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**AIDS Discourse in  
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M.A. degree in Musicology



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**AIDS DISCOURSE IN ZIMBABWEAN POPULAR MUSIC**

**BY**

**MARIE E. WEDDLE**

**A THESIS**

**Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of**

**MASTER OF ARTS**

**MUSICOLOGY**

**2002**

## **ABSTRACT**

### **AIDS DISCOURSE IN ZIMBABWEAN POPULAR MUSIC**

**By**

**MARIE E. WEDDLE**

The lyrics that address HIV/AIDS in Zimbabwean popular music are directed at preventing the spread of the disease, but they are more than warning messages. Artists describe origins of HIV/AIDS and its impact on Zimbabwean life of the past, present and future. Their voices mourn the incredible losses that so many have felt, and they plead to ancestral spirits and to God to provide solutions to their despair. Their words call on listeners to take responsibility for their survival and to unite in the struggle against complete social disintegration.

HIV/AIDS prevention campaigns in Zimbabwe use various forms of popular culture media to educate about HIV contraction, to dispel myths about those who are infected, and most importantly to seek a solution. Messages in popular music songs are appreciated by listeners because songwriters such as Thomas Mapfumo and Oliver M'tukudzi actively engage listeners in seeking a solution by enacting Shona oral traditions and by adding the new experience of AIDS to the nation's historical repertoire.

This study demonstrates how people who have been economically and culturally disempowered, and in effect deprived of health and the right to life, manipulate a vibrant cultural resource in order to make sense of a crisis situation. Their songs provide form and meaning to the current incorporation of health and survival into their national and cultural identities.

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

“The first thunderstorm of summer refreshes nature, and a prolonged sense of tension is resolved. Joy and relief make themselves felt. So too, music has power to ease tension within the heart and to loosen the grip of obscure emotions. The enthusiasm of the heart expresses itself involuntarily in a burst of song, in dance and rhythmic movement of the body. From immemorial times the inspiring effect of the invisible sound that moves all hearts, and draws them together, has mystified humankind” (Wilhelm/Baynes *I Ching* Princeton University Press, 1950 p. 68).

There are names that must be mentioned here, for I would not have completed this project if it weren't for the supportive and influential people in my life. First of all, to my mother in heaven, without whom I almost forgot who and where I am, until she made herself remembered. And to my other parents, Rick Weddle, Ronald Shea, Sheila McGrath, Pam Ross, Cliff Rodrigues, and Mary and Art Aseltyne. Thank you all for seeing the light and enthusiasm in me when I couldn't see. Thank you to my friends and siblings, Andrea and Elaine Rodrigues, Johanna Boulton, Marty Shea, Clovis Shea, Suzanna Naramore, E.J. VandenBosch, Kate Lang and Amanda Kirk. And thanks also to my most inspiring teachers Timothy McMillan, Todd F. Young, Eugene Novotney, Simeon Chimombe, Isaac Kalumbu, Michael Largey, and Patricia and Dan Sithole, who all believed in me.

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## **Introduction: Why it is Significant that Popular Musicians are Singing About AIDS**

Like other oral arts in Africa, the recorded popular music of Zimbabwe transmits knowledge verbally within the context of its performance. As it does so, popular music takes on an especially important role as an element of culture that influences social consciousness as it provides a discursive arena for criticism and increased awareness of many themes, ranging from contemporary politics, cultural identity, race, globalization and social welfare. The educational outcomes of this medium involve much more than presenting information. Education occurs in Zimbabwean popular music by way of supplying individuals with the opportunities for collective participation in their communities.

In this study, I focus on folkloric content and language use in Zimbabwean popular music lyrics as educational vehicles for health, cultural and spiritual wellbeing in the face of the growing crisis of HIV/AIDS. It is my expectation that this project will function as the groundwork for my further fieldwork in Zimbabwe, which will assess links between popular music songs and their impact on individual personal power to affect social change.

Assuming that a musician has a powerful message to vocalize, he or she must have access to the tools of the performance industry, such as performance opportunities and recording contracts in order to gain the necessary popular support that would assist in evoking social change. Artists realize that with access to a large audience, their music can serve as a potent method of sending out messages. Recorded music is more economically and geographically accessible to audiences in Zimbabwe than are live performances, as is

the case in most parts of the world, so the effect of the recorded product on social consciousness surrounding AIDS is my focus. Popular recorded music is abundant in Zimbabwe. It permeates everyday life. In urban centers, popular performing artists are heard on the radio, blaring from record sales stands in parts of the city that experience heavy foot traffic, in buses and taxis cranked up to a high volume, coming from neighborhood bottle stores, from bars, and in marketplaces. In homes, families watch music performances and videos on television. Popular music plays from stereo systems in private homes and cars. Parties and other gatherings provide other opportunities to play cassettes and CDs of currently popular artists. In rural areas popular music is plentiful as well, playing over radios, stereos and televisions. Music can also be heard sounding from the stereos of stores and bars in rural growth points for those who may not have stereos at home. Because popular music songs are so abundant in Zimbabwe, they prove to be a particularly strong form of transmitting knowledge. Politicians in Zimbabwe even recognize the power of popular music songs, as seen in the recent example of Oliver M'tukudzi's song "Bvuma" being banned from radio in Zimbabwe for pointing out the old age of President Robert Mugabe and his lack of foresight.<sup>1</sup>

Popular music and its use of music traditions in Zimbabwe are among the language and art forms that are facilitating the current change in the social conceptions of health, family and sexuality with the presence of AIDS. The valuation of chastity monogamy does not abandon traditional African conceptions of health, family and sexuality, but instead recovers and reasserts them in a new way after having been devalued by the history of colonization and urbanization in Zimbabwe.<sup>2</sup> In addressing

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<sup>1</sup> Personal communication with my Shona language instructor, Patricia Sithole

<sup>2</sup> Chiwome 1996, p. 62

the challenges posed by the spread of HIV/AIDS in Zimbabwe, and the immense suffering it brings to everyone who is touched by it, popular music artists actively manipulate the dynamic musical, linguistic and folklore resources that are, and have been, powerful features of the Shona cultural landscape. The medium of popular music is part of the Shona tradition, complete with its assimilated European expressive materials, yet the message in these songs is a new one because the experience is new.

Songs in Shona culture serve specific social functions. In this thesis, I am looking at the four functions of Shona songs that concentrate on 1) ceremonial ideas associated with illness and death, 2) education and socialization, 3) the unification of society against a common enemy, and 4) the ability to speak about the unspeakable through song. I will be presenting different types of songs that serve as examples of these lyrical functions in order to contextualize music in Shona culture. Contextualization will supply the AIDS discussion in popular music with some background knowledge by demonstrating the cultural conventions of songs and words among Shona people. The examples of songs I will use to illustrate these functions are ceremonial songs, game songs, songs in the war for liberation, and songs that are sung to ease social tension.<sup>3</sup> From these examples, I will move on in my analysis to show specifically how these four functions are operating in the lyrics of popular music in Zimbabwe that address the AIDS issue.

Popular music is one medium that participates in the growing discourse on the difficult and painful experience of HIV/AIDS, which is a complex issue of heightened urgency throughout Zimbabwe. The widespread experience of the AIDS illness has resulted in popular confrontation of many types of cultural knowledge, including morality, religion and death, lineage and family, history, race, the human body, aging,

youth, sexuality, gender, economy, and politics. The present moment of experience is thus made sense of through reference to what people know of the past and of their own identities. By applying cultural traditions to the current predicament, popular music artists are helping to give historical and cultural meaning to an entirely new experience in the history of Zimbabwean society. Songwriters are putting traditional Shona language arts to use in order to make sense of the frequency of death and to evoke emotional reaction out of their listeners. Poetics and potency in Shona lyrics are documented as resilient characteristics of Shona music culture.<sup>4</sup>

Shona Zimbabwean popular music is a demonstration that artists are having conversations with their listeners about the AIDS crisis, among other topics. Conversation, or discourse, is a dialectical process by which communication occurs through the use of shared symbol systems, which include but are not limited to: language, gesture, and representation in language arts, visual arts and performance arts. Through discourse, as the application of a symbol system within the many that make up culture, people construct shared meaning of their experiences. Writer David Morris asserts that the structures and genres of language arts in culture are responsible for providing a sense of psychological form and position to individual experience within the wider contexts of culture and history.<sup>5</sup> When suffering from a common cause is experienced on a wide scale within an entire society, such as what is occurring in Zimbabwe today, language arts and other forms of expression are used to “reconstruct” social values and cultural identity.<sup>6</sup> The reconstruction of values and identity in society is rooted in established

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<sup>3</sup> Thram, Berliner, Hodza, Adzinyah et. al., Pongweni, Kahari, Soko

<sup>4</sup> Brown 1994

<sup>5</sup> David Morris, 1997

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*

resources of traditions in performance, art, and literature, and it is also given direction by innovations in interpretation of new human experience. Established forms of language usage, performance and art traditions imbue new experience with a recognizable and agreed-upon meaning, thereby demonstrating that change has occurred or is occurring.

The popular songs that I examine in this paper serve as warning messages against the contraction of HIV, yet they serve the more dynamic and active purposes of record keeping of current events and of the reconstruction of cultural values and identity. This process goes beyond reclaiming or reconnecting to the past by taking further steps to contribute to a sense of future. The lyrics do this by actively reasserting the dynamic beliefs characteristic of Shona culture and the colonial Christian heritage, and by demonstrating the artists' mastery of verbal arts that contextualize emotion and feeling within culture and the shared understanding of the AIDS experience. In order to demonstrate the popular music songs as both historical recordings and dynamic processes of agency in cultural reconstruction, it is important to understand the relationship between historical accounts and oral art performance.

According to Kenyan literature analyst and educator Okumba Miruka, oral literature in Africa does not conform to the Western model which views it as a historical record because African oral arts do not record events along a chronological path. Events and experiences are instead relative to each other in time.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, a performance event, a recording, or a piece of oral literature must be situated in its surrounding context of events in history and society in order to be supplied with socially relevant meaning. Oral arts are thus connected to history, but they are also based on the present emotional experiences of individuals in a community and they contain specific goals for the future

of that community, uniting past, present and future. The past is interpreted while the focus remains on the present and future.

Historian Jan Vansina distinguishes oral literature from oral history by the generation in which the event was experienced; oral history lives in this present and becomes oral literature only if it lives on past the original teller, who has the ability and freedom to fictionalize it.<sup>8</sup> In Vansina's framework, we can view the current discussions of AIDS in popular music as documentation of the personally lived experiences of people with AIDS. We can then also recognize that the challenge of AIDS will live beyond the current generation in folklore because of the disease's immense impact on Zimbabwe's national history. Popular music is therefore contributing new ideas and experiences in the present to what Vansina calls oral history, but simultaneously expands on what he calls oral literature, because there does not exist an opportunity to fictionalize popular music recordings, since they are cemented in record technology. The expression of the new is inextricably tied to the continuous repertoire of folklore of the past and present, and is being documented for future understanding of this national crisis.

The continuity of tradition and convention in Zimbabwean popular music addresses and reasserts established values of the Shona people and weaves in a thread of change that is characterized by the inscription of a completely new message coming from the experience of AIDS. Artists are assessing what was, what is, and are enacting what they believe "should be" in their lyrics. In these new messages, singers set forth explicit descriptions of the AIDS problem and they demand solutions to the physical, social and spiritual problems being experienced by communities who are dealing with AIDS every

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<sup>7</sup>Miruka 1994 p. 129

<sup>8</sup> Vansina, 1985 p. 23

day. The solutions presented in the songs discussed in this paper are based on what is socially and culturally appropriate for Shona Zimbabweans, recognizing that living with AIDS, both as a threat and as a reality, is now being incorporated into Shona culture and history. In some songs, the singer is not capable of offering a solution or direction because all hope is lost, so requests for assistance and ideas are made directly to God or to the ancestors.

The meanings of illness and suffering only make sense in the context of culture. In this case in which we are trying to understand how the experience of AIDS is dealt with in popular music in Zimbabwe, we must see illness and suffering as more than an individual experience of physical pain and degeneration.<sup>9</sup> The causes of physical illness in Shona culture can stem from social problems, the neglect of one's spirituality, or can be signs of the infliction of witchcraft upon a person. These causes imply an understanding of the body and the person within society that is not simply individual or medical, and are not causes that are separated from social experience. The perceptions of illness and the accompanying social and spiritual meanings are indicative of the Shona cultural institutions built around the treatment of illness, the concept of death, and the marking of transitions in life, including the relegation of a deceased person's spirit to the world of the ancestors.

The widespread effects of dealing with the AIDS epidemic have reached the concern of all sectors of Zimbabwean society. A body of AIDS educators has expanded in Zimbabwe that includes political leaders, clergy, traditional healers, media specialists, educators and artists. Joining this force are the popular musicians of Zimbabwe who have the conviction to face the highly personal and painful issue of AIDS. The efforts of

popular music artists in Zimbabwe would suggest that they believe they have a real ability to affect change in their society and culture. In similar AIDS education efforts through music in Uganda, Gregory Barz notes that performers believe it may be the only way that people are willing to hear the AIDS message.<sup>10</sup> The words of popular musicians in Zimbabwe relay the concern, fear and hope shared by many people, while they present and reinforce shared values and they discuss safe sexual behavior. Because of the role that they play and the feelings they are capable of evoking, popular musicians in Zimbabwe represent a special echelon of healers.

Shona musicians reinforce the various shared cultural values that surround AIDS prevention in order to evoke behavioral change. They do this by addressing sexual behavior, by reminding listeners about the importance of customs that surround the death of a loved one, and by addressing theories of the political or supernatural origins of the disease. Popular music provides a stream for camouflaged descriptions of sexual and romantic relationships that at once reinforces the social conservatism and challenges it by pushing the limits of what is acceptable to discuss in lyrics that are shared with the public. Artists are serving to reconnect and reconstruct the value of social and spiritual relationships after the devastating effects of widespread disease by singing about the funeral process and the meaning of experiencing so much death in Zimbabwean society. Popular music artists also write lyrics in ways that contain references to political conspiracy theories about AIDS as another attempt by the West to destroy the African race.

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<sup>9</sup> Arthur Kleinman, 1980 and 1997

<sup>10</sup> Gregory Barz 2001

Generally, the success of popular music artists depends on their ability to demonstrate a shared experience with their listeners, touching on how listeners might identify themselves individually and socially. The reputation of an artist warrants his or her success as an educator. It is not surprising, then, that AIDS has become the focus of many popular music artists in Zimbabwe who have been personally affected by the disease, or who feel that they are in a position to educate their listeners. Strategies for writing, producing and marketing popular music in Zimbabwe outlines the importance of appeals to common experience on the “micro” level (personal, family and local identities) and the connection of these to appeals on the “macro” level (national, historical and racial identities).<sup>11</sup> Zimbabwean popular music artists have been highly skilled at these appeals during times of political and cultural reconstruction,<sup>12</sup> and have built the credibility necessary for educating wide audiences. The inclusion of the topic of HIV/AIDS awareness is due to the time and current experience of life in Zimbabwe. These songs follow the same strategy of “micro/macro” appeals, expanding the popular music medium’s focus from terms of negotiating national identity, to focus on advocating social health in the realms of sexuality, family and social obligations, and spirituality.

My examination of Zimbabwean songs that include AIDS messages is based on the recognition of songs as markers of dynamic cultural processes. The meanings of songs can only be determined by situating lyrics in the context of culture.<sup>13</sup>

Ethnomusicologist Alan Merriam finds it important to look at musical products and creative processes as situated within culture and in relation to other aspects of culture (e.g., politics, education, economy and so on). He recognizes text analysis as an area of

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<sup>11</sup> Kalumbu, 1999

<sup>12</sup> Pongweni, Kalumbu, Turino, Brown

ethnomusicological inquiry that enables us to note the “literary arts” and “linguistic usage” of the culture in question. Also in text analysis, we can determine whether there is a “presence or absence of permissiveness in language behavior” in songs, or how artists may take liberty in language use in order to be direct, while at other times they may plant the sensitive discussion in metaphor and storylines. By looking at these strategies, we can determine what the “prevailing ethos” is in Zimbabwe surrounding the AIDS crisis.<sup>14</sup> In application of this approach to the text analysis of Zimbabwean popular music lyrics, I will be examining how language is used figuratively and artistically in relation to the AIDS discussion. By looking at how the experience of AIDS is incorporated into the assertion of values and beliefs in Shona culture, the attitudes that surround the AIDS illness will be revealed as reflected in the lyric writing.

I will use David Coplan’s approach to see how people are creating shared meaning through musical expression, discourse, or what he calls “auriture.” David Coplan is another ethnomusicologist who looks at song texts as units of analysis in his work. In his book *In the Time of Cannibals*, he uses the term “auriture” to describe a unit of performance analysis, combining word, music and movement, that stretches beyond Western categories of performance genres. Performance, in his model, is the shared space between speaker and listener where people create and negotiate a shared understanding of the world by using forms of expression that are united in rhythm and orality (or aurality). “Performances,” he says, “attain meaning as part of [this] social process...” (1994, pp. 8-10).

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<sup>13</sup> David Morris 1997, and Alan Merriam 1960

<sup>14</sup> Merriam, 1960 p. 110

The purpose of the production of performances, either live or recorded, is to “move others” or to drive the community to feel a certain way and to take action in accordance with those feelings.<sup>15</sup> Ethnomusicologist Jeff Titon juxtaposes “text” as a unit of analysis to “performance,” emphasizing the importance of the latter. He asserts that if we attempt to read culture like a text, as Clifford Geertz suggests, then we limit culture to a thing and not an event that is acted out.<sup>16</sup> I am proposing that we refuse to separate the process of performance from the product of text by renaming our subject of analysis the “performance text.”<sup>17</sup> I have taken the position that popular music is both performance and text because I am relying on music recordings for this project, and therefore I cannot isolate particular performance events.

While live performance is a process by which songs and oral literature capture immediate contextual meaning, the meanings of recorded songs have expanded from “immediate” experience, given the nature of the technological propagation of recordings, to include a variety of playback situations. The nature of the recording industry is such that it exposes listeners to text outside of a specific performance occasion, rendering meaning portable and applicable to even wider contexts and times.<sup>18</sup> The cultural references that are made in lyrics are not necessarily different between the performance context and the recording of popular music, but recorded music allows for more constant access to an artist’s words and rhythms, thereby offering musical and lyrical material for interpretation and effect to a wider audience.

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<sup>15</sup> Titon 1997 p. 90-91.

<sup>16</sup> Geertz, 1973

<sup>17</sup> For more on text as a unit of analysis, see Geertz 1973 and Fairclough 1989.

<sup>18</sup> Lysloff, 1997, Meintjes, 1990.

The recording as a unit of analysis differs from live performance of music and other oral art forms in the way that it can be rewound and played again. Communication events such as conversations, storytelling performances, or live music performances are unpredictable and unrepeatable. Ruth Finnegan places the performance of oral literature within the model of a unilinear cultural evolution when she says that it is the “newspaper of non-literate people.”<sup>19</sup> Regarding the transmission of oral literature, she says,

“Oral literature is by definition dependent on a performer who formulates it in words on a specific occasion; there is no other way in which it can be realized as a literary product.”<sup>20</sup>

Finnegan ignores the possibility that people who use oral performance may not have the goal of creating what she calls a “literary product,” but who may use oral performance to send a message through artistic means.

From Finnegan’s position, it is implied that the written word is the most valid context for the exchange of knowledge, and that live performance is for people who are not “yet” capable of being “literate.” The ways in which different peoples express themselves are subject to an implied cultural hierarchy. However, different artistic and aesthetic standards apply to the different communication contexts that she discusses. There is no question that the artists being discussed in this paper are celebrated masters of verbal arts in Zimbabwe. Whether on stage, or in the studio, or at home writing lyrics, musicians have the goal to demonstrate what they are deriving from the human experience in a meaningful way.

Both live performances and the playing of recordings on public or private stereos present lyrical use that show the customs and oral traditions of the Shona people, while

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<sup>19</sup> Finnegan 1970. p. 2

providing the opportunities to listeners to be mentally engaged. The lyrics serve as reference points for understanding and making meaning of the present. Song texts in Zimbabwe can then be seen as social processes by which values and traditions are “elaborated and perceptible.”<sup>21</sup> The artistic process of performance entails observation and evocation, reflection and creation, continuity and change, and a heightened awareness of all time, past, present and future.<sup>22</sup> This process occurs too, in the creation of a recorded musical text: the album.

My methods for analyzing these products of Zimbabwean popular culture involve two dimensions of analysis, based on Francis Mulhern’s two central questions in the study of popular culture.<sup>23</sup> These questions recognize that popular culture is binary cycle that on the one hand reflects current ideas and on the other affects change in those ideas. First, I will examine the question of what eight specific popular music songs represent as reflections of Zimbabwean culture, history and current events and ideas. To do this I will employ theories of music in culture, some African literary criticism and my own understandings of Shona culture. I will apply these understandings to my translations and interpretations of the eight selected popular music songs from Zimbabwe. Second, I have examined how these songs are or could be affecting Zimbabwean society. This assessment is based on individual interpretations and reactions made by Zimbabwean listeners to the songs played during feedback interviews that I conducted during February and March of 2002. The interviews have given me insight into the conversation that is occurring between artists and listeners, especially by way of different styles of messages.

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<sup>20</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Largey 2000

<sup>22</sup> Hastrup 1995 p. 134 of Schechner 1982 p. 80.

<sup>23</sup> Mulhern 2000 p. 93

I interviewed people who shared with me which lyrical styles they felt were most effective. The most common reason given for the success of a message is that the lyrics encourage mental participation by the listener.

To begin, I will look at how the popular music songs in this sample reflect current ideas and culture in Zimbabwe. John Blacking's book *How Musical Is Man?* presents a description of how the structure of music in culture mimics the structure of society and of all human experience within that society. He gives examples from Europe and South Africa to demonstrate the idiosyncrasies and different cultural structures in these two parts of the world.<sup>24</sup> With significant insight, he points out that the relations within the "virtual time" of music performance are prototypical of the relationships in society within real time. It is these prototypical relationships that supply musicians with their social roles. Blacking goes on to state that "nothing new" is created in real society through music's virtuality, because music is simply a representation of what already exists.<sup>25</sup> It is my intention to expand upon his systematic explanation of music reflecting culture to also include the capability music contains to activate and evoke change in society, as is demonstrated in the case of popular music and AIDS discourse in Zimbabwe.

