treated.

Figures 4.3 and 4.4 – *Tufo* dancers performing at Nampula airport to greet arriving passengers. Photo by author.

Reflection: Competition and Changing Forms of Prestige

In a political context where EVP, as a Frelimo-affiliated group, already had an advantage, and received more invitations to perform because of this patron-client relationship, my membership in EVP and the agreement of financial support my participation entailed, like helping fund a *carrama,* fast-tracked their path to prestige. With a car, and with cash, I was quite literally accelerating their mobility. These were unfair advantages—inequitable even—and reaffirmed the rumor that EVP had used sorcery to 'capture' me in the first place which was an act of "social warfare" following Gunderson and Barz's (2000) description of competitive performance practices in the region, because winners gain prestige and honor, rather than territory or resources. Sorcery, or malevolent medicines, may be deployed, moreover, as a pre-competition strategy, similar to the way in which Chimpimpi purportedly used a fetish tooth to disrupt Estrela's spatial and social movements in advance of the festival—as a patron, I was directly responsible for their ascent and was an obvious target for attack.[211]

Even though I had come to Pebane to study *tufo,* and could only learn the practice with one group, I was supposed to establish a working relationship with all groups in town. During my first meeting with the head of culture she explained that following protocol, she would introduce me to each group. I saw her frequently around town and even at several EVP rehearsals—it was her mother's group and she had grown up dancing with EVP—but each time we arranged to meet and prepare a schedule of introductions, she never appeared, nor would she answer my calls. Weeks turned into months, and when I decided to finally eschew these conventions and try to meet with other groups on my own, I was informed by EVP members that it was a breach in group protocol to attend the rehearsal of another group without being accompanied by a member of their group.

Anger amongst the other groups fomented and came to a head at the *carrama* in Nampula,

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[211] Evans-Pritchard (1937) distinguishes between witchcraft (unconscious psychic powers), and sorcery (the use of tools and fetish objects). Makhuwa distinguish between these practices and their underlying mechanisms but use the same word to classify them—*enretthe*. Both Kottak (2002: 137-144) and Laheij (2015) translate this as sorcery, which I follow here.

where leaders of the Chimpimpi groups from Pebane confronted me while we sat in a classroom, waiting for a meeting to begin. When the head of culture left the room, the secretary of one group turned to me and said abruptly, "I want to talk with you." His demeanor was stiff, and he avoided eye contact, while telling me that I cannot just stay with one *tufo* group in Pebane. I am supposed to visit and support each group. They, too, have projects they need help with. He introduced me to the vice president, sitting next to him, and told me that he had been furious with me for ignoring their group. The vice president immediately blushed and hung his head, shaking it slowly, embarrassed. I understood their anger—and told them as much—and apologized for my rudeness. But the conversation underscored the larger sense of frustration, and heightened competition between groups as a result of my arrival. I was a resource—a social and material connection that was advancing the mobility of one group only. Sorcery was the corrective to manipulate and slow down this inequitable movement, and while it has accumulative potential, in that it could garner material or social benefits for those using it, it is a force that can be used to undermine power (Geschiere 1997), and in this instance, it was used to dissolve the power I possessed through my multiple mobilities as a white, foreign woman, with comparative wealth and a car.

Conclusion

Understanding the broader forms of circulation in *tufo* is not simply a question of tracing infrastructures, networks, relationships, and historical "channels of communication" (Elyachar 2011). Instead, it requires a re-thinking of human agency as bodies move through and make up infrastructures by highlighting how other-than-human agencies also determine success, mobility, and access to knowledge and aesthetic capital, particularly as competition increases. Competition promotes innovation and solidarity, but also generates new forms of secrecy and difference.

Eight months after leaving I was back in Pebane for follow up research, though with some trepidation. I was staying in Pebane for two months, but this time I would be living in town and planned to move on foot. But the sorcery attack was still unresolved, and I wanted to follow Sabir's warning by protecting myself before re-entering the competitive domain of *tufo*. I asked Isa to accompany me to the diviner during my first few days back in town. On our way, we passed a new *tufo* group. The windows of the club house were enclosed by bricks, the pink door cracked slightly, and we could hear the sound of women's voices singing in unison. The name of this group was scribbled on the door, barely visible. We stopped to look, and an old man, sitting in a plastic char across the street, called over to us. He was an administrator, and on the lookout for spies from rival groups—a reminder of the intense competition between groups.

When we arrived at the diviner's complex, she was busy with a client. Isa and I were offered chairs and took in the late afternoon soundscape: the chickens clucking, the steady rhythm of the *sakala* from inside the diviner's hut, and in the distance, the drums from yet another new *tufo* group, ANAAP, formed several months prior by several former members of Chimpimpi de Tibone that had split from the group. When the diviner's client left, she came to greet us and asked what brought me back to see her. I explained that I wanted to complete the treatment from my last divination and protect myself from any sorcery attacks. But the diviner just smiled and said I had nothing to worry about this time. I no longer had a car, nor a motorcycle, and I would be walking on foot like everyone else—I had no need to be treated. Isa later explained that I would not have any more problems because I was not in Pebane for *tufo.* Rather, I had returned to study Moniga, and while I would attend rehearsals and performances with EVP, I was no longer directly contributing to their circulation as a group through my own mobility.

Different forms of mobility—traveling to and from competitions and festivals, gaining prestige, and aesthetic circulation through moving bodies—have potential to redefine social

hierarchies, reinforcing competition. Managing movement, then is a communal concern, and controlled through social rules, material infrastructures, spiritual intervention, and fetish objects. Of course, broader economic, spatial, and political inequalities inform these movements as well, but day-to-day, at the margins of state power, agency is constantly shifting, being renegotiated, being asserted and undermined through aesthetics, relationships, the invisible.

While the example of circulation in *tufo* reinforces the idea that within assemblages, agency is horizontally, rather than vertically distributed, it also highlights that to understand actual movement, it is not enough to acknowledge *that* there are multiple forms of agency at play, but we need to understand *how* they are utilized and by whom. This returns us back to the concept of motility, discussed in the previous chapter, only adding a consideration of the other-than-human forces that also contribute to one's potential for movement, and to the ways that movement can be stopped or slowed down. In the next chapter, I look specifically at women's immobilities, not through the lens of witchcraft, but through gender relations, and in particular, the context of marriage.

Chapter 5: Compromising Beauties: Morality, Marriage, and Women's Immobilities

Introduction

I was moving my motorbike into the shade of a cashew tree when I noticed Filomena and her friend Fatima walking down the footpath. "You missed the dancing last night! What happened?" I called out, but as they approached it became clear something was wrong. Filomena is a confident woman, who, despite her petite stature, has a big personality and a mercurial temperament. This morning, however, her normally bright, alert eyes were puffy, and her body quivered with anger as she recalled how her husband had barricaded her in the house after dinner the night before. "He wouldn't let me go dance," she said, then described how he placed a thick log in front of the door to stop her from leaving. Eventually, she gave up, crying all night because she wanted to be dancing at the *carrama* with her group.

This was the first *carrama* that EVP had hosted and a highly anticipated event in Pebane that required months of organizing, fundraising, and rehearsing. With Filomena being one of the group's star dancers, her absence from the night-long celebration was notable. Later, women gossiped that Filomena's husband barred her participation because he was concerned about her potential movements offstage: beautifully dressed, she would attract the attention of men in attendance and could possibly find a lover (*namorado*). Her husband was jealous, dancers concluded – a point that Filomena eventually confirmed. Jealousy is a frequent source of tension between dancers and their husbands, leading some married dancers to take breaks from dancing, while others leave *tufo* altogether. What this incident highlighted, however, was the extent to which a husband felt moved by jealousy to physically stop his wife's public movements as a dancer, illuminating an important connection between affective movements and physical immobilities.

Anthropologists who have looked at the intersection between affect and mobility illustrate how affective movements operate socially and politically. Examining state-subject relations in American mental health courts, Jessica Cooper (2018) describes how affect – more specifically, the love and care one feels for their family – pulls people, physically moving them in unforeseen directions and offering an escape from court jurisdictions, which attempt to control such movements. Bianca C. Williams' (2018) work examines how affect is racialized, showing how Black American women travel transnationally to pursue happiness outside of institutional and social oppression in the US, constructing diaspora through leisure and laughter. I add to this scholarship by connecting the feelings provoked by women's beauty, like desire and jealousy, to the moral politics of their social and spatial movements.

Women's bodies and their body movements are morally and emotively charged. Janice Boddy (1989), for instance, argues that women's bodies are made into "living vessels" of moral value through pharaonic circumcision in Sudan (1989), while many studies of dance render visible the frictions between politics, aesthetics, and gender that provoke moral debates over women's virtue and respectability (see Cowan 1990; Morcom 2013; Neveu Kringelbach 2013; Braun 2014; Hofman 2015; Covington-Ward 2016).[212] Moreover, in many African contexts, moral judgements of women's movements are historically informed by colonial, political and religious constructions of a "hypersexed female body" that must be strictly regulated and controlled (Tamale 2005; Groes-Green 2011; Braun 2019). Likewise, as the dance of the *athiana orera* (beautiful women) *tufo* is also shrouded in moral discourse, though, as I discuss in this chapter, these evaluations are contingent on the spaces through which dancers move, the sonic atmosphere of such spaces, and the *types* of

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[212] Gendered morality has been an important theme in dance studies. Janice Boddy shows women's bodies are made into 'living vessels' of moral value through pharaonic circumcision in Sudan (1989), while other studies demonstrate how dance is a space where differently embodied moralities of gender are confronted (Cowan 1990) or imposed through normative dance forms (Neveu Kringelbach 2013).

movement they are enacting. In Mozambique, the moral orders[213] within which women performers are judged differ according to region, and women in the matrilineal, Muslim areas in the North draw power from sexuality in different ways than those living in the patrilineal, largely Christian, South, which has implications for popular representations of *tufo* dancers.[214]

In this chapter, I examine how the morally informed *ideas* about mobile women in Pebane and their associated anxieties and emotions, shape women's *actual* movements for and participation in *tufo*. I return to a theme I addressed in Chapter One, which is the view of *tufo* dancers as dangerous, greedy, and tempestuous—and one that also connects to broader discussions of the "bad girl" in Africa (MacGaffey 1988; White 1990; Bastian 2001; Hodgson and McCurdy 2001; Pype 2012; Braun 2019)—to understand how morally-laden ideas of dangerous women within patriarchal colonial and post-colonial contexts have manifested differently over time in relation to changing ideas about appropriate musical activities, and led to controls over women's movements that are implemented at the state, community and familial levels.

