

ZIMBABWE'S 'Apocalyptic' Music as an Expression of Suffering: The case of Thomas Mapfumo and Hosiah Chipanga

Bishow Sahnika & Edith Kageli Chamwama

Abstract

Apocalyptic music is a genre of songs characterised by apocalyptic traits which typically include appeal to revelation or uncovering of the hidden truth. Apocalyptic literature evinces itself in the following characteristics: symbolism, dualism, pseudonymity, eschatology, revelation and exhortations. In Zimbabwean apocalyptic music, these features are present and the most prevalent are dualism, symbolism, exhortations and some elements of pseudonymity as we shall see in this article. In Zimbabwe; apocalyptic music could be attributed to that of Thomas Mapfumo and Hosiah Chipanga. Developments in the colonial and post-colonial period provide the background for the analysis of apocalyptic music. During the colonial period, oppressive laws created to limit and, in some cases, deny Africans freedom of movement and communication meant that Africans had to find alternative ways of communication. In some ways, the same continued after independence in 1980. This article discusses the rise and role of the apocalyptic seer (musician) during the revolution (Chimurenga) for independence and after. In particular, the article is to articulate how Thomas Mapfumo and Hosiah Chipanga as apocalyptic seers addressed pertinent socio-political, economic and cultural issues.

Keywords: *apocalyptic, music, seer, Chimurenga and genre.*

Introduction

This article examines the apocalyptic music and how it communicates suffering in Zimbabwe. This is done through tracing the origins and development of the apocalyptic music in Zimbabwe. The focus is on Thomas Mapfumo and Hosiah Chipanga as apocalyptic seers cum musicians whose influence and impact on the Zimbabwean society were immense and did not wane even when, for instance, Mapfumo had to live in exile. The musicians used the music as a platform of voicing what ailed the Zimbabwean society and the general population's perception

Historical Context of Zimbabwe's Apocalyptic Music

Zimbabwe's apocalyptic music genre culminated from various factors during the colonial era. From a catastrophe of political domination as a result of colonisation and the resultant cultural invasion, Zimbabweans had to find ways of not only communicating their experiences, especially displeasure, but also ways of getting rid of the scourge of colonialism. As is normal and expected in such contexts, some individuals set themselves apart and started to conscientise and mobilise others by articulating problems and suggested solutions. Thus Zimbabwe apocalyptic music rose as a response to crisis and persecution by the Rhodesiansⁱ

The attitudes of the Europeans against Africans were mainly influenced by their desire to transform Africans into servants of European invaders. In order to do that, Europeans enacted several laws that disempowered Africans. As propaganda, Europeans propagated the myth that Africans were people living in total darkness (Ray, 1976). Hence, they viewed themselves as having a burden to give light to the dark "continent" (Vengeyi, 2013). Pursuant to that conviction, David Livingstone claims to have brought to the African continent such light in the form of the infamous three Cs: that is Christianity, Commerce and Civilization (Nkomazana, 1998:48). These were done concurrently by the missionaries, settlers and colonial masters through the education system, trade and foreign administration. Missionaries were therefore the main culprits through which their various activities eventually had an impact on the social, religious and cultural heritage of the people of Zimbabwe.

Bhebe (1972) highlights the early missionary activities in Matabeleland in 1859 to 1890 as bearing testimony to the erosion of Zimbabwean religious and cultural heritage. Missionaries monitored and subsequently prohibited Zimbabwean dress, ways of marriage and traditional ceremonies (Vambe, 1977: 35-49). They also set measures to force Zimbabweans to comply with settler rules that included expulsion and corporal punishment. Thus to Mlambo the missionaries intensified their efforts to change the value systems, habits and cultural practices of Zimbabweans (Mlambo 2014.p.98). The latter were disadvantaged as this led to discrimination and alienation. Some of the traditional leaders resisted the oppression, and this earned them deposition (Vambe, 1976:35-49). Zimbabweans experienced disillusionment, oppression, inequality and alienation regarding wages, land, racism, education, religion and

cultural imperialism (Kriger, 1992). Thus, apocalyptic music grew from a context of cultural shock and a reaction to the oppression as an avenue of voicing out their desperation.