The second part of the analysis is to examine how popular music makes an impact on society. In order to accomplish this, the structuralist model, as presented by Blacking, needs to be supplemented with a sense of human agency. By reducing culture to a set of governing rules or laws, we remove the human subject out of the present, active moment.<sup>26</sup> Culture is both convention and creation. Linguist Paul Ricoeur notes that by removing the human subject in discourse analysis, scholars commit violence to the

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<sup>24</sup> Blacking, 1973

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*, p. 54

creative experience of communication in culture. Violence occurs when the individual personality, and all that comes with it—intentions, history and background, care, the need to build relationships—is considered to be of secondary agency in cultural change.

Another linguist, Norman Fairclough states that the “structure” that has been equated with “culture” (and of language and other symbol systems) is made up of the resources that individuals learn to utilize that allow them to be creative with their own faculties.<sup>27</sup>

Since I am primarily looking at music lyrics and their power to be a channel for the human agency of communication and change, I want to recognize both the conventions of language and music tradition in Zimbabwe, while pointing out that musicians are taking advantage of their role in Zimbabwean society to incite particular emotions, and therefore behavioral change, in their listeners.

In another response to the assumption that music operates only within the structure of culture, Isaac Kalumbu points out that this approach assumes a homogeneous nature of society.<sup>28</sup> To illustrate his argument, Kalumbu claims that the warrants inherent in the structuralist position do not apply to the strata in many societies of the historically and economically disempowered. In the structuralist approach, “simple” societies are viewed as unchanging and timeless entities that are closed and isolated, and that contain a sample population, all of whom have similar experiences. In contrast, a “complex” society made up of populations of varying economic statures, including those who have been economically and culturally disempowered, such as in Zimbabwe, people do actually need real situations within society to change. The nature of the music recording industry and its place in a market economy demonstrates the established

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<sup>26</sup> Paul Ricoeur, 1981

<sup>27</sup> Fairclough, 1989

institutions and values within a society at the same time it serves as an agent for change. People, especially popular music artists in Zimbabwe, seek out ways to implant new ideas in existing cultural environment. Great artists arise from environments in which they have experienced struggle, because music gives them an expressive way both to vocalize what is on their minds and to lead others along in their way of thinking in order to evoke change.

In this project of examining popular music in Zimbabwe, it is useful to view Shona culture, and culture in general, as a process by which individuals utilize cultural resources to negotiate identities and renew perspectives. Culture should not be viewed as an external entity that dictates the decisions of artists or communicators, an important point that Norman Fairclough makes in *Language and Power*.<sup>29</sup> The conventions of language and music in Shona culture are not laws that constantly bind their users to the ideologies of the culture's institutions, but are instead a pool of resources that enable and empower individuals to be creative within culture and challenge the boundaries of culture. In effect, the new experience of the AIDS problem is then validated, made sense of, or "traditionalized" through the use of locating, recovering and enacting the past in the emerging present.<sup>30</sup>

Communications and advertisement studies in AIDS awareness campaigns in Africa have focused on the idea of "self-efficacy," that is, the ability to rely on personal power to affect change. Self-efficacy is the moment of decision that bridges the rift between one's knowledge and one's acting in accordance with that knowledge.<sup>31</sup> Poster

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<sup>28</sup> Kalumbu, 1999.

<sup>29</sup> Fairclough, 1989

<sup>30</sup> Largey, 2000

<sup>31</sup> Witte et. al. 2001, p. 43

and cartoon awareness campaigns are burdened with the goal of not just increasing knowledge, but of instilling a sense of personal power in the face of such a large problem as AIDS.

Helen Jackson of the Southern Africa AIDS Information Dissemination Service (SAfAIDS) in Harare, Zimbabwe claims that some education campaigns are actually rendered less effective in terms of knowledge about HIV contraction and the ability to do something about it. Some popular culture media, according to Jackson, such as dramatizations and cartoons that demonstrate continued alienation of AIDS victims, or that demonstrate some people's unwillingness or ignorance of how to use condoms, actually "reinforce negative stereotypes and attitudes" (1992, 278-282). Another contribution to ineffectiveness is that

"...many of these prevention campaigns have operated without due consideration of the influence of culture, community and environment on people's understanding of health and well-being."<sup>32</sup>

Since the time of her writing however, popular awareness of the nature of HIV/AIDS has increased, and popular arts, including music, are serving more as agents of social change, rather than as perpetrators of stereotypes. The messages in popular music have become profoundly more explicit and clearly full of the sorrow, fear, and sense of responsibility experienced by millions of people in Zimbabwe. They are not just drilling the message of the dangers of AIDS, but they are serving as a cultural space in which artists and listeners alike are negotiating a solution to the issue together. This paper serves as a starting point for my further research in Zimbabwe by explaining the cultural basis of social interpretations of popular music messages concerning AIDS in Zimbabwe.

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<sup>32</sup> Staff writer, SAfAIDS/UNESCO 2001.

Here in the U.S., I have begun to determine how the songs in this project are linked to senses of personal power, or self-efficacy, through interviews and examination of lyrical writing style. According to the participants in my interviews, the lyrical styles that are the most effective in creating a sense of emotional importance are those that 1) tie the singer personally to the common sense of suffering and hopelessness, so that he identifies with the lives of the listeners and reinforces a shared identity, and 2) challenge the listeners to identify with the situation through cultural conventions of proverbs and figurative language, which allow the listeners to participate in the music and in the creation of a solution.

In Chapter One, I outline the demographic problem of AIDS in Zimbabwe in context of the country's history. Etiologies of the illness are discussed, both in global local terms. I also examine how Zimbabwe's economic situation and how gender issues affect personal power to prevent contraction. In Chapter Two, in order to establish the cultural context of examining songs as messengers and contributors to self-efficacy, I discuss the centrality of spirituality and religion in Shona cultural institutions. The meaning of illness, the role of music in ceremony, education and political struggle, and the cultural conceptions of sexuality, are all important components that demonstrate the underlying worldview of the Shona people. In Chapter Three, I discuss the process and problems in language translation and literature interpretation and present the lyrical analyses of the songs. Based on the social functions of the lyrics, I have looked at each song in terms of what functions its different lyrics serve. Full transcriptions and translations of the songs are in Appendix A. Finally, in Chapter Four I present anecdotal evidence of youth responses (people of the age range 18-39) to these songs as presented

to them in an interview setting. This section gives some measure of personal interpretation and speculation on social effect.

The songs that I have chosen are written in the Shona language. My presentation of statistics, application of theory, and interpretations of textual material applies to the entire national experience of AIDS in Zimbabwe. I am operating under the assumption that similar analyses of songs about AIDS in the Ndebele language would demonstrate the same focus and social effect. For the sake of this exercise, I have chosen to use Shona songs in order to focus my analysis on specific language use and so that I maintain a manageable sample. This paper, with its limited scope, is not meant to be a definitive work of what is happening in all Zimbabwean music or media on the topic of AIDS, but it seeks to explore and explain ways that people are talking about, singing about, and making sense of their suffering.

## Chapter 1. Zimbabwe and the Experience of HIV/AIDS

### i. A Brief Overview of Zimbabwean History

The Republic of Zimbabwe is in southern Africa, bordered by Zambia, Botswana, Mozambique and South Africa. 11.3 million people live in the country, the majority of whom live in the rural areas. The capital city of Harare has a population of two million people. The official languages spoken in Zimbabwe are ChiShona, SiNdebele and English. Zimbabwe, meaning “great house of stone” was named for the Great Zimbabwe monument in the Masvingo Province at the time of independence in 1980. The walls of Great Zimbabwe stand as an historical national symbol and monument of statehood and grandeur.

Shona is a unifying name for the people who settled in the Zimbabwean Plateau, the land that lies between the Limpopo and Zambezi Rivers, between the 12<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. The 1500s saw the peak of the Munhumutapa and Changamire states in southeastern Zimbabwe, when power was centralized in large settlements such as Great Zimbabwe. The dissolution of the power of these centralized states has been attributed to various internal and external factors, such as increased competition for resources among Shona subgroups or the entrance of the Portuguese.<sup>1</sup>

Nguni groups, including the Ndebele and Shangaan, migrated north from South Africa into the Zimbabwean Plateau in the early 1800s.<sup>2</sup> Ndebele people settled in the western part of the plateau while Shangaan settled in the east. Raids on Shona food stores

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<sup>1</sup> Bourdillon 1976, Beach 1994

<sup>2</sup> Sibanda 1989 p. 25

and cattle kraals marked the early period of Nguni settlements. Eventually, economic cooperation characterized the relationship between Shona and their neighbors, as they traded hides, iron implements, food, and imported European goods. Nguni groups brought with them strong political, religious and social practices and superimposed these practices on the cultures of the areas they were settling in order to assimilate everyone into their social system.<sup>3</sup> They were also greatly influenced, in return, by Shona cultural traits, partly because of the affinity of worldview shared amongst the two peoples that ancestors play a particularly important role in human relationships with God.<sup>4</sup> Other commonalities between the cultures included the centrality of music, respect for elders, and the nature of personhood, “unhu” or “ubuntu.”

Cecil Rhodes and his British South Africa Company officially colonized the area in Britain’s name in the 1888. Rhodes and the British entered the area in 1890 and the Matebele and Chimurenga insurrections followed in 1893 and 1896 respectively. Ndebele and Shona Africans were eventually overpowered by Britain’s more destructive weapons of war and the nation was named Southern Rhodesia. For nearly one hundred years after the inception of colonial force in the plateau, Europeans claimed right to the most arable land and they extracted wealth from the country’s resources (mineral and agricultural) at the expense of African labor.<sup>5</sup> Black Africans were relocated from their fertile lands onto reserves, where farming land was poor. This issue of displacement and exploitation is partly at the root of political events shaping independent Zimbabwe today.

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<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, Bourdillon 1976

<sup>5</sup> Beach 1994, Bourdillon 1976

The systematic and murderous oppression, as well as the robbery of wealth and labor from Africans in the country, had an indelible effect on the collective consciousness of the nation. Culture and economy were fundamentally changed with the imposition of European institutions. Africans in Zimbabwe have synthesized both the values represented in their traditions and in those of their oppressors. As an example of the imposition of the European economic system and the incorporation of its values into Zimbabwean life, hut taxes were designed by the white regime to force African people living in the communal areas into a wage labor system where they would provide cheap, abundant labor for white settlers. Men in the communities were required to find jobs in the urban centers, leaving behind their families and homes in order to pay the taxes necessary for those very homes. In this case, the economy and nature of work in Zimbabwean society shifted from seasonal sustenance agriculture to perennial wage labor.<sup>6</sup> The imposed work system created a dilemma in the consciousness of migrant laborers, who valued the rural, family-based way of life at the same time that they struggled to earn wages in the cities away from their families.<sup>7</sup> The intricate family network and sensitivity to the social roles in traditional African life was fundamentally changed with this new economic system. As urban centers grew in Zimbabwe and more Africans moved from the countryside to work in the cities, the incidence of sexually transmitted diseases increased dramatically.<sup>8</sup> With the coming of Independence in 1980, Zimbabweans strove to remember and reestablish their own traditions and institutions that had been discouraged by European rule, such as religion, music, and traditional medicine and midwifery.

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<sup>6</sup> Todd 1989, p. 120

<sup>7</sup> Ernest Brown and W.E.B DuBois

The armed liberation struggle of Zimbabwe officially began in April of 1966.<sup>9</sup> Zimbabweans had been organizing in community-based action groups such as labor and trade unions and burial societies since the time of European settlement. After the General Strike of 1948 that affected industry in urban and rural areas, many African people were incarcerated and in reaction, a strong nationalist movement gained momentum in the country as nationalist parties started forming. The central motivation of this movement, especially after Zimbabweans had been recruited to fight for freedom in Europe in World War II, was that Africans in Zimbabwe needed to unite against a common enemy that was depriving them of freedom and self-determination. The Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965 gave white settlers power to control the country independently of Britain. The African response to the declaration was to strengthen the nationalist parties, incorporating other regional organizations that were already well established, into the growing Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). This movement sired another union movement, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). Each faction eventually developed their respective armies, ZIPRA (Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army) for ZAPU, and ZINLA (Zimbabwe National Liberation Army) for ZANU. The nationalist parties differed in their ideological positions, as ZANU was formed in order to take a more militant stance to the liberation of Zimbabwean people. The parties also differed in ethnic make-up, ZANU being more associated with Shona people and ZAPU with Ndebele. ZANU had military and training support from the Frelimo army in Mozambique and Tanzania, while ZAPU had assistance from the military in Zambia. In order to present a common front in the war for the purposes of negotiations for uniting

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<sup>8</sup> Beach, p. 53.

<sup>9</sup> Shamuyarira 1989 p. 19

the focus of independence, Nkomo's ZAPU and Mugabe's ZANU decided to form a military alliance in 1976.<sup>10</sup> Meanwhile, Bishop Muzorewa led separate negotiations with Ian Smith's white regime to create the Transitional Government that would aid in a more gradual change of hands in government at the time of independence.

A strong, unified political affiliation between the nationalist parties and the people of Zimbabwe was established during the liberation struggle. The armies of the African nationalist parties recruited young men and women to join the fight in many ways. They were recruited to take up arms, to supply soldiers with food, labor and information when they passed through home areas, and to hold *Pungwes* (all night informative gatherings) in order to clarify the goals and purposes of the war, to maintain the support of the rural masses and to build the morale of all black citizens.

When independence was won, the nationalist parties had already established popular credibility and power with the stance that no concessions would be made to guarantee European settlers' land rights. ZANU swept the elections, and the voters had rejected the Smith-Muzorewa Transitional Government. Robert Mugabe was placed at the head of government as the Prime Minister, with Rev. Canaan Banana as the President. For the first few years of independent rule, political discord and violence marred the relationship between ZANU and ZAPU forces when Ndebele people felt alienated from national politics and supported armed dissident activities incited by ZAPU. The massacres of people in Matebeleland by ruling forces taint the history and reputation of the independent government that was popularly established in unity against the common white enemy. To ensure political representation and protection of people in Matebeleland, ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo and ZANU's Robert Mugabe signed the

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<sup>10</sup> *ibid.* p.21

Unity Accord of 1987, effectively absorbing ZAPU into ZANU's auspices. The Accord permanently united the parties into a system that Mugabe has called a "One Party Democracy"<sup>11</sup> and did away with the position of Prime Minister, so that Mugabe would be president and Joshua Nkomo would be Vice President along with Simon Muzenda.

The negotiations for Zimbabwe's national constitution took place at the Lancaster House Conference in 1979. The enacted constitution effectively halted any plans that liberation forces had in redistributing land to black Africans for a period of ten years. More intensive urbanization took place in Zimbabwe after 1980 with people moving into high-density suburbs and into downtown Harare to find work.<sup>12</sup> The historical increase in incidence of sexually transmitted disease also held true for this period, with the first case of HIV/AIDS diagnosed in Zimbabwe in 1987.<sup>13</sup>

Ten years later, the ruling party agreed to the World Bank/IMF-planned Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP), designed to foster the development and international trade of Zimbabwe. In its plan, ESAP again re-shaped land redistribution plans.<sup>14</sup> In the late 1990s, landless Zimbabweans were growing impatient with the lack of urgency in land redistribution policy, and those people in Zimbabwe's business sector saw little benefit to the development plans that had been set into motion by the government and international agencies. Several strikes and demonstrations were held in the period from 1996-1998.<sup>15</sup> Labor unions demonstrated for better political representation. In 1997, war veterans demonstrated for rights to financial compensation and land for having fought in the liberation struggle. After the government of Zimbabwe

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<sup>11</sup> *Turmoil and Tenacity: Zimbabwe 1890-1980*, 1989

<sup>12</sup> Beach, p. 53

<sup>13</sup> Beach, p. 53, UNAIDS/WHO 1988

<sup>14</sup> Makumbe, 2001

spent decades of conceding to international pressure on the land issue, ZANU-PF's efforts to resettle land after the demonstrations have led to international political criticism and the pressure of economic sanctions.

New political forces rising from labor unions, and their activities of organized strikes and "stay-aways," have given birth to the strongest opposition party Zimbabwe has seen to date, the Movement for Democratic Change, fronted by former labor union leader Morgan Tsvangirai. There has been overwhelming support for the transformation of Zimbabwe's democracy and political structure, but political violence threatened the lives of those who dare to speak out against the regime of ZANU-PF and Robert Mugabe surrounding election time in March 2002. The elections this year drew much international focus to Zimbabwe because of recent pre-election violence and reports of election fraud. As he was sworn in for his next six-year term, Mugabe vowed to speed up land redistribution efforts.

The AIDS problem is compounding a common sense of powerlessness and hopelessness being felt in Zimbabwe in the realms of politics and economy. Inflation is currently at a record high of 97% and the percentage of people unemployed is at a devastating 70%.<sup>16</sup> Political attempts to control the epidemic have resulted in the establishment of the National AIDS Levy in 1998, which garnishes 3% of earned money from individuals and companies to go toward AIDS-related care.<sup>17</sup> There has been speculation that the AIDS Levy fund has been bled dry by political corruption, and demonstrations were held in Harare in reaction to this situation.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Mandaza 1997, Deve 1997, *Social Change & Development: Chronicle of Two Strikes in 96*, Feb. 1997.

<sup>16</sup> Makumbe, 2001

<sup>17</sup> Neely Tucker, 10/26/99

<sup>18</sup> Cauvin 2001

## ii. Demographics, Statistics and the Impact of AIDS

It is my view that statistics tend to depersonalize the issues that they attempt to represent, particularly where immense human suffering is involved. Numbers take individual human experience out of the equation. My objective, then, in using the following statistics is to point out that AIDS is not just an individual experience in Zimbabwe. Though the numbers do not tell the stories of individuals, they demonstrate the pervasiveness of the AIDS problem in Zimbabwean society and the extraordinary commonality of the experience of this disease. The use of such numbers will help to establish a basic understanding of AIDS in the lives of Zimbabweans as an entire population, but will not be able to touch on personal narratives of the AIDS experience.

The population of Zimbabwe, made up of 11.3 million people, is 52% female and 48% male.<sup>19</sup> Approximately 70% of the nation's people live in rural areas, while the remainder lives in the cities. The youth demographic, age 18 to 39, makes up the highest percentage of the population, about 45% of all Zimbabwe's people. Those that live to be over the age of 65 are the lowest percentage, at 3%. The literacy rate in Zimbabwe is at 72% for women and 84% for men. In 1980, the year Zimbabwe gained its independence, the infant mortality rate was 120 deaths per 1000 births. With the implementation of high-standard health care and a socialist medical system, that number dropped to 53 deaths per 1000 births in 1990.<sup>20</sup> By the year 2000, infant mortality has increased to 80 deaths per 1000 births. This is due in part to the decreased access to healthcare with the destruction of the socialized healthcare system by the Economic Structural Adjustment

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<sup>19</sup> UNAIDS Census 2000

<sup>20</sup> Ndlovu 2001

Program implemented in 1991. However, the increase in infant mortality must also be attributed to the AIDS epidemic in Zimbabwe. 43% of women who come to give birth in the maternity ward at Harare hospital are HIV positive.<sup>21</sup>

AIDS in Zimbabwe is primarily contracted through heterosexual encounters, but because of its association with the homosexual communities of the U.S. or with sex workers and promiscuity, discussing AIDS has been a social taboo. The years of the most rapid spread were from 1991 to 1996, because of people's fear to be tested and the continuity of unsafe sexual activity. The increase during this time is documented with the number of AIDS cases reported, comparing the 4,360 cases in 1990 to the 13,356 cases in 1995.<sup>22</sup> The effects of these years of rapid contraction are now being felt as the disease takes its toll on the bodies of its carriers. Estimates of deaths from AIDS-related illnesses spanning 1998 to late 2001 have been reported from 700 to 2000 people dying per week.<sup>23</sup> Cemeteries in Harare have run out of space to bury bodies so burial societies have been looking for new ground and have even considered cremation. Though highly undesirable, because Shona and Ndebele people place religious significance on the ground in which people are buried, cremation may become a necessary alternative to burial.<sup>24</sup>

It is commonly recognized that 25-35% of the population of Zimbabwe is infected with HIV, with variability due to population density in urban areas relative to rural areas.<sup>25</sup> At the low end of the estimate, 25% of Zimbabwe's population equals almost 3 million people infected with or dying from HIV/AIDS related illness. The demographic

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<sup>21</sup> Makumbe, 2001

<sup>22</sup> UNAIDS/WHO 1988; Davis, Evan 5/11/99; Chokunonga 1999.

<sup>23</sup> Neely Tucker, 10/26/99, Zimholocaust 10/98, Associated Press 4/18/99

<sup>24</sup> AfricaNews no. 42, Sept. 1999

distribution of this infection rate is cause for alarm. 25% of people aged 15 to 19 are infected with HIV.<sup>26</sup> The national adult average is at 25-35%, while the urban areas show an infection rate at a devastating 40%.<sup>27</sup> The infection rate of adults serving in the army is beyond the crisis level, having reached 80% in 1999.<sup>28</sup>

To put these numbers in more concrete terms, we can look at how they operate in calculating life expectancy. The United States census bureau has called Zimbabwe's AIDS crisis a "demographic holocaust"<sup>29</sup> because the average life expectancy in Zimbabwe has decreased by twenty years in the last decade. The current life expectancy rates in Zimbabwe hover at age 41 for men and at age 39 for women, down from 60 and 62 for men and women, respectively. This is the first time in Zimbabwe's history that the life expectancy for women is shorter than that for men.<sup>30</sup> Epidemiologist Griffith Feeney calculates that the decrease in life expectancy is no doubt due to the AIDS epidemic in Zimbabwe because there are no other factors in Zimbabwe's recent history that could contribute to the sharp difference of a two-decade loss in life-expectancy.<sup>31</sup> He also says that the peak in losses from AIDS-related illnesses has not yet occurred in Zimbabwe, that the life expectancy will continue to decrease before it levels off and eventually increases. In support of this view, the U.S. Census Bureau projects that in the next decade, the life expectancy will go down another ten years.<sup>32</sup> An epidemiologist based in

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<sup>25</sup> United Nations Survey on Population Growth, 1998; Neely Tucker, 10/26/1999; Chokunonga 1999.