The morality of women's movements to and from rehearsals or performances is a point of public and private contention in Pebane.[215] As I discussed in Chapter One, *tufo* dancers are gradually acquiring a reputation as being 'dangerous' women, in part, because of mis-readings of Makhuwa sexuality in non-Makhuwa contexts. Additionally, as a dance associated with women's beauty practices, perceptions of dancers has changed as beauty has accrued "affective capital" that provides

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[213]I follow the definition of the moral order used by Julie Livingston (2005) and Claire Wendland (2010). Wendland writes, "Livingston (2005: 20) defines a moral order as 'a shared set of values held by society that guides its members in expected conduct and provides a way to judge or interpret the actions of others.' It is *moral* because it is about assigning value, about deciding what is good or bad, and it is an *order* because it is an organizing schema with which we understand our own and others' actions" (2010: 15).

[214] As I have discussed in previous chapters, *tufo* dancers are read differently in Maputo—where Makhuwa women's sexuality is exoticized—than they are in the north, where dancers are figures of morality on stage that embody collective values like control, piety, and comradery through dress, song, and dance. Dancers display their body control through erect posture, subtle yet graceful upper body movements, and collective discipline as they move together as a synchronised unit, subsuming the self for the moral and aesthetic benefit of the collective.

[215] The 'morality of movement' refers to what movements people deem to be good or bad; virtuous or non-virtuous; and in this instance, how such evaluations are gendered.

women access to new forms of mobility in market capitalism. My consideration of beauty's "affective capital" comes from Alvaro Jarrín's (2017) work on plastic surgery in Brazil. Beauty, he argues, is a key aspect of sociality because it communicates a body's social standing in relation to other bodies. According to Jarrín, the magic of beauty as a "set of social relations that arrange the body politic in a particular manner" parallels the magic of (late) capitalism itself, where the immaterial economy monetizes forms of affect and emotion by promoting surface images over content through advertising, and as a result, "affective qualities such as beauty become fetishized as values in themselves" (2017: 16). He argues that "the affective economy produced by beauty functions particularly well in late capitalism because it produces value through the movement of bodies upward or downward in Brazil's aesthetic hierarchy, in the same way that commodities produce surplus value through their circulation in the marketplace" (ibid.: 16). Beautification, in other words, is a form of affective capital that is more than just vanity but can have real effects on a person's social and economic movement in Brazilian society. The affect attached to feminine beauty in Mozambique operates in a similar way and can be converted into tangible forms of economic capital if a woman secures a wealthy suitor.

As Lesley Braun shows to be the case among women concert dancers in Kinshasa, there are a set of tensions and contradictions surrounding dancers' growing mobilities accessed through performance that produces a "double bind" for women, where their independence and virtue are at odds (2016: 4). Likewise, following *tufo* dancers from the public stage and into the public street reveals the paradox of women's beauty when in motion—when on stage singing and dancing for community and political gain their beauty is permissible and celebrated, yet off stage, their movements present new possibilities for them as individuals, and is consequently perceived as immoral. As a result, dancers' movements are closely observed and managed through invisible mechanisms of social control like stigma and jealousy. Moreover, as dancers' travel for rehearsals

and events draws them away from the household and challenges the gendered norms of mobility, an increasing number of married women are being prohibited from participating in *tufo* by their husbands, which is a new trend, according to group elders.

In the first section, I look at how movement through space was governed and restricted by state authorities during the colonial era and after, and how these regulations had implications for music-making and understandings of musical labor as productive. While colonial administrators imposed segregationist laws that restricted the movements of African laborers to and from the white 'cement city' in Lourenço Marques in the beginning of the twentieth century, music-making in military bands and nightclubs were spaces of exception where people from a wide range of backgrounds would interact, though not on equal terms. However, some of the hybrid, urban styles of music that Mozambican musicians developed during this period later became the antithesis of the Mozambican cultural identity during the struggle for independence and after, when Frelimo took power. 'Productive' music-making practices during post-independence socialism were aligned with many of the indigenous, rural music genres that had previously been viewed as inferior by the assimilated (*assimilado*) urban musicians during colonialism. In contrast, many of the popular urban musicians were condemned by Samora Machel's government as elitist, and their movements in town closely policed. For women musicians, the stigmas associated with night-time entertainment put their virtue into question, and despite Frelimo's ideological commitment to gender equality, women performers risked a greater chance of arrest for moving unaccompanied through the city at night to perform. I trace these colonial and post-colonial social anxieties over the body and spatial movements of women performers to present day discomforts with women's public sexuality, which have also shaped the way *tufo* dancers, and their sexuality as Makhuwa women, are understood in national discourse. I then examine the culturally specific understandings of moral movements in

Pebane through an analysis of the widely used expression *anda muito* (move/travel a lot), and how ideas about appropriate movements are also highly gendered.

In the second part of this chapter, I turn to the invisible social mechanisms like stigma and jealousy that monitor and constrain *tufo* dancers' behaviours and movements. The erosion of trust in beautiful women that I discussed in Chapter One, coupled with changing metrics of prestige and power amidst socio-economic decline, produces reciprocal forms of mistrust within conjugal relationships. Women are no longer able to trust their husbands to provide their financial and material needs, while men no longer trust their wives to stick with them, and some interpret women's desires for material goods and beautiful clothes as greed. I situate the affective capital of beauty in relation to failing norms of masculinity: as women access social, economic, and spatial mobilities through beauty, "ugly feelings" (Ngai 2005) like jealousy emerge as a response to marital insecurity, prompting some men to restrict their wives' movements and prohibit them from dancing. Affect, I conclude, does not just create connections, moments, or bind communities, but can also complicate relationships, disrupt movement, or destroy connections, as evidenced in *tufo* dancing, when the desirable dancer becomes the undesirable wife.

Governing Movements and Moralizing Music

From the beginning of the twentieth century when the Portuguese consolidated their colonial and military control over Mozambique (then, referred to as Portuguese East Africa), the movement of black Africans between town and countryside and through urban spaces was closely monitored and managed—both physically and bureaucratically—by colonial authorities. In southern Africa more broadly these regulations were interconnected with labor migration, which according to Jean Comaroff, "was a form of forced mobility in time and space, one that wrenched people from their local worlds in a process coercively channeled from the white nuclei of power" (1985: 164). In

colonial Mozambique social relations were radically transformed by the combination of the *prazo* system,[216] labor migration, and forced labor (*chibalo*). Although the *prazo* system was destroyed after the Berlin Conference of 1885, it was replaced by a dual economy that further divided the north and south. Southern Mozambique became a labor reserve for the South African mines while plantations in the north and center of the country were leased to chartered companies and labor was supplemented through forced labor (See Newitt 1995).

In this section I discuss how colonial and post-colonial state authorities have governed the migration and movement of people to demonstrate that music and dance practices—whether for labor or leisure—have both shaped and been shaped by anxieties over people's movements, and related measures to control movements.[217] 'Productive' music-making proved to be an exception to "influx control" laws and created spaces of social exchange during the colonial era, yet many of the hybrid, urban musical styles that developed through social exchanges between diverse groups were condemned after independence precisely because they bore traces of colonial and capitalist ideology. During the independence struggle and after, public debates among Mozambican intellectuals over the musical genres and musicians that would be included in the new national identity were influenced by a moral order that promoted restrictive ideas about women's virtue, their bodies, and movements, and as a result, women's work as performers was called into question.

Colonial Labor Policies and Moral Ideologies

Migration has long been a survival strategy for people in southeastern Africa, and in the

[216] In the eighteenth century, the Portuguese established a system of *prazos* in the central and northern provinces, which enabled Portuguese settlers to acquire expansive tracts of land and implement systems of taxation and forced labor within their territories (Newitt 1995). African cultivators inhabiting the *prazos* were subject to the system of administration implemented by the *prazo* holder, and paid tax in exchange for a semi-protected status during military incursions and famine (Vail and White 1983).

[217] By controlling movements, state authorities were also trying to control labor power, ensuring that all productive forms of labor—including that of musicians—were benefitting the state alone.

1890s, there was rapid increase in the flow of labor migrants from southern Mozambique to work on the Natal sugar plantations and the Witwatersrand mines where gold had been discovered in 1886.[218] As Newitt points out, "Both the British and Portuguese colonial authorities were anxious to regulate and regularize this labour supply," (1995: 484) and together established comprehensive labor regulations in 1896 that, in Mozambique, positioned the Portuguese government to profit from labor migration through licensing recruiters, contracting workers through district governors, controlling transport, and issuing passports to African laborers for a fee. The railway connecting Lourenço Marques (today, Maputo) to Johannesburg was finally opened in 1895, and as the southern economy boomed due to these new links with South Africa, the Portuguese moved their colonial capital from Ilha de Moçambique to Lourenço Marques in 1902.[219] Located on Delagoa Bay, Lourenço Marques was also the closest seaport to the gold mines, and both freight and port commerce grew exponentially at the end of the 1800s, attracting British and African businessmen, Indian traders, African construction and dock workers, and prostitutes, to the expanding city.

