

# Looking back and facing forward: Lessons from the Tumaini Festival

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The public pedagogue whose work, the Tumaini Festival, is the focal point of this paper is Congolese refugee artist Trésor Nzengu Mpauni. He is self-described as “a multi-lingual slam poet, Hip Hop artist, and writer” with the stage name Menes la plume.<sup>1</sup> The name Menes takes after the ancient Egyptian dynastic pharaoh of the same name whereas the French la plume, which means feather, is symbolic of the power of the pen for communicating to effect change. Prior to his forced displacement from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mpauni spoke up against the injustices of his country of origin, which resulted in his persecution by the government. Spurred by such personal lived experiences and channeling them through his art, in 2014 Mpauni founded the Tumaini Festival, which is held annually within the confines of the Dzaleka Refugee Camp in Malawi.<sup>2</sup> “The festival is an innovative cultural event, developed and delivered by refugees and the host community, which uses entertainment and artistic expression to promote economic empowerment, intercultural harmony, mutual understanding and peaceful co-existence”.<sup>3</sup> Following Springgay in her analysis of the art collective The Torontonians<sup>4</sup>, this paper’s inquiry into the Tumaini Festival does not seek to unequivocally demonstrate how it achieves a pedagogical effect, but rather how the festival lends itself to some opportunities for the public to learn about issues of refugee concern and wellbeing. This examination additionally problematizes the colonial and sociopolitical histories of Malawi, as relates to the prevailing treatment of refugees presently hosted in the country, and centers the sensitizing nature of the festival and its cultural production in tackling anti-refugee sentiment, while fostering an alternative refugee imaginary.

<sup>1</sup> Menes La Plume, *About* (2021) LinkedIn <<https://www.linkedin.com/in/menes-la-plume-a1116291/>> [accessed 10 December 2021].

<sup>2</sup> Clyde Macfarlane, ‘The Malawi Music Festival Bringing Hope to Its Refugee Residents’, *The Guardian*, 17 November 2015.

<sup>3</sup> Trésor Mpauni, *Breaking the Mold for Refugees: Founding the Tumaini Festival in Dzaleka Refugee Camp, Malawi*, WorldBank Blogs Nasikiliza, (2019) <<https://blogs.worldbank.org/nasikiliza/breaking-mold-refugees-founding-tumaini-festival-dzaleka-refugee-camp-malawi>>.

<sup>4</sup> *Stephanie Springgay, ‘How to Be an Artist by Night: Critical Public Pedagogy and Double Ontology’, in Problematizing Public Pedagogy, ed. by Jake Burdick, Jennifer Sandlin and Michael O’Malley, (New York: Routledge, 2013) pp. 157-172*

Festivals, as traditionally conceived, are spaces where communities gather to celebrate a plethora of causes. Such cause for celebration can vary from national observances, from Saint Patrick's Day in the United States to longstanding religious traditions like the Holi Festival in India. Some notable aspects of festivals are performances, music, displays, costumes and food, which Gabbert characterises as the materialization of primary festival energy.<sup>5</sup> In addition, there is simultaneously a crucial secondary re-configuration of social energy, as festival participants and organisers across social groups, with varying interests, engage and interface through the duration of the festival. Finkel highlights how the festival space can thus draw attention to social differences of power and class, while also serving to both reproduce and reinforce them.<sup>6</sup> Since festivals do not occur in a vacuum, but rather within sociocultural spaces that are inherently hierarchical in nature, the festivals by extension reflect the status quo and existing power dynamics of their societies.<sup>7</sup> How a festival is organised and staged reveals whose patronage is welcome and prized, therefore festival culture evokes commentary on the nature of social relations. Nasr and Bagader show how beyond form in festival organizing and showcasing, such commentary is also facilitated by the artistic content of the festivals themselves.<sup>8</sup> In their study of Al-Ges—a women's festival based in Mecca, Saudi Arabia, that was stopped in 1925—they demonstrate how the festival challenged and openly mocked the patriarchal organization of their society. The festival space allowed for the suspension of social mores that would otherwise have inhibited such free expression of thought and opinion, and the exercise of artistic license this way remains a part of various festivals.