<sup>26</sup> Anon., 4/5/2000

<sup>27</sup> Evan Davis 5/11/99

<sup>28</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> Zimholocaust, 10/98

<sup>30</sup> Ndlovu, 2001

<sup>31</sup> Feeney, 5/5/2000

<sup>32</sup> Murray, 1996

Zimbabwe, David Wilson, has calculated statistics showing that only one third of all people born in 1983 will be alive to see the year 2014.<sup>33</sup>

The effect this epidemic has on children is tremendous. Infant mortality rates are on the rise as more babies are either born with the HIV virus or contract it from breastfeeding. Children who do not contract the virus from infected mothers are left behind when both parents succumb to the effects of the illness. In the years 1998-1999, there were attempts at recording the number of orphans in Zimbabwe who had been left behind by parents who had died from AIDS. The numbers ranged from 500,000 to 750,000.<sup>34</sup> The issue of orphans is especially difficult because children are so highly valued in Shona society, yet the problem is so large people do not know how to begin attacking it. The practice of adoption in Shona society is generally not an acceptable solution. The difficulty is due to the fact that the biological parents remain unknown to those who may be adopting a child, leaving the ancestral lineage and clan unknown and unrecognized (please see Chapter 2 for an explanation of importance of family lineage in Shona culture). The inability to recognize lineage, it is believed, could bring harm to the adoptive family. Also, many elder members of families are being left responsible to rear young children orphaned by AIDS. This too is problematic because the elder members of the family are not bringing in financial resources from wage labor as younger family members of childbearing age would. It is feared that a generation may be effectively deleted from the family structure in Zimbabwean society, leaving grandparents and social workers to care for the next generation as best they can.

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<sup>33</sup> Zimholocaust, 10/98

<sup>34</sup> Neely Tucker, 10/26/99, Zimholocaust 10/1998

Family reproduction and child rearing is not the only sphere that is affected by the decrease in population of the young adult demographic. The economic sector is losing a strong section of its work force. The Community Working Group on Health in Zimbabwe has estimated that there has been a 61% decrease in rural agricultural output.<sup>35</sup> Other records show that the decline in agricultural production attributes this 61% loss in maize crops particularly, with a 47% decrease in cotton and a 49% decrease in vegetables. Common farming expenses, such as for tilling equipment and seed, are being replaced by expenses for medical and burial needs. AIDS is derailing the economy by creating a labor shortage as it affects the age group most likely to be working.<sup>36</sup>

The pervasiveness of the disease is so strong that many people experience many members of their family dying. One person whom I interviewed has already had three siblings die, and others have been diagnosed. He and his best friend are the only two left out of a group of friends who went to college together in Harare. Because of so much loss, the experience of losing a loved one has become commonplace. It is not that death has already occurred, said one of my interview participants, but that it continues to occur at an exponential rate.

The tragedy and urgency of this situation is such that people need change immediately. The behavioral change that is occurring socially is not enough to alleviate suffering, though, and so alleviation must come in the formation of institutions and in the expression of ideas that are able to help with the real issues that surround the AIDS predicament.

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<sup>35</sup> Zimholocaust, 10/98

<sup>36</sup> Sayagues, 8/16/99

### iii. Epidemiology and Etiology of AIDS in Zimbabwe

The perceived origins of the HIV virus that causes AIDS-related illnesses has much to do with how its social and medical effect is interpreted by individuals, society, and how people believe it can be treated. Between cultures, especially those of Africa and those of the West, there is not present complete agreement on the origins of the virus. Even epidemiologists in the West do not agree on the viral origins of this killer, but it is popularly believed, by scientists and by the general population in the United States, that AIDS “came from Africa.” Health classes in primary education institutions teach that African people contracted the virus from chimpanzees (the Simian Immunodeficiency Virus, SIV) while skinning the apes to eat them.<sup>37</sup> As the story goes, a cut was made in an ape-hunter’s hand somewhere deep in the African jungle, and SIV entered his bloodstream and mutated to HIV. From several incidents similar to this, according to the theory, the human race has encountered the incredible threat of the AIDS pandemic.<sup>38</sup>

A recent account of mass vaccination drives in West Central and East Africa in the 1950s has shown that there may be an alternative tale to the origins of the human form of the immunodeficiency virus. In his book *The River*, author Edward Hooper documents the race to vaccinate the world against poliomyelitis. In order to culture the vaccine in Africa, kidney tissue was used from chimpanzees because of the apes’ genetic similarity to humans. In this process, an unknown virus had been “piggy-backing” the poliomyelitis vaccine: the Simian Immuno-deficiency Virus. This virus is harmless to chimpanzees, for reasons not yet understood by epidemiologists (most likely has to do

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<sup>36</sup> Sayagues, 8/16/99

<sup>37</sup> Sabatier 1988, Duh 1991, Jackson 1992, Hooper 1999

with adaptation), but it is known to mutate to the genes of every carrier. Once introduced into the human body through vaccine, which covered tens of thousands of people in West Central and East Africa, the virus mutated to become the Human Immuno-deficiency Virus.<sup>39</sup>

Critiques have been published of this theory,<sup>40</sup> but no reasonable alternative has been established. The reaction of some critics to defend the West and accuse Africans of the AIDS origins illustrates essayist Susan Sontag's discussion on the Western imagination of Africa as a relic of "primitive and uninhibited sexuality." The West, she claims, attempts to define itself in opposition not to the reality of Africa, but to this imaginary construction.<sup>41</sup> She discusses the African response to the theory of African hunters being the first to contract the AIDS virus, stating that

"Many doctors, academics, journalists, government officials, and other educated people believe that the virus was sent to Africa from the United States, an act of bacteriological warfare (whose aim was to decrease the African birth rate) which got out of hand and has returned to afflict its perpetrators [in the West]. A common African version of this belief about the disease's provenance has the virus fabricated in the CIA-Army laboratory in Maryland, sent from there to Africa, and brought back to its country of origin by American homosexual missionaries returning from Africa to Maryland."<sup>42</sup>

Sontag goes on to cite headlines in Russian and British newspapers that actually ran this story of the origins of HIV/AIDS in the mid-1980s.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Personal experience with AIDS education in the Fort Bragg Unified School District, CA, 1988.

<sup>39</sup> Hooper, Edward *The River: A Journey to the Source of HIV and AIDS* Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1999

<sup>40</sup> For book reviews, see Arnold S. Monto in *American Journal of Epidemiology* vol. 154, no. 5 (2001) pp. 484-486; or Sebastian Lucas in *British Medical Journal* vol. 320, no. 7247 (2000) p. 1480.

<sup>41</sup> Sontag 1991, p. 140

<sup>42</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> *ibid.*, footnotes, pp. 140-141.

African continent. In reaction also to the ape-hunter theory of AIDS, Duh claims that it was bisexual, European tourists who brought the virus to Africa after they were given it by their own systems (Belgium, namely) to wipe out the morally divergent populations.<sup>44</sup>

Views in Zimbabwe about the origins of AIDS are reflected in education programs and popular attitudes about the disease. Helen Jackson, head of SAfAIDS in Harare, notes a common joke among Zimbabweans about the true nature and origin of AIDS. “AIDS” is considered the acronym for “American Idea for Discouraging Sex” in this joke. This not only reveals the perception that the virus was started in the West, but also that the virus itself is not real: that it is another idea for the oppression of black populations by the West. In this view, AIDS is an idea created by Americans and imposed upon Africans’ reproductive self-determination.

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<sup>43</sup> *ibid.*, footnotes, pp. 140-141.

<sup>44</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 53-72

#### iv. Gender, Poverty and Self-Efficacy in AIDS Prevention

Self-efficacy is defined as the feeling of personal power to make a difference in one's own life.<sup>45</sup> During the intense time of political, cultural and social transformation in Zimbabwe today, the issue of AIDS serves as an example of how the promise of self-determination that came with political independence has been abused by internal and external powers alike. Self-efficacy in the realms of economy, governance and personal health has remained elusive to the majority of people. Overall, it must be recognized that the wellbeing of common men and women in Zimbabwe has been largely ignored, and the AIDS epidemic is a symptom of this larger issue.

Economic oppression at the hands of Europeans began with the establishment of a colonial regime in the 1890's. It has continued through the 20<sup>th</sup> century at the hands of the white settlers, American-sponsored IMF and World Bank economic programs, and an increasingly problematic domestic political climate characteristic of "Neo-colonial"<sup>46</sup> power abuse along the pre-established Western model. Western involvement in Zimbabwe repeatedly suggests that external political and economic pressure has been to the destruction and devastation of the African people historically, culturally and economically. The intentions of international organizations to create labor and sales markets have not resulted in a lasting development, for reasons that are debatable and beyond the scope of this paper.

The experience of AIDS as a social phenomenon in Zimbabwe and elsewhere has demonstrated that the suffering the illness brings is an element of the "structural

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<sup>45</sup> Witte et. al. 2001, p. 43

<sup>46</sup> Ayittey 1990

violence” inflicted upon African countries by more wealthy nations.<sup>47</sup> The current U.S. administration has recently made official statements reflecting an uninformed and apathetic attitude toward the AIDS experience in Africa, with a glint of intentional ignorance. After one year in office, President Bush pledged 200 million dollars to the AIDS treatment and prevention, just after UN Secretary General Kofi Annan had announced that ten billion dollars would be needed in the effort to fight AIDS worldwide. The Bush-appointed USAID Chairperson Mr. Natsios, after rejecting appeals to send inexpensive AIDS medications to Africa, made a statement in the summer of 2001 in which he said that Africans

“...don’t know what Western time is. You have to take these [AIDS] drugs a certain number of hours each day, or they don’t work. Many people in Africa have never seen a clock or a watch in their entire lives. And if you say, one o’clock in the afternoon, they do not know what you are talking about.”<sup>48</sup>

The New York Times Op-Ed article that published this quotation drew a retraction from Mr. Natsios, but not before the editorialist’s opinion was voiced, comparing the U.S.’s inaction to genocide. The active destruction of “undesirable,” poverty-stricken populations, supports common popular theories in Zimbabwe and elsewhere in Africa that powerful scientists in the West created the HIV/AIDS virus as a weapon to destroy the African race. Disease becomes a political struggle in this case. There are external perpetrators of racial and economic injustice, according to this belief, who are chipping away at the personal power of Africans to determine their own destiny.

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<sup>47</sup> Farmer 1992 & 1999

<sup>48</sup> Herbert, 2001.

The political establishment within Zimbabwe, too, was slow to act in AIDS prevention and treatment campaigns for the people of the country.<sup>49</sup> Earlier in the history of this disease in Zimbabwe, there was a particular stigma attached to recognizing its presence and reality publicly, which still lingers. However, as more celebrities and politicians have been reported to die from AIDS, public admission of the problem has become less taboo. Ministries of Health and Education have embarked on AIDS education and prevention campaigns. The problem has now become less about the stigma and reality of the disease, but more about obtaining funds for medical treatment and prevention programs. President Mugabe himself has recently instituted a national tax on citizens to help in the battle against the AIDS onslaught.

The social stigma of AIDS illness in Zimbabwe adds to the physical suffering of the individual by eroding hopes for contributing to the creation of a family. Shona culture places high esteem on the ability to make a family and continue the ancestral line by having children. The social nature of HIV/AIDS experience and interpretation of one's suffering diminishes the individual's sense of self-worth.<sup>50</sup> AIDS is stigmatized as "immoral" in Zimbabwe because of the nature of its contraction through what is perceived as promiscuous behavior and because of its destruction of the possibilities of procreation. It also carries stigma in the dread of suffering through the long, painful death caused by the virus and augmented by a lack of treatment options.<sup>51</sup> Because of the deadly and contagious nature of HIV/AIDS, those who are afflicted with the disease are

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<sup>49</sup> Ndlovu 2001

<sup>50</sup> Sontag 1990, p. 100

<sup>51</sup> UNICEF *Knowledge and Attitudes on STD/HIV/AIDS of college students in Zimbabwe: part I Survey*. Harare: Ministry of Higher Education. 1994, p. 24

commonly shunned by family members and friends, extending the experience of physical suffering of the disease to include social suffering.

The HIV infection rates of men and women in Zimbabwe are relatively equal. However, the method for contraction is quite different between the sexes and is shaped by social norms surrounding sexual behavior. Many men in Zimbabwean society expect their wives to obey their wishes in regards to sexual relations. This means that men have control of when and how intercourse occurs. It is difficult for a woman to tell her husband to use a condom even if she knows he has a girlfriend. It is common for husbands to have girlfriends outside of marriage. This increases the possibility of bringing disease home to the wife and possibly to future children. The fear of contracting AIDS from mature women has led some men, married or not, to seek out young girls with whom they might engage in sexual relations.<sup>52</sup>

Gender roles and household security play important roles in the cycle of contraction for women. While men are the primary economic centers of the family, the women's lack of personal power to control their partner's sexual behavior is either because of her need for economic security (if she is among the poorer Zimbabweans), or because of an adherence to the tradition of avoiding divorce, or both.<sup>53</sup> While only 30% of the population is employed in Zimbabwe's "official" economic sector, those that make up the unofficial sector of the economy are mostly women selling fruits, vegetables and housewares at local markets.<sup>54</sup> The self-efficacy of women to prevent themselves from contracting AIDS from men with whom they have sexual relations deteriorates during times of extreme economic hardship.

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<sup>52</sup> Jackson & Civic, 1994; Loewenson & Kerkhoven, 1996

<sup>53</sup> Loewenson and Whiteside, 1997

Young people are at risk for contracting AIDS due to abuse by those whom they think may help them improve their economic conditions. The 1996 Zimbabwean film *Everyone's Child* demonstrates the cycle of dangerous situations that bring people in contact with possible HIV contraction. In the story, three children are left as orphans because their parents both died of AIDS. The son travels to Harare to find work and send money home to his siblings. He is taken in by street kids who help him learn how to mind parked cars. They give him some narcotic substance to sniff, and he somehow ends up in a nice car with a white man who wants sexual favors from him. His friends pull him out, angrily yelling at the white man who drives away quickly. Meanwhile, the oldest sister in the family is at home in the rural areas and she cannot afford to pay her own school fees. But in order to pay those of her youngest brother, she prostitutes herself to the local bottle storekeeper. Other men of rank in the community hear about what she is willing to do, and so make offers to her for trade of sexual favors that she refuses. The behaviors of these siblings in this movie are tragic and high risk, yes, but the behaviors are also demonstrated as economic necessities in a society that is not economically situated to absorb the costs of tending to so many AIDS orphans.

The self-efficacy of men and women, young and old, is also greatly affected by national identity and the position of Zimbabwe in the rest of the world. The relative economic positions of Africa and the West, compounded by centuries of a lack of cultural, social and religious insensitivity, contribute to the sense of “structural violence” discussed in the previous section. “Prevention” is the keyword in current U.S. policy toward AIDS in Africa,<sup>55</sup> essentially disabling Zimbabwe’s national efforts for the

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<sup>54</sup> Makumbe, 2001

<sup>55</sup> Herbert, 2001

treatment of the suffering. In other words, the international attitude is disabling Zimbabwe's sense of national self-efficacy to be able to control the virus and its effects.

The central fallacy that disallows Western policy makers from donating more money to the international AIDS fight is that the West refuses to recognize the virus as a social problem and not one dependent solely on individual responsibility and the luxury of choice. In this position, the victim is getting blamed for their demise because of the inherent preventability of AIDS contraction. The preventability is reliant on "safe" sexual behavior, supposing every individual has control, or self-efficacy, over that possibility. This position is inaccurate, as the above discussion has demonstrated.

Medical Anthropologist and medical doctor Paul Farmer asserts that HIV/AIDS (along with other infectious, treatable diseases) is "a biological expression of social inequalities."<sup>56</sup> Certain populations, especially in "third world" nations (and especially Africa, the supposed place of "origin" of the disease) are considered biologically more susceptible to contracting the virus that causes AIDS and having their life span seriously affected, on the basis of ethnicity or gender. The assumption of a racially or ethnically inherent susceptibility to AIDS can be seen in the way the Western media handles coverage of the crisis and in the way the current U.S. administration decides to contribute to the global fight. Under this assumption, some lives are considered valuable, e.g. those that are not racially susceptible, while other lives are considered expendable.<sup>57</sup> What does make populations more susceptible, however, is poverty, which is not an inherent biological condition. Poverty prevents access to treatment and health care in the most

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<sup>56</sup> Farmer 1999, p. 264.

<sup>57</sup> *ibid.* p. 275

highly stricken populations. Health, and therefore life and survival, become consumer products, items that can be purchased; health is now a privilege, and not a birthright.

Farmer argues that practicing medicine is not about improving science, but also about the moral obligations in the service of human life. Overall, medicine should not be about “cost-effectiveness.” The annual cost of the standard AIDS cocktail, made up of Protease Inhibitors and other antiviral medications, is \$20,000 U.S. for every individual.<sup>58</sup> (Compare this to Zimbabwe’s estimated per capita income of \$600.00 U.S.<sup>59</sup>). It is the lack of will to help on the part of the rich nations, Farmer goes on, and not the poverty of the poor nations, that continues to let people die. The prerogatives of pharmaceutical corporations in the West, who own the patents on antiviral medications, are under strict protection so that the prices of medications do not decrease. South Africa has recently taken advantage of a temporary lift on patent laws to import medications that prevent HIV transmission from a pregnant mother to her baby.<sup>60</sup>

Relief from poverty in Zimbabwe is an important political issue, indeed it is an issue of survival. Yet we find that AIDS treatment is not the highest priority facing the current climate in Zimbabwean politics. The rumor of the existence of AIDS had to turn into a national tragedy before Mugabe would even recognize it as a problem, and even now, relief efforts have been too little too late.<sup>61</sup> The percentage of the national budget that goes to all of health care has been decreasing every year since 1992.<sup>62</sup>

Examples of popular media in AIDS education campaigns that have served to reinforce negative stereotypes of victims and that have ignored the importance of cultural

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<sup>58</sup> *ibid.* p. 264

<sup>59</sup> UNAIDS 2000

<sup>60</sup> Foreign Policy In Focus, Vol. 14, no. 23, 2002

<sup>61</sup> Makumbe, 2001

concepts of health are provided by the Southern Africa AIDS Information Dissemination Service (SAfAIDS) writings. The joke discussed in the previous section that illuminates people's ideas about the origins of AIDS, saying AIDS stands for "American Idea to Discourage Sex," minimizes the importance of taking precautions and actually places unsafe sexual behavior in the same category as counter-hegemonic revolutionary action. Another example that I have found, to which I can apply Jackson's idea, is a cartoon from Horizon magazine from Zimbabwe published in April, 1997 that jokes about a man not knowing how to put on a condom. This cartoon may be addressing the known importance of wearing a condom during sexual relations, but also reinforces the acceptance of a joking ignorance of safe sexual behavior.

In a similar project of studying AIDS education in music performance, ethnomusicologist Gregory Barz has been documenting the way women use songs as grassroots campaigns in Uganda. According to his research, whether free of HIV or living with the effects of AIDS, these women are empowering themselves. Women are reaching other women to urge them to be faithful and to use condoms in their sexual relations. The singers recognize, however, that getting men to listen to them and the messages in their songs is different, because, as they put it, men are sexual creatures that refuse to think twice about the "nature" of appropriate sexuality.<sup>63</sup> In a similar way, popular music in Zimbabwe is giving artists and their audiences a way to educate and empower themselves, but it may be more powerful in reaching all members of society so that the redefinition of what is sexually appropriate and culturally meaningful can be determined by all.

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<sup>62</sup> Ndlovu 2001

<sup>63</sup> Barz, *Singing for Life* excerpt, 2002

## Chapter 2. The Spiritual Foundations of Shona Culture

### i. Shona Worldview and the Place of Illness and Death

According to Shona cosmology, all events, including illness and death, have their roots in spirituality. It is necessary to recognize illness within the context of Shona spirituality in order to look specifically at the treatment of AIDS suffering in Zimbabwean culture. Furthermore, it is necessary to recognize Shona culture, customs, and society as reflections of the underlying spiritual worldview. Even with the influence of Christianity on the religious cosmology in Zimbabwe, the beliefs that characterize Shona cosmology, such as the role of ancestors, remain central. The emphasis on social relationships and bonds connects living humans to their related ancestors, binding the present, physical world, with the past and future spiritual world. Social relationships do not end, and are expected to continue even after death.

Life transformations are marked by ceremonies in Shona culture that assert these spiritual beliefs, but these ceremonies are not pervasive today as they were in pre-colonial times. The ceremonies that I will discuss here belong to a general practice tradition and are not necessarily enacted in the same ways by all people in Zimbabwe today. People have combined the values that are represented in these ceremonies and life-marking events with Western, Christian and urban values into syncretic, dynamic forms of ceremonial performance. Also, ceremonies are still carried out that host ideals of pre-colonial Zimbabwe and be seen noted as the carriers of African ways that have remained useful to Zimbabwean people despite a long history of colonialism and suppression.

When a child is born, he or she is kept sheltered with the mother and isolated from the rest of the community for a period of days until the umbilical cord dries and falls off. Upon exiting the *imba yembereko* (birthing house) the child is taken in by the entire family and begins the journey of becoming part of the larger community. Naming the child is very important in Shona culture, as documented by George Kahari and Alec Pongweni, and is marked by a naming ceremony.<sup>1</sup> Throughout his or her lifetime, a person's growth is marked by rites and ceremonies, during puberty and especially at the times of marriage and childbirth.

When a Shona person dies, there are particular ceremonies that must be undertaken to make sure the deceased is properly cared for. Relatives of the deceased have particular roles to play in this process. For example, before any arrangements are made, the elders of the extended family must be told of the death. If it is a man who dies, it is his sister (Tete) who doles out inheritance to his children. The funeral ceremony itself can last up to a week. It usually includes the killing of a beast, with particular parts of the meat being set aside for relatives to whom that part traditionally belongs.<sup>2</sup> The length of the ceremony allows time for family and friends to visit and pay their proper condolences, or *kubata maoko* (to touch hands) especially if they live any distance from the person's home. The person's burial will take place on the outskirts of the homestead or town. If a person dies before they have children, he or she is buried with a mouse to prevent the supposedly troubled spirit from causing trouble among living people.<sup>3</sup>

Two weeks after the death, relatives of the deceased will have a ceremony to cleanse, with specially brewed beer, the picks and shovels that were used to dig the

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<sup>1</sup> Kahari, 1986. Pongweni 1983

<sup>2</sup> Aschwanden 1987 p. 278

person's grave. For a period of one year, the deceased is allowed to rest while family members wait in mourning. If it is a man who dies, his widow wears black for a period of one year to show that she is in mourning. After one year, a ceremony called *kurova guva* (literally, to beat the grave) is held to wake up the spirit of the person who has died. In this process, the spirit of the person is woken from death and is asked to live among the world of the ancestors. This process conquers death because the dead now live again, in the world of the ancestors. Death is then recognized and made meaning of as an interruption to life and relationships, and not as an end to life. When a deceased person's spirit officially takes its ranks as an ancestral spirit through *kurova guva*, he or she can wield particular influence over the lives of the living, bringing blessings or burdens. In order to ensure a life of peace, the living must recognize the importance of the ancestors in their own lives and appease them by making offerings or showing gratitude. One can also show gratitude through reverence and appeasement of the elder members of one's living family, such as by buying them clothes or visiting them often.