Deprivation, adverse suffering and the repressive laws of the 1960s increased discontent among Zimbabweans (Kwaramba, 2017). From that Chimurenga music (of protest that articulated the peoples' experiences under the colonial system) was born. Chimurenga became the avenue partly to assist the mass in coping with the challenges related to the colonial system as well as to express their discontent with the status quo. Apocalyptic music became an outlet for people's anguish and bitterness, as well as tool for mobilisation and the port of call where man's speech falls short (Kwaramba, 2017).

Rise of the Seer and Chimurenga Music

Legend has it that there was a Shona ancestor by the name of Murenga, a huge man believed ironically to be the size of an elephant. He was known for his courage and skills in fighting spirit. Thus, liberation fighters in Zimbabwe drew their inspiration and fighting zeal from him. Consequently, spirit mediums, chiefs, village heads and other traditional leaders drew inspiration from him and organised people to revolt against the oppressors (colonialists). They became the seers who conscientised people about their suffering. It is from this that the term chimurenga, meaning liberation struggle was derived (Vambe, 2004:167).

In order to disguise their message and subsequently lock out the white oppressors, the seers used apocalyptic narratives. They used such tactics as *Chibhende* (Shona word for sarcasm) and *mazita ekunemera* (Shona word for disguised names). For instance, Europeans were referred to as 'people without knees', to denote to their habit of wearing trousers which covered their knees. Seers included spirit mediums like Mbuya Nehanda, a female who was instrumental in the first chimurenga war and is also credited for uttering words that became motivation for the second chimurenga. The words of the seers mutated to Chimurenga songs which were instrumental in the expression of suffering by Zimbabweans. It is most likely that there were songs that were composed to express these early experiences of colonialism (Chikowero, 2015).

Chimurenga songs mirrored the trials and tribulations of the oppressed masses. The music became a typology that was utilised to agitate and stimulate masses to take action against their perceived oppressors. The genre was later popularised by Thomas Mapfumo, who was seen

and continues to be regarded as a seer of the people who emerged from the periphery in the early '70s (Erye, 2015).

Mapfumo as a Peripheral Critic of the Centre during the Colonial Period

As a black person, Mapfumo sang from the periphery. He sang against the centre for the disenfranchised black masses. Thomas Mapfumo wrote his first Chimurenga song in 1973 to react to Ian Smith's declaration against Zimbabwe majority rule. Smith is quoted by the Guardian Newspaper to have pronounced that Zimbabwe would never be subjected to majority black rule even in 1000 years (Godwin, 2017). Subsequently, Mapfumo's songs '*Pamuromo chete*' (it is mere talk) (1973), '*Ngoma yarira*' (The drums are sounding- ironically pointing to gunshots) and '*Pfumvu paRuzevha*' (hardships in the reserves- meaning the reserves had been created to isolate the black analysed the ills of colonialism, and articulated steps to be followed to get rid of colonialism. The songs were considered to be fermenting insurrection against the colonial regime and were therefore banned from public airplay.

Mapfumo also sang '*Butsu Mutandarika*' (Long oversized boots) in 1976 as a reaction to the bombing of freedom fighter bases. In his sensitisation, he mentioned the dangerous lions in the community in his song "*Musango mune Shumba*" (lions in the bush- ironically pointing to the blacks recruited into the Rhodesian forces). The song cautioned people of the need to take care when voicing concerns, as public sharing of issues would 'blow like the wind in the midst of the journalists' in reference to the black people who had been recruited into the Rhodesian forces as spies and whom he nicknamed '*Mapuruvheya*'.

Since Mapfumo composed his songs in Shona, it took time for the white minority to appreciate the influence of his music on the struggle. Had it not been that some Africans spied on their countrymen, white people may not have quickly understood the message of the apocalyptic songs. The ubiquity of Thomas Mapfumo's apocalyptic Chimurenga music fermented the conflicts between Black people and the Colonial government. In 1979 Mapfumo's song '*Hokoyo!*' (Watch Out!), signalled that the guerrillas were well equipped for war. He also sang '*Vanotumira Vana Kuhondo*', a tune in which he urged black parents to discharge their children to join the liberation struggle against colonial rule (Mapfumo, 1979).