In fact, parallel can be drawn between festival culture and aspects of public pedagogy, which “has been largely constructed as a concept focusing on various forms, processes, and sites of education and learning occurring beyond or outside of formal schooling” (2).<sup>9</sup> In the realm of the public sphere, there is a constant curation of information and experiences for the consuming masses, that serves to achieve a sensitizing effect on matters of particular concern for the curating parties. Such intentionality of meaning-making is visibly evident in billboard advertisements and television commercials that communicate more than just the availability of particular products and services – they hold up and present particular values and ways of experiencing life, to which they tactfully invite consumers to experience and embody. As Ellsworth posits, there exist numerous places of learning, including multimedia projections and public events, which present a pedagogical force emanating from their qualities and design elements.<sup>10</sup> “We are constantly being taught, constantly learn, and constantly unlearn” (1).<sup>11</sup> Denzin espouses a framing of public pedagogy rooted in performance and performative action, where meaning is superimposed on situations and events allowing for the imagination of alternative ways of being.<sup>12</sup> Transformative practice of this nature is fostered by creative opportunities of interaction between people and their circumstances. “In this interactionist epistemology, context replaces text, verbs replace nouns, structures become processes” (195). Giroux further submits public pedagogy functions as a form of performative practice by operating

<sup>5</sup> Lisa Gabbert, 'Situating the Local by Inventing the Global: Community Festival and Social Change', *Western Folklore*, 66.3/4, (2007), 259–280.

<sup>6</sup> Rebecca Finkel, 'Re-Imaging Arts Festivals through a Corporate Lens: A Case Study of Business Sponsorship at the Henley Festival', *Managing Leisure*, 15.4, (2010), 237–250.

<sup>7</sup> Jennifer A Sandlin and Jennifer L Milam, “Mixing Pop (Culture) and Politics”: Cultural Resistance, Culture Jamming, and Anti-Consumption Activism as Critical Public Pedagogy', *Curriculum Inquiry*, 38.3, (2008), 323–350.

<sup>8</sup> Ahmad A Nasr and Abu Bakar A Bagader, 'Al-Gēs: Women's Festival and Drama in Mecca', *Journal of Folklore Research*, (2001), 243–262.

<sup>9</sup> Jake Burdick, Jennifer A Sandlin, and Michael P O'Malley, *Problematizing Public Pedagogy* (Routledge, 2013).

<sup>10</sup> Elizabeth Ellsworth, *Places of Learning: Media, Architecture, Pedagogy* (Routledge, 2005).

<sup>11</sup> Jennifer A Sandlin, Brian D Schultz, and Jake Burdick, *Handbook of Public Pedagogy* (Routledge, 2009).

<sup>12</sup> Norman K Denzin, 'The Call to Performance', *Symbolic Interaction*, 26.1 (2003), 187–207.



alongside cultural processes to achieve social change.<sup>13</sup> Embedded within culture is its capacity to educate through the texts, images and representations that it produces. Public pedagogy then necessitates that as these products are consumed and creatively engaged with they also be critically examined.<sup>14</sup> Such examination ought to yield ongoing self-reflexive thought and action, ultimately culminating in social transformation. An increased authentic visibility of the refugee community in Malawi is paramount to counter the growing public buy-in to a nationalist refugee monolith that has spurred anti-refugee sentiment in the country. Refugees are generally perceived as a security threat and unfair competition to the local population in the informal marketplace.<sup>15</sup> Through sustained festival culture at the Dzaleka Refugee Camp, new imaginaries of identity and belonging start to be constructed – refugees can be seen as contributing members of society and part of the social fabric.

### Echoes of colonial hegemony

Inadvertently, the festival's efforts mirror, and work to challenge, the co-creative nature of colonial hegemony and the cultural spaces in which it operated.<sup>16</sup> From its onset, colonisation infiltrated the local populace and worked alongside it to advance its own agenda. The colonizing mission was achieved with the help of the natives. In his essay "Invention, Memory, and Place," Edward Said foregrounds how an imperial foothold on colonised peoples was achieved by co-opting local traditions and redefining relationships: "a way of creating a new sense of identity for ruler and ruled" (178).<sup>17</sup> Explicating how constructions of "we" and "they" operate with regard to nationalism, Said states "National identity always involves narratives - of the nation's past, its founding fathers and documents, seminal events, and so on. However, these narratives are never undisputed or merely a matter of the neutral recital of facts" (177). It is therefore incumbent upon citizens of post-colonial, independent states to engage continually with their histories and question the official national narratives that exclude non-native born residents such as migrants and refugees.