When ancestors are not pleased, they have the power to cause havoc in one's life. The loss of a job or accidents on the road may be attributed to neglecting one's ancestors. Illness, too, may be brought upon a person who has not shown significant respect for their ancestors.<sup>4</sup> There may be important changes that an individual must go through that they may be ignoring, and the ancestors have ways of letting individuals know this. For example, if a person is supposed to become a spirit medium but refuses, an illness may be inflicted upon them until they ceremonially accept the duties.

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<sup>3</sup> *ibid.* p. 65

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.* p. 18

Particular illnesses that are not easily remedied may cause suspicion that the illness may have been inflicted by witchcraft, or *uroyi*. *Uroyi* too has its roots in the spiritual dimension. The practice of witchcraft itself is brought into a witch's life through the insistence of a *shave* (or troubled spirit) usually the spirit of an ancestor who was a witch in his or her own life. This is similar to the process that healers are chosen through ancestral forces. When one person wishes to harm another, a witch is consulted to cast a spell. Witchcraft can take place in a person's home by way of spiritual forces (*uroyi hwedzinza*) or can be administered through objects with which the target person will come into contact (*uroyi hwemasikati*).<sup>5</sup> Animals associated with witches are hyenas, which they ride at night, and owls, cats, and snakes, which are harbingers that a witch is nearby. Sometimes it is believed that snakes are sent to inflict the spell of a witch. In this case, if a person sees a snake, she must go consult a *n'anga* (traditional healer/diviner) to determine whether the snake was sent by a witch, and if it was, what precautions to take.

To alleviate the suffering brought on by a witch's spell, the ill person and his family members, usually elders if possible, must travel to a *n'anga* to determine how, why or by whom the spell was cast. The *n'anga* prescribes steps to be taken, either ceremonial or medicinal, to relieve the illness and to protect against further witchcraft. If witchcraft is brought on by a person's ill-will toward another, the social imbalance of that situation must be sought out (after being identified by the *n'anga*) and remedied.

When the *n'anga*'s prescriptions do not work, the source of the health problem is understood as coming from the spirit world. *Vadzimu*, or ancestral spirits, may be trying

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<sup>5</sup> Gelfand, 1977 p. 39. Aschwanden 1987 p. 160

to send a message, or trying to be recognized by the living, or a *shave* may be causing the trouble.

The ceremony that is commonly held to alleviate and understand illness or unease from a spiritual perspective is the *Bira* ceremony. The goal of the ceremony is for spirit possession to take place so that communication with the ancestors can address problems being experienced by humans. At a *bira*, music serves as the trance-inducing catalyst (*gokoro*) that will bring the spirit of an ancestor back in touch with the human world. Music at once heightens the energy of humans involved in the process and also pulls the spirits closer to earth, so that a meeting can take place within the realm of performance. The person who becomes possessed at the *bira* is called the *homwe* or “pocket” which holds the visiting spirit. The *homwe* is usually the spirit medium who is a specialist in the possession process and is chosen by ancestors to serve as the intermediary. At other times, any person present at the ceremony can become possessed, and the spirit medium communicates with the spirits through the *homwe*.

Possession and communication with ancestors is a way that people can unite their present situations with the history of their families and the experiences of those that came before them. It serves as therapy to the individual, in psychological, social and physical terms, and also serves as therapy to the family and wider community. Life in these relationships is transformed to a new state of normalcy after a *bira* ceremony.<sup>6</sup> The appropriation of Christianity in Shona culture has influenced the way people communicate with God through direct prayer.

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<sup>6</sup> Kauffman 1976, Thram 1999, Berliner 1978.

ii. The Role of Songs in Religion, Education, Struggle and Freedom

In this paper, I am looking at four functions of Shona songs that concentrate on 1) ceremonial ideas associated with illness and death, 2) on education and socialization, 3) on the unification of society against a common enemy, and 4) on the ability or inability to speak about the unspeakable through song. In this section, I present different types of music that serve as examples of these lyrical and performance functions in order to contextualize music in Shona culture. The types of music discussed are ceremonial music, game songs, songs in the war for liberation, and songs that are sung to ease social tension. Ceremonial lyrics address healing, death, and spirituality in the context of specific events. The lyrics in children's game songs are used to teach the young about the world around them. The call for social unity in struggle is a common and well-documented function of lyrics in Shona music.<sup>7</sup> Finally, lyrics that demonstrate a degree of the freedom of expression, including expressions that may not be found in everyday speech, are important in understanding how music lyrics are functioning to discuss the AIDS issue.

The overriding principle of all of these musical functions is the importance placed on community participation, an aesthetic that makes music social in nature.<sup>8</sup> This aesthetic principle is the determining factor in effective messages, and even therapeutic efficacy, in music<sup>9</sup>. Music is central to the spiritual lives of Shona people and permeates all concepts of social, physical and psychological health, as has been documented by such

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<sup>7</sup> Pongweni, 1982

<sup>8</sup> Chernoff

<sup>9</sup> Thram, 1999

ethnomusicologists as Paul Berliner and Diane Thram. Adzinyah, et.al., also suggest such health benefits, in the statement

“Participation in musical activity is not only a pleasant way to spend time—it is a necessity for psychological and even physical health for many people”<sup>8</sup>

The ceremonial use of music for religious purposes, such as in the *Bira*, serves as the bridge between the human and supernatural worlds, heightening human sensibility within a therapeutic space that is delineated by rhythm and movement, and calling on ancestors to remember and participate in familiar songs.<sup>9</sup> Music thereby connects the worlds for the purposes of communication, healing, praise and problem solving.<sup>10</sup> Music is a central component of religious ceremony, especially when ceremony surrounds the healing of illness and the recognition of a death. When possession trance is the goal of a ceremony, songs, instruments and rhythms must be recognizable by the spirit, so they are usually particular to the spirit’s home area and time of living. *Mbira*, *hosho*, and *ngoma* are all used as instruments that would be recognizable to ancestral spirits.<sup>11</sup> The quality of the performance must be extremely high and it must maintain energy throughout the night to maintain the necessary contact. Robert Kauffman noted that the atmosphere that is produced by high-quality, high-energy music in Shona ceremony is called “*kudzamirwa*,” or “to be moved deeply.”<sup>12</sup>

As an example of education, children’s game songs teach the young about the physical environment and about appropriate behavior and customs in Shona society.<sup>13</sup> Two examples of this type of song are found in A.C. Hodza’s collection of Shona

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<sup>8</sup> Adzinyah, et. al. p. 3

<sup>9</sup> Thram, Diane, Berliner, Kaemmer, Soko, Coplan

<sup>10</sup> Berliner, Gelfand

<sup>11</sup> Berliner

children's game songs called *Mitambo yavasikana navakomana pasichigare* (*Traditional games of girls and boys*). In one song, "Sarura Wako,"<sup>16</sup> children play at identifying and choosing who will be the one or the type that they will marry. In others, entitled "Mazita ehova" and "Mazita emiti,"<sup>17</sup> the "Names of Rivers" and "Names of Trees," respectively, children learn about the natural world around them, including their relationship with it. For example in "Mazita ehova," the responding refrain is "ndikatsa," or "I cross," after the changing line that introduces names of the country's rivers. Learning the names of other children is also put to song, with Shona games such as "Vamuroyi Woye," found in *Let Your Voice Be Heard*.<sup>18</sup> Also in this book, there are songs that teach children about their bodies and that place emphasis on coordination and control, like the hand clapping song "Sorida."<sup>19</sup>

As an example of uniting people for a common cause, music during Zimbabwe's struggle for liberation from white minority rule in the late 1960s and 70s served as a primary method of educating people about future movements of the enemy or about strategies for thwarting the enemy. A continuous call for social unity against a common enemy was present during the war for independence when popular musicians sung songs to unite and build the morale of soldiers and civilians.<sup>20</sup> For example, in the song "Batanai" ("Unite") by Oliver Samhembere, Pongweni describes the social function as one in which singers are expected to hold hands in a circle without suspicion of others

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<sup>14</sup> Kauffman, 1976

<sup>15</sup> Adzinyah, et. al., Hodza

<sup>16</sup> Hodza p. 51

<sup>17</sup> Hodza, pp. 77 and 80, respectively.

<sup>18</sup> Adzinyah, et.al.

<sup>19</sup> Adzinyah et.al. p. 9

<sup>20</sup> Pongweni, 1982

during a time when political parties were divided and fighting to gain political power.

Excerpts from his translations of the lyrics are as follows:

“Come together everyone, if we are going to have happiness,  
Show respect towards one another, so we can eat and be merry...  
Lord, are we the only sinners in this world?  
Surely, we are just like any other human beings...  
We must not hate one another, let’s work together.  
All the peoples of Africa, we are one nation,  
Let’s not divide ourselves, we are one nation.”<sup>21</sup>

Many of these lyrics, as documented by Alec Pongweni, served to increase the morale of the people, whether they were firing weapons or feeding soldiers in their efforts to contribute to the liberation struggle. Songs energized, mobilized and focused the independence effort.

As an example of the ability to discussing highly personal issues in song can diffuse family tension, for example, when a young bride sings about her relationship with her husband or mother-in-law, topics that would otherwise be too volatile, inappropriate or disrespectful to speak of openly. Songs that allow for the easing of social tension are discussed by George Kahari in his book *Aspects of the Shona Novel* and by Soko in *Labour Migration in Vimbuza Songs*.<sup>22</sup> The use of these two different examples shows a thread of continuity in the music cultures among people in Southern Africa, especially in view of particular social relationships that are difficult to speak of openly. Kahari points to a particular social relationship, that between a young wife and her mother-in-law, which is naturally a relationship that is full of tension. In Shona society, though, it is inappropriate to discuss problems with your mother-in-law directly because it would be considered disrespectful to her and to your husband. So, in order to alleviate the tension,

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<sup>21</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

<sup>22</sup> Kahari 1986, Soko 1990

a young wife might sit at her grinding mortar and sing a song to the rhythms of her chores, making third-person referentials to her own situation and the cruelty of her mother-in-law's treatment. By addressing the problem in this way, she is "soliciting public opinion" against her mother-in-law and husband.<sup>23</sup> When the mother-in-law hears her daughter-in-law's song, she would not take personal offense at it, because it is not speaking directly about her, but she is able to recognize that the daughter-in-law is expressing feelings of anxiety about their relationship, so steps can be taken to alleviate the tension.

With similar attention to social tensions that can be addressed musically, Boston Soko documented and analyzed the songs sung by wives who were left behind when their husbands migrated from Malawi to South Africa to work in the mines. He, like Kahari, gives examples of the common tendency in African songs to vocalize issues that cannot be mentioned directly between a young wife and her mother-in-law. This tendency for vocalization, Soko says, serves as a method for maintaining the social and psychological health of a community by acting as "sympathetic therapy."<sup>24</sup> The songs sung by wives in this context provide the space for expression where the social roles of the mother-in-law, the husband, or the wife herself remain unthreatened. A process by which problems are vocalized in Shona society through the use of music is "kurova bembera," in which the singer points out problems indirectly and expects the responsible party to listen and work on solving the issue.

With these functions laid out, I want to recognize two major characteristics of music in Shona culture that need to be explored. First, "traditional" and "popular" music

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<sup>23</sup> Kahari, p. 156

<sup>24</sup> Soko p. 156

should not necessarily be seen as distinct musical styles in Zimbabwe. They can be seen instead as points on a continuum of expressive style within culture. The instruments used in these different styles are not exactly the same. For example, a drumset and guitar may be central to a popular music group, while music at a religious ceremony might require *ngoma* and *mbira*. The performance contexts of these styles differ, one performed usually at bars and nightclubs (or played on stereos) while the other is used for specific religious, or rural and some urban, functions. Yet the content and function of the music itself remains too similar to divide them. Spirituality, the importance of tradition, and that of social relationships, are all emphasized in the content of both “traditional” and “popular” music in Zimbabwe.

The second major characteristic of music in Shona culture that ought to be recognized here is that songs should not be separated from other categories of oral performance. Their uses and functions are too intricately bound together to be viewed as distinct units.<sup>25</sup> Songs are a genre of oral literature. As such, they follow social guidelines and functions similar to other oral art forms. The body of knowledge classified as oral literature really cannot be divided into unrelated parts. Forms of oral literature such as proverbs, idioms, riddles and folk tales can be found in songs, and likewise, songs are used in performance of these other forms.

### iii. Sexuality and Marriage in Shona Society

Zimbabwean popular musicians are playing a role in reinforcing social norms in Shona culture. In communications media in the U.S., this strategy has now been given the name “Social Norms Campaigns.”<sup>26</sup> But as a practice, this strategy has been present in efforts to emphasize normative behavior in all societies. What make the strategies in societies differ from each other are the variable “norms” that belong to the different societies. The social norm that musicians are trying to reinforce is the value of abstinence from sexual activity. Outside Africa, there exists a myth, documented since the times of slavery, that Africans are inherently promiscuous, yet abstinence and chastity are not foreign values to Shona culture. In this section, I will discuss the nature of sexual education in Shona tradition and the role of sex in marriage, and thus its place in society.

Emmanuel Chiwome argues in his article about sexual education in Shona society that the social norms of sexuality and marriage were muddled and skewed with rapid change in Shona culture during colonization and urbanization. The “westernization” of values, religion and economy, and intensive urbanization of Zimbabwe during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, contributed to what he calls “inadequacies in the Shona person’s personality,” where individuality, competition and selfishness are valued over communality, compassion and cooperation. These conflicts in values are at the heart of many social and political issues in Zimbabwe.

This paper will not argue whether there are actually “inadequacies” to point out in the Shona personality, that endeavor would seem impossible and crude. It intends,

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<sup>25</sup> Coplan, 1994

<sup>26</sup> Social Norms Institute, url: [www.socialnorm.org](http://www.socialnorm.org)

however, to point out that the concepts of sexual values, marriage, and now sexual health and responsibility (since sexual activity in or out of marriage involves the risk of contracting HIV/AIDS), are being reclaimed and reasserted as essentially Shona, and as essentially African, at the same time synthesized with the dynamic heritage of Zimbabwe that includes Western Christianity. Chiwome even suggests that the reclamation of a chaste, safe and respectable sexuality is in line with the counter-hegemonic reclamations of indigenous languages, literatures, music and customs that are considered valuable parts of Shona folklife.<sup>27</sup>

Unlike the Western institution of marriage that sees the union as a bond between two individuals, marriage in Shona society is seen as marriage and the bringing together of two families. The bonds of marriage are also stronger than just a social bond among the living, because they contribute to the continuity of the ancestral lineage of the family. Lineage in Shona culture is paternal, but that is not to say that a mother's family or ancestors have no influence on the lives of her children—in fact, the mother's ancestors are seen as the strongest inflictors of punishment.

Marriage is an extremely important step that one takes in one's life, and in Shona culture, it is treated with great reverence, its process is clearly outlined and involves the assistance of both families, and it is marked by great celebration. Marriage brings entire families together, combining economic and reproductive resources, to continue family lineage. The marriage, however, is not considered complete until a child is born to the couple. A girl's status changes to woman only when she has borne children. The child strengthens the family ties and, if the child is a boy, contributes to the future of the father's lineage. Marriage and childbirth, therefore, are institutions that allow for

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<sup>27</sup> Chiwome 1996 p. 62.

immortality of the ancestral lineage. Marriage is considered the institution that serves as the source for continued spiritual relationships.

The marriage process involves the inclusion of many family members. The *Tete* serves as advisor to her brother's son or daughter, helping him or her with advice and action on how to proceed in the courtship. The young couple gives each other tokens or *nhumbi* as signs of commitment. An intermediary in the family serves as the presenter of marriage news to the elders, and they determine the best way to go about completing the marriage. This involves deciding on a quantity of cattle in return for the bride, since her reproductive rights and her contribution to the economy of family will be transferred over to the family of her new husband. Even with the transfer of wealth, the marriage is considered complete when the woman has borne her husband a child.

Youngsters are socialized in Shona society to remain chaste until the time of marriage. If it is found out that a young man has taken the virginity of a young woman and they are not married, the boy will be "apprehended and fined" and the girl will need counseled in order to restore her "moral fibre."<sup>28</sup> In some cases, the young man would be forced to marry the young girl. If a woman who is not a virgin becomes married, her new husband's family may complain to her parents for not caring for their daughter properly. The same expectations of sexuality are not emphasized in today's Zimbabwe, especially in the urban areas and with the changing nature of marriage.

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<sup>28</sup> Chiwome, p. 58.

### Chapter 3. Analysis of Popular Music Songs that Address the HIV/AIDS Issue

#### i. The Process of Translation and Interpretation

In ethnomusicology, we regularly confront problems of representation when transcribing musical sounds, documenting a musical event or presenting performance details and lyrics in music. Written analyses of music behavior at an event and of musical/lyrical transcriptions involve placing multi-dimensional phenomena of performance into a two-dimensional product of words on paper. Written analysis can be an intellectual construction that limits the expressiveness of the performance material. In this paper I am faced with the task of translating lyrics of Zimbabwean popular music sung in Shona into written English, and of asking Shona speakers to help describe the meaning of these words in the Zimbabwean context. The process of translating lyrics from Shona to English, and the interpretation of these lyrics that must follow, both use a system of symbols that differs from the one used in the original text. Even within the Shona symbol system, individuals bring their own background knowledge to the issue, so interpretations do not necessarily represent a uniform meaning, but are representations instead of the individual's background knowledge, expectations and choices. These factors pose a challenge to the arrival at the "true" meaning of the words, based either on the intent of the artist or the translation and interpretation of the lyrics. In order to explore how song lyrics are vehicles for representing and interpreting knowledge, it is necessary to situate the linguistic and musical elements within culture, and to extend interpretation beyond literal translation.

The problem of losing a language's particular character and context in the process of translation is not a new one.<sup>1</sup> The necessity to translate in academic analysis involves questions of cultural imperialism and hegemony, asking which language assumes power of analysis, and for whom is it beneficial to have these translations? Moreover, the true meaning of lyrics may be skewed in the process of translation, especially if we believe that the fundamental understanding of the world is shaped through language.<sup>2</sup> The use of Shona linguistic traditions that demonstrate a particularly Shona way of understanding the world, such as lamenting expressions and idioms, do not translate into English, since there are not cultural equivalencies. Close approximations and explanations of Shona idiomatic language are as close as I can get in demonstrating meanings in English. However problematic the translation process is, it is above all a literary resource for the exchange, understanding and critique of text. This chapter will demonstrate a specific understanding of the lyric sample, and how popular music artists utilize lyric writing to reflect on the current experiences of life in Zimbabwe. Their songs, written primarily in Shona, are directed toward audiences who speak and understand the Shona language, the Zimbabwean historical experience, and Shona ways of life. Translating for the purpose of analysis will therefore be useful in this project to understand the role popular music is taking in Zimbabwe in what Arthur Kleinman calls a necessary cultural reconstruction after the widespread experience of disease and suffering in society.<sup>3</sup>

To minimize the misunderstandings that arise from translation, I sought the help of two Shona speakers. I began the process alone by transcribing the Shona words of

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<sup>1</sup> WaThiong'o 1986, Fanon 1952 p. 17, Gordon 2000 pp.173-174, Kahari, 1994 p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> Carroll ed. 1956

<sup>3</sup> Kleinman, 1997 p. 19

songs as best I could. I wrote down what I heard in Shona. Starting from the material I knew was correct, I began translating into English; I sought help for what I could not understand or had transcribed incorrectly in Shona. I brought my transcriptions and the music recordings to my Shona teacher first.<sup>4</sup> We would listen to the songs together, I would show her what I had, and she would either correct me or add to the many things I missed. Along with helping in the translation from Shona to English, my teacher offered her perspective in interpreting certain figures of speech and expressions and how they would apply to the context of AIDS in Zimbabwean society. From here, I brought the materials to my Shona-speaking advisor and offered him my transcriptions. He offered opinions and corrections, where needed, to bring my materials to their ultimate form, which is found in the Appendix B, starting on page 100. Interestingly, although those who helped me are both individuals who speak Shona as their first language, they each had different interpretations for some parts of the figurative text offered in the song lyrics. These points of divergence in interpretation helped me also in the area of formulating some interview questions that are specific to each song, focusing on the various possibilities of interpretation for specific lyrics. Interestingly, translation and interpretation became heated points of contention.

The next step in the analysis of the material was to look at the linguistic usage and see what lyricists are doing in their songs. N.E. Mberi, in *Introduction to Shona Culture*, explains the mutual influences of oral genres in Shona culture, stating that references to proverbs and riddles are found in stories and songs, just as references to stories and songs are found in proverbs and riddles. The use of language in popular music is connected to

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<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Patricia M. Sithole, Ph.D. candidate (2002) in Comparative Literatures, Department of English, Michigan State University

the use of language in other oral arts in Zimbabwe. In order to outline some social functions of songs, I sought out different song classifications both specific to the Zimbabwean context and general to African oral art forms. Those I found most convincing were given by writers Okumba Miruka of Kenya and Alec Pongweni of Zimbabwe, because both present clear methods for classifications of songs according to the function of lyrics, to context, and to the artistic use of idiomatic and proverbial language.<sup>5</sup>

Okumba Miruka focuses on children's songs, work songs and funeral songs, pointing out the importance of performance contexts and illustrating the social benefits that performance of music brings to these contexts.<sup>6</sup> When it comes to the ability of music and other genres of oral arts to contribute to social change, Miruka says that change and education in Africa is done with the symbolic use of characters in literature and storytelling.<sup>7</sup> In children's stories, the characters are usually animals who have consistent personality attributes. In more adult stories, human characters are given attributes of common personal experiences.<sup>8</sup> By seeing oneself in a character or situation, Miruka says, one agrees with the teller's comment on reality and becomes motivated to act morally or in accordance with the greater good of the community. The identification with character or situation provides a recognizable reference to culture, so that the listener is personally engaged and capable of participating.

Alec Pongweni classifies songs that were sung during Zimbabwe's war for liberation into seven functions, of which I have drawn on three: songs that are used for

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<sup>5</sup> Miruka 1994, Pongweni 1982

<sup>6</sup> Miruka, 1999 p. 68

<sup>7</sup> Miruka, 1994 p. 169

extensive education and “conscientisation” of the community about the details and overall philosophy of the struggle; songs that appeal to ancestry for assistance during times of tribulation, and likewise that express gratitude to God and ancestors; and songs that are used to unite people into an effective and consistent force against the enemy. In these songs, he demonstrates, there are different strategies for addressing information, namely covert and overt strategies. This factor has led me to the development of another classification not used by Pongweni, but that is useful in the AIDS discussion: that of determining direct and metaphorical language use.