However, with the increase of labor migration to the Rand, the local labor supplies were dwindling at a moment when modernization projects were expanding. In 1899 Antonio Ennes, the former Portuguese high commissioner, drafted a new colonial labor law that legally divided citizens into two classes: the *não-indígena* (non-indigenous) who lived under metropolitan law and had full Portuguese citizenship rights, and the *indígena* (indigenous Africans) who lived under African laws and those of the particular colony, and were subject to specific labor requirements and tax obligations (Newitt 1995: 383).[220] The general principles of the 1899 law "underpinned the local

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[218] Labor migration to Natal began in earnest in the 1870s as a result of several factors: exploitation of peasants as the Gaza state gained power in the nineteenth century, civil wars after the death of Soshangane in 1858, famine and epidemics, and the discovery diamonds in the Orange river in 1867. For more detail, see Newitt's *A History of Mozambique* (1995: 483-485).

[219] Ilha de Moçambique had lost its economic significance and was geographically too far from the southern provinces which were closely connected to the South African economy (and remain so, today) (Newitt 1995: 382).

[220] According to the law, all natives between the ages of 14 and 60 "are subject to the obligation, moral and legal, of attempting to obtain through work the means that they lack to subsist and to better their social condition," and such

labour regulations that were to govern the lives of Mozambicans till the late 1920s" (ibid: 490) and subsequent labor codes in 1911, and 1914 defended the use of *chibalo* (forced labor) for *indigenas* who failed to pay taxes or find work for themselves.[221]

For white settlers living in Lourenço Marques, the very presence of African laborers in the city was paradoxical – while the *indígena* were seen as an obstacle to modernization, the exploitation of their labor was the mechanism through which such modernization plans could be carried out, an idea that was crystallized in one government commission report published in 1898 reviewing colonial labor legislation:

> Portugal needs, needs absolutely and urgently, to make its African inheritance prosper and its prosperity can only come from its productivity…Our Africa will not be cultivated except by Africans. The capital which is loaned to exploit it and which is so necessary for it, demands labour for its exploitation, abundant, cheap and resistant labour….The black and only the black can fertilize Africa…(Cunha 1949: 158 in Newitt 1995: 384).

In addition to regulating indigenous labor, the colonial authorities also regimented space, time and the movement of Africans to and from Lourenço Marques through additional laws and regulations. For instance, a 1904 regulation[222] imposed penalties on African laborers that stayed in the white cement city after dark without written authorization from their employers, and by 1914, African workers had to wear metal plates with police registration numbers around their right arms (Zamparoni 1998: 291 in Filipe 2012: 79).

Racial and spatial divides between white settlers and black Africans increased as more whites—and especially growing numbers of white women—came to Lourenço Marques beginning

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obligations could be fulfilled by owning capital, farming or producing export goods, and practicing a profession (Newitt 1995: 384)

[221] Such labor was often public work like building roads, and in the central and northern provinces, both men and women were sent to do this until the 1942 Manual Contribution Ordinance was put in place to stop female labor for road and bridge construction (Chilundo 1994). These policies affected gender relations throughout the country, though these are beyond the scope of this chapter.

[222] *Regulamento de Servicais e Trabalhadores Indigenas no Distrito de Lourenco Marques* (Regulation for Indigenas Services and Employees of the District of Lourenco Marques)

in the 1910s. Colonization was a civilizing mission for the Portuguese and in 1917 they introduced a new citizen category, *assimilado* (assimilated), to distinguish Africans that were urban, educated, civilized and Christian, from *indigenas* who were deemed ignorant, superstitious, uncivilized and largely rural (Arnfred 2004; Groes-Green 2011). Within the Catholic, Portuguese ideological system, where marriage is monogamous and the man is the head of the family, matrilineal family relations, in particular, were seen as morally unacceptable and a hindrance to social and economic development (Rita Ferreira et. al. 1964:78). Matrilineal societies of the north were therefore considered the most primitive and backwards because of women's dominance within the family, their heavy workloads as subsistence farmers, and their limited access to education.[223] From the Portuguese perspective, the Christian family model would emancipate matrilineal women by restoring men to their natural position as head of the household, and taking over duties as agricultural worker and breadwinner, so women could become the "queen of the home" (*rainha do lar)* (da Silva Rego 1960: 26) as domestic laborers within the family (See Arnfred 2004b: 110-111). This nuclear family model, combined with a gendered division of labor that confined women's work—and their movements—to the house, formed part of a broader moral order established by the Catholic Church that upheld the "housewife" as the feminine ideal while condemning women that have children with multiple men, establishing a binary model of femininity that was also promoted by Frelimo (Groes-Green 2011: 303), a point which I will return to later.

Sonic Spaces of Exception & Debate

While colonial policies and ideology were aimed at maintaining racial, social, and cultural segregation, music production and consumption were some of the few spaces of exception. For

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[223] In Muslim Makhuwa communities, girls were often only sent to the *madrassa* to limit their contact with the white settlers. As elders in Pebane have explained, their parents did not want them to learn Portuguese, the language of the colonizer.

instance, African members of the military marching bands were allowed into the city at night for work, which enabled new social relations to emerge that blurred the rigid racial divide imposed by the Portuguese (Filipe 2012: 81). Lourenço Marques' African neighborhoods and suburbs, such as Mafalala, Chamanculo and Xipamanine were also spaces where people transgressed segregationist laws through leisure time activities. Here, migrants from regions like Nampula and Inhambane created "folklore groups" that would perform in the streets of their neighborhoods on Sundays to large crowds, including many white men from the cement city. In a 1961 article in the newspaper *O Brado Africano,* Guerra Manuel reminisced how decades ago:

> Along the street of Mafalala, there could be seen groups of women, in their characteristically colorful dresses where the red of their *capulanas* was predominant shaping their elegant and seductive bodies, while men dressed in a very simple way, without extravagance. By the rhythmic sound of *Mutoba* drum and others, the dancers would throw themselves to the magic of the dance and with their body movements, they followed the rhythm. This dance, which was called '*Rapato'* and the other with the name '*Pindza*' attracted on Sundays, as we said, to the Mafalala area where many spectators would get excited with such shows (Manuel 1961: 1-2 in Filipe 2012: 94).

Even while Africans were brought into the Portuguese realm of music making as laborers, this account highlights how they also resisted Portuguese influences and maintained their own cultural practices that were popular and well-attended by people across social and cultural spectrums. But they also provide insight into the sexualization of Makhuwa women in the public imaginary, demonstrating how their beauty was a form of power amidst colonial subjugation, and in spite of the negative colonial assessments of matrilineal women's moral and social position.

As the city expanded and absorbed white settlers, Muslim Comorian immigrants, and African labor migrants into its populace, a vibrant night life culture developed. African musicians became proficient in Mozambican genres like *majika, zukuta* and *marrabenta,* as well as a wide range of foreign genres, like Portuguese *marchas,* South African *marabi* and *kwela,* Brazilian *samba,* Cuban *rumba*, American jazz and swing, that they played at suburban night clubs. In the 1930s and 40s, suburban clubs owned by the Comorian Muslim community, as well as the Clube dos Zambezianos

(Zambezians' Club), became popular spaces where residents from all economic backgrounds, races, religions, and nationalities[224] congregated to listen to music and dance. The social relations that formed around the production and consumption of music, moreover, helped black Africans and Muslims cope with the racist and segregationist policies that they encountered in everyday life (Filipe 2012: 159). Genres like *marrabenta* that were popular in these clubs emerged as hybrid musical styles due to the active patterns of labor migration that led to increased musical exchange between migrant workers from Mozambique and South Africa (Laranjeira 2014). Burgeoning cosmopolitan music and dance styles like *marrabenta* were co-opted by the colonial institutions and organizations, who in the 1950s and 60s, "…promoted, sponsored, and sought to appropriate Mozambican music to show to internal and foreign critics of Portuguese colonialism that Mozambique was a multi-racial and multi-cultural society" (ibid: 224). Some recall this era as the "golden years of Mozambican music" (Filipe 2012:1), but among Lourenço Marques intellectuals, the popularity of foreign music genres among local musicians sparked concern. The intellectuals were black, mulatto and white Mozambicans—and predominately men—who "breached the cultural divide between *assimilados* and *indígenas,* and between Africans and white settlers and Europeans" (Filipe 2012: 180). As their anti-colonial activism intensified, coinciding with the emergence of Frelimo, they advocated for musicians to perform 'authentic' Mozambican music that resisted foreign sonic invasions and persistent Portuguese cultural values (ibid: 220).

Moral Music and Productive Laborers

The Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo), founded on June 25, 1962, was a nationalist movement that focused on transcending racial, regional and ethnic identities, and further cultivated

[224] Lourenço Marques was a multi-national cosmopolitan city due to its proximity to South Africa, and its international port, with and Filipe (2012: 162) notes that these clubs were attended by blacks, whites, Christians, Muslims, Chinese, and Brazilian sailors that were frequently docked in the port in the 1940s.

the cultural nationalism that had been developing since the 1950s. As the independence struggle waged on, Frelimo turned more militant and their approach to cultural nationalism became more aligned to the Fanonesque tradition that saw liberation as a psychological project as much as it was a physical one. National consciousness had to be generated through a new revolutionary culture, upon which the independent nation could be founded (Fanon 1959), and the definition of Mozambican national culture began to narrow in scope: content must be revolutionary and anti-tribalist, it should militarize and discipline people, and songs and dances "should be weapons of mobilization in the fight against ignorance and superstition" (Israel 2014: 154). Furthermore, Frelimo was dedicated to the creation of the *Homem Novo* (New Man)—a Socialist man delivered from the corruption and exploitation of capitalism and "free from all superstitions and obscurantist subservience" (Simbine 1976: 50). As this anti-traditionalist rhetoric makes clear, some of the ideological binaries that had been introduced by the colonial state and Catholic church were also embedded within Frelimo's own modernization project. Traditional social practices like initiation rites,[225] bridewealth, polygyny, and Islam (see Bonate 2013) were deemed obscurantist and backwards because they were antithetical to scientific socialism, and traditional society was deemed "conservative, immobile…with rigid hierarchy" that "excludes youth, excludes innovations, excludes women" (Vieira 1977 in Honwana 1996).