In the song, '*Dai Tenzi Vaiziva*', (If only God knew) Mapfumo gives an impression of questioning God's presence while Zimbabwe endures miserable poverty and starvation

(Benyera, 2015:261). Additionally, in '*Mhandu Musango*' he appeared to be singing against the liberation fighters. As a *seer*, Mapfumo was very aware of the experiences of the freedom fighters. In that way, he saw it fit to go up against the enemies by predicting their failure to win the war. Mapfumo's musical genre motivated the guerrillas to be courageous to attain independence (Chung, 2006). It also appealed to young men and raised the feeling of anger towards white rulers who had deliberately devalued Shona culture for four generations (Zimunya, 2019). Mapfumo's lyrics mirrored the concerns of the people around him, especially the less privileged and those abused by the government (Samukange, 2014).

From Periphery to Centre: Mapfumo's Music after the Independence of Zimbabwe

Soon after independence, Mapfumo as a central musician who identified with the ideology of the rulers celebrated the then Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and his party (ZANU-PF) for liberating the country. His songs *Pemberai* (Celebrate), and '*Chitima Cherusununguko*' (Independence Train) clearly showed that he was delighted to celebrate the fruits of freedom. He was confident that the black government was going to serve Zimbabweans to experience the gains of independence. However, his celebration was short-lived, and the apparent lack of social justice and corruption made him abandon ship and begin to criticise the government of the then Prime Minister Robert Mugabe (Eyre 2005). This signalled his shift from the centre to the periphery.

From Centre to Periphery Again: Mapfumo's Music from the 1990s

From about 1990, it had become evident to the ordinary people that the black government was like the colonial regime unable to serve the ordinary people. Corruption, mismanagement of the economy, among other ills, became the order of the day. Voices began to be heard criticising the government for such ills. Mapfumo was faced with a dilemma; to continue to cling to his comrades in government or to join the people. He chose the latter. Through apocalyptic music, Mapfumo started to demonstrate his misery with the mode of operation of the administration. He was disappointed when it evidently turned out that the ZANU-PF government had no intentions to fundamentally change the nation's political and economic fortunes. Thus as a seer of the people, Mapfumo started to compose songs which reflected a shift from centre to the periphery.

In this song, 'Corruption,' Mapfumo bemoaned the underestimation of straightforwardness and responsibility in social, business and political exchanges. His reference to these locales of corruption demonstrates that corruption had influenced the nation's institutions. Moreso, he bemoaned that in a corrupt society, only the powerful had access to opportunities, particularly those that did not deserve them at the expense of the population.

Although Mapfumo left untouched other manifestations of corruption such as the selective application of the law, he still managed to emphasise that corruption constituted a major stumbling block in the quest to actualise justice and freedom in post-independence Zimbabwe. Towards the end of the song, he pointed out that the poverty of political will to sanitise the environment in which corruption takes place provides impetus to the self-serving behaviour of the faces behind corruption. The line between corruption and legislative, judicial and executive players got so blurred that it was virtually impossible to talk about corruption without implicating these players. Meanwhile, the chasm between the rich and the poor kept on extending. Mapfumo brought this into focus in his song '*Varombo kuvarombo*' (The Poor to the Poor). In this song, Mapfumo communicates ordinary people's frustration with the preoccupation of classes that took hold of the Zimbabwean nation in the late 1980s. His uneasiness with class differences has to be understood against the realisation that it creates a fertile ground for the exploitation of the poor by the rich and powerful. He laments the exclusion the majority have to suffer and its effect on their economic fortunes.