A close extended examination of Malawi's history, well beyond the period immediately preceding its independence from British colonial rule, yields the discovery that it has strong migratory roots. The origins of Malawi can actually be traced back to the sixteenth century Maravi Kingdom, which was formed mostly as a result of migration from the Congo basin.<sup>18</sup> There is multi-ethnic contact written into the history of the nation that gives a foothold for extending hospitality to refugees. Turning to the decade leading up to Malawi's national independence in 1964, the territory was part of the British Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, with Rhodesia comprising the present day nations of Zambia and Zimbabwe.<sup>19</sup> The federation was crystallised out of both political and economic expediency. Nyasaland as Malawi was then known provided both raw materials and notably human labor. The ultimate dissolution of the federation is attributed to the rise of African nationalism. This brief turn to more recent history is itself instructive on the migration and

<sup>13</sup> Henry A Giroux, 'Public Pedagogy as Cultural Politics: Stuart Hall and the Crisis of Culture', *Cultural Studies*, 14 .2, (2000), 341–360.

<sup>14</sup> Jeanne F Brady, 'Public Pedagogy and Educational Leadership: Politically Engaged Scholarly Communities and Possibilities for Critical Engagement', *Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy*, 3 .1 (2006), 57–60.

<sup>15</sup> Refugee Documentation Centre of Ireland, *Malawi (Rwandans): Reports of Rwandans (or their Businesses) Being Targeted or Attacked in Malawi in 2010 or 2011: Reports of Rwandans Fleeing Malawi in around 2010 and 2011 Because of Human Rights Abuses, Discrimination and Attacks by Society and the Authorities.* (Legal Aid Board, 2015) <<https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/2005652/95387.pdf>>; United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, *Refugees Demonstrate Entrepreneurship and Creativity*, (2017) <<https://www.unhcr.org/news/stories/2017/4/58e37af94/refugees-demonstrate-entrepreneurship-and-creativity.html>>.

<sup>16</sup> Ajit Chaudhury, 'On Colonial Hegemony: Toward a Critique of Brown Orientalism', *Rethinking Marxism*, 7 .4, (1994), 44–58.

<sup>17</sup> Edward W Said, 'Invention, Memory, and Place', *Critical Inquiry*, 26 .2 (2000), 175–192.

<sup>18</sup> John G Pike, 'A Pre-Colonial History of Malawi', *The Nyasaland Journal*, 18 .1 (1965), 22–54.

<sup>19</sup> Daniel N Posner, 'The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas Are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi', *American Political Science Review*, 98 .4 (2004), 529–545.





sociocultural processes that have transpired in the region, including a shared struggle for liberation. Presenting for consideration the challenging innerworkings of the emancipatory tools of postcoloniality, Radhakrishnan writes:

**In regard to the relationship between tools and those using them, the post-colonial situation presents itself as a complex and interesting instance. If both modernity and nationalism are historicised as a derivative discourse in the Third World, how can the derivative discourse be owned agentially (as against just being assimilated or instrumentalised) by the non-West? How bad and crippling a stigma is “derivativeness,” and is there any way of redemption over and beyond it? Can derivativeness be negated, or is there a way of working through and beyond derivativeness into a realm of originality and one’s own-ness? (321).<sup>20</sup>**

The ways in which formerly colonised people now perform nationality is modeled after a European notion of the nation. “[T]o put it more sharply, it is the moment to recall the obvious, that decolonization historically went hand in hand with neo-colonialism, and that the graceful, grudging or violent end of an old-fashioned imperialism certainly meant the end of one kind of domination but evidently also the invention and construction of a new kind” (184).<sup>21</sup> There is a continuing bureaucratization of borders to whose attachment is a requirement for nationality. In the absence of such affinity as is the case for refugees, there emerges a second class status which creates the dichotomy of privileged group and subject group much like ruler and ruled, coloniser and colonised. The Tumaini Festival then calls into question the largely unchallenged allegiance to passively received nationality, which is predicated on colonially demarcated states. The festival’s counter-hegemonic practice is comparably derivative of its preceding hegemonic experience of postcolonial, in-country discrimination – there is no decolonial without colonial, and likewise with the postcolonial.

Historically, the majority refugee population in Malawi was from neighboring Mozambique. This was owing to the protracted civil war in

<sup>20</sup> Rajagopalan Radhakrishnan, ‘Globalization, Desire, and the Politics of Representation’, *Comparative Literature*, 53. 4, (2001), 315–332.