By combining the elements that Pongweni and Miruka have used, I have come up with the following lyric categories in the Zimbabwean popular music songs that deal with the topic of AIDS. These categories are not meant to be a model by which to fit each song in a particular topic or mode of communication. Instead, they offer ways to look at the various functions of songs in Shona culture, as discussed previously in this thesis. Each of the songs examined this paper contain lyric functions from more than one category. The songwriters have utilized lyric types in different combinations, according to this classification:

1. Mourning and Appeals for Divine Assistance: these lyrics in the songs express the pain and suffering associated with the death of someone close. Idioms of lamentation are used. They also illustrate the degree of desperation in the voices of survivors, who are seeking guidance from ancestors and solutions from God so that their suffering will be alleviated.
2. Education and Raising Consciousness: these words involve direct education of the nature of the HIV virus and AIDS, in reference to its contraction and its effect on social life in, with an ultimate moralizing stance on appropriate behavior.

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<sup>8</sup> Moyo 1977

3. Social Unity and Action: these lyrics inspire direct action and call for people to take responsibility for their lives and to unite against the cause. This is done through evocations of the possible demise or success of society to control the disease.
4. Freedom of Expression: the lyrics that push, or creatively comply with, the boundaries of what is considered socially acceptable discourse fit into this category.

In the following section of this chapter, I isolate various lyrics according to their category to demonstrate these functions that are artistically used in popular music lyric writing. The first two categories may show support of structuralism in studying music culture, as they confirm situations and practices already present in society. These categories must also be viewed as part of the process of reforming and reconstructing people's experiences, identities and sense of purpose, as they draw on traditions and a shared worldview to make sense of a new reality. The final categories, as a call to action and the assumption of a freedom of expression, are examples of ways that we can view music as agency for motion and thought outside of the "structure" already in place in society. There are explicit references to behavior and there are clear commands to grasp personal power and to take action for social change in these lyrical samples.

English interpretation of Shona song lyrics may not be an entirely adequate way to interpret the meaning and effect presented by these songs, especially in light of the fact that I am not a native speaker of Shona. What I do in the translation and interpretation process is apply the knowledge that I have gained from studying African music, Zimbabwean music and culture in particular, assuming that I demonstrate some understanding of the culture, language and traditions of the Shona people. The greater goal of this process is to understand and present the ways in which people in Zimbabwe

are documenting and taking authority over their history. In order to make this next step, translation must be accompanied by interpretation and reception of the songs by native speakers of Shona. Interviews of Shona-speaking Zimbabweans have served to supplement and critique my own interpretations of these lyrics. Since I have not returned to Zimbabwe for this field research, I found five young people in the Lansing, Michigan area who have recently come from Zimbabwe to participate in my project. Of these five, four were young men and one was a young woman. I consider the youth demographic to range from the age of 18 to 39. I present the data collected in the interviews with these youth in Chapter 4, "Responses to the Songs by Shona Youth," to supplement the interpretations and explanations presented in this chapter. Part of the research, aside from assessing individual reaction to the lyrics, is to determine if the above categories of lyrics are functional and valid to the Shona people whom I interview. To do this, I have asked them what the overall message is of each song in the questionnaire and further questions involved looking at the meaning of specific lines.

For full discography on the artists, songs and albums used in this project refer to Appendix A, page 99. The songs I am using as examples are as follows:

Thomas Mapfumo	"Mukondombera"
Simon "Chopper" Chimbetu	"Tenda"
Leonard Zhakata	"Maruva Enyika"
King Isaac	"Kuchema Kwedu"
Oliver M'tukudzi	"Ndakuyambira"
	"Akoromoka Awa"
	"Todii?"
	"Mabasa"

## ii. The Lyrical and Folkloric Discussions of AIDS in the Songs

The categories of analysis introduced above are useful when examining the ways in which AIDS is discussed in the eight songs that make up my sample. But since the goal of this paper is to see how these strategies are embedded in more broad cultural ideas, it is necessary to look at each song in its entirety to capture the nuances and lyrical methods that surround AIDS discourse in Zimbabwean popular music (see Appendix B, p. 100). Any of the categories may be addressed in any of the songs. I will present the translations and analysis of the lyrics, and then demonstrate how these categories are operating in the lyrical style that surrounds AIDS discourse. The song analysis will be presented in the order in which I listed the songs above.

It has been established in Chapter 2 that Shona songs serve specific functions. The lyrics of the songs in this study demonstrate how the four functions are operating to address the AIDS issue in Zimbabwean popular culture. In addition to the above categorical functions, Okumba Miruka's suggestion of the importance of character identification and in N.E. Mberi's assertion that proverbs and other oral arts permeate each other and help to demonstrate social morality, the folklore content in the songs is also presented in this section.<sup>9</sup> The different types of examples of these lyrical functions give context to music within Shona culture. The lyrical and oral literature conventions found in these songs provide the basis for how people are making meaning of the AIDS crisis through discussion. The examples of songs I will use to illustrate the four functions are ceremonial songs, game songs, songs in the war for liberation, and songs that are sung

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<sup>9</sup> Miruka 1994, Mberi 1996

to ease social tension.<sup>10</sup> To demonstrate identification with character or situation, I will examine the artists' strategy for addressing the audience. To present the importance of folklore, I will point out how proverbs and references to other oral arts are used in these songs, along with reasonable explanations of how they might be applied this context.

The first thematic function that I have identified (pages 61-62) is that which deals with mourning and the appeals for divine assistance. Mourning underscores all of these songs generally, due to the nature of death brought about by the AIDS situation. Dirges and praise songs make up the liturgical material used in Shona traditional funerals and the ceremonies that follow death, such as *Kurova Guva* and *Bira* (see Chapter 2). Religious songs in Zimbabwe serve to invoke the help and guidance of God and the ancestors or elders. Calls to the ancestors follow the cosmological structure that places family ancestors and communal spirits closer to God. Through traditional *Bira* ceremonies, which involve the extensive use of music, the ancestral spirits help in explaining the cause of a problem and suggest a solution to alleviate it. Also in this ceremony, people use the opportunity to send appeals to God through the ancestors on behalf of the human world. With the onset of desperation, God is called upon directly. The Christian God that has been incorporated into Shona cosmology is also capable of being prayed to directly, and so some of these lyrics demonstrate the synthesis of these conceptions of the highest power.

The lyrical strategy in popular music songs that uses the theme of mourning for loss and of calling upon the divine demonstrates that mourning and prayer are not exclusive to private funerals. Mourning and prayer are now part of the public sentiment and the common experience. Even in "private" funerals, the process of mourning is not a

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<sup>10</sup> Thram, Hodza, Adzinyah et. al., Pongweni, Kahari

private affair for Shona people. In the event of a death, neighbors, friends and passers-by are expected to come to the house “kubata maoko,” or to pass on the proper condolences. The frequency of participating in the customary passing of condolences was addressed in Oliver M’tukudzi’s song “Mabasa.” Songs like this, that use mourning as a demonstration of the consequences of AIDS, are extending the sentiment of condolences to the entire nation.

The second thematic function involves education and the raising of consciousness. These occur as general warning messages in the songs. The artists here are trying to raise consciousness about how the disease is contracted and how one is able to control one’s destiny. Artists are also demonstrating popular beliefs about the origins of the disease and why so many people have been infected in their country. Raising consciousness does more than tell people the direct message. Musicians have the opportunity to present listeners with the tragic emotional impact of AIDS, and it is this emotional reaction that touches listeners in a way that they are motivated to behave in certain ways and to help others. The way they affect emotional reaction is by including listeners in the common Shona identity, reinforcing belief and custom, and asking everyone to participate as equals in the search for a solution. This affect is reached through the use of proverbs and identification with character.<sup>11</sup>

Social unity and action are the elements of the third thematic function. They require participation on the part of listeners, both in understanding the social consequences of the problem and in responsible action that can help with the solution. The lyrics that call for social unity and action strongly suggest ways of living and state direct actions to take in order to prevent further contraction of the HIV virus and further

suffering from its effects. The lyrics represent the ideas of how society should be operating in reaction to the AIDS experience, which gives music a much more powerful role than just a mere reflection of what already exists in culture: it provides agency for listeners to identify with the experience and engage with the process of seeking a solution. The general sense of mourning, combined with appeals for divine assistance, the demonstration of helplessness and common experience, inspire the immediate need for action to be taken. This element is directed not just to Shona people in Zimbabwean society, but to all of Zimbabwe and to all of those who understand Shona.

The fourth thematic function that I have outlined is the one that focuses on the popular music artist's freedom of expression. This element is examined by looking at the directness of language use, or the metaphorical and proverbial use of language, especially when it comes to the explicitness of sensitive subjects such as sexual intercourse. The discourse on taboo subjects in these song lyrics gives this form of popular media a significant power for education, unlike other forms that may reinforce misconceptions or negative reactions.

The popular music artists that are part of this analysis have various ways of asking their listeners to identify with the characters in their songs, with the situation of suffering, and with the responsibility for making sure people survive. Thomas Mapfumo directs his message "You should stop the fooling around" to all members of society, calling on fathers, sisters, boys and girls. Simon Chimbetu uses a direct, informal command to his listeners throughout the song to "Be grateful." He also extends the problem to be one of the entire black race, thereby issuing a sense of community in the struggle to survive. Leonard Zhakata identifies with the sensibilities of attraction, beauty and virtue in his

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<sup>11</sup> Miruka 1994, Mberi 1996

song, while commanding listeners directly to “choose your own.” King Isaac identifies the suffering as belonging to everyone, and invites listeners to join in on his prayer to God to have mercy on AIDS victims.

Thomas Mapfumo, known as “The Lion of Zimbabwe,” is well known in Zimbabwe for his Chimurenga songs, those that were directed toward educating the public and expressing popular sentiment during the war for liberation (see Chapter 2, section ii.).<sup>12</sup> The white regime in Zimbabwe under Ian Smith had arrested Mapfumo because of his vocal and direct critiques of racism and oppression.<sup>13</sup> He has continued to critique the government, now under President Robert Mugabe, on grounds of corruption and mismanagement. His political stance has continued to get him in trouble in Zimbabwe, and he now resides in the United States. His song that addresses AIDS, entitled “Mukondombera,” does not contain political references, but makes a strong and striking point about the supernatural origins of the disease and what people should do to take action against it (see Appendix B, p. 100-101 for Shona lyrics and English translation of “Mukondombera”). Mapfumo has taken advantage of the fact that he already has a huge fan base in Zimbabwe, made up of people who want to hear enlightening truth about the political establishment, in order to talk about the devastating problem of AIDS that has even killed many members of his band. He has expanded his subject matter in order to address the behavior that exacerbates the AIDS problem in order to instill a sense of danger that is present in today’s Zimbabwean society that is not just political, but highly personal.

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<sup>12</sup> Zindi 1985, Ewens 1991

<sup>13</sup> Zindi 1985

The disease itself is called “Mukondombera” which is the title of the song, and can be translated as “a plague that leaves nobody living,” or its highly destructive nature may be best understood in an English translation as “holocaust.” The discussion of the nature of the illness in this song gives it supernatural roots and explains the diseases rampage as coming from personal choice and unawareness. He repeats, “Here comes the plague, the illness has come.” In the song, everyone is perishing due to “the illness that has come into this world” from the supernatural world. This song was released in the early 1990s, during the period of the most rapid spread of the disease (see Chapter 1). Later, in 1996, it was put on the soundtrack to the film *Everyone’s Child* discussed in Chapter 2.

The song begins with the chorus of back-up singers, singing “You should stop the fooling around, beware the illness has come, if you are not afraid you will perish.” Here the lyrics make reference to unsafe sexual behavior and try to give a sense that the risk for everyone is real by directing the message in second person that “you need to be afraid.” But the words do not target just one section of the population with this command to stop the fooling around, and in fact the song directs this warning to “fathers...girls... sisters...boys” at the end of every line in the chorus.

Thomas Mapfumo’s voice comes in on the first verse with a mourning lamentation “Amaiwe tapera tose,” meaning, “Oh goodness, we have all perished.” The beginning of this first verse focuses on who is affected and who is suffering: everyone. By using this line when the verse enters, right away he is urging the listeners to take notice of how many people have fallen ill and died due to the contraction of AIDS. The mourning extends from a single family to include all of Zimbabwean society, and what it

means for the future of people in that country. The first verse contains a powerful line that is at once a command and a statement about the state of the world. He says, “Play it safe, because this world has gone bad,” in the same sense that the world is itself rotting, and the fact that people are dying in such large numbers is a sign of this disintegration.

The second verse begins with the line “Oh, God, what are we supposed to do? Oh, God, please give us an idea.” The words “Iwe, Mwari” address God informally in the second person in a literal translation, but this phrase demonstrates a particular level of desperation and pleading, expressed in English as “Oh, God.” The situation is such that it is presenting people with an unprecedented challenge so that God must be sought directly for the solution. Mapfumo also incorporates the idea of sin and punishment in his lyrics, demonstrating philosophical and religious effects of the dynamic cultural heritage in Zimbabwean society. AIDS is a “giant whip sent down by God” to punish people for moral misconduct in their sexual behavior, an idea that is similarly seen as punishable in both Christian and Shona traditions. This idea of divine punishment gives credence to the belief in a vengeful God, a central tenet in Judeo-Christian cosmology. In a line related directly to a solution of fidelity and monogamy, Mapfumo states “to stop it all, stand by your spouse.” The solution here resides in couples taking responsibility for each other’s life, that the serious effect of infidelity is the perishing of everyone.

Another artist who sings about AIDS in his songs is Simon “Chopper” Chimbetu, who is quite popular in both urban and rural areas for his rumba rhythmic style and storytelling capabilities. His song entitled “Tenda” from his popular album *Lullaby* tells its listeners to be grateful if they live to see another year (See Appendix B, pp. 102-105). When another year passes, he says, show your thanks. One’s survival demonstrates that

there has been a hand in making sure that some people remain alive. The entire refrain is “tenda wariona,” or “be thankful when you see the new year arrive.” The disease seems so pervasive in its rampage that one must believe there is a divine reason one stays alive or uninfected. Destiny and self-determination are given up to the will of the ancestors and of God.

Chimbetu’s view on the origins and effects of AIDS in Africa stand out to support the theory of conspiracy by the West to destroy the people of Africa. He directs his message to “Mwana waMuroyiwa,” or “Descendent of the Bewitched,” referring to Africans and their historic oppression (see Chapter 1 for discussion about “structural violence”). Chimbetu says,

“They got together and designed a plot,  
The children of our enemies.  
They want to destroy  
Our entire race.  
They brought this mysterious killer  
That is not visible.”

Chimbetu is politicizing the origins of the disease and likens survival to resistance against racist oppression by asserting that the West, the enemy of Africa established through colonialism, oppression and war, have devised yet another way to destroy the African race. The fact that African people remain alive in the face of this plot created by “the children of our enemies,” falls by the grace of the ancestors. The people to whom this message is directed should be thanking God for their survival.

The third song of this analysis was written to demonstrate the paradox of AIDS, by highlighting the beauty of women and sexuality in the beginning, then contrasting beauty in the world with the threat of the HIV virus. This song, Leonard Zhakata’s “Maruva Enyika,” or “Flowers of the World,” is a good indicator of the view of the

disease, of sexuality and marriage in Shona society (see Appendix B, pp. 106-109).

Zhakata sings about the beauty and value of women in Shona society, or in Zimbabwe in general, praising them for their kindness and insisting that they be honored. He likens women's beauty to all that is good in the world, noting that women "decorate the town" and without them, the world would be "full of only thieves and murderers." The song is generally about the virtue of the institution of marriage, implying that if a man cannot find a good and beautiful woman whom he can trust, he must be an idiot. He tells his listeners simply, in his song "Maruva Enyika," when deciding on a wife "Choose yours, only one whom you can fully trust."

A verse toward the end of the song includes the line, "Poison has been poured into the well from which everyone draws water, who will survive this plague?" Here he is making reference to the irony of the disease that wipes people out through the very process, sexual activity, that people need in order to procreate and sustain society and culture. He hints at the nature of sexual drives, comparing activity to quenching of thirst with the image of "drawing water." Zhakata also implies that the society and culture of Zimbabwe has been sabotaged by the willful act of someone "pouring" poison into the "well." He goes on to say that there are "things that happen in the world, you cannot understand it all," suggesting that even a divine explanation may make no sense for the degree of suffering that people are experiencing.

Reggae artist King Isaac, who just recently released his album in Zimbabwe that contains the song "Kuchema Kwedu," (Appendix B, pp. 110-111) illustrates that the state of mourning is basic to understanding other lyrical agendas in these songs. Mourning shows that other efforts in lyric writing on this topic (raising consciousness, the appeal

for divine assistance and the call for action) stem from an attested state of suffering and personal loss. In “Kuchema Kwedu,” or “Our Crying,” the direction given to the song by its title is to mourn. People are crying and suffering, he sings, but the pain they feel seems to be falling on deaf ears.

The song incorporates other senses of experience accompanying AIDS deaths. King Isaac follows the theme of God’s vengeance by recognizing God’s place in ruling all elements of human life. King Isaac demonstrates this by naming and praising God repeatedly in the chorus. In the verse, he wonders why innocent children (and spouses) are feeling the pain of this punishment inflicted by God, which he likens to a thorn. This thorn is perhaps supposed to befall those who are promiscuous, or are misbehaving in other ways according to both Shona and Christian customary tenets for living, but it is a punishment that is not discriminating simply on the basis of morality. The entire chorus of the song is a call out to God “Oh, Master King, Creator of the heavens and earth, We ask you to hear us as we cry.” Please, he is saying, may our hopes and pain fall on ears that have a solution for this experience that is so pervasive and cruel, it makes no sense if we are to believe in God’s love for the innocent.

King Isaac reminds listeners of what is considered right and wrong, and that these things must be reemphasized in Zimbabwean society by emphasizing a difference between innocence and culpability in the behavior that surrounds AIDS contraction. His song is essentially a prayer, asking God what people have done to deserve such suffering. The theme of a punishment that knows no discrimination between guilt and innocence is vividly illustrated in lines such as “It leaps out to the children, the small ones who are your angels, those who have clean hearts and who know no wrong.” King Isaac’s

“Kuchema Kwedu” looks upon the disease as a punishment for promiscuity, as discussed in the last section, but points out that it makes no sense when it is inflicted upon the innocent. His verses are explicit about the nature of the personal suffering caused by the illness, both for those who have it and for those who are left behind, calling it “this thorn, the pain of it does not end.” The consciousness of the illness in this song extends to the social effects caused by losing so many people and what this means for everyone, especially the children. “Some are dying as infants...some are left as orphans.” This lyric points directly to the problem being faced now that some hundreds of thousands of children have been orphaned by AIDS. The issue of indiscriminant punishment in King Isaac’s song speaks directly to the theme of self-efficacy, in that the innocent people he is discussing have no personal power to protect themselves.

Oliver M’tukudzi is an artist who discusses the AIDS issue more than other artists that I have found. He is well known for singing about cultural issues in his music, such as the reclaiming of African identity after so many ways of living have been lost to the experience of colonialism and oppression. The last four of the songs in this analysis come from Oliver M’tukudzi. The song “Ndakuyambira” or “I have warned you,” comes from his album *Chinhambwe* released in 1997 (Appendix B, p. 112-113). In the lyrics of this song, M’tukudzi writes about the knowledge of the disease, that people now know how it is contracted, yet they continue to indulge and put themselves at risk. “Behind the sadza, there is relish,” he sings, meaning that behind the ordinary, daily behavior, there is more than meets the eye. When eating sadza, one expects to find relish to go with it, but it could be that the relish is no longer nourishing. The metaphor of eating sadza is a

strong innuendo for sex. What appears to be attractive on the surface hides dangers of which you must be aware.

He likens the results of unsafe sexual behavior to getting burned by the embers of the fire, singing, “If you hold the coal of a fire, you will get burned.” If you participate in this behavior, recognize it for what it is, and use common sense to prevent contraction. He spells out for his listeners that one must take responsibility for one’s actions, and responsibility includes fighting denial and admitting the behavior, and understanding its consequences. “What someone tells you to stop doing is a thing you’re already doing (you are holding it in your hands).” To illustrate the fright and impossibility of a cure for the disease, he says, “If it gets into your blood, it is a thing you will die with/from.” The disease remains right there in the blood, it is present and without a cure, and M’tukudzi points directly to it with his introductory line “That thing there, there it is.”

From M’tukudzi’s recent album *Bvuma* I found a second song from him that I am using as part of this sample. In this song, called “Akoromoka Awa” or “He Tumbled and Fell,” Oliver M’tukudzi concentrates on mourning for those that he knew who have died of AIDS (Appendix B, p. 114-115). Listeners are led in to the songs by the chorus of crying sounds, “Me-e, me-e.” The first stanza in the verse lists names of people known by the artist, including his brother. The last two lines of this stanza describe the pain involved in the process of mourning and in trying to understand why people must go through the pain of losing loved ones to death, by stating “Tears are trickling down, yes indeed, this journey (of life and death) is taken in turns.”

Oliver M’tukudzi describes explicitly how the HIV virus is contracted in “Akoromoka Awa” with the lyrics “Ati akwire mukaranga, akoromoka awa” literally

meaning “He thought to climb onto a woman, he tumbled and fell” but better understood as an innuendo for the act of sexual intercourse.<sup>14</sup> M’tukudzi is explicitly illustrating the means of catching the virus, by engaging in dangerous sexual behavior that one find oneself in a precarious place and can fall a great distance. The entire image given here demonstrates death occurring simply by engaging in a sexual act, where the character has unwisely challenged himself to stay alive even though he is engaging in unsafe activity. This image of falling from a dangerously high and precarious place is constantly interspersed with the mourning cries of “Me-e, me-e.”

Also in this song, M’tukudzi claims that the suffering, as well as the solution, are “left with us the living.” People know now, clearly, what must be done to help others and to prevent their own demise. His line “we must keep our cups full, maybe we shall meet again” denotes the responsibility taken by those who remain alive and uninfected to take heed and sustain their own health to continue living. Listeners are challenged here to maintain ties to their culture and spiritual beliefs to conquer the death that has interrupted living relationships.

Further along in “Akoromoka Awa,” M’tukudzi states that “The scar that you have given us still hurts.” The loss of these close friends and family members is due to an act of God, who controls all stages of life and creation. God’s will is attributed for causing the pain and suffering that so many experience. This phrase can also be seen as having been directed toward those who have passed away and are now in the world of the ancestors, to let them know that people in the living world are constantly pained by their departure.