These modern/traditional and urban/rural binaries[226] ultimately alienated large portions of the population—especially the majority of Mozambicans that lived in rural areas—and they also

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[225]In the matrilineal, Muslim communities in the north, where Catholicism was far less influential and Muslim families isolated their daughters from colonial contact, women continued to practice initiation rites in secret until the civil war disrupted ritual cycles. See Brigitte Bagnol and Esmeralda Mariano's chapter "Politics of naming sexual practices" (2011) for a discussion of how these stances and policies have distorted popular body modification practices among women, such as stretching the labia minora, as examples of FGM (female genital mutilation).

[226] Frelimo re-defined social space by moving 15% of the rural population into more than 1,500 communal villages [*aldeias communais*] in the 1970s as a strategy of rural development and socialist transformation (See Pitcher 2002; Newitt 1995; Chapman 2010: 81-84). These villages were meant to incorporate the peasantry into political life and create gender equality through agrarian reform, and while they did help incorporate women into the political process, the close living spaces introduced a host of other problems such as increases in adultery, theft, witchcraft accusations, and communicable diseases (Roesch 1984). Even though women were made equals by law and encouraged to take on men's

shaped moral assessments of music and dance, though in ways that were contradictory to their broader stance on traditional society. The rhythms found in traditional music and dance were free from foreign influence and were therefore considered an ideal foundation upon which the new national culture could be constructed. For example, a report from the Coordinating Commission of United Mozambican Musicians that was tasked with programming musical performances for the Cultural Festival of Independence in 1975 positioned 'evolved' urban musicians as enemies of the state. The report reads:

> The Commission has had good reception from the bulk of musicians, but unfortunately there are some 'evolved' musicians who don't participate in the meetings and injure elements of the commission by circulating all types of rumors: they are the musical reactionaries, that are completely alienated and are holding on to 'Soul Musics', forgetting that we have similar rhythms for lyrics that are purely Mozambican (“Musicos Mocambicanos Organizam-Se Politicamente” 1975).

This text points to a clear definition of who the ideal musician was—rural, free of elitism, committed to producing music consistent with the revolutionary ideology—but also demonstrates a greater concern for delineating which musicians were unproductive. Furthermore, in 1977, the Ministry of Education and Culture launched an initiative called the Cultural Offensive of the Working Classes that was modeled after China’s Cultural Revolution. Under this program, musicians were sent to rural regions to learn “purely Mozambican” rhythms and songs to incorporate regional diversity into the national culture, and musical activities were brought under the purview of the state. Culture groups were formed within state institutions like communal villages, schools, factories, government offices, and women's committees, and “Casas da Cultura” (cultural houses) were established around the country as formative centers for the creation of new culture (“Ofensiva Cultural Das Classes Trabalhadoras: Casas de Cultura” 1977).

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roles in political processes, the sexual division of labor within the household persisted and women’s work increased. In addition, agrarian reform policies prioritized cash crop and state farm work and undermined women’s work as family farmers, marginalizing them from national production schemes (Urdang 1989: 24-26).

Frelimo, in fact, shut down most of Maputo's nightclubs after independence as a part of Operation Production, an initiative established to remove unproductive urban residents such as drunks, vagabonds, and prostitutes, to rural areas where they could become involved in agriculture and other productive activities (Sheldon 2002: 155), or ideologically reformed through prolonged stays in re-education camps (See Machava 2019). Urban musicians working in Maputo's few remaining night clubs were particularly susceptible to being detained in this operation because they were not issued official work papers for the first few years after independence, and therefore had to go to and from work in the evening faced with the threat of arrest.

Gendered (Im)mobilities and Immoral Performers

These new understandings of what counted as productive (and by extension, moral) musical labor, and relatedly, what spaces were deemed appropriate for national cultural production, were also gendered, and highlight the contradictions in the way gender equality policies were practiced and experienced. While Frelimo encouraged women's participation in the war for independence by establishing women's organizations like the *Destacamento Feminino,* a women's detachment responsible for mobilizing and educating the peasant population, *Organização da Mulher Moçambicana* (OMM), a non-military women's organization, the concept of New Man did not encompass an equally liberated New Woman (Urdang 1989).[227] Population controls disproportionately encumbered women laborers as they were frequent police targets during Operation Production, and unaccompanied women were

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[227] *Destacamento Feminino* (DF) grew out of an initiative by Frelimo leaders from 1966-1970 that consolidated their power in the liberated provinces by subordinating traditional authorities to the military command structure. DF was their attempt to institutionalize women's participation in the military campaign by overruling their subordinated roles in the family and promoting them as equals within the revolutionary struggle—women's emancipation was tied to colonial emancipation. The DF was successful, and women combatants gained renown in the region and among leftist female militants worldwide (See West 2000; Katto 2020). *Organização da Mulher Moçambicana* (OMM) was formed in 1972 (See Arnfred 2010). Their aim was to organize "the abilities of Mozambican women in the service of the struggle against Portuguese colonialism, and also put an end to discriminatory and exploitative practices of traditional and colonial society" ("Communique of the Central Committee": 1973: 21).

at greatest risk for detainment because they were often mistaken for prostitutes. Women musicians were especially vulnerable to arrest because they worked at night, and deemed immoral because they performed in unregulated, unsanitary night clubs. Consequently, in the years following independence, many female musicians ceased performing.

In 2014, I met a popular Mozambican singer, Domingas,[228] who reminisced on the early days of her career around the time of independence. She was seventeen and still in school when she performed on stage for the first time and was hired soon thereafter as a regular performer in club venues around city. Domingas recalled how at that time, women could not walk alone on the streets of Maputo unless accompanied by a male relative or husband, and at night, the restrictions were much worse because solo women were deemed to be prostitutes and arrested. As a result, Domingas' contract stipulated that her brother had to accompany her to all concerts, and a driver would pick her up each evening before a concert and return her home immediately after it finished. While her family was supportive of her budding career, it was a scandal among her extended family and her church congregation who were in disbelief that her parents allowed her to participate in such a seedy, amoral profession; ultimately, they shunned her and her family. Domingas lamented that while people loved her on stage performances, they refused to recognize her off stage because of the strong associations between women's work in the nighttime entertainment industry and prostitution. Significantly, she was the only female performer that had the fortitude to continue singing in spite of the public stigma attached to the profession. Male musicians, in contrast, had a much easier time moving between their somewhat contradictory roles as night club musicians and revolutionaries. As long as their music addressed revolutionary themes, they did not have the same spatial restrictions as women.

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[228] Domingas is a pseudonym.

In recent decades, as global cultural flows and fashions that celebrate and commodify young women's sensuality have been introduced in Mozambique through popular music, movies and telenovelas from Brazil, South Africa, the US, and Europe, anxieties over women's immoral movements have increasingly focused on the body. In Maputo, especially, young women have harnessed their sexual power as participants in night life culture to access consumerist practices and social and economic mobility that education and other forms of employment have failed to provide (Hawkins et. al. 2009). As has been noted in many African contexts, growing preoccupations with the 'bad girl' "reflects the modern and urban dispositions of young single women: extremely mobile, they do not remain in their homes but create networks outside the family and escape the control of patriarchal structures" (Pype 2012: 212).[229] While significant social concern and control over young women's deviant behavior centers on 'skimpy'[230] fashion and seductive body adornment practices (See Sackey 2003; Hansen 2004; Bakare-Yusuf 2009; Coly 2015), negative perceptions attached to women's presence in public space—especially as performers (Lutwama-Rukundo 2016)—have persisted as post-colonial African governments continue the colonial practices of policing women's bodies and dress.

Christian Groes-Green's analysis of "The Bling Scandal" in Maputo in 2007 highlights how the presentation of female sexuality on stage through skimpy dress and erotic gestures can yield "diverse responses and meanings according to social class, religion and ideological positioning in society" (2011: 292). The event in question was an eroticized performance by the star Dama Do

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[229] There is a large body of scholarship that addresses the figure of the "bad" or deviant woman. See for instance, Dorothy Hodgson and McCurdy's (2001) edited volume *'Wicked' Women and the Reconfiguration of Gender in Africa,* where a chapter by B Musisi historicizes how "bad women"—those who freely expressed their sexuality in public—in pre-colonial and colonial Buganda were derided by missionaries, colonial administrator, Baganda politicians, and conservative Baganda women (see also White 1990; Bastian 2001; Braun 2019).

[230] In her article on Afropop artist Sheebah, Evelyn Lutwama-Rukundo defines a 'skimpy' style as one that includes, "hot pants, see-through mini dresses, skirts and suggestive outfits" (2016: 53).

Bling[231] who walked on stage in the Cine Africa concert hall during a highly publicized event that was broadcast on national television wearing only sunglasses, transparent lingerie, and a pearl necklace. Her gestures throughout the show were daring, and she caressed her body and simulated masturbation on stage, but the most shocking element of the performance was that she was pregnant.[232] Many middle-aged couples left the concert soon after it began, and some shouted at the stage with contempt. Yet, according to Groes-Green, many of the younger attendees were thrilled and found her performance to be an empowering example of contemporary female sexuality.