<sup>21</sup> Fredric Jameson, ‘Periodizing the 60s’, *Social Text*, 9/10, (1984), 178–209.

Mozambique between 1977 and 1992. Malawi hosted up to a million refugees in 1991, ultimately prompting the creation of a refugee framework by the government that did not previously exist.<sup>22</sup> Its creation was, in part, informed by growing concern that the local hosting communities were becoming eclipsed and burdened by the refugee population.<sup>23</sup> Consequently, the laws that were enacted and the policies which emanated from them extensively restricted refugee integration and incorporation in civic life.<sup>24</sup> These laws included limitations on mobility, naturalization, employment, and market access. The resulting, and intended, refugee stigma and discrimination has persisted well beyond the Mozambican Civil War and now adversely impacts the more recent, resident refugee population in Malawi. Indeed, the political landscape that informed policy in the 1970s and 1980s has starkly changed. Local hosting populations are not facing the same challenges that propelled the political expedience for the creation of the existing national refugee framework. The contestable reasoning that served policy-makers at the time should be made subject to the prevailing circumstances surrounding the refugee experience in Malawi. To that end, and the other concerns raised, both curated and incidental cultural production from the stages of the Tumaini Festival can augment its ability to serve as a “public site of resistance” (9).<sup>25</sup>

### **Dzaleka Refugee Camp: “Breaking the mold for refugees”**

The Dzaleka Refugee Camp is the overarching context out of which the artistry of Trésor Nzengu Mpauni materialised the Tumaini Festival. An understanding of its own sociopolitical history is informative for an appreciation of the artistic engagement that is the focus of the Tumaini Festival. The camp was established in 1994 by the Malawi government and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).<sup>26</sup> It came into operation following increased conflict in East Africa and the resulting forced displacement, particularly of surviving victims of the Rwandan genocide. Those displaced made their way to Malawi—mostly through the neighbouring nations of Tanzania and Zambia—before arriving at the camp, which is located in both a rural and peri-urban part of the country.<sup>27</sup> The site of the refugee camp was formerly a notorious prison of the same name, which derives from the phrase “N'dzaleka” in the local and national language of Chichewa, which translates to “I will stop or never do it again”.<sup>28</sup> In its day, with a recorded population of 80 to 100 prisoners in 1960, the prison housed what were deemed political dissidents and enemies of the state during the dictatorship of Dr. Kamuzu Banda between 1964 and 1994, following national independence from British colonial authorities.<sup>29</sup> The refugee camp now hosts more than 50,000 refugees with the majority from Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Rwanda.<sup>30</sup> Beyond the prison's old structures and administrative center, the camp has extended outward towards surrounding villages and has itself become a microcosm of rural village life albeit with a much tighter cluster of huts and houses. The remote location of the camp made its seemingly haphazard expansion possible, however there is limited access to basic amenities such as electricity and running water.

<sup>22</sup> Jerelyn Eddings, 'Mozambican War over, but Refugees Still Crowd into Tiny, Dirt-Poor Malawi', *The Sun*, 10 November 1992; Levi Duma Mvula, *Refugee Status Determination and Rights in Malawi*, Workshop Discussion on RSD and Rights in Southern and East Africa, Refugee Studies Centre (2009) <<https://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/publications/refugee-status-determination-and-rights-in-malawi>>.

<sup>23</sup> Mary Battiata, 'Mozambican Refugee Tide Overwhelms Malawi; Savage Civil War Drives Hundreds of Thousands to Tiny African Nation', *The Washington Post*, 10 August 1988; Jane Perlez, 'Glut of Refugees Beginning to Strain Malawi Borders/1 of 10 Malawians is a Fleeing Mozambican', *Houston Chronicle*, 8 April 1990.

<sup>24</sup> Mvula.

<sup>25</sup> Burdick, Sandlin, and O'Malley.

<sup>26</sup> Colin Baker, 'Come Walk with Me: Three Visits to Dzaleka', *The Society of Malawi Journal*, 64 .1, (2011), 34–41.

<sup>27</sup> Catherine Makhumula, 'Re-Imagining Dzaleka: The Tumaini Festival and Refugee Visibility', *Eastern African Literary and Cultural Studies*, 5 .1 (2019), 1–18.