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<sup>14</sup> Because of some disagreement on the translation of “mukaranga,” I have chosen to use the definition given in Hannan’s Standard Shona Dictionary, 1987, which says mukaranga is either a person of Karanga

In a third song by M'tukudzi, entitled "Todii?" or "What shall we do?" (Appendix B, p. 116-117), he uses piercing lyrics that illustrate how the disease is contracted and what it means for those who are trying to live with it, with the lines.

"How it hurts to nurture death in your hands...  
How it hurts to be violated by the one who lives with you...  
How it hurts to be violated by the one who paid brideprice for you...  
When a person knows that they have it...  
What can you do when you know you have the virus?"

The last line in the above phrase, "What can you do when you know you have the virus?" demonstrates the sense of confusion, despair and hopelessness felt by individuals when they learn of their infection. He is asking listeners to find a solution and to re-learn how to live, whether or not they are sick. These lines also present the feeling of betrayal accompanying infidelity and contraction of the disease from one's spouse. Sex in marriage is consensual, yet because one partner is left unknowing of the consequences, M'tukudzi sheds light on the "violation" of trust. The one who paid *roora*, or brideprice, for you, the husband who once valued you, has given you the disease knowing full well that he was at risk for being positive. Other lines in this song discuss a pregnancy that will bear an infected child, stating, "Now the conception that has no future has taken root."

The title of the song "Todii?" means "What shall we do?" and so is an anthem for the request and search for a possible solution. He sings this chorus in Shona, in Ndebele and in English. By doing this, he includes the whole lot of people who must claim responsibility for putting a halt to the AIDS virus: that is, everyone. The verses are all sung in Shona and are directed toward anyone who understands Shona. While the chorus extends the question of seeking a solution to all who can understand him, the entire song

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ethnicity, the wife of a chief, or a second wife (*muroora*), p. 380

is connected to the local people and the sense of a group identity, so that people can be empowered and self-efficacy can take root.

In “Todii,” M’tukudzi writes “Behind the grave, there is no prayer” and continues with “please give us some ideas.” It will be too late to seek a solution from God if you refuse to take care of yourself, he says. God is the one who is full of ideas for the solution, so pray before it is not too late. Elements of mourning, loss, and little hope for a solution that might come from the world of the living, come across with the statement “Tapererwa” in the third verse. “Tapererwa” translates into English in a variety of ways, and can mean “We are completely at a loss” or something like “Our ideas and our hope have been finished.” This single word phrase shows the intensity of the hopelessness that people are feeling, resting their hope for a solution with God’s plan. Having had experienced so much suffering, they have no other way of looking for alleviation.

In the last of Oliver M’tukudzi’s songs under examination, entitled “Mabasa,” he again mentions the constant, agonizing cries that are due to experiencing so much tragedy (Appendix B, p. 118-121). Within these cries is the need to find meaning in a pain that seems to have no end and can no longer be helped. He writes,

“The tears are gone, nobody can cry anymore.  
We now hurt inside, in silence.  
The passing on of condolences no longer has any dignity (because we are  
doing it so often), there is no point to it now, what will it help?  
It is not by our cleverness that we remain surviving, you all.  
If this is cleverness, then who is it that will bury us?”

His lyrics here demonstrate the seemingly unnatural frequency of death in Zimbabwean society. Death is to be expected, and because of this there are certain customs that must surround one’s death in order to deal with their spirit properly. But the

frequency of death is robbing these customs of any meaning because now the experience of losing someone to AIDS is commonplace.

In this piece as well, he lists people who need to be mourned, not specifically by name, but in terms of the effects on all generations. He says, “young children are going first, the worker is dying first, leaving behind old women and men.” The song is illuminating the effects of AIDS on individuals, the family structure, and the economy all over the nation. He touches on themes of the plague-like pervasiveness of AIDS when he asks, “Who will bury us?” implying that no one will be left alive to carry on the customs that surround death in a meaningful way. Here he is mourning the young people who are the most affected by AIDS of all demographic groups in Zimbabwe, yet are of the most productive age, who generate economic assets for society and who produce children for the future of the nation. So many people are dying that those who survive the AIDS epidemic are those that are now already past reproductive age. He is mourning what this means for the customs of the Shona people and what it means for the future of the nation. The hopelessness that comes about from this frequency of death is illustrated in the lines “The way in which people are dying today, perhaps this is the end of the world.” Oliver M’tukudzi also demonstrates the commonality of the AIDS experience in the line “You have lost a loved one and the same thing has happened to me.”

Also in this song, M’tukudzi’s illustrates the frustration one feels at not knowing, still, where to find a solution to the personal losses that so many people are feeling. At the same time, he connects this frustration to the problem of continuing the proper customs surrounding a person’s death. He asks in the introduction to the song “Who should I tell this to, that such a terrible thing has happened?” His back-up singers reply

“Send the news to the elders that tragedy has struck,” and they continue with “So let us go and see the elders.” This demonstrates the value of age, experience and wisdom held by Shona people, and the customary practice of going to elders first to tell of a death in the family. It is a clear example of the common practice in Shona culture of seeking advice from those who have already passed through the tribulations of life. Funeral arrangements can be made only with the consultation of elders to make sure that all the proper rituals take place for the person who has passed away. Both the elders and the ancestors take a position of moral, spiritual and practical authority in this and other situations. The song is interspersed with expressions of “Vakuru we-e,” a direct lamentation to elders. People are fed up with the problem of AIDS; they have had enough suffering and need a cure.

Oliver M’tukudzi’s four songs are full of examples of ways that listeners can identify with him and with the situation. In “Akoromoka Awa,” he unites himself together with the listeners by referring to “us the living” as the ones who must take care of maintaining custom and who must seek a solution. In “Todii?” he directs all questions to the listeners, again uniting himself with the masses simply by stating “What shall we do?” The situation he presents is one of betrayal by one’s spouse that would cause one to contract AIDS and give birth to an infected child. He sympathizes with those who have experienced this with the line “how it hurts to rear death in your hand.” In his song “Ndakuyambira,” he is directly warning the listeners with the title “I’ve warned you,” and he consistently uses the second person to illuminate the behavior associated with HIV contraction, “If you touch the embers of a fire, you will burn.” In “Mabasa,” he clearly identifies his own experience of loss with the line “You have been left behind by a

loved one, and the same thing has happened to me.” Especially in this song, M’tukudzi makes strong cultural references to the customs that surround one’s death, practices which are all well known by his listeners.

The proverbs and other folkloric content in the songs serve to connect the listener to Shona tradition and culture, thereby contributing to the meaning derived from the experience of suffering from the AIDS epidemic by offering listeners a culturally meaningful way to interpret their experiences. Two references to proverbs stand out clearly in Oliver M’tukudzi’s songs, “Akoromoka Awa” and “Ndakuyambira.” In the former, M’tukudzi sings “Zvasariresu vapenyu, isu vapenyu, kufuga nekuwarira,” making direct reference to the proverb “Zviri kumwene wejira, kufuka nokuwaridza,” which means, “It is up to the owner of the blanket to put it on or to spread it” meaning “the owner of the problem must deal with it.”<sup>15</sup> M’tukudzi’s line changes the proverb slightly, applying it to the context of AIDS suffering, and it can be translated as “It is now left with us the living, us the living, ‘to put it on or to spread it.’” The matter has been made clear to all Zimbabweans, they recognize the problem and the information, and with that information they must act and make decisions accordingly. This interpretation is supported by the general explanation given in the book of Shona proverbs *Tsumo-Shumo* (Hamutyinei), where it says, “He who has the resources and information is the one who can decide what to do with it.”<sup>16</sup>

In M’tukudzi’s song “Ndakuyambira,” he mentions, “The thing that someone tells you to stop doing is a thing you are holding in your hands...If it gets into your blood, it is a thing you will die with/from.” At first glance, this looks like figurative language for

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<sup>15</sup> Hamutyinei, p. 300

<sup>16</sup> *ibid.*

being accused of bad behavior, then a warning about the nature of the HIV virus and the illnesses that accompany AIDS, which is a completely valid interpretation. However, there is more going on than reference to AIDS, especially if the word “blood” is taken as a metaphor for “character.” There is a Shona proverb that states “Chinonzi rega ndechiri mumaoko, chiri mumwoyo ndingofa nacho,” which means in English, “What can be expected to be dropped is held in the hands, but what is in the heart I shall die with.”<sup>17</sup> This proverb is generally applicable to bad behavior, and can be explained as Hamutyinei suggests, by saying that

“It is possible for a person to drop a bad habit but it is impossible for him to change his whole character. This may be quoted as an excuse for not getting rid of a bad habit which has become part of a person’s character, or as a warning against bad habits which will not be overcome easily.”<sup>18</sup>

Even though M’tukudzi never mentions AIDS in so many words, he takes this proverb and manipulates it to include “blood” and “veins” instead of “heart,” and thus the meaning is expanded from the established interpretation of a “character” flaw to include habits that will actually kill you.

There is one particularly problematic line in these songs, and that is in Oliver M’tukudzi’s song “Akoromoka Awa.” Its full controversy is discussed more in Chapter 4 as part of the feedback interviews. The problem of interpretation and translating lies in what listeners believe M’tukudzi’s intentions were in writing the line “Ati akwire mukaranga, akoromoka awa.” I’ve translated this as “He thought to climb onto a woman, he tumbled and fell.” The word “mukaranga” is, as discussed previously, defined as a

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<sup>17</sup> *ibid.*, p. 63

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.*

young bride, a second wife, or a wife to a chief. However, to translate this word as “woman” has been embarrassing and perceived as vulgar by some of the interview participants. There are strong incentives to actually interpret this word as “tree,” especially one that is difficult to climb for some reason, either its height or the presence of thorns on its branches.

This is an excellent example of the kinds of expectations listeners bring to the listening process. An artist is expected to write figuratively in order to challenge the listener to make sense of the song as he or she chooses to make sense of it. Directness and “vulgarity” are not an appreciated aesthetic in Shona songs. Thomas Mapfumo’s “Mukondombera” and King Isaac’s “Kuchema Kwedu” both cloak promiscuity in figurative language like “stop the fooling around” or “What kind of thorn is this that punishes one who has not walked?” These lines do not attempt to illustrate the sexual act with such explicitness as M’tukudzi’s “climbing.” This shows a certain degree of freedom in M’tukudzi’s writing.

Figurative language use is also representative of folklore, as the “sadza” innuendo mentioned above. Other examples of figurative language are found in Chimbetu’s song “Tenda,” when he refers to the African race as “descendent of the bewitched.” Also, in Leonard Zhakata’s song “Maruva Enyika,” sexual desire and the source of fertility are referred to as a well, in the phrase “poison has been poured into the well from which everyone draws water.”

Other cultural and religious references engage listeners in these songs, such as when Oliver M’tukudzi sings in his song “Mabasa” about sending word of tragedy to the elders and the decreasing meaning of the custom of passing on condolences. Leonard

Zhakata urges faithfulness with his line that says “Choose yours, one whom you can fully trust,” making a direct draw from the children’s game song “Sarura Wako,” or “Choose yours.”

## Chapter 4. Reactions to the Songs by Zimbabwean Youth

### i. The Feedback Interview

The Feedback Interview is a data collection strategy fashioned by Ruth Stone in her fieldwork regarding the interpretation of music events among the Kpelle of Liberia.<sup>1</sup> She defines Feedback Interview as “the playback and recall of a completed event in which the researcher and participant attempt to reconstruct its meaning.” The process of an interview in this style involves three dimensions. First, the researcher uses questions in verbal interview to allow the subject to recall the event under investigation. Secondly, the researcher uses notes, such as detailed description or transcription, to inquire on the subject’s thoughts and reflection about the event. And finally, the researcher uses recorded materials such as audio or videotapes that would stimulate the subject’s memories and thoughts about the music event.<sup>2</sup>

Logistically, there are a few ways Stone’s “playback and recall” process differs from mine. While she was working with a particular music event under question, I have used the recording itself as the music material under question. Stone interviewed up to four people at once, which would be appropriate for a group experience of one musical event. It is my goal however, to gain insight into individual interpretation and understanding of a widely distributed material, so I have conducted the interviews with only one participant at a time. Also in Stone’s process, recordings were not introduced in the interview setting until other means of recall and interpretation had been expended. In my project, since the recording is so central to the nature of the music being interpreted,

the interview process began by playing the recordings, one by one, until the questions regarding each recording were finished. The listening was supplemented by looking through the transcriptions and translations I have made of the lyrics of these eight songs. I interviewed five youth who have recently come from Zimbabwe to live in the Lansing, Michigan area. The youngest of these participants was 22 and the eldest 39. One of the five was a woman.

Stone's method for interview and performance analysis is based on the experience of a "completed" live music event, which is an identifiable unit of live musical experience at a particular time. But the live performance event is not the main means of propagation of popular music in Zimbabwe, or anywhere else, and the ideas presented therein. There are, of course, live music events in popular music. Zimbabwe's capital city, including its suburbs, is teeming with festivals, concerts and bar showings of many different popular artists of many styles. But recorded music is in fact the primary means of the propagation of the "completed" musical unit that I am examining.

Documenting the interpretations of popular music lyrics by Shona-speaking listeners is important for assessing the function of music as a tool for AIDS education and awareness. Also important is to document what meaning is attached to these songs by people who come from Zimbabwe and understand the pervasiveness of the AIDS problem. Gage Averill suggests that songs that are imbued with political and social reference help to build "mass consensus" about the issues.<sup>3</sup> Recorded music permeates the lives of people in Zimbabwe, as mentioned earlier, so there are many occasions and contexts for building awareness and consensus. Interpretation of the lyrics by Shona

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<sup>1</sup> Stone, 1982 pp. 50-54.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, p. 52.

speakers involves situating the lyrics within an understood specific social context. At the time of the interview, I asked all participants how they would situate the meaning of the lyrics in the current situation in Zimbabwe today. This process involves listening and application, what Stone called the “attempt to reconstruct meaning.” Their interpretations follow in the next section.

With the responses given in the questionnaire, I looked for general reactions in the answers to particular songs and sections of songs. The questions involve determining reaction to lyrics, rhythm, and artist reputation. Such information can show us personal connection to the song, affinity for the message, and credibility of the artist in the listener’s opinion. I also asked for individual reaction to the point of the song and the meaning that can be taken from it for Zimbabwean society. I did not ask the listeners what each song meant for the AIDS situation, but for Zimbabwe in general, because I wanted to leave the interpretation of song topics as open as possible, considering the fact that each person understood my research project clearly. Even with generalization, there are variations in the responses, depending on the individual’s life experience and the ambiguity of the lyrical references. When these differences occur in the data, I have expounded upon the distinctions and what possibly causes them. At no time, however, does this process trespass on the confidentiality assured to the subjects.

The most important question in this interview process involved the reputation or perceived authority of the artists whose songs I am looking at, and whether or not listeners feel like the message is formed in a meaningful and personally empowering way through the use of Shona idiomatic expressions. These factors contribute to the

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<sup>3</sup> Averill, p. 219.

individual's sense of the risk presented by the AIDS problem and their personal sense of power that they wield in controlling their own destinies, especially among the youth.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> UNICEF/Ministry of Higher Education "Knowledge and Attitudes on STD/HIV/AIDS..." 1994

## ii. Anecdotal evidence

The reactions to and interpretations of each song will be presented, supplemented with additional information and personal stories that surround the song, if available. Reactions are documented on the bases of 1) whether the AIDS message was received, and 2) how the interviewee felt about the artist's lyrical tactics and style. Personal stories were up to the discretion of the interviewee.

The song "Mukondombera" by Thomas Mapfumo was viewed as the song in this collection that is the most lyrically direct in facing the AIDS problem in Zimbabwe. There was an overall consensus about the song's topic. Two interviewees had not heard this song before I gave them the cassette, but all were very familiar with the singer and his reputation for being outspoken. Two interviewees noted that this song was first popular in the early 1990s, around 1991 or 1992, when people were aware of the AIDS problem but were afraid to admit its reality. Now ten years later, they said, this lyrical tactic of such a strict warning would not be effective in stirring an emotional reaction, because everyone is quite aware of the presence of AIDS. The song is still a hit because of the reputation of the artist and the time in Zimbabwe's history that it represents. The most important factors in the high evaluation of this song and artist are the subject matter and the rhythmic style of the song.

One of the participants told me an interesting story about how he has actually used this song in his own life. He was at a bar in Harare to see Thomas Mapfumo perform, and a prostitute approached him to solicit business. In reaction, he faced her and began to sing the chorus of "Mukondombera," trying, he said, to show her that he was

well aware of the dangers of her occupation. She replied by singing another Mapfumo song back at him, trying to debunk his insult, entitled “Hauna mari chikomana” (“You’re broke, little boy”).

Simon Chimbetu’s song “Tenda” was considered a favorite song by one interviewee, while others considered this song a poor example of his songwriting capabilities that usually demonstrate a well-developed storyline and poetic lyrics. Again, the subject matter of the song and the rhythmic style of the music were the two strongest elements in people’s opinion of this song and artist.

“Tenda” was a song that offered some varied interpretations of the lyrics in the interview setting. Two of the participants said that this song has nothing to do with AIDS at all. Their interpretations were, first, that it is simply a song for celebrating the new year, and has no emphasis on staying healthy. This interpretation, it was admitted, was influenced by watching the video on television in Zimbabwe, which depicted a huge New Year’s party throughout the song. Even the lines that state “They got together to plot against us, the children of our enemies, they brought the killer illness that is invisible,” were interpreted in this case as being representative of someone’s bad luck, that was not necessarily the contraction AIDS. These same lines offered the other interpretation that was different from mine, in that it was even more essentially political. The “plotting” reference was in general reference to “white peoples’ continued assault on blacks,” and that survival has more to do with political sovereignty than it does with health.

For those that were not impressed so much with the lyrical style in Chimbetu’s song, Leonard Zhakata’s song “Maruva Enyika” posed an even stronger example to them of the “shallowness” and “blandness” of the writing style of some popular music artists in

Zimbabwe. Even with this critique, lyrical subject matter ranked the highest in importance for the established opinion of this song and artist, followed by rhythmic style. No one claimed this artist as his or her favorite.

For all of my participants, this song was not recognized as one that dealt with the topic of AIDS until I mentioned it as part of my project. The few lines that mention the “poison” that has been poured into the well were glossed over by the many lines that sing the praises of the beauty of women. The male interviewees stated that this song reminded them of the beautiful women that live in Harare. A few participants recognized this song as one that urges men to value steady, monogamous relationships and to value trust between two people. These values, they said, are represented more in the repetition of the lines “See what they do, those who love each other” more than the mention of “poison” in the “well.” The only female interviewee in this project stated that this song was to teach men to “not be greedy.”

King Isaac’s song “Kuchema Kwedu” was unfamiliar to all of the participants, but they were familiar with the artist because of their proximity to him in the United States. It was noted by some interviewees that it was difficult to discuss the reputation of this artist in Zimbabwe, because his work has just recently been released there, while the interviewees reside in the U.S. His song in this sample was valued most heavily for its lyrics and rhythm. This song too, presented some interpretations of political undercurrents. Most of the participants recognized the lyrics as a strong prayer for all Zimbabweans, asking for God to have mercy on the extensive and unreasonable pain that people are experiencing in their lives due to AIDS. Another interpretation was that the “thorn” (discussed previously as the unreasonable punishment inflicted on the innocent)

was actually a sign of Zimbabwe's political instability and that the suffering described was the general economic suffering of Zimbabwe's people.

The last four songs of this analysis are those by Oliver M'tukudzi, who is considered the favorite Zimbabwean musician of all who participated in the interviews. Again, the lyrical subject matter and rhythmic style in this artist's work is the most important determining factor in whether he is considered "good." The consistently robust cultural references and poetics in his lyrics have earned him a durable reputation in Zimbabwe. His songs in this sample are varied in terms of their language use, some being direct and in clear reference to AIDS, others being more metaphorical and in possible reference to general suffering and good behavior, according to the interview participants.

The interviewees interpreted the song "Akoromoka Awa" in three ways. First, it was viewed as a general cry for the people of Zimbabwe who are struggling economically and who have to be subject to politically troubling times. Second, it was interpreted as a song that is mourning for those people mentioned in it who were working so hard in life to "reach new heights" in their success and foolish steps caused them to fail. And finally, it was recognized as a song that sings about the pain associated with losing someone to AIDS and the behavior that brings about that loss.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the interpretation of the line "Ati akwire mukaranga" (He thought to climb onto a woman) was controversial. I asked the interviewees to expand on their reasons for asserting that it would not be correct to translate "mukaranga" as woman, but instead to translate it as "tree." First off, to hear Oliver M'tukudzi say something like "kukwira mukadzi" (literally, "to climb onto a woman," a valid slang

phrase to refer to the sex act) would be, as they said, too direct, too vulgar, and even “too Un-African.” Secondly, by interpreting his words as “He thought to climb a tree,” listeners were given the option to choose what M’tukudzi meant in this song because of the presentation of a double meaning. In this way, they were mentally challenged and engaged to determine what behavior the singing was talking about. In all cases, the line was interpreted as engaging in some sort of dangerous behavior. One interviewee said that “to climb a tree is to seek refuge,” but that the song may be referring to the fact that “now even the place of refuge is treacherous.”

I have no record of there being a type of tree in Zimbabwe called “mukaranga,” but it is thought to be one that is difficult to climb either because of its height or its thorns. Even without this record, I cannot dispute the interpretations of the listeners, because it is through their cultural understanding and engagement with the music that the meaning to suffering is made sense. One of the participants phoned me a few days after the interview to tell me that he had called his father in Zimbabwe to find out specifically what “mukaranga” means in Shona. His father replied that it is in fact a woman, and that no such tree exists in Zimbabwe.

M’tukudzi’s song “Ndakuyambira” was considered the one containing the most direct AIDS message by one of the interviewees, because of M’tukudzi’s plain description of veins, death and repeated warnings. In this song, M’tukudzi presents ideas of avoiding promiscuous behavior as knowledge that people already have, that they already know how they are “supposed to be” behaving, yet there is still a growing problem of AIDS infection.

In the last chapter, a proverb was discussed from this song that pointed to the tendency for habits to become part of one's character. When this is recognized, and the "veins" translation is not taken literally, as one interviewee did, the lyrics have a seriously political tone to them. In this interpretation, the words referring to behavior and to admitting one's own habits are perceived as being directed toward general mischief, corruption and power abuse in Zimbabwean politics.