The event sparked a prolonged and animated public debate about women's sexuality and behavior that highlighted the fractured perspectives on the topic. Some liberal academics argued that Dama Do Bling had a right to express herself through nudity, which had been a been common in traditional communities before being banned by Portuguese colonialists and post-colonial authorities (Serra 2007). Conservative newspapers accused her of insulting Frelimo's founding fathers and threatening "Mozambique's proud family traditions" (Groes-Green 2011: 296), which, ironically, promoted the nuclear family model imposed during the colonial era.[233] Some critiques bore traces of the discomfort over women performers after independence, and as Groes-Green notes, one popular magazine, "compared Dama Do Bling's performance to prostitution and the party's political icon, former president Samora Machel was cited as saying that women should not use their bodies to make indecent gestures" (ibid: 296).

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[231] Dama Do Bling ("Lady of the Bling") is the alias for Ivanea Mudanisse, a law school graduate from Mozambique's most prestigious university, which gained her notoriety as an 'intellectual performer'. Her music was innovative at the time (mid 2000s) for blending hip hop and punk with traditional rhythms (Groes-Green 2011:294).

[232] Rachel Chapman (2010) argues that being both pregnant and sexually active is taboo in some parts of Mozambique, with potentially disastrous results for the baby or family.

[233] As Kathleen Sheldon (2002) points out, valorizing the nuclear family, which was the basic cell of a functional society within the socialist model, was one of the ways Frelimo asserted moral control over the womb. Also, like the colonial regime, they stigmatized women who had children with more than one man.

Taken together, these critiques of female performers' bodies and movements—at least those espoused by Frelimo and circulated in the mainstream media—reveal how a patrilineal Christian understanding of morality has been the dominant lens through which state authorities have attempted to control mobility, assess productive labor, and police women's virtue. Much of the national media discourse on *tufo* that I discussed in Chapter 1, moreover, bears traces of these readings. Similar to the misrepresentations of matrilineal societies during the colonial era, *tufo* dancers are sometimes read as immoral because Makhuwa women's sexual power is an expression of ownership over their bodies that threatens conservative ideas that espouse women's submission. Often, moral ideas about appropriate sexuality as it relates to gender become visible when dominant ideologies are challenged, as the examples of Domingas and Dama Do Bling highlight.

Broader ideas and fears of Makhuwa women as powerful, seductive, beautiful, and sexually knowledgeable are often imposed on *tufo* dancers, even though *tufo* is a dance that embodies ideals of piety far more than it does sexuality. Even still, in northern provinces where matrilineal ideology dominates, *tufo* dancers are also being labeled as dangerous, though moral anxiety is not sedimented around the female body dancing on stage. Rather, moral assessments of women's movements through public space before and after rehearsal as well as their long-term movement to and from an event are broader cause for concern. In the following sections I explore the moral meanings of movement in Pebane, then I examine the forms of social control that restrict people's movements. Since Mozambique transitioned to market democracy in the early 1990s, many of the state restrictions set in place to govern people's movements, such as carrying workers permits, are no longer in place. Yet, as I argue, people's movements in Pebane are still managed through stigma and jealousy, especially within the context of marriage. These relatively invisible mechanisms of social control, moreover, are disproportionately exerted over married women's movements, which I will

turn to in the final section, to discuss how in some instances, women's movements off stage are keeping them from performing onstage.

Meanings of Movement & Mechanisms of Control

The morality of movement is contingent on the space through which people move, and activities like *tufo,* which oscillate between public and private realms, hang on a careful balance between the moral and immoral. *Tufo* dancing is often a space of exception by drawing women outside the home during leisure time to socialize with others, learn new skills, build self-esteem and contribute to neighborhood development. At the same time, someone who moves around town *too* much is morally suspect and assumed to have many lovers. Managing movement is therefore a way to manage relationships.

The oft-used expression *anda muito* (you/he/she move(s) a lot)*,* is laden with moral valuations that oscillate from good to bad depending on the context and purpose of one's movements, the person moving, and the person assessing the movement. When people use *anda muito* to describe someone's local movements around town they are often referring to immoral activities or dubious intentions, and as a result, the stigmas against women's movements are far more severe than they are for men. As my friend Isa emphasized, "For women it's much worse. Women can't *andar muito.* When a woman likes to play and move about a lot, she is *namora muito* [flirting a lot, or has several lovers]." The boundaries of acceptable movements, moreover, map on to the gendered division of labor within more 'traditional' households, where women's responsibilities include tending to their *machambas* and selling the surplus, fetching water, and looking after family members. When they do move around town they are expected to walk with others, whether that be a friend, male relative, or their children. Pancho, who is in his sixties, reiterated these values when he commented, "When women move [*anda*], it's better that they go get whatever

it is they need accompanied by their friends. When women here in Pebane leave the house, they go to the *machamba,* then return home to do their work in the house and wait for their husband." Many of today's movement stigmas, moreover, are historically derived and in the past, operated to control women's movements and social interactions when their husbands were away conducting long-distance trade, or at sea. For instance, it is taboo for women to travel too far from their home when their husband is sick, or if he is fishing. One dancer did not attend *tufo* rehearsals for several months while her husband was in the hospital in Nampula. If she did attend rehearsal or perform at the *praça* and he suddenly died, his family would accuse her of killing him with witchcraft, because why else would a wife be out having fun if her husband was sick.

While women's movements are understood to have potentially destructive outcomes, women also bear the burden of responsibility for men's illicit movements. Girls are taught from a young age about their marital duties, which include making sure her husband's needs are met at home in regard to food and sex. If he fails to return home it is a wife's responsibility to question her husband on his whereabouts and hold him accountable for his movements. As one elderly man said, "It's not a good thing if he returns three or four times without telling you where he was." Failing to account for a husband's movements, he suggested, is more a reflection of the wife's inability to fulfill her responsibilities—it can be read as her moral failure rather than his. On the other hand, women's seductive powers also draw men *away* from the home, through skill or sorcery. When my husband was bed-ridden from an arthritis flare up, for example, one woman told me, "You're lucky. Your husband can't walk and he can't talk" (he was still learning Portuguese). His immobility, she explained, was a blessing in this instance because it meant he would not be able to find a lover, adding, "If he was walking you would be in trouble because women would be trying to steal him." These examples illustrate women's morally precarious position in relation to all types of movement – both their own and that of their husband, if married, leaving little room for acceptable movement.

However, women challenge these restrictions in public forums and *tufo* songs are often a form of moral critique that will admonish men for their poor behavior. In 2017, for instance, EVP performed a song at the International Women's Day ceremony that highlighted some of the key tensions that exist between men and women in Pebane: men's refusal to accept women's independence and their mistreatment of women. In addition, the selected song directly critiqued the antiquated patriarchal ideologies that characterize women as incapable of travel, by voicing their own hopes and dreams of mobility:

Muthiana vapuani cahikatorro *atenima kovawey kana ferro.* *Ajamoni onimumula ate a kavalo*	A woman isn't a slave in her home. She breathes, and her arms aren't made of iron. Like a horse, she needs to rest.
É direito a chitiana zinalekana kivoh *é diferença na lopwana e no kala wira* *alopwana oichelana*	The rights of women are the same as men. Only, men are egotistical and don't want to accept that women have power.
É zoeley muthiana ohana akeelee *oneyiaviao, ate comboio* *alopwana wata comkupalee*	We need to know that women have ideas, and grand dreams, and we are capable of travelling on airplanes and trains.

The final verse was the crowd's favorite and women in the audience expressed their pleasure through ululations and cheers. The lyrics were given added weight through the accompanying gestures: "a woman isn't a slave" was conveyed by wagging the index finger at the audience; the phrase "women have grand ideas" was reinforced by pointing to the forehead.

Women's travel for work, education purposes, or even *tufo*, are exceptions to these broader limitations because they are considered socially, politically and/or economically productive forms of movement. In these contexts, women's travel may supplement scant family resources or generate new opportunities, and growing numbers of employed and entrepreneurial women travel with greater ease and confidence and do so regularly. However, the example of married couple Juma and Luisa illustrates how the permissibility of women's movement practices is carefully managed within

marital relations, and still far from equitable. In their daily lives, Juma and Luisa have high social, financial, and geo-spatial mobility: they both come from highly respected families in Pebane, have salaried positions within the district, and commute long-distances to work. While Juma works several hours away from Pebane town and returns home every few weeks to see his family, Luisa, a school principal, earns a higher salary than her husband, and commutes by motorcycle an hour each way to work each day with a male colleague. Yet, their individual travel experiences highlight how men are free to travel uninhibited, while women's travel is still restricted. Juma, who is about twenty-five years' Luisa's senior, has extensive knowledge of Mozambique and has lived in most of Mozambique's largest cities, including Maputo, Nampula, Ilha de Moçambique, Nacala, Quelimane, and traveled abroad to South Africa. In contrast, Luisa, has only traveled to Quelimane, and while she dreams of visiting Nampula and has the financial means and freedom to do so, Juma insists that *he* needs to be the one to introduce his wife to Nampula, while Luisa complains that he still has not taken her after ten years of marriage. Moreover, while Juma frequently travels to Nampula and other large cities without his wife to visit friends and family, Luisa is rarely given permission to do her own leisure travel. When she visited her sister in a nearby town one weekend, Juma insisted that she return the following day because I was passing through the town in my car. She confided that while he told her she had to accompany me back because he feared for my safety as a woman traveling solo, in reality, he was jealous that she was traveling without him and wanted her home as soon as possible. Many men use similar tactics to control their wives travel when they are jealous, and I will return to a similar scenario in the next section to flesh out the relationship between these "ugly feelings" and the restrictions imposed on women when traveling for *tufo*.

Ugly Feelings and Immobility

Before EVP travelled to Nampula City to attend a much anticipated *carrama*, the group's vice president pleaded with the dancers to "tell everyone where you're going to be, please. Make sure you say goodbye. I don't want any problems." He was obliquely referencing a fight that transpired after the group's last trip to perform at a wedding: Amelia left home without informing her husband, who works away from Pebane for several weeks at a time. The trip was supposed to be quick – there and back in a few days – so she hoped he would never know she was gone. The group's return was delayed by a day, however, and when her husband returned home to celebrate Mozambican Worker's Day, he arrived at an empty house. As a worker this was *his* day and she was supposed to be home to cook for him, not travelling for *tufo*. Having failed to fulfil her marital duties she spent the next several days sleeping at a friend's house until his anger abated, then took some time off from group activities to make him happy.