Thus, to Mapfumo, exclusion guaranteed that the Zimbabwe majority ended up synonymous with destitution in both the colonial and post-independence periods. For freedom to be significant, the ideology of exclusion by class and race must be surrendered; and poverty had to be decisively eradicated. Mapfumo's songs '*Corruption*' and '*Varombo kuvarombo*' challenge post-autonomy Zimbabwean leaders in both public and private sectors 'to ascend to the duty, as well to the challenge of personal example which are the hallmarks of true leadership' (Achebe, 1990:1).

In '*Maiti kurimahamubvire*' (Self-proclaimed farmers) (1992), Mapfumo discredits the Zimbabwean establishment's penchant for renegeing on election-time promises. He conveys his message in the same song that time passed with promises unfulfilled and the questions are directed to leaders who failed to deliver on their election promises. He indirectly denounces the leaders through his reference to the farmers who thought it was easier to farm.

In "Disaster" (1997) and "*Mamvemve* (Tatters)" (1998), he criticised the black authorities for running down the nation in the following words; '*Mharidzo yenyuzvirotokani*' ('your brand of politics is nothing but dreams/empty promises'). In other songs, he posed questions such as '*Todyamarara here?*' (Are we to feed on garbage?) (1995). The latter was a reaction and questioning of the plight of people following the economic measures that had been put in place by the government. These measures had increased the suffering of the ordinary people while the rulers seemed to be living in opulence. He went on to sing: '*Vangani veduvanosevenzawo*'? How many of us are employed?' (Mapfumo, 1994) in reference to the unemployment crisis in the country.

Mapfumo utilises Shona cultural resources in a way that guarantees that his message is not lost to the people. This is most detailed in '*Chinobhururuka chinomhara*' (That which flies will eventually perch) (Mapfumo, 1997). Here he reminds the powerful that 'time catches up with kingdoms and crushes them'. In '*Masoja Nemapurisa*' (The soldiers and the Police) he elaborates how state resources were deployed to solve political differences and civil unrest, especially between 2000 and 2008. He then asks Zimbabwe's leaders what they will take on the off chance that one day the military and the police would refuse to comply with their requests to fight the ordinary citizens. Apart from Mapfumo, other musicians have been expressing the plight of the people of Zimbabwe through apocalyptic music as well. This includes Hosiach Chipanga.

Hosiach Chipanga: The Seer from the 1980s

Hosiach Chipanga is typically a contemporary musician whose message decries the evils within the ruling elite. His music addresses not only political, but also social, economic, religious, and cultural issues in Zimbabwe. As a poet from the periphery, like Mapfumo, Hosiach Chipanga started his musical career during the colonial period. However, Chipanga became more popular after independence. Like Mapfumo, Chipanga sings from and for the periphery. In order to conceal his message, particularly to the powers that be, Chipanga uses biblical themes and analogies (Vambe T., 2008:138-139). In the late 1990s, following price increases, oppressive, labour situations and high taxes, Hosiach Chipanga was among the musicians who criticised the ruling party (Chitando, 2002: 46).

In one of his apocalyptic songs "*Ndafunga zano*" (I have made up my mind)(2011), he talked of having designed a plan to build a house on top of a mountain so that price increases would

not catch up with him. The song indirectly attacked the government for the economic policies that affected the general population. For Chipanga, the oppressive ruling elite made laws that allow for price increases on basic commodities simply because they were not affected. They, according to Chipanga, have big luxurious houses perched like birds on mountains. The song thus contextually infers to what has been happening from the late 1990s to early 2000s. In the song, Chipanga enlightened those who were suffering and helped them to realise how bad their experience was.

Pharaoh (2011) is among Chipanga's songs that are anti-oppression. In this song, He refers to the known stories of the biblical Pharaoh of Egypt and the exodus from Egypt to Canaan. Pharaoh, Egypt and Canaan, for Chipanga are analogies to understanding the state of affairs in Zimbabwe. The phrase "*Pharaoh watinetsa*", (Pharaoh has troubled us) is coded to denote the oppressive system either internal to the country or any system of oppression elsewhere. Chipanga is aware that local oppressors have invisible peers outside the country. For him, these oppressors are an impediment to reaching Canaan, for, like Pharaoh, they always frustrate efforts of the people towards freedom (Chipanga, 2011).