M'tukudzi's "Todii" is also seen as a song that utilizes a direct lyrical strategy to address AIDS and the seeking out of an AIDS solution. Similar to King Isaac's song, this one is questioning how people can eventually deal with the AIDS situation and feelings of despair, and it is requesting divine intervention. Interviewees expressed that this song presents quite a dramatic feeling of the hopelessness with which people are now living. He is presenting situations (such as violation and betrayal by a spouse) that ask listeners to imagine and/or remember the feelings of pain associated with these situations. One listener did not attach the AIDS message to this song at all, but felt the request for divine intervention is made on behalf of those who are suffering through economic hardship.

The song "Mabasa" by Oliver M'tukudzi was marked as a very powerful song that addresses AIDS in Zimbabwe because of the way in which M'tukudzi lyrically situates the problem in Zimbabwe's history and culture. Some general interpretations were that the song is a "sad look to the future" when it describes how the current death rates are affecting Zimbabwean people of all generations. The lyrics that struck emotional chords in this piece were the ones that made reference to the changing functions of the customs surrounding someone's death, such as letting the elders in the family know what has happened and the frequency of giving condolences to family

members left behind. These references demand that the listener think about how AIDS is transforming Zimbabwean life forever.

In the interview process, these songs had a variable effect on listeners, depending on their personal experiences with AIDS death among their own friends or family. One participant was quite vocal about the lyrical presentation of the problem by saying that the more personal the lyrics, the more effective they are at making listeners reflect about their own lives and behavior. This interviewee told me that he has lost all of his siblings to AIDS, and their spouses are now left dying of the disease along with some of their children. Not only has he lost most of his family, indeed all of the members who are of his generation, he has also been left behind by all of his college friends, except for one. His interest in the songs that I presented in this sample did not lie in ones that were preaching about behavior, or ones that “trivialized” the problem, which he believed Leonard Zhakata’s song was doing. Instead, he said, those songs that are embedded with a sense that the AIDS problem belongs to all of Shona society, and those that are full of nurturing the power of the listeners to change things, are the songs that contain the real sense of what Zimbabweans are going through, and so will remain meaningful in the future.

## Conclusion: the Musical and Lyrical Contribution to Self-Efficacy

Self-efficacy in AIDS prevention can be measured only by determining one's personal beliefs and behaviors surrounding one's own sexuality and one's perceived personal ability to combat the AIDS problem. The knowledge of what steps must be taken for a particular outcome, or "outcome expectations," must be met with an equally powerful sense of self-efficacy in order to complete the steps.<sup>1</sup> The songs in this sample of popular music songs from Zimbabwe that deal with the AIDS issue vary in their effect of either building a picture of the problem (i.e., developing the "outcome expectations"), or offering a contribution to personal and social power to combat the problem (self-efficacy). From the interviews, it is apparent that it is more important for listeners to feel a sense of connection with the artist and with culture than it is to hear direct warning messages. It comes down to the values that are relevant at this time in Zimbabwe's history. John Chernoff made the point in his book *African rhythm and African sensibility* that aesthetics in African music are inextricably linked to social ethics.<sup>2</sup> The enjoyment and value of the artists presented in this study by Zimbabwean listeners demonstrate this link to ethics in two ways: that the messages presented are of a moralizing nature, and that the way in which they are presented represents what is valued in culture. In other words, the artists simultaneously discuss the ethics in what *should be* and what *is*.

These types of messages are at the root of the "reconstruction" of values and identity in society, where established forms of discourse are imbued with the experience of the new. The repertoire of historical record is thereby expanded, so that people in

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<sup>1</sup> Witte, et.al. 2001 p. 40

<sup>2</sup> Chernoff, John M. 1979.

Zimbabwe will be able to remember the suffering of these times clearly and with a similar sense of emotion that is being experienced today. These songs are giving voice to the experience of AIDS suffering, both in the present, by helping to make sense of suffering, and in the future, where the voices and memories of those who have suffered will live on in the national identity.

Chapter 1 supplies a brief overview of the political and economic history of the country of Zimbabwe, including the pervasiveness of HIV and AIDS illness in current demographic trends. From this basis, thoughts about AIDS origins and the dialectic relationship between the disease and socioeconomic disempowerment are explored to provide a wider body of understanding the effects of the illness on individuals within Zimbabwean society.

In Chapter 2, an ethnographic approach established the Shona worldview and the thread of spirituality that binds all of life's events together. The importance of healing ceremonies for the ill and proper burials for those who have died was highlighted in the first section in order to allow for my elaboration on the importance of music in life's rites of passage among Shona people. The importance of music was explored in various arenas of personal, social, economic and political realms, particularly those of religion, education, the struggle for liberation and in freedom of expression. Marriage and sexuality was also discussed in terms of the social and spiritual importance that they hold in Shona culture.

Chapter 3 presents the analysis of the songs in which the experience of AIDS and hopes for the future coincide. The analysis of songs in Chapter 3, from a distance both

geographically and culturally, displays a picture of how artists are writing about the AIDS problem in Zimbabwe.

More importantly, the interviews that display individual reactions in Chapter 4 have connected these songs to the real lives of people in (or from) Zimbabwe. The sample of participants in this project was not a large, but one that is indicative of individual variants of the effects of AIDS discourse in Zimbabwean popular music. There was a high level of consensus about message and lyrical strategy, with few alternative interpretations of messages. The interpretive variations that are present show that making meaning of life in the face of tragedy is both an individual and a cultural enterprise, in which individuals rely on their own experiences within their social and cultural situation.<sup>3</sup> In this case, variation is especially apparent with the participant who applied the political situation in Zimbabwe today to the songs to which others applied the AIDS problem.

This project is meant to highlight how musicians are contributing to the wider cultural understanding of the suffering brought on by AIDS in Zimbabwe. Perhaps, with closer scrutiny, they are displaying their own confusion and hopelessness to let listeners know that all people in Zimbabwe are in the same boat, that everyone bears responsibility for making sense of the loss in their lives. With the number of songs about AIDS increasing in the last decade, we can see that this effort by musicians is becoming more and more important.

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<sup>3</sup> Averill

## DISCOGRAPHY

ARTIST	SONG	SOURCE
Thomas Mapfumo	"Mukondombera"	<i>Everyone's Child</i> Motion Picture Soundtrack Media for Development Trust 1996
Simon "Chopper" Chimbetu	"Tenda"	<i>Lullaby</i> Gramma Records Serial: LAKSALP 177
Leonard Zhakata	"Maruva Enyika"	<i>Greatest Hits</i> Zimbabwe Music Corp. 1996 CDKLZ5
King Isaac	"Kuchema Kwedu"	<i>King Isaac</i> ZMC 2002 4102
Oliver M'tukudzi	"Akoromoka Awa"	<i>Bvuma-Tolerance</i> Tuku Music/ZMC 2001 OMC 004
	"Ndakuyambira"	<i>Chinhambwe</i> Tuku Music/ZMC 1997 L4 TKLP21
	"Todii"	<i>Tuku Music</i> Tuku/Ikwezi/Putumayo 1998/1999 Putu 152-2
	"Mabasa"	<i>Tuku Music</i> Tuku/Ikwezi/Putumayo 1998/1999 Putu 152-2

MUKONDOMBERA  
NaThomas Mapfumo

(Korasi)

Kubata-bata muchiregera, kubata-bata vanababa,  
Kubata-bata muchiregera, kubata-bata vasikana,  
Kubata-bata muchiregera, kubata-bata vanasisi,  
Kubata-bata muchiregera, kubata-bata vakomana.  
Chenjerai mukondombero, chenjerai chirwere chauya  
Hoyo wauya mukondombero, hecho chauya chirwere chiya (x3).  
Mukasatya munopera, hecho chauya chirwere chiya (x4).

Amaiwe tapera tose  
Amaiwe tapera tose  
Vakomana mopera mose  
Vasikana chirwere chauya  
Chirwere chauya panyika  
Tamba wakachenjera pasi pano paipa  
Chenjera chirwere chauya  
Shamhu huru yatumwa naMwari  
Shamhu huru yatumwa naMwari

(Korasi)

Kufamba-famba muchiregera, kufamba-famba vanababa,  
Kufamba-famba muchiregera, kufamba-famba vasikana,  
Kufamba-famba muchiregera, kufamba-famba vanasisi,  
Kufamba-famba muchiregera, kufamba-famba vakomana.  
Chenjerai mukondombero, chenjerai chirwere chauya  
Hoyo wauya mukondombero, hecho chauya chirwere chiya (x3).  
Mukasatya munopera, hecho chauya chirwere chiya (x4).

Mwari iwe toita seiko?  
Mwari iwe tipeiwo zano  
Kuzvipedza kumira newako (maiwe)  
Kuzvipedza kumira newako (maiwe)  
Vapera vanakomana  
Vapera Vanasikana  
Chirwere chauya panyika  
Chirwere chauya panyika  
Shamhu huru yatumwa naMwari (maiwe)

(Korasi)

Hoyo wauya mukondombero, hecho chauya chirwere chiya (x4)  
Mukasatya munopera, hecho chauya chirwere chiya (x4)

## THE PLAGUE THAT WILL LEAVE NOBODY BEHIND

By: Thomas Mapfumo

(Chorus)

You should stop the fooling around, fathers,  
You should stop the fooling around, girls,  
You should stop the fooling around, sisters,  
You should stop the fooling around, boys.  
Beware of this plague, beware the illness has come  
Here comes the plague, the illness has come (x3).  
If you're not afraid you will perish, the illness has come (x4)

Oh goodness, we are all perished.  
Oh goodness, we are all perished.  
Boys you are all perishing  
Girls the illness has come  
An illness that has come into this world  
Play it safe, because this world has gone bad.  
Beware the illness has come  
A giant whip sent down by God  
A giant whip sent down by God.

(Chorus)

You should stop the going around here and there, fathers,  
You should stop the going around here and there, girls,  
You should stop the going around here and there, sisters,  
You should stop the going around here and there, boys.  
Beware of this plague, beware the illness has come  
Here comes the plague, the illness has come (x3).  
If you're not afraid you will perish, the illness has come (x4).

Oh God, what are we supposed to do?  
God, please give us an idea  
To stop it all, stand by your spouse (lamenting expression)  
To stop it all, stand by your spouse (lamenting expression)  
The boys have perished  
The girls have perished  
It is the illness that has come into the world  
It is the illness that has come into the world  
A giant whip sent down by God (lamenting expression)

(Chorus)

Here comes the plague, the illness has come (x4)  
If you're not afraid you will perish, the illness has come (x4)

TENDA  
NaSimon “Chopper” Chimbetu

[Mushauri]	Tenda, tenda, tenda, tenda, wariona	
[Mutsinhiri]	Tenda, tenda, tenda, tenda, wariona	[kaviri]
[Mushauri]	Tenda, tenda, tenda, tenda gore rapera	
[Mutsinhiri]	Tenda, tenda, tenda, tenda, wariona	[kaviri]
[Mushauri]	Tenda, tenda, tenda, Mwana waMuroyiwa	
[Mutsinhiri]		
[Mushauri]	Tenda, tenda, tenda, tenda, wariona	
[Mutsinhiri]		[kaviri]
[Mushauri]	Vakatozorangana, vana vemuvengi	
[Mutsinhiri]		
[Mushauri]	Tenda, tenda, tenda, tenda, gore ropera	
[Mutsinhiri]		
[Mushauri]	Tenda, tenda, tenda, Mwana waMuroyiwa	
[Mutsinhiri]		
[Mushauri]	Vakatozorangana, vana vemuvengi	
[Mutsinhiri]		
[Mushauri]	Vanoda kuparadza, rudzi rwedzinza rwedu	
[Mutsinhiri]		
[Mushauri]	Vakaonza chekufa, chisingaoneki	
[Mutsinhirei]		
[Mushauri]	Tenda, tenda, tenda, tenda, gore ropera	
[Mutsinhiri]		
[Mushauri]	Tenda, tenda, tenda, hwe-e-e, he-e-e, he-e-e-e	
[Mutsinhiri]		
[Mushauri]	Tenda, tenda, tenda, tenda, gore ropera	
[Mushauri]	Tenda, tenda, tenda, tenda wariona	
[Mutsinhiri]		

[Mushauri] Tenda, tenda, tenda, tenda, gore ropera  
[Mutsinhiri]

[Mushauri] Tenda, tenda, Mwana waMuroyiwa  
[Mutsinhiri]

[Mushauri] Tenda, tenda, tenda, gore ropera  
[Mutsinhiri]

[Mushauri] Tenda, tenda, tenda, waripindaka  
[Mutsinhiri] Tenda, tenda, tenda, tenda, waripinda

[Mushauri] Tenda, tenda, tenda, tenda, waripinda  
[Mutsinhiri] Tenda, tenda, tenda, tenda, waripinda

[Mushauri] Vakatozorangana, vana vamuvengi  
[Mutsinhiri] Tenda, tenda, tenda, tenda, wariona

[Mushauri] Vanoda kuparadza, rudzi rwedzinza rwedu  
[Mutsinhiri]

[Mushauri] Vakaonza chekufa, chisingaoneki  
[Mutsinhiri]

**BE GRATEFUL**  
By: Simon "Chopper" Chimbetu

[Call] Give thanks, give thanks, give thanks, be grateful when you have seen it  
[Response] Give thanks, give thanks, give thanks, be grateful when you have seen it  
[twice]

[Call] Give thanks, give thanks, give thanks, be grateful that a year has passed  
[Response] Give thanks, give thanks, give thanks, be grateful when you have seen it  
[twice]

[Call] Give thanks, give thanks, give thanks, child of the bewitched  
[Response]

[Call] Give thanks, give thanks, give thanks, be grateful when you have seen it  
[Response] [twice]

[Call] They got together to plot against us, the children of our enemies  
[Response]

[Call] Give thanks, give thanks, give thanks, be grateful that a year has passed  
[Response]

[Call] Give thanks, give thanks, give thanks, child of the bewitched  
[Response]

[Call] They got together to plot against us, the children of our enemies  
[Response]

[Call] They want to destroy our entire race  
[Response]

[Call] They brought the mysterious disease that remains unseen  
[Response]

[Call] Give thanks, give thanks, give thanks, be grateful that a year has passed  
[Response]

[Call] Give thanks, give thanks, give thanks, hwe-e-e, he-e-e, he-e-e-e  
[Response]

[Call] Give thanks, give thanks, give thanks, be grateful that a year has passed  
[Call] Give thanks, give thanks, give thanks, be grateful when you have seen it  
[Response]

[Call] Give thanks, give thanks, give thanks, be grateful that a year has passed  
[Response]

[Call] Give thanks, give thanks, give thanks, child of the bewtiched  
[Response]

[Call] Give thanks, give thanks, give thanks, be grateful that a year has passed  
[Response]

[Call] Give thanks, give thanks, give thanks, when you've entered it  
[Response] Give thanks, give thanks, give thanks, be grateful when you're in it

[Call] Give thanks, give thanks, give thanks, be grateful when you're in it  
[Response] Give thanks, give thanks, give thanks, be grateful when you're in it

[Call] They got together to plot against us, the children of our enemies  
[Response] Give thanks, give thanks, give thanks, be grateful when you have seen it

[Call] They want to destroy our entire race  
[Response]

[Call] They brought the mysterious disease that remains unseen  
[Response]

MARUVA ENYIKA  
naLeonard Zhakata

Zvakauya seiko mupfungwa dzenyu Mwari Mambo  
Kutisikira maruva enyika vanasikana (x2)

Vetsiye nyoro, verunako, vecheno  
Madzimai ngavarumbidzwe (x2)

Deno vasipo madzimai edu aya varume  
Nyika inodai iri yembavha nemondi chete (x2)

Vageza zvavo vadye jira vanasikana  
Uya uone migwagwa yobwinya necheno iyoyo (x2)

Buda mumba madeukazuva mumwe wangu  
Uya uone guta riya rashongedzwa

Zvakauya seiko mupfungwa dzenyu Mwari Mambo  
Kutisikira maruva enyika vanasikana

Tinotenda, isu tinotenda  
Tinotenda, Baba tinotenda

Tarira nyika iya yajekechera madzimai  
Onaka nyika iya yofashukira madzimai (x2)

Iwe ndiwe wakaita seiko usina wako?  
Sarura wako mumwe chete wokuvimba naye (x2)

Asina hamenho zvake (x5)  
Asina ifuza iro

Tarira zvinoita vamwe mukudanana (mukudanana)  
Onawo zvinoita vamwe mukudanana (mukudanana) (x2)

Wongo, wongorora zvinoita vamwe vanodanana (vanodanana)  
Iwe yemura zvinoita vamwe vanodanana (vanodanana)  
Wongo, wongorora zvinoita vamwe vanodanana (vanodanana)  
Asi rega kutorwa mwoyo kana kuchiva

Zviitiko zvemunyika haungazvikwanise, (x2) baby  
Zviitiko zvemunyika haungazvikwanise, (x2) mfela  
Zviitiko zvemunyika haungazvikwanise, (x2) chenjera!



Poyizeni yakadirwa mutsime rinocherwa nemunhu wose  
Ndianiko achararama pamukondombera?

Vakanga vauya zvakanaka madzimai  
Kutipanga mazano kutivaraidzaka (x2)

Ungarame seiko usina wako anokuyemera  
Upenyu wacho unगतobowa  
Chokwadi, unगतobowa.

## THE FLOWERS OF THE WORLD

By Leonard Zhakata

How did you come up with the idea, Lord God,  
To create girls, the flowers of the world, for us? (x2)

Those who are kind, those who are beautiful, those who are fashionable  
Let the women be honored (x2)

If they were not here, our women, guys  
The world would be full of thieves and murderers only (x2)

They bathe themselves and wear expensive cloth, these girls  
Come and see these streets that shine with their fashion (x2)

Leave the house at sunset, my love  
And come see this town that has been decorated

How did you come up with the idea, Lord God,  
To create girls, the flowers of the world, for us?

Thank you, we thank you  
Thank you, Father we thank you

Look at the world scattered with beautiful women  
See the world overflowing with women (x2)

You, what are you like without yours?  
Choose yours, only one whom you can fully trust (x2)

He who is without, tough luck for him (x5)  
He who is without, he is an idiot.

Look at what they do those who love each other (those who love each other)  
See what they do those who love each other (those who love each other) (x2)

Observe what they do those who love each other (those who love each other)  
You, admire what they do those who love each other (those who love each other)

Observe what they do those who love each other (those who love each other)  
But don't become lustful or jealous.

The things that happen in the world, you cannot understand it all, (x2) baby,  
The things that happen in the world, you cannot understand it all, (x2) fellas,  
The things that happen in the world, you cannot understand it all, (x2) beware!

Poison has been put into the well from which everyone draws water  
Who will survive from this pandemic?

They had come well the women  
To advise us with ideas and to entertain us (x2)

How will you survive without yours whom you can pamper?  
Life would be boring  
Really, it would be boring.

**KUCHEMA KWEDU**  
**NaKing Isaac**

**Korasi:**

Nhai Tenzi Mambo  
Musiki wedenga nepasi  
Nhai Tenzi Ishe  
Nkulunkulu Tico  
SiceI'ukuthi uzwe  
Ukukhala kwethu  
Tinokumbira kuti munzwe  
Kuchema kwedu

Ishamhu rudziiko  
Inoranga nevasina kutadza?  
Munzwa rudziiko  
Unobaya nevasina kufamba?  
Heyo, yonhanhikira kupwere  
Vana vadiki ngirozi dzenyu  
Vachena mwoyo vasina kana nechavanoziva.

Vamwe vanofa vari vacheche  
Munzwa wacho kurwadza kwawo hakuperi.  
Vamwe vanosiwa vari nherera  
Zvinhu zvazvaoma achavariritira ndiani?

**(Korasi)**

Ishamhu rudziiko  
Inoranga nevasina kutadza?  
Munzwa rudziiko  
Unobaya nevasina kufamba?  
Heyo, yonhanhikira kupwere  
Vana vadiki ngirozi dzaMwari  
Vachena mwoyo vasina kana nechavanoziva.

Vamwe vanofa vari vacheche  
Munzwa wacho kurwadza kwawo hakuperi.  
Vamwe vanosiwa vari nherera  
Zvinhu zvazvaoma achavariritira ndiani?

**(Korasi, kaviri)**

OUR CRIES  
By: King Isaac

Chorus:

Oh, Master King  
Creator of the heavens and the earth,  
Oh, Master Lord  
Greatest God,\*  
We ask you to hear\*  
Our cries,\*  
We ask you to hear  
Our cries.

What kind of punishment is this,  
That is inflicted even on those who do no wrong?  
What kind of thorn  
Pierces even those to do not mess around?  
Look now, it leaps out to the children,  
The small children who are your angels  
Those who have clean hearts and know no wrong.

Some are dying as infants,  
This thorn, the pain of it does not end.  
Some are left as orphans,  
Now that things are getting so hard, who will look after them?

(Instrumental bridge)  
(Chorus)

What kind of punishment is this,  
That is inflicted even on those who do no wrong?  
What kind of thorn  
Pierces even those to do not mess around?  
Look now, it leaps out to the children,  
The small children who are angels of God,  
Those who have clean hearts and know no wrong.

Some are dying as infants,  
This thorn, the pain of it does not end.  
Some are left as orphans,  
Now that things are getting so hard, who will look after them?

(Chorus twice)

---

\* These lines written in SiNdebele.

**NDAKUYAMBIRA**  
**NaOliver Mtukudzi**

Iyo, iyo  
A-iyo iyo  
Iyo, iyo

Shoko rakafamba  
Ndokufamba rikafamba...  
Ruzivo rwapararira  
Njere dzapararira, ona.

Mave kuziva seri kwesadza  
Kune usavi.  
Seri kwemusuva  
Kune usavi, mudhara.

Ukabata bvunze remoto unetsva  
    (Iko kutambira murufuse unetsva)  
Ukabata bvunze remoto unetsva  
    (Iko kutambira murufuse unetsva)  
    (Ndakuyambira, ndakuyambira ini)  
Baba ndoenda

Chaunonzi rega ndechiri mumaoko.  
Chaunganzi siya ndechawakapfumbata.  
Chikava muropa ndeche kufa nacho.

Chaunonzi rega ndochiri mumaoko.  
Chaunganzi siya ndicho chawakapfumbata.  
Chagodza mutsinga ndeche kufa nacho.  
Chiri muropa ndeche kufa nacho.  
Chemutsinga ndeche kufa nacho.  
    (Ndakuyambira, ndakuyambira ini)

Ukabata bvunze remoto unetsva  
    (Ikoko tambira, unetsva)  
    (Ndakuyambira, ndakuyambira ini)  
Baba ndoenda.

## I'VE WARNED YOU

By: Oliver Mtukudzi

That thing there, there it is  
Ah, there it is, there it is  
That thing there it is.