The conflict between Amelia and her husband over her travels for *tufo* exemplify how women's movements today are managed most directly within intimate relationships, where broader inequalities and insecurities around changing gender norms manifest through debates over the morality of women's public movements. As anthropologists of southern Africa have observed, the economic effects of global capitalism have transformed household and relationship structures on the local level, as well as gender and generational hierarchies (Cole and Thomas 2009; Hunter 2010; Bhana and Pattman 2011). While intimate and conjugal relationships have historically mediated women's economic mobility, today, growing socio-economic inequalities render working-class men unemployed and immobile themselves, while women are gaining power in the family unit as material economic providers (Archambault 2012). The incompatibility between discursive constructions of masculinity and the impossible realities of being able to actualise these expectations has undermined what Julie Archambault calls the "man-as-provider ideal," particularly amongst younger men (2016: 257). In turn, marriage practices have become a site where what it means to 'be a man' has been

contested, and where ideals of masculinity are enacted and negotiated (Cornwall 2003). As Deborah Schulz describes, ruptures in traditional marriage practices are sometimes blamed on young women's greed and materialism, impacting perceptions of their virtue. She notes that, "a moralizing discourse on the socially disruptive force of money is combined with a moralizing register that feminizes immorality. Women are held responsible and come to stand for the pernicious effects of money" (2011: 101).

In rural areas in northern Mozambique, where money is hard to come by, and Makhuwa women's beauty practices are a locally meaningful display of status and wealth, *capulanas* largely take the place of money as a socially disruptive force and increasingly, they have come to symbolize women's immorality. In Muslim Makhuwa societies, earning money and providing clothing, like *capulanas,* has long been considered men's marital responsibility, while women control food and sex; failure to fulfil these obligations is grounds for divorce (Arnfred 2007). Today, when husbands fail to provide, some women in Pebane feel justified in looking elsewhere, taking on lovers or entering into transactional relationships that fulfil their needs. *Tufo* participation, in particular, is a point of contention within a marriage because *tufo* dancers have greater need for new *capulanas,* which they are required to purchase for performances and travel. *Capulanas,* however, can cost upwards of $10 USD – the equivalent of half a month's salary for some families – putting additional pressure on household expenses and often straining a marriage. Financially insecure men complain that *tufo* dancers will leave their husbands quickly if they cannot pay for their *capulanas*, which, as one man expressed, is "very bad for a marriage because it's not a stable, reliable relationship." But many women have a different take: *capulanas* are part of the marital contract and a husband's failure to provide breaches norms of reciprocity. While their husbands sit at home, they continue to fulfil their domestic obligations, but are unremunerated for their work.

Rehema expressed this sentiment late one afternoon as we walked by the home of an acquaintance who owed her money for a *capulana* she had purchased. We observed the woman bent over her small charcoal cookstove preparing dinner for her husband, who lounged on a wooden chair in the shade. Rehema scoffed at the scene and mumbled, "I don't know why that woman is even sleeping with her husband. He doesn't buy her anything. Not even *capulanas*." Similar frustrations are aired in song, as well, offering public declarations of women's growing autonomy. At one wedding celebration, EVP dancers reminded men in attendance that a successful marriage hinges on their moral obligations to financially support their wives, singing: "The neighbour likes to get married, but he's broke and because of this, she will flee…If you are offended, you're causing a problem for someone. This is the truth, and the truth hurts."

Marital insecurities increase as women become more mobile and regularly move between public and private spaces because, as Lesley Braun points out, "it is difficult for people to gauge whether a woman is really virtuous or not" (2014: 158). Following *tufo* dancers as they move to and from rehearsals and performances also reveals the ambivalence of women's virtue: a trip to the market after rehearsal to purchase fish for dinner may also be read as an act of deception, and she may be later accused of soliciting the attention of a wealthy merchant or seeking out a lover. Furthermore, *tufo* dancers travel through public spaces more than their non-dancing peers, and while their movements are productive and socially sanctioned, the fracture lines in generational ideas about gender-appropriate norms of discretion become apparent in discussions about dancers' movements. Older, conservative women and many men agree that dancers today seek out opportunities to misbehave (*brincar mal).* Some dancers stay out late after rehearsal, drinking at a bar instead of returning home. One older dancer complained that sometimes a younger dancer won't arrive home until 8pm and when her husband asks where she was, she'll use rehearsal as an excuse, which fuels her husband's mistrust of *tufo*. Sandra, a dancer in her early 50s, complained that women

who lived through the war would never be as reckless in their extra-marital affairs as women today. She gave an example: "I could have a lover, or several, and my friend Laura would know but she wouldn't tell anyone. I could leave home at 3pm, meet my lover, return at 4pm, and it would be so quick it would be almost as if I didn't leave the house. But now women will be out all night. Everyone knows what they are doing." According to some, such morally lax behavior off stage among dancers is one of the reasons why men no longer like their wives to dance. A taxi driver in Nampula told me that while he thinks *tufo* is a very beautiful dance, "Many men don't want to marry a woman who dances. Tufo dancers aren't home very much because they train every day and so the kids do not learn how to be polite [*não são bem-educados*]." Another taxi driver remarked that he does not like *tufo* dancers because, "If I give her money to buy *capulanas* and travel to a *carrama*, for example, she will sleep with another man." It's the infidelity you don't like? I asked him. "Exactly. You can't trust these *tufo* women. They're dangerous" (Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1 – EVP dancers waiting to perform at a wedding in Maiaia. Dance groups reserve one uniform for traveling and one for performing, because their traveling uniforms get dirty while on the road. Photo by author.

Collectively, these opinions touch on some of the stigmas associated with dancers' long-distance travel for performance events. During and after the war, travel to events was uncommon for groups from Pebane because of poor road infrastructure, lack of financing, and because women in general were not afforded the opportunity. In the past ten years, however, these trips are growing

in frequency, in part, because of their political benefit since *tufo* groups are mouthpieces for local governments. Ancha, the elderly president of the group Anuar Assante explained: "The government of Pebane might say, "Look, the president is coming, and in Pebane we don't have this or that. But we don't have the possibility to speak directly to the president so we are going to speak through music." They will then send a *tufo* group who will perform on behalf of Pebane to communicate what the town does or does not have. Herein lies the double bind: dancer's movements are at once understood to be politically essential and morally suspect. In the past, when dancers and their husbands were both involved in group activities, dancers' movements were acceptable, but today, *tufo* affords women opportunities to travel without their husbands, which can call women's virtue into question (Figure 5.2). To mitigate anxieties and prevent scandals, Ancha said she closely "polices" her dancers when they travel, insisting they do everything as a group because if women *andar sozinho* (walk around alone), it creates problems with their husbands. "I tell my dancers that we are here to dance! People will speak poorly about a group if it appears the dancers have come to *namorar* (find a boyfriend) or *andar,* and they will lose their value [onstage]." As Ancha's comments suggest, social stigmas surrounding offstage movements directly affect a group's onstage valuation, which can have long lasting consequences. When women do not subordinate their individual bodies, desires, or pleasures to collective interests, they risk severing socially valuable relationships, such as those between groups and dancers, and dancers and their husbands.

Figure 5.2 – Members of EVP returning home after a performance. Today, few men accompany groups when they travel, and those that do are the drummers and a male group leader or driver. Photo by author.

Affective management and negotiation are women's work. On stage, dancers manipulate the sonic atmosphere and collective affect as performers, but they must also manage the excess, and in particular, the negative emotions that permeate intimate relationships when women assert their independence. Younger dancers, in addition, recognize that restrictions on their movements – often attributed to *their* moral failings – are a smokescreen for a deeper issue: jealousy. In Pebane, jealousy is recognized as an undesirable trait, fitting with what Ngai (2005) terms "ugly feelings," because it forecloses all possibilities of sympathy. For a man to admit he is jealous is also an admission that he is part of the problem, implicating his "ugly" character. By placing blame on his wife's unruly behaviour, illicit movements, or materialistic desires, a man may garner more sympathy – from group leaders, for instance – and feel justified to exonerate his own unreasonable actions.

This was best illustrated one morning when I was giving Amina, a woman in the neighbourhood, a ride to the health clinic. Aware of my interest in *tufo*, she told me she used to be a member of a local group. She loved dancing, she confessed, but her husband Mussa made her leave *tufo* after they got married. When I next saw Mussa, I teased him about this. At first, he was embarrassed, explaining that when they met, he didn't have a job and *couldn't* pay for all the *capulanas*. Then when he did find a job working for a local NGO, he didn't *want* to pay for the *capulanas*. Another woman quickly interrupted him. "It's because of jealousy! That's why you don't want your wife to dance." I asked him directly, "Are you jealous?" "Yes!" he finally admitted, explaining that when women travel, as they do for *tufo*, other men make sexual advances and this made him jealous.

Jealousy, in this example, was both semantically and experientially negative: it was "saturated with socially stigmatising meanings" (Ngai 2005: 11), which is perhaps why Mussa was so hesitant to admit his jealousy. But, as Ngai also points out, ugly feelings can have unexpected political efficacy. Positive affects, like the joy one feels when watching or dancing *tufo,* draw people to a social space and create new forms of solidarity that can be harnessed for political ends. Ugly feelings, like jealousy, do quite the opposite – they close off connections and disrupt mobility. Unlike other forms of feelings, jealousy does not circulate between many bodies, but, rather, it infuses private spaces, which makes it powerful, and highly effective, on an intimate scale.