<sup>28</sup> Emmanuel Chima, 'Life in Malawi's Prison-Turned-Refugee Camp', *Africa in Fact*, (2020), 36–41.

<sup>29</sup> Baker.

<sup>30</sup> Baker; United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, *Malawi Factsheet August 2021*, (2021) <<https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/88529>>.

The essence of the Tumaini Festival has been self-described and labeled as “breaking the mold for refugees”.<sup>31</sup> “Across the six previous editions over 99,000 people have attended the event, and 304 performing acts from across Malawi, Africa and the world shared the same stages with performers from Dzaleka. Tumaini Festival has united 18 nationalities of performers: DRC, Rwanda, Burundi, Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Norway, Japan, Brazil, Mozambique, Belgium, UK, Italy, Somalia, Poland, France, South Africa and South Korea. The festival gained national and international media coverage. It has so far achieved a media reach estimated at 50,000,000 people worldwide, presenting a genuinely different and positive story about refugees”.<sup>32</sup> The weekend-long festival that takes place in the last quarter of the year, typically in either October or November, comprises a myriad of activities that extend well beyond the artistic production of the festival itself. The activities include sporting events, arts and crafts vending, mobile restaurants and specially mounted food stands, as well as a homestay program for visitors to the camp. The homestay program specifically aims to provide “firsthand knowledge of the reality of challenges refugees face, their resilience and strength, in order to break down prejudices people have towards refugees”.<sup>33</sup> A promising potentiality of the Tumaini Festival is for it to function as a decolonial strategy of representation.<sup>34</sup> This cultural strategy facilitates a shift in perspective, moving the focus from refugee identity—derived solely from forced misplacement—to the colonial nature of the national borders, which act as a form of violence themselves. Decolonial representation in addressing refugee discrimination cannot only appeal to the dignity and inherent value of human life in itself, but also argue for its location across places, especially national borders, which have been politically constructed and socially accepted as the norm.

A border-centric frame of reference is starkly evident in refugee protection discourse as, after fleeing persecution, refugee status not readily established. Instead, it needs to be accorded under the auspices of both the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the governments of the host nations, as national interests, considerations and concerns arise. This process attempts to unequivocally separate “bona fide” refugees from other asylum seekers. Martorella provides a foundational understanding of what it means to be a refugee<sup>35</sup> and this understanding, which has informed refugee frameworks and policy across the globe, is grounded in the 1967 Protocol of the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees.<sup>36</sup> To meet the criteria of ‘refugee status’, one must have left their country of origin due to the experience or fear of persecution, for reasons that can include their social group or their holding of a certain political opinion. Martorella also aptly highlights the limitations of the protocol’s definition, which does not account for those who flee internally, are in anticipation of persecution, due to the conditions resulting from the persecution of others, or for other reasons such as economic factors that impact personal safety and wellbeing. He makes the case that these groups of people are just as much in need of protection and consideration as those that are deemed “bona fide” refugees.

<sup>31</sup> Mpauni, *Breaking the Mould for Refugees*. *Menes La Plume*, (TEDxLilongwe, 2015); Mpauni, (2019).

<sup>32</sup> Tumaini Festival, *Home*, (2019) <<https://www.tumainifestival.org>>.

<sup>33</sup> Tumaini Festival, *Home Stay Program*, (2019) <<https://www.tumainifestival.org/home-stay-program/>>.

<sup>34</sup> Michalinos Zembylas, ‘Decolonial Possibilities in South African Higher Education: Reconfiguring Humanising Pedagogies as/with Decolonising Pedagogies’, *South African Journal of Education*, 38.4 (2018), 1–11.

<sup>35</sup> Peter H. Martorella, ‘Refugee Issues in a Globally Interdependent World’, *Educational Horizons*, 71.3 (1993), 157–160.

<sup>36</sup> United Nations General Assembly, *Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees*, Treaty Series, 606, (1967) <<https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b3ae4.html>> (p. 267).