The word traveled  
And went around and around  
The knowledge has spread  
The wisdom has spread, look and see.

Now you know that behind the sadza  
There is relish.  
Behind the handful (bite/portion)  
There is relish, old man.

If you touch the embers of the fire you will burn.  
    (If you play where there has just been a fire, you will burn)  
    (I have warned you, I myself have warned you)  
That's it.

What someone tells you to stop is a thing you're already doing/it's already in your hands  
What someone tells you to drop is the very thing that you grasp in your hands  
If it gets into your blood, it is a thing you will die with/from.

What someone tells you to stop is a thing you're already doing/it's already in your hands  
What someone tells you to drop is the very thing that you grasp in your hands  
If it settles in your blood, it is a thing you will die with/from  
The thing that gets into your veins, it is a thing you will die with/from.  
It is in your blood you will die with it.  
    (I warned you, I myself have warned you)

If you touch the embers of the fire you will burn.  
    (If you play where there has just been a fire, you will burn)  
    (I have warned you, I myself have warned you)  
That's it.

AKOROMOKA AWA  
NaOliver M'tukudzi

Korasi:

Mee-mee, ati akwire mukaranga,  
Akoromoka awa.  
Ati akwire mukaranga.  
Mee-mee, ati akwire mukaranga,  
Akoromoka awa.  
Ati akwire mukaranga.

Samere Mutowa,  
Jobo Muteswa,  
Robo M'tukudzi,  
Inga, ndiNicholas.  
Vanga ramatipa rorwadza  
Misodzi mokoto  
Aiwa kani rwendo rwacho madzoro

Zvasariresu vapenyu, isu vapenyu  
Kufuga nekuwarira.  
Tozadze mikombe  
Zvichida tichazosangana.

(Korasi, kaviri)

Samere Mutowa,  
Jobo Muteswa,  
Robo M'tukudzi,  
Maiwe, ndiNiko.  
Vanga ramatipa rorwadza  
Misodzi mokoto  
Aiwa kani rwendo rwacho madzoro

Zvasariresu vapenyu, isu vapenyu  
Kufuga nekuwarira.  
Tozadze mikombe  
Zvichida tichazosangana.

(Korasi)

## HE TUMBLED AND FELL

By: Oliver M'tukudzi

Chorus:

(crying sounds) He thought to climb onto a woman,  
And he tumbled and fell.  
He thought to climb onto a woman.  
(crying sounds) He thought to climb onto a woman,  
And he tumbled and fell.  
He thought to climb onto a woman.

Samere Mutowa,  
Jobo Muteswa,  
Robo M'tukudzi,  
And that's Nikorasi.  
The scar that you have given us still hurts.  
Tears are trickling down  
Yes indeed, this journey (life/death) is taken in turns.

It's now left with us the living, us the living,  
We have been given all the information to be able to make the right decision.  
We must keep our cups full,  
Maybe we shall meet again.

(Chorus twice)

Samere Mutowa,  
Jobo Muteswa,  
Robo M'tukudzi,  
Oh Lord, it's Niko.  
The scar that you have given us still hurts.  
Tears are trickling down  
Yes indeed, this journey (life/death) is taken in turns.

It's now left with us the living, us the living  
We have been given all the information to be able to make the right decision  
We must keep our cups full,  
Maybe we shall meet again.

(Chorus)

**TODII**  
**NaOliver Mtukudzi**

**Korasi:**

**Todii? Siyenzeni?**  
**Tingadii? Siyenzejani?**

**Zvinorwadza sei kurera rufu mumaoko?**  
    **(Ungadii uinawo, utachiwana)**  
**Zvinorwadza sei kuchengeta rufu mumaoko?**  
    **(Ungadii uinawo, utachiwana)**  
**Bva zvapabata pamuviri pasina raramo.**  
    **(Ungadii uinawo, utachiwana)**  
**Bva zvapatumuka pasina raramo.**  
    **(Ungadii uinawo, utachiwana)**

**(Korasi)**

**Zvinorwadza sei kubhinywa newaugere naye?**  
    **(Ungadii uinawo, utachiwana)**  
**Zvinorwadza sei kugwinwa neakabvisa pfuma?**  
    **(Ungadii uinawo, utachiwana)**  
**Hachiziva unawo utachiwana**  
    **(Ungadii uinawo, utachiwana)**  
**Endei uchiziva kuti unawo**  
    **(Ungadii uinawo, utachiwana)**

**(Korasi)**

**Seri reguva hakuna munamato varume, tapererwa...dondi pai mazano.**  
    **(Ungadii uinawo, utachiwana)**  
**Seri reguva hakuna munamato varume, tapererwa...dondi pai mazano.**  
    **(Ungadii uinawo, utachiwana)**  
**Seri reguva hakuna muteuro varume, tapererwa...dondi pai mazano.**  
    **(Ungadii uinawo, utachiwana)**  
**Seri reguva hakuna muteuro mambo, tapererwa..dondi pai mazano.**  
    **(Ungadii uinawo, utachiwana)**

## WHAT SHALL WE DO?

By: Oliver M'tukudzi

Chorus:

What shall we do? What shall we do?\*

What can we do? What can we do?\*

How it hurts to nurture death in your hands?

(What can you do when you know you have the virus)

How it hurts to take care of death in your hands?

(What can you do when you know you have the virus)

Now the pregnancy/conception that has no prospect for life has taken root.

(What can you do when you know you have the virus)

The pregnancy that has no prospect for life has taken root.

(What can you do when you know you have the virus)

(Chorus)

How it hurts to be violated by the one who lives with you?

(What can you do when you know you have the virus)

How it hurts to be violated by the one who paid lobola for you (once valued you)?

(What can you do when you know you have the virus)

When a person knows that they have it.

(What can you do when you know you have the virus)

And they know that they have it.

(What can you do when you know you have the virus)

(Chorus)

Behind the grave (after death) there is no prayer, men, we are at a loss...

please give us some ideas.

(What can you do when you know you have the virus)

Behind the grave there is no prayer, men, we are at a loss...please give us some ideas.

(What can you do when you know you have the virus)

Behind the grave there is no prayer, men, we are at a loss...please give us some ideas.

(What can you do when you know you have the virus)

Behind the grave there is no prayer, Lord, we are at a loss...please give us some ideas.

(What can you do when you know you have the virus).

---

\* These second phrases are written in SiNdebele

**MABASA**  
**NaOliver Mtukudzi**

Aiwa, aiwa  
Ndozviudza aniko?  
Kuti paita mabasa pano...

(Tumirai mhere kuvakuru kuno kwaita mabasa)  
Ndinozviudza aniko?

(Kokutotsika vakuru we-e)  
(Kwaita mabasa kuno)

Aiwa, aiwa  
(kwaita mabasa)

Misodzi yaperapera hapana vachachema  
Zvaakurwadzira mumwoyo, chinyararire.  
Iko kubata maoko hakuchina chiremerera  
Kwafumuka uko zvichabatsireiko  
(kwafumuka)  
Hauzi uchenjeri kusara takararamo varume  
Kana kuri kungwara, uko tichavigwa naniko?  
(nani?)

Aiwa, aiwa  
Ndozviudza aniko?  
Kuti paita mabasa pano...

(Tumirai mhere kuvakuru kuno kwaita mabasa)  
Ndinozviudza aniko?

(Kwapfukudzika vakuru we-e)  
(Kwaita mabasa kuno)

Aiwa, aiwa  
(kwaita mabasa)

Misodzi yaperapera....  
...(nani?)

Achachema mumwe, ndiani?  
Achanyaradza mumwe, ndiani?  
Achabata maoko mumwe, ndiani?  
Iwe wafirwa, ini ndafirwa  
Zvino achachema mumwe, ndianiko?

Vakuru we-e

Firo yavako makore ano  
Kana ndiyo medzisiro yenyika  
Achachema mumwe, ndiani?  
Achanyaradza mumwe, ndiani?  
Achabata maoko mumwe, ndiani?

Nhai, vakuru we-e, vakuru we-e  
Oh, vakuru we-e, vakuru we-e  
Inga paita mabasa

(Tumirai mhere kuvakuru kuno kwaita mabasa)  
Ndinozviudza aniko?

(Kwapfukudzika vakuru we-e)  
(Kwaita mabasa kuno)

Aiwa, aiwa  
(kwaita mabasa)

Pwere dzotungamira  
Mushandi watungamira  
Sare chembere neharahwa  
Zvino acharinga mumwe ndiani?  
Achabata maoko mumwe, ndiani?  
Achachema mumwe ndiani?  
Iwe wafirwa, ini ndafirwa  
Achachema mumwe ndianiko?

Nhai, vakuru we-e, vakuru we-e  
Oh, vakuru we-e, vakuru we-e  
Nhai vakuru we-e, vakuru we-e  
Inga paita mabasa

**TRAGEDY**  
By: Oliver M'tukudzi

No, no  
Who should I tell this to?  
That tragedy has struck...

(Send the news to the elders that tragedy has struck)  
Who should I tell this to?

(So let's go and see the elders)  
(Here there is too much tragedy)

No, no  
    (There is too much tragedy)

The tears are gone, nobody can cry anymore  
We now hurt inside, in silence.  
The passing on of condolences no longer has dignity,  
There is no point to it now, what will it help anymore?  
    (there is no point)  
It is not that we're clever that we survive, people  
If this is cleverness, then who will bury us?  
    (who?)

No, no  
Who should I tell this to?  
That tragedy has struck...

(Send the news to the elders that tragedy has struck)  
Who should I tell this to?

(So let's go and see the elders)  
(Here there is too much tragedy)

No, no  
    (There is too much tragedy)

(Repeat verse)  
The tears are gone....  
    ...(who?)

Who will mourn with the other?  
Who will comfort the other?  
Who will console the other?<sup>1</sup>  
When you have lost a loved one and the same has happened to me,  
Now who will mourn with the other?  
Oh, elders (lamenting sounds)

The way that people are dying today,  
Perhaps this is the end of the world.  
Who will mourn with the other?  
Who will comfort the other?  
Who will console the other?

Now please, our elders  
Oh, elders  
Really there is too much tragedy here

(Send your cries to the ancestors that tragedy has struck)  
Who should I tell this to?

(So let's go and see the elders)  
(Here there is too much tragedy)

No, no  
(There is too much tragedy)

Young children are going first  
The worker is dying first  
Leaving behind the old women and old men  
Now who will bury the other?  
Who will console the other?  
Who will mourn with the other?  
When you have lost a loved one and the same has happened to me,  
Now who will mourn with the other?

[lamenting to the elders]  
Really too much tragedy is happening here.

---

<sup>1</sup> "Kubata Maoko" literally translated means "to hold hands," but in this case it is referring to a custom of shared mourning and consolation to others who have been left behind by a loved one who has passed away.

## APPENDIX C

### Youth Responses to AIDS Discourse in Zimbabwean Popular Music Questionnaire Form

I would like to thank you for taking part in this questionnaire. If for any reason you would prefer not to answer a specific question, you can choose to refrain from answering. Participation in this project is completely voluntary. The questions have been formulated to acquire a certain type of information, so it is greatly appreciated if you are able to answer them all.

This project is designed to find out how Zimbabwean youth respond to particular artists of Zimbabwean Popular Music and their strategies to discuss HIV/AIDS. There are also general questions that rely on age, gender and education data. In the final use of this information, all answers and personal data will be kept confidential.

#### Informant Data:

Age: \_\_\_\_\_

Gender: Male \_\_\_\_\_ Female \_\_\_\_\_

First Language: \_\_\_\_\_

Other Languages: \_\_\_\_\_

Years of Education: \_\_\_\_\_

Years in the U.S.: \_\_\_\_\_

To prepare for this interview, I have given you a cassette with copies of 8 songs to listen to for a time before coming together for discussion. The following questions are related specifically to the songs and we will go through the songs one by one to get specific responses for each of them.

#### **(Song #1)**     *Mukondombera*

1. Have you heard this song before?
  - a. yes
  - b. no
2. How much do you like this song?
  - a. Not at all
  - b. A little
  - c. Very much

3. What factors contribute to your reaction to this song?
  - a. Rhythm, style
  - b. Subject matter, lyrics
  - c. Celebrity's image, age
  - d. Language(Place in order of importance:\_\_\_\_\_)
4. Did you hear the lyrics of the song?
  - a. yes
  - b. no
5. If so, how much did the lyrics affect you?
  - a. Not at all
  - b. A little
  - c. Very much
6. Is the message in the lyrics useful to you in your life?
  - a. yes
  - b. no
7. Do you believe the message was written for you personally?
  - a. yes
  - b. no
8. What was the singer talking about and what do you think it means for Zimbabweans today?
9. Do the lyrics remind you of anything or anyone in your own life?
10. Have you seen this musician perform live?
  - a. yes
  - b. no
11. Where have you heard this artist before?
12. What is your opinion of this particular musician?
  - a. Very low
  - b. So-so
  - c. Pretty decent
  - d. Very high

13. What factors contribute to your opinion of this musician?

- a. Rhythm, style
- b. Subject matter, lyrics
- c. Celebrity's image, age
- d. Language

(Place in order of importance:\_\_\_\_\_)

14. Do your parents listen to this artist?

- a. yes
- b. no

15. Do your friends listen to this artist?

- a. yes
- b. no

**(Song #2)**     *Tenda*

16. Have you heard this song before?

- a. yes
- b. no

17. How much do you like this song?

- a. Not at all
- b. A little
- c. Very much

18. What factors contribute to your reaction to this song?

- a. Rhythm, style
- b. Subject matter, lyrics
- c. Celebrity's image, age
- d. Language

(Place in order of importance:\_\_\_\_\_)

19. Did you hear the lyrics of the song?

- a. yes
- b. no

20. If so, how much did the lyrics affect you?

- a. Not at all
- b. A little
- c. Very much

21. Is the message in the lyrics useful to you in your life?

- a. yes
- b. no

22. Do you believe the message was written for you personally?
- a. yes
  - b. no
23. What was the singer talking about and what do you think it means for Zimbabweans today?
24. Do the lyrics remind you of anything or anyone in your own life?
25. Have you seen this musician perform live?
- a. yes
  - b. no
26. Where have you heard this artist before?
27. What is your opinion of this particular musician?
- a. Very low
  - b. So-so
  - c. Pretty decent
  - d. Very high
28. What factors contribute to your opinion of this musician?
- a. Rhythm, style
  - b. Subject matter, lyrics
  - c. Celebrity's image, age
  - d. Language
- (Place in order of importance: \_\_\_\_\_)
29. Do your parents listen to this artist?
- a. yes
  - b. no
30. Do your friends listen to this artist?
- a. yes
  - b. no

**(Song #3)     *Maruva Enyika***

31. Have you heard this song before?
- a. yes
  - b. no

32. How much do you like this song?

- a. Not at all
- b. A little
- c. Very much

33. What factors contribute to your reaction to this song?

- a. Rhythm, style
- b. Subject matter, lyrics
- c. Celebrity's image, age
- d. Language

(Place in order of importance: \_\_\_\_\_)

34. Did you hear the lyrics of the song?

- a. yes
- b. no

35. If so, how much did the lyrics affect you?

- a. Not at all
- b. A little
- c. Very much

36. Is the message in the lyrics useful to you in your life?

- a. yes
- b. no

37. Do you believe the message was written for you personally?

- a. yes
- b. no

38. What was the singer talking about and what do you think it means for Zimbabweans today?

39. Do the lyrics remind you of anything or anyone in your own life?

40. Have you seen this musician perform live?

- a. yes
- b. no

41. Where have you heard this artist before?

42. What is your opinion of this particular musician?

- a. Very low
- b. So-so
- c. Pretty decent
- d. Very high

43. What factors contribute to your opinion of this musician?

- a. Rhythm, style
- b. Subject matter, lyrics
- c. Celebrity's image, age
- d. Language

(Place in order of importance:\_\_\_\_\_)

44. Do your parents listen to this artist?

- a. yes
- b. no

45. Do your friends listen to this artist?

- a. yes
- b. no

**(Song #4)**     *Kuchema Kwedu*

46. Have you heard this song before?

- a. yes
- b. no

47. How much do you like this song?

- a. Not at all
- b. A little
- c. Very much

48. What factors contribute to your reaction to this song?

- a. Rhythm, style
- b. Subject matter, lyrics
- c. Celebrity's image, age
- d. Language

(Place in order of importance:\_\_\_\_\_)

49. Did you hear the lyrics of the song?

- a. yes
- b. no

50. If so, how much did the lyrics affect you?
- Not at all
  - A little
  - Very much
51. Is the message in the lyrics useful to you in your life?
- yes
  - no
52. Do you believe the message was written for you personally?
- yes
  - no
53. What was the singer talking about and what do you think it means for Zimbabweans today?
54. Do the lyrics remind you of anything or anyone in your own life?
55. Have you seen this musician perform live?
- yes
  - no
56. Where have you heard this artist before?
57. What is your opinion of this particular musician?
- Very low
  - So-so
  - Pretty decent
  - Very high
58. What factors contribute to your opinion of this musician?
- Rhythm, style
  - Subject matter, lyrics
  - Celebrity's image, age
  - Language
- (Place in order of importance:\_\_\_\_\_)
59. Do your parents listen to this artist?
- yes
  - no
60. Do your friends listen to this artist?
- yes
  - no

**(Song #5)     *Akoromoka Awa***

61. Have you heard this song before?

- a. yes
- b. no

62. How much do you like this song?

- a. Not at all
- b. A little
- c. Very much

63. What factors contribute to your reaction to this song?

- a. Rhythm, style
- b. Subject matter, lyrics
- c. Celebrity's image, age
- d. Language

(Place in order of importance: \_\_\_\_\_)

64. Did you hear the lyrics of the song?

- a. yes
- b. no

65. If so, how much did the lyrics affect you?

- a. Not at all
- b. A little
- c. Very much

66. Is the message in the lyrics useful to you in your life?

- a. yes
- b. no

67. Do you believe the message was written for you personally?

- a. yes
- b. no

68. What was the singer talking about and what do you think it means for Zimbabweans today?

69. Do the lyrics remind you of anything or anyone in your own life?

70. Have you seen this musician perform live?

- a. yes
- b. no

71. Where have you heard this artist before?

72. What is your opinion of this particular musician?

- a. Very low
- b. So-so
- c. Pretty decent
- d. Very high

73. What factors contribute to your opinion of this musician?

- a. Rhythm, style
- b. Subject matter, lyrics
- c. Celebrity's image, age
- d. Language

(Place in order of importance:\_\_\_\_\_)

74. Do your parents listen to this artist?

- a. yes
- b. no

75. Do your friends listen to this artist?

- a. yes
- b. no

**(Song #6)**     *Ndakuyambira*

76. Have you heard this song before?

- a. yes
- b. no

77. How much do you like this song?

- a. Not at all
- b. A little
- c. Very much

78. What factors contribute to your reaction to this song?

- a. Rhythm, style
- b. Subject matter, lyrics
- c. Celebrity's image, age
- d. Language

(Place in order of importance:\_\_\_\_\_)

79. Did you hear the lyrics of the song?

- a. yes
- b. no

80. If so, how much did the lyrics affect you?
- a. Not at all
  - b. A little
  - c. Very much
81. Is the message in the lyrics useful to you in your life?
- a. yes
  - b. no
82. Do you believe the message was written for you personally?
- a. yes
  - b. no
83. What was the singer talking about and what do you think it means for Zimbabweans today?
84. Do the lyrics remind you of anything or anyone in your own life?
85. Have you seen this musician perform live?
- a. yes
  - b. no
86. Where have you heard this artist before?
87. What is your opinion of this particular musician?
- a. Very low
  - b. So-so
  - c. Pretty decent
  - d. Very high
88. What factors contribute to your opinion of this musician?
- a. Rhythm, style
  - b. Subject matter, lyrics
  - c. Celebrity's image, age
  - d. Language
- (Place in order of importance: \_\_\_\_\_)
89. Do your parents listen to this artist?
- a. yes
  - b. no
90. Do your friends listen to this artist?
- a. yes
  - b. no

**(Song #7)      *Todii***

91. Have you heard this song before?
- a. yes
  - b. no
92. How much do you like this song?
- a. Not at all
  - b. A little
  - c. Very much
93. What factors contribute to your reaction to this song?
- a. Rhythm, style
  - b. Subject matter, lyrics
  - c. Celebrity's image, age
  - d. Language
- (Place in order of importance: \_\_\_\_\_)
94. Did you hear the lyrics of the song?
- a. yes
  - b. no
95. If so, how much did the lyrics affect you?
- a. Not at all
  - b. A little
  - c. Very much
96. Is the message in the lyrics useful to you in your life?
- a. yes
  - b. no
97. Do you believe the message was written for you personally?
- a. yes
  - b. no
98. What was the singer talking about and what do you think it means for Zimbabweans today?
99. Do the lyrics remind you of anything or anyone in your own life?
100. Have you seen this musician perform live?
- a. yes
  - b. no
101. Where have you heard this artist before?

102. What is your opinion of this particular musician?

- a. Very low
- b. So-so
- c. Pretty decent
- d. Very high

103. What factors contribute to your opinion of this musician?

- a. Rhythm, style
- b. Subject matter, lyrics
- c. Celebrity's image, age
- d. Language

(Place in order of importance:\_\_\_\_\_)

104. Do your parents listen to this artist?

- a. yes
- b. no

105. Do your friends listen to this artist?

- a. yes
- b. no

**(Song #8)**      *Mabasa*

106. Have you heard this song before?

- a. yes
- b. no

107. How much do you like this song?

- a. Not at all
- b. A little
- c. Very much

108. What factors contribute to your reaction to this song?

- a. Rhythm, style
- b. Subject matter, lyrics
- c. Celebrity's image, age
- d. Language

(Place in order of importance:\_\_\_\_\_)

109. Did you hear the lyrics of the song?

- a. yes
- b. no

110. If so, how much did the lyrics affect you?
- Not at all
  - A little
  - Very much
111. Is the message in the lyrics useful to you in your life?
- yes
  - no
112. Do you believe the message was written for you personally?
- yes
  - no
113. What was the singer talking about and what do you think it means for Zimbabweans today?
114. Do the lyrics remind you of anything or anyone in your own life?
115. Have you seen this musician perform live?
- yes
  - no
116. Where have you heard this artist before?
117. What is your opinion of this particular musician?
- Very low
  - So-so
  - Pretty decent
  - Very high
118. What factors contribute to your opinion of this musician?
- Rhythm, style
  - Subject matter, lyrics
  - Celebrity's image, age
  - Language
- (Place in order of importance: \_\_\_\_\_)
119. Do your parents listen to this artist?
- yes
  - no
120. Do your friends listen to this artist?
- yes
  - no

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