Even though *tufo* provides women access to desired forms of mobility, marriage is still an important institution for the socio-economic security women require. Such security is one of the reasons why dancers like Filomena and Amelia, who are well aware of inequities within marriage, navigate these "ugly feelings" by taking a break from *tufo* when jealousy rears its ugly head, and why the majority of *tufo* dancers are, in fact, single women. The weakness of jealousy only amplifies its power and forces women to choose between leaving *tufo,* an activity they love, or their marriage, a relationship they need. "*Tufo* isn't equal to your marriage" one dancer explained. "Marriage is more

important. If a man wants his wife to stop dancing, she is going to stop. Many women from my group stopped dancing because their husbands didn't like it." I asked her if she has ever heard of a woman leaving a man because she wanted to continue dancing. "Never. That wouldn't happen. *Tufo* is only a way to have fun."

Conclusion

The bodily and spatial movements women enact as performers can generate anxieties over their agency and independence within a rigid patriarchal context, fueling debates about morality. While *tufo* is the dance of the beautiful women, perceptions of feminine beauty and sexuality are unstable and unpredictable, which becomes legible when moving with dancers through public spaces, both on and off stage. Often, the moral evaluations of women's beauty hinge on sound: when moving within the affectively charged sonic atmosphere of an event, where performance aesthetics affirm political, moral and social values, *tufo* dancers are pleasurable and desirable. Once the performance ends, however, and dancers walk through the streets or travel home, perceptions of their movements can change: at their most extreme, beautiful women may be seen as a moral threat or a social problem, provoking ugly sensations like anxiety or jealousy.

For married women, in particular, participating in *tufo* can entail a constant negotiation between personal pleasure and marital obligation. Here, I briefly return to the incident between Filomena and her husband from the introduction, which incites a further consideration of how these negotiations play out. Even though Filomena's husband took extreme actions to stop her movements, it's notable that the following morning Filomena returned to the festival. Blocking the door was a temporary pause in her movements not a full stop, indicating that there are limits to jealousy's power, just as there are limits to joy.

As I discussed in Chapter One, within the sonic atmosphere of a performance, dancers' beauty—one of many aesthetic technologies they employ—produces public pleasure that can unify a community through a shared set of interconnected moral and aesthetic values. But when the performance ends and dancers move off-stage, perceptions of dancers' beauty and assessments of their morality can change depending on a number of factors, including the space through which they move, the time they are moving, who they are moving with and where they are going, as well as their public behavior and decorum *while* beautifully dressed

While affect moves and inhabits, it can equally inhibit and halt action as it morphs from joy and pleasure, to vitality and desire, to anxiety and jealousy from one encounter to the next. Sound is a way to forget through feelings—but when a moving, musicking woman is also someone's beautiful wife, she is still too dangerous.

Conclusion

In August 2020, an acquaintance from Pebane sent me a video clip of a *tufo* group performing on Morremone beach (Video 6.1). Featured in the video are ten dancers from EVP, standing in a block of four evenly spaced rows, and dressed in vibrant yellow polo shirts and the cobalt blue Dia de Pebane (Pebane Day) *capulanas* issued for the 2017 celebration. Colorfully painted wooden fishing boats dot the expansive beach behind them while in the distance, gentle waves roll across the shore, taunting the boats before quietly receding into the surf. The early afternoon sky is crystal clear and the wind blowing across the beach catches the loose ends of the dancers' *lenços,* tied high atop their heads. Two elders swirl behind them, waving *capulanas* like flags, offering support to the dancers through recognition—they are well-respected advisors that are performing their roles as care-takers of the group, signaling this is an organized group that *knows* the tradition. Occasionally they fall into step with the dancers, who move in place. As a unit, they step back and forth on the balls of their feet to the first two beats of a phrase, then suspend their steps on the final two beats. These side-to-side body movements are accentuated by their outstretched arms, which are bent at the elbows and move in wide, circular motions. Their movements mimic the rhythms of the waves when the tide is coming in, alternating between fragmented moments of speed and stillness; their gesticulations are controlled, yet with an undercurrent of frenetic energy. The dancers sing in unison to amplify their voices, and the lyrics of the song—which move between Makhuwa and Portuguese—cut across the sound of the wind and drums:

Esterela Veremelha ekurupu yulupale[234] X 2 // Estrela Vermelha is an important group
Esterela yulupale enroromeliwa // The grand Estrela is a group that is trusted.
Esterela Veremelha yola khaniwananeya // Estrela of Pebane does not fight with others.
....
Lema de hoje, é muito valente para toda agente // Today's theme is really valient for everyone

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[234] *Yulupale* is a Makhuwa word that refers to someone or great importance in the community. In Portuguese, it is often translated to mean *grande,* or, big/large, but some of this meaning is lost when translating to English.

é la saiba a nossa capacidade // It's there to know our abilities
a cultura é como um sol // Culture is like the sun
que nunca desce como dizia Samora Machel // that never descends, as Samora Machel said

O maior valor da cultura moçambicana // The greatest value of Mozambican culture
é Diversidade da nossa cultura X 2 // is the diversity of our culture
é a unidade nacional X 3 // is national unity

I knew this video well because I had recorded it during my last week of fieldwork, and later uploaded it, along with many others, to YouTube for dancers to access.[235] When I responded enthusiastically, my Facebook acquaintance sent two more video clips that I had recorded, which had been downloaded from YouTube and were now circulating through the Pebane diaspora via Whatsapp. Since the start of the COVID-19 pandemic, I have observed a sharp rise in activity on my YouTube channel as cultural groups in Pebane and elsewhere around northern Mozambique have had to cease many of the in-person rehearsal and performance activities. While Pebane has not yet had a confirmed case of COVID, most events in the state's liturgical calendar have been disrupted as government meetings and commemoration days have been reduced in size and scope. Just this morning (April 3), I spoke with a friend in Pebane on the phone, and one of the first talking points she mentioned was her disappointment that the celebrations for Mozambican Women's Day on April 7 had been cancelled because of COVID fears. People are just sitting at home, she complained.

In the absence of public celebrations and dance events, social media engagement is rising in Pebane, and, as recording technology has become far more accessible through smart phones, *tufo* groups—like other performing artists—are beginning to use platforms like Facebook and YouTube to circulate content and solicit new gigs. Both smart phones and social media have been late to arrive to Pebane, offering yet another example of how the "flows" of globalization are better

[235] I made digital copies of all video recordings for groups, as well, but so few people had working computers that the content was too difficult to access. However, growing numbers of women have access to a smart phone, and if they do not themselves own one, they have a family member or neighbor who does. Digital content circulates quickly through phones and YouTube is easy and inexpensive to access.

understood as having hopped from one enclave network to the next, skipping over many rural districts, where infrastructure—and a robust cash economy—are lacking.

The new forms of exchange developing with online community engagement with *tufo* is exciting, and through observing YouTube activity, people's engagement with recorded *tufo* performances across time and space is becoming more visible. Members of the Mapex (Pebane) diaspora, for example, watch *tufo* videos to "*matar saudades"* [kill the longing] they have for home when they are away, harkening back to the genre's origins among Arab merchants in East Africa who would dance because they missed home. Comments on videos include "I really liked to see this dance from my district Pebane"; "proud to be the Makhuwa race"; "*Owani* (home), enjoying directly from Turkey." These comments hint at new forms of mobility through digital technology that still affectively engage people and will likely introduce new changes to *tufo* as a social and aesthetic practice. Competition may increase, or the process of commodification that is already underway in heritage tourism sites could accelerate; norms of discretion between groups may change, as well, as content becomes easily accessible. Or, as live performances are substituted with videos due to restrictions on public celebrations, and the circulation of new material is no longer mediated primarily through the body, the aliveness and vitality that dancers and audience experience as part of a sonic atmosphere at an event may change or disappear. Though speculative, these ideas point to future areas of study that will build on—and perhaps even challenge—the complex, integrated system of women's mobilities through *tufo* that I have explored in this dissertation.

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In this dissertation, I have deployed mobility as an analytic to consider the significance of *tufo* for women, and members of their communities, within the context of recent social and economic changes in Mozambique. It narrows in on a 'traditional' leisure practice that is in constant expansion, spreading to new areas, being incorporated into new contexts, and attracting an increasingly diverse

group of dancers from outside the Muslim Makhuwa areas in northern Mozambique. By centering my study in Pebane, a rurally-located town, and joining a competitive dance group made up of women who are largely considered 'immobile', one of my broader aims was to foreground their understandings, experiences, desires for and access to critical forms of movement—a pursuit that begins with the dancing, singing, feeling body. As I discussed in the introduction, studies of mobility have often focused on large-scale movements like globalization or transnational migration, or travel/tourism. I start, instead, from the micro-scale—paying attention to interconnection of music and body movements—to argue that the most generative movements for *tufo* dancers are those which are nearly imperceptible and largely invisible to the naked eye: the sonic vibrations, the affective 'suggestions of movement' that they feel while singing and dancing, and that in turn modulate on stage through their own aesthetic creativity. While their work as performers is simultaneously an act of care, of political participation, of public play, dancers see their role as artists as one that offers new possibilities that go beyond performance.

Diverse economies—such as sonic and choreographic exchange, ancestral connections across time and space, and the circulation of affect—converge within *tufo* performance because they are tethered to the body, which, through song, dance and dress, mediates meaningful historical narratives, experiences, and moral ideologies that are then publicly negotiated. The flexibility of the genre as one that accommodates a wide range of choreographic and sonic styles within its aesthetic conventions means that *tufo* groups constantly absorb new material, while maintaining meaningful sonic and choreographic narratives from the past, appealing to the widest possible audience. The songs a group selects for a performance are therefore those that have a collective affective pull, offering emotional satisfaction to its listeners by communicating shared moral ideals, ways of being, and contemporary aspirations for the future. But the effect of these songs goes beyond the performance context; dancers also include *tufo* songs in their own personal repertoire of social

navigation strategies. For example, one dancer recalled a feud with her neighbor that escalated to the point where they were shouting at each other across the palm frond fence that divided their properties. When I asked how it ended, she said she sang a *tufo* song very loudly that reminded her adversary that 'God sees all.'