In the expression '*Takananga Canaan tichibva Egypt*', (In our journey to Canaan from Egypt) he makes an inference to the idea of gaining independence. However, the problem was that independence was never realised because Pharaoh continued to pursue the Zimbabwean people. In other words, while freedom was the dream, it never came for the system never changed from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe. It therefore remained oppressive. Thus Chipanga is mobilising people of Zimbabwe towards Canaan, that is, freedom from the present circumstances. Chipanga mentions that people have suffered hunger, thirst, and oppression. He puts this under the guise of the Israelite's wilderness experience. Thus, to Chipanga, the essence of independence in 1980 is not evident and therefore the reason he said '*Nhamo yasarandiyePharaoh*' (The Challenge we have is Pharaoh), meaning that the only source of suffering in Zimbabwe is the oppressive system (Chipanga, 2011).

In '*Ivhu redunderipi*' (Which is the land then) (2011), Chipanga expresses the repressive nature of the ruling elite. It focuses more on land and agrarian reform in 1999-2000, where the government distributed land (Vengeyi, 2012). Chipanga used rhetorical questions,

'ivhuredunderipi?' (which is the land then?), to point to the unfair land distribution in which the ruling minority and white settlers who supported Z.A.N.U P.F. benefited. The process of land distribution was also discriminative against the poor. For Chipanga only the rich can afford land for it is exorbitantly sold. According to him, land was not supposed to be sold either for residential or commercial purposes; for it belonged to the Zimbabweans. All Zimbabweans, especially the poor, were supposed to get the land for free.

Related to the song above, another song, *'NdiriRoja'* (I am a Lodger) decries the failure of the government to provide people with basic needs like accommodation. Chipanga bemoans the harsh living conditions in towns, where the lodgers are complaining of not having enough space to stay. Citizens are failing to uphold the principles of Ubuntu as articulated in the song *'ndashayazvekuita'* (I have nothing to do). Because of unstable economic conditions, people cannot rent more than a room. Thus to Chipanga, it becomes difficult when families grow, especially when the boys and girls can no longer sleep together (Chipanga,2012).

In *'Murombo haanachake'* (A pauper owns nothing) (2012), Chipanga shows the nature of poverty and the discriminative social classes. He expresses this in the phrases; *'Zwawati tarasatonhongawo isu'* (We pick from what falls from your table); *'Zvamatimasvipa, totsengawo isu'* (What you vomit that is what we eat). *'Zvamakumura topfekawo isu'* (What you take off is what we put on) and *'Mafuta emuriwoavamazitye'* (The oil we get is used oil). These show that the ruling elite has specialised in embezzlement at the expense of the poor. Thus, the poor are encouraged to recognise that they are in that state as a result of the rich grabbing everything (Chipanga,2012).

Chipanga further expresses his discontent in the phrase *'Vapfupi kudyazvirimvuhupasi'* (The heritage of the short is what falls on the ground). This is a simile to show that the shorter are poor in society and the taller are the rich, especially the elite. The rich have access to resources using their political muscles and nepotism. His use of the word *'Mazitye'* (Used or second-hand things), points to second-hand things or left-overs from the rich and on which the poor depend. The poet in this song stands for social justice and equality.(Chipanga,2012).

In '*Zvipfukuto*' (Moths) (Chipanga, 2013), he uses coded language to illustrate how the Zimbabwe Central Bank, together with the banking sector, has become corrupted. In his words '*Mudura remarirapindazvipfukuto*' (Moths have attacked the Bank) is two dimensional, where '*dura*' can be a place where money and resources are kept for future benefit. Thus, to him, the Central Bank Governors and ministers have misused the funds and instituted monetary policies which have led to the freezing of the poor people's accounts.