By espousing a reimagined representation of refugee nationals, further discourse of hospitality can emerge on the supposed worthiness of individuals to be received and afforded admittance outside their immediate places of national origin. In his conceptualization of hospitality, philosopher Jacques Derrida delineates between guest and parasite.<sup>37</sup> He lays down the need for jurisdictional parameters which are essential for the former group, especially in the case of refugees who present with a particular vulnerability. While the territorial boundaries of sovereignty make possible the granting of refuge to the persecuted, they also alienate refugees as belonging to and having their home elsewhere in a territory where their security, protection and enjoyment of human rights is no longer guaranteed. Herein lies a problem with national borders that were, at their inception, arbitrarily imposed by colonial authorities and later upheld by the nation states that emerged after decolonization. For refugee populations, a relationship to the nation of origin is disrupted. They must subsequently contend with starting to belong to a new sociopolitical space, as global trends between 1974 and 2014 show that, on average, refugee crises persisted for more than ten years.<sup>38</sup> Dzaleka Refugee Camp is undoubtedly among the world's protracted refugee situations, which UNHCR defines "as those where at least 25,000 people have been forcibly displaced for more than five years".<sup>39</sup> Moreover, "less than one per cent of refugees are resettled each year" to another country where they can permanently integrate.<sup>40</sup> The local site of immediate refuge, conceived as a traditional refugee settlement,<sup>41</sup> is therefore significant because it is where the majority of refugees start to rebuild their lives. To the benefit of refugees, these settlements typically resemble their countries of origin which can foster and appeal to familiarity versus strangeness, and solidarity versus alienation. Cultural artefacts like festivals and other artforms which inspire and advance reflexivity in the public domain are the result of human enterprise, therefore their pedagogical nature can also be traced back and attributed to their creators.

During a 2015 talk given in exile, Mpauni performed his poem titled "Imagine", which contains the lines "Imagine one day because of your opinions, because of a poem or song denouncing inequality and

<sup>37</sup> Peter Benson, 'Xenos: Jacques Derrida on Hospitality', *Philosophy Now*, (2017) <[https://philosophynow.org/issues/123/Xenos\\_Jacques\\_Derrida\\_on\\_Hospitality](https://philosophynow.org/issues/123/Xenos_Jacques_Derrida_on_Hospitality)> [accessed 2021].

<sup>38</sup> Nicholas Crawford, John Cosgrave, Simone Haysom, and Nadine Walicki, *Protracted Displacement: Uncertain Paths to Self-Reliance in Exile* (London: Overseas Development Institute, 2015).

<sup>39</sup> *United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Left behind: Refugee Education in Crisis*, (2017) <<https://www.unhcr.org/59b696f44.pdf>>.

<sup>40</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, *Resettlement*, (2021) <<https://www.unhcr.org/en-us/resettlement.html>>.

<sup>41</sup> Miriam George and Jennifer Jettner, 'Migration Stressors, Psychological Distress, and Family—a Sri Lankan Tamil Refugee Analysis', *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 17 .2 (2016), 341–353.

misdeeds of a corrupt regime, and in the end the government pursues you for disruption, running the risk of disappearing in the weeds without leaving a trace or being imprisoned and then being released with poison in your body. Will you stubbornly accept this or will you flee until the regime changes to return home to your country with pride?"<sup>42</sup> Like countless others, Mpauni found himself a victim of post-nationalist African regimes who, after assuming power, embarked on predatory politics against their own people.<sup>43</sup> Historian Achille Mbembe aptly reminds of "the violence of brothers against mothers and sisters, have occurred since the end of direct colonization" (60).<sup>44</sup> Mpauni further relayed in his talk of related experiences of ill-treatment and discrimination by public officials in Malawi on account of his refugee status, all of which collectively informed the founding of the festival. Gershon foregrounds the status of musicians as public intellectuals, who meaningfully contribute to the consciousness raising of their societies by intentionally curating their artwork.<sup>45</sup> The artwork itself extends from the sociocultural context within which the musicians as artists find themselves and are located.<sup>46</sup> For Trésor Nzengu Mpauni and the Tumaini Festival, that is the Dzaleka Refugee Camp in Malawi.

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<sup>42</sup> Mpauni, (2015).

<sup>43</sup> Achille Mbembe, 'Afropolitanism', *Nka: Journal of Contemporary African Art*, 46, (2020), 56–61.

<sup>44</sup> Mbembe.

<sup>45</sup> Walter S. Gershon, 'Entertaining Ideas and Embodied Knowledge: Musicians as Public Intellectuals', in *Handbook of Public Pedagogy: Education and Learning beyond Schooling*, ed Sandlin, J. A., Schultz, B. D. and Burdick, J. (New York: Routledge, 2009), (pp. 628–638).

<sup>46</sup> Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-One Issues and Concepts* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010).



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