Tufo has long been an important part of collective processes of letting go, of suspending pain, and of moving on—an idea captured through the lyrics of a popular *tufo* song, which declares, "*Vir dançar tufo comigo para esquecer o pensar da vida* [Come dance *tufo* with me to forget thinking about life]." I personally came to know and understand these sonic modes of affect, and understand their transformative, generative power, through embodied experience at the lowest point of my field research, when, after a series of personal traumas, getting through each day had become exceedingly difficult. Then, one morning, nine months in to my research, I opened the door to my dark cabana and walked into the bright sun to soon realize that I was seeing double. Over the next week, my double vision rapidly progressed to where I was in a constant state of vertigo. At the same time, EVP was readily preparing for an upcoming *carrama* in Nampula—an event we had been planning for several months. Two days before our departure, and feeling exasperated and scared at my own growing immobility as a result of my vision problems, I attended rehearsal at the urging of several group members. Vertigo symptoms made dancing near impossible, so instead I sat next to the elders during rehearsal and sang with my eyes closed. I surrendered my 'deep concentration' as an ethnographer concerned with memorizing lyrics, choreographic sequences, and observing group politics, allowing myself, instead, to be enveloped by the sounds, rhythms, and bodily swaying with no specific aim in mind. I settled into the sensory dimensions of *tufo*—the pleasure and vitality, the 'suggestions of movement' palpable within the sonic atmosphere of the clubhouse as we cycled through some of my favorite songs. In my field notes, I later reflected, "…tonight was one of the first times I truly enjoyed myself at rehearsal. The comradery, the laughing, and being completely

enveloped in sound were regenerative. I think I finally understand what dancers mean when they say that no matter what goes on in everyday life, whenever you start singing and dancing *tufo* you forget your troubles and are happy." I left this rehearsal feeling rejuvenated, uplifted and joyous, and understood—through the bodily sensations I experienced—the ways movement is generated through aesthetics. The shared sense of joy that circulated through the club house and bonding those in attendance, even if momentarily, generated a sense of possibility, of hope. The malleability of my own body within the sonic atmosphere of rehearsal, however, was possible only after *knowing* the practice, forming connections to songs and attuning my ear and body to socio-cultural meanings of music and dance in and as relation.

At a broad level, this study contributes theoretically and empirically to musicological and anthropological understandings of musically generated mobilities and their politics by analyzing performance aesthetics as both a technology and strategy of women's mobilities, as well as a critical form of embodied knowledge. Across five chapters I have traced how music and dance mediate different forms and scales movement—in particular, those that are not often visible, but visceral and embodied—to argue for a more expansive understanding of mobility, its social effects, and also its inequitable politics. Chapter One used animation (*animar*) as a frame to understand both the culturally attuned, affective modes of listening that facilitate audience experiences of pleasure, and the aesthetic technologies that dancers use to heighten such feelings within performances. In Chapter Two I turned to the gendered divisions of labor within *tufo* groups to analyze how women socially position themselves, often via men, to navigate changing economic and political domains that they have historically been excluded from. Chapter Three focused on the process of repertory selection within group rehearsals to capture dancers' understandings of aesthetic agency as mobility capital (motility) that may create possibilities for future forms of movement. I examined the "assemblage" of bodily, social and physical infrastructures that facilitate the circulation of such

aesthetics in Chapter Four, while pivoting towards the invisible agents that can help or inhibit women's travel to and from *carramas.* Finally, Chapter Five addressed *actual* movements and their socio-cultural meanings within Mozambique in order to understand the political and social mechanisms that control and restrict women's geo-spatial movements as performers, which range from colonial and post-colonial legislation to stigma and jealousy.

In following movement through long-distance aesthetic exchange at *carramas* and local listening practices, as opposed to examining the visible forms of human mobility through the exchange of market commodities, rural women's mobilities reveal themselves to be highly productive and critical to community development in the aftermath of social, political and economic upheaval. My understanding of the intersections of movement across form and scale were enhanced when traveling with the group for performances, where I experienced how sonic modes of affect shared between groups at a *carrama* are then carried back home, and new songs and choreography are woven into a group's repertoire to then be shared with the community during performances, introducing ideas and modes of being from elsewhere.

Aesthetic technologies, which are the specific techniques dancers employ to manipulate audience affect (such as *gingar, enfatizar, entrada*), connect the performers and audience during live, present day performances of *tufo.* The aesthetic agency of the genre, however, brings together historical forms of feminine knowledge and visions for the future, as dancers navigate uncertainty using the forms of capital at their disposal, such as affect and aesthetics. As both technologies and strategies, embodied performance aesthetics mediate multiple forms of mobility: sound may lift spirits, move bodies within and across space, and mobilize the community. Beauty in motion can be experienced as an energy or a gesture and can propel one's social mobility as a form of affective capital. Dancers move physically, as well, by dancing on stage, walking through town, or traveling longer distances to perform at an event, festival or competition. In short, the bodies of *athiana orera*

(beautiful women) shape and are shaped by an "ensemble of interlinking movements" (Hirshkind 2006) that can be an enabling and disabling force for women.

The interdisciplinary, intersectional approach to mobilities that I have developed in this study, moreover, is critical for better understanding the politics of movement as a resource that is embedded in inequitable relations of power across all levels of society—from national to cultural to body politics. Here, I follow Peter Adey (2006, 2010) who argues that movement needs to be examined in relation to stillness, stopping and relative immobility. He outlines two ways of thinking about relationality. First, mobility is always plural because one form of mobility always involves another kind. Second, mobility is a social activity and therefore informs our social relations with others, as well as how we understand those relations. Mobility, as a complex set of relations, is a form of power that can be both enabling *and* repressive (Cresswell 2010: 160). I contend that the politics of mobility only become clear when tracing the relationships between the visible and invisible, the heard and felt, the intimate and public—not as binary oppositions, but as interconnected and sometimes indistinguishable. Feminine aesthetic practices like *tufo* hang on a careful balance between the moral and immoral as dancers move between the stage, rehearsal space, and daily life; their growing independence defies longstanding moral codes, that provoke social responses that bring to light the inequitable politics of mobility. Women's affective labor on stage, for instance, is enabling: they serve a political purpose by mobilizing audiences and disseminating messages, but they also create an atmosphere of joy that offers audiences a momentary respite from stresses and strains. At the same time the institutional and social controls that govern and repress their movements, whether it be marriage, social stigmas or ugly feelings, illustrate that the relations formed with others through movement are not always reciprocal, and often inequitable.

This research also challenges cultural policy objectives that undervalue and overlook the productive work that competitive dance associations already do within their communities. From a

policy level 'Culture' in Mozambique has, since independence, been utilized in the state's ideological projects, though financial support of the arts and artists has been in rapid decline since the 1980s. The Nyusi government, however, has recently committed to developing the tourist industry to attract foreign and domestic capital to stimulate a national economy beleaguered by the $2bn debt scandal. This is a marked shift in how the value of Culture has been understood: cultural practices like *tufo* are no longer valued just as an affective, political resource, but are now a "natural resource" that can financially benefit the state, as well. While the genre is promoted and funded in Maputo and Ilha de Moçambique where it already contributes to heritage tourism as select groups provide international guests an 'authentic' experience, the prevalence and ubiquity of *tufo* throughout the north is overlooked. As I have shown, in rural and peri-urban communities in northern Mozambique, *tufo* is a deeply significant practice that is still relevant in daily life and at all celebratory occasions. Attempts to commodify the genre as a form of heritage may penalize aesthetic innovation, which, as this dissertation argues, is a critical strategy of mobility for women who occupy marginal social positions in underdeveloped places. *Tufo* groups, moreover, are often highly organized civic institutions that have historically provided a range of economic and social benefits to their members, and the broader community. I see the broader neglect of these associations as symptomatic of a lack of understanding of the work women actually *do* as members. Government intervention and support is often contradictory: while they rely on *tufo* groups to mobilize communities and circulate political ideology in Makhuwa communities, they also refuse to invest in the development work these associations undertake in their local communities. Investing directly in these groups, rather than circulating funds through 'official' channels would offer self-sustainability, and recognize that practitioners themselves know how to best preserve a practice that animates their daily lives. Moreover, while a robust tourist economy will certainly boost the annual GDP, it also

can increase dependency on outsiders, which, as COVID-19 epidemic has illustrated, is an unreliable source of income.

Finally, this dissertation builds on the interdisciplinary body of scholarship on dance associations along East Africa's Swahili coast that address organized singing and dancing as a mode through which participants have historically challenged social hierarchies and pursued class and political advancement (e.g. Ranger 1975; Strobel 1979; Fair 2001). However, while this work acknowledges the social and physical mobilities that participation affords women, this study takes a new approach by pursuing mobility as a mode of analysis. Aesthetic creation, sonic affect, and the malleability of the body, I have argued, renders rural women's movements possible across multiple scales, made evident by the continued growth of the *tufo* network. A primary aim of this study has been to destabilize hegemonic depictions of mobility by analyzing how aesthetic forms of 'traditional' and embodied knowledge are innovative technologies that are central to the art of survival. By grounding my ethnographic study in women's daily engagement with music and dance, and their aesthetic agency and command on stage, I show how leisure activities that fall outside of formal market practices are politically, socially and affectively generative, and reveal how the politics of mobility are navigated, negotiated and mediated through the body and sound. While rural women are among the most economically marginalized in Mozambique, isolation does not signify stasis; recognizing the way people move and are moved through music and dance is critical for a deeper understanding of mobility and its limits.

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