In '*Hove Dzemugungwa*' (Fish from the Sea) (2015), Chipanga uses sarcastic language. He inquires that if fish from the sea complain about the water being less, what about the ones in the river? Thus, to him, if the ruling elite complains about economic social and political hardships what about the commoners? Chipanga admonishes the rich for complaining about economic hardships when they are the ones in control and have access to all commodities. In his apocalyptic mind, he cautions the rich against complaining while they are living luxurious lives. He challenges the ruling elite to deal with the problem and uplift the citizens' standards of living (Okafor, 2016:1).

In '*KwaMarange*' (At Marange)ⁱⁱ, Chipanga attacks the government for failing to give a share of the diamond claims to the residents of Marange and Chiadzwa areas in Manicaland Province. He decries the situation that ordinary people find themselves in as they try to benefit from their natural resources. For instance, as the people try to access the diamond mines, some are killed by armed security. The expression, '*Tirikutambura nemhuri*' (We suffer together with our families), denotes that the people in Marange are impoverished, and became poorer than they were before the discovery of the diamond fields.

'*Vendor*' (2016) is deemed to have socio-political connotations. The song exposes the failure of the ruling class in providing and creating jobs for citizens, thereby turning them into vendors. Done by those who were not educated in the past, vending has now become for the learned graduates from the Universities in the bid for survival. The song shows that things are no longer

as they used to be and thus proves that the government has dismally failed to create jobs for its people.

Apocalyptic Music and the rise of Fanaticism and Intolerance

What is notable about the sampled songs is that they are collections that addressed a variety of issues ranging from love, hate, death, self-praise and adventure. The trend changed as some are seen to address economic, social, religious, cultural and political challenges in colonial and post-independence Zimbabwe. Due to the Zimbabwean regime's disregard for justice and freedom, the songs generated an attitude of intolerance and by so doing bred resistance.

Seers began rising from the periphery and started to compose apocalyptic songs which explicitly denounced impunity. The use of apocalyptic music to convey contemporary discourses such as the intolerability of human rights abuses in general and transitional justice became a growing phenomenon. Apocalyptic music helped in enlightening both conflict and post-conflict societies on the undesirability and intolerability of impunity.

In the case of Zimbabwe, it is also clear that the apocalyptic musicians gained a considerable following, which did not sit well with the government. For instance, Mapfumo was so popular that he was nicknamed the Lion of Zimbabwe by his followers. This is because of his open and sharp criticism of the establishment. His anti-establishment position landed him into a brief stint in prison during colonialism. However, the ordinary masses sympathised and identified with him. Hence, his music earned him both friends and foes. Once the black government began to threaten his life as had been done by the colonial regime, Thomas Mapfumo fled the country to seek refuge in the USA where he is domiciled. His music, like in the colonial era, has not enjoyed much airplay in Zimbabwe.

Evaluation

The rise and popularity of apocalyptic music catapulted many of the musicians into stardom. This is the case with Mapfumo and Chipanga discussed in this article. This was to such an extent that Chipanga referred to as the prophet of the people began his own church; Messiahs Apostolic Prophetic Inspired People's Institute (Mapipi) in 2011. He claimed to have received his divine calling in 1979. In the divine vision, he saw a black and white garment, where the colours defined God's intentions on earth. For him, this is an indication of the coexistence of black and white aspects on earth. He considered himself

a “Moses” sent by God to come and liberate his people. In 2013, he converted his church into a political party, which he used as a platform to foray into politics and even presidential aspirations. Chipanga was convinced of his popularity and ability to represent the people of Dangamvura-Chikanga constituency, as he said he lived among them and best understood their needs to the extent of getting them out of poverty. His campaign slogan was “I am here to finish poverty and not finish the poor!” He asserted that religion, politics and music dovetailed. The music was an advocacy tool bringing to light people’s social conditions and the plight of the poor while equally providing spiritual and physical nourishment. Chipanga is also regarded as a profound philosopher by his followers who believe that he is gifted with prophetic revelations.

As people grew restless with their living conditions in Zimbabwe, apocalyptic musicians gained fame and drew a fanatic following. Mapfumo was seen as a revolutionary for writing and singing songs in the Shona language in the 1970s. He incorporated traditional Shona tunes into his music and thereby gaining a fanatic following. It is through this blend that he conveyed thinly veiled political messages to the ruling class. The in-country banning of his music did not deny him a following. Instead, his fans continued listening to his music from radio broadcasts in neighbouring countries. He also continued to receive airplay through discos. When he turned his attack against the government of President Mugabe, he sang about people’s struggles with corruption, HIV-AIDS, and loss of traditional culture. On his return to Zimbabwe in 2018 after almost two decades of exile, he played his music to thousands of fans.

Conclusion

The article examined how apocalyptic music and its context in Zimbabwe communicate suffering. This was done through the investigation of its birth and how it continued to be produced in independent Zimbabwe. The focus was on Thomas Mapfumo and Hosiach Chipanga as apocalyptic seers cum musicians whose influence and impact on the Zimbabwean society were immense and did not wane even when, for instance, Mapfumo had to live in exile. The musicians used the music as a platform of voicing what ailed the Zimbabwean society and the general population’s perception.

Bibliography

- Achebe, C. (1990). *Hopes and Impediments: Selected Essays*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Armah, A. (1968). *The Beautiful Ones Are not yet born*. London: Heinemann Educational Publishers.
- Benyera, E. (2015). Rebuking Impunity through Music: The Case of Thomas Mapfumo's Masoja neMapurisa. *Journal of Communication*, Volume 6, 260-269.
- Bhebe, M. (1972). *Christian Missions in Matebeleland 1859-1923*. London: University of London.
- Blair, D. (2002). *Degrees in Violence: Robert Mugabe and the Struggle for Power in Zimbabwe*. Bloomsbury: Blomsbury Publishing PLC.
- Chikowero, M. (2015). *African Music, Power and Being in Colonial Zimbabwe*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Chingwaramuse, S. (2016). Black Colonialism is the Leading Cause of Zimbabwe's Collapse. *Young Africana Leaders Journal of Development Volume Article 20*, 101-104.
- Chipanga, H. (2011). *Ivhu Redu Nderipi* [Recorded by H. Chipanga]. Harare, Zimbabwe.
- Chipanga, H. (2013). *Zvipfukuto* [Recorded by H. Chipanga]. Harare, Zimbabwe.
- Chipanga, H. (2015). *Hove Demugungwa* [Recorded by H. Chipanga]. Harare, Zimbabwe.
- Chipanga, H. (2016). *Vendor* [Recorded by H. Chipanga]. Harare, Zimbabwe
- Chitando, E. (2002). *Singing Culture: A Study of the Gospel Music in Zimbabwe*. Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute.
- Chung, F. (2006). *Re-Living The Second Chimurenga*. Harare: Weaver Press.
- Coe, D. (1998). *Thomas Mapfumo*. London: BBC.
- Coggins, J. R. (1990). *Introducing the Old Testament*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Coltart, D. (1997). *Breaking the Silence Building True Peace*. Harare: The Legal Resources Foundation.
- Eyre, B. (2015, June 17). *Daily News*. Retrieved from Daily News: <https://www.dailynews.co.zw/articles>
- Godwin, P. (2017, August 4). *Zimbabwe Opinion*. Retrieved from The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com>
- Gunner, L. (1994). *Politics and Performance: Theatre, Poetry and Songs in Southern Africa*. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand Press.
- Herald. (2013, May 17). *Chipanga on Enigmatic Life Style*. Retrieved from The Herald: <https://www.herald.co.zw>

- Hogan, G. (2010, October 15). *Southern Rhodesia Political Elections 1964-1980*. Retrieved from National Archives of Australia: www.naa.gov.au
- James, Y. M. (2019, January 20). *San Francisco Chronicle*. Retrieved from San Francisco Chronicle: <https://sfchronicle.com>
- Kruger, N. (1992). Zimbabwe's Guerilla War: Peasant Voices. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 454-456.
- Kwaramba, D. (2017, August 4). *The Literature and Culture of Zimbabwe*. Retrieved from Post-colonial Web: <http://www.postcolonialweb.com>
- Major, E. (2004, April 28). *Kubatana*. Retrieved from Kubatana.net: <https://www.ibanet.org>
- Mano, W. (2007, February 16). *Journalism Studies*. Retrieved from Journalism Studies: www.tandfonline.com
- Mapfumo, T. (1994). *Todya Marara Here?* [Recorded by T. Mapfumo]. Harare, Zimbabwe.
- Mapfumo, T. (1989). *Varombo Kuvarombo* [Recorded by T. mapfumo]. Harare, Harare.
- Mapfumo, T. (1997). *Chinobhuruka Chinomhara* [Recorded by T. Mapfumo]. Harare, Zimbabwe.
- Maveriq. (2017, September 1). *News Pindula*. Retrieved from News Pindula: <https://news.pindula.co.zw>
- McGregor, J. A. (2013). Introduction: Politics, Patronage and Violence in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern Africa Studies Volume 39(4)*, 749-763.
- Meena, R. (1992). *Gender in South Africa: Conceptual and Theoretical Issues*. Harvard: Harvard Books.
- Muzari, G. (2016, April 29). Zhakata's Journey to fame. *The Herald*.
- Ncube, S. (2016, December 9). Solomon Mujuru's Death. *Nehanda*.
- Nyamutata, C. (2002, January 6). Mapfumo backs sanctions against Mugabe's officials. *Daily News*, p. 6.
- Nyathi, A. (2016, November 24). *freemuse.org*. Retrieved from Freemuse/Freedom of Music Expression: <http://freemuse.org>
- Okafor, I. G. (2016). Microfinance Bank Activities and Standard of Living in Nigeria. *IOSR Journal of Economics and Finance 7, (1)*, 1-11.
- Ray, B. (1976). *African Religions: Symbol, Ritual and Community*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Samukange, T. (2014, May 22). Thomas Mapfumo-Is he a victim of Intolerant regime? *Newsday*.
- Scarnecchia, T. (2008). *The Urban Roots of Democracy and Political Violence in Zimbabwe-Harare and Highfields 1940-1964*. New York: University Rochester Press.

- Tibaijuka, A. K. (2005). *Report of the Fact-Finding Mission to Zimbabwe to Assess the impact of Operation Murambatsvina*. Harare: United Nations.
- Turino, T. (2000). *Nationalists, Cosmopolitans and Popular Music in Zimbabwe*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Vambe, T. (2008). *The Hidden Dimensions of Operation Murambatsvina*. Harare: Weaver Press Harare.
- Vambe, M. T. (2004). *Versions and Sub-Versions: Trends in Chimurenga Musical Discourses*. Pretoria: University Press.
- Vengeyi, O. (2012). The First Chimurenga -Peasant Revolt 201. *BOLESWA Journal of Theology, Religion and Philosophy Volume 3*, 15-41.
- Vengeyi, O. (2013). *Aluta Continua Biblical Hermeneutics for Liberation*. Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press.
- WaThiong'o, N. (1993). *Moving the Centre: The Struggle for Cultural Freedom*. London: James Currey.
- Worldbank. (2019, March 10). *Iweb90.worldbank.org*. Retrieved from [Iweb90.worldbank.org: https://www.iweb.worldbank.org](https://www.iweb.worldbank.org)
- Young, J. (2017, November 9). *Baltimore*. Retrieved from [Baltimorepostexaminer: https://www.baltimorepostexaminer.com](https://www.baltimorepostexaminer.com)
- Zhakata, L. (2019, March 11). *Pindula*. Retrieved from [Pindula: https://www.pindula.co.zw](https://www.pindula.co.zw)
- Zimunya, M. (2019, December 21). Understanding Mapfumo's Music. (B. Samhika, Interviewer)

ENDNOTES

¹Rhodesia is the name that was given to the white colonisers of Zimbabwe given to them after the name of Cecil John Rhodes who led the pioneer column that colonised Zimbabwe.

² KwaMarange is a possessive word referring to Marange area in the Northern part of Zimbabwe where diamonds